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**Masculinity as a site of pre-emptive
intervention in the prevention
of child sexual abuse**

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements of

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Abstract

This research aimed to challenge dominant assumptions regarding paedophilia and child sex offending and open up the possibility for interventions that engage men before they offend against children. Child sexual abuse (CSA) remains a serious social problem that is overwhelmingly committed by men, and yet masculinity is usually excluded from Criminal Psychology's endeavours to understand child sex offenders (CSO). Positivist approaches to the prevention of CSA have excluded dominant gendered power relationships. A poststructuralist informed reading of the literature revealed blurred boundaries between media representations and psychological constructions of CSO, producing a deviant subject that obscured gendered social power relationships and the discourses of hegemonic masculinity (HM) that are implicated in CSA. This thesis questions the pervasiveness and longevity of HM, and its effects, in order to produce a space to examine the narratives of four former CSO. The first analysis chapter used narrative theory to form a hybrid representation of the men's stories. This revealed a dominant form of normative heterosexuality where masculine privilege was so embedded in cultural practices that it was rendered invisible. It also located turning points in the men's negotiations of masculinity that led to their offending. The second analysis chapter involved a discourse analysis of the discursive constitution of masculinity in the men's talk. Together these chapters offer potential points of pre-emptive intervention and the potential for institutions to address cultural assumptions of heteronormativity.

Acknowledgments

Creating this dissertation has been a journey, a difficult one but a rewarding one. I have enjoyed challenging the assumptions that underpin some of the mainstream ideologies covered in this thesis. In doing so, I have become aware of how influential these ideologies have been in my life and how pervasive they are in our culture. Doing this has given me an opportunity to look behind and beyond the taken for granted in psychology and other powerful institutions.

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Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgments	ii
Chapter One: Introduction	1
Theoretical framework.....	3
Enabling the silenced voice.....	4
Gender as a site of inquiry for future intervention.....	6
Hearing the silenced.....	7
Reflection	8
Chapter Two: Media and psychological representations of child sex offenders	10
Media reporting of child sexual abuse.....	12
Media (mis)representation and research.....	13
Stranger danger.....	14
Violent sex offenders	15
Dirty old men.....	16
Untreatable.....	17
Research representations of the problem of child sexual abuse.....	19
Victims.....	20
Perpetrators.....	22
Prevalence.....	22
Research producing the psychological subject	24
Assessment	25
Risk factors	29
Life cycle.....	29
Cyclical abuse	29
Social problems	31
Meta-analysis.....	31
Risk Assessment	32
Risk management.....	35
Treatment	37
Prison-based treatment programmes in New Zealand.....	38
Current Corrections focused treatment in New Zealand	38
Moving from punitive incarceration to strength focused recovery	40
The Good Lives Model – comprehensive.....	40

Moving on from reductionist models.....	42
Community reintegration.....	44
Community treatment options.....	45
Sexual violence prevention.....	46
Masculinity as a site of transformation.....	50
Chapter Three: Gender.....	52
Reductionist conceptions of gender.....	53
‘Traditional’ gender roles in families.....	54
A Reductionist approach to masculinity and crime.....	56
Poststructuralism and normalisation.....	57
Discursive approaches in psychology.....	58
Naturalisation of gender.....	58
Gender performativity.....	58
Naturalisation of sexuality.....	60
Power, hegemony and hegemonic masculinity.....	61
Hegemonic masculinity.....	63
Power is everywhere and nowhere: The panoptican and masculinity.....	65
Sexuality and hegemonic masculinity.....	67
Hegemonic masculinity and sexual crime.....	68
Health consequences associated with hegemonic masculinity.....	69
Critiques of hegemonic masculinity.....	70
Salvaging masculinity: how victims of child sexual abuse manage the perceived loss of masculinity.....	71
Prison: a criminogenic and hypermasculine environment.....	72
Hierarchy within prison.....	72
Resisting the hegemonic masculinity ideal.....	73
Masculinity as a site of intervention and prevention.....	73
Summary.....	75
Chapter Four: Methodology.....	77
Positioning theory.....	77
Discourse analysis.....	79
Narrative approaches in psychology.....	81
Narrative analysis.....	84
Method.....	85
Ethics.....	85
Participants.....	86

Recording, transcribing and protection of data	87
Interviews.....	87
Narrative analysis	91
Discourse analysis.....	94
Chapter Five: Narrative analysis	97
Distant dad; incompatible father figure.....	98
Early representations of masculinity; power, authority, freedom and irresponsibility	102
Freedom and lack of discipline	105
Impotent women	107
Violence at school.....	112
Sexual objectification of women	117
Fragile identities and feelings of worthlessness.....	118
Insecure relationships.....	121
Real men don't cry	123
Offending.....	127
Prevention: Changing the "mentality of the world"	132
Summary	139
Chapter Six: Discourse analysis: Discourse, power and knowledge	140
The discursive production of masculinity.....	141
Men can do what they want; Masculine liberty and autonomy	143
Measuring up? Doing hegemonic masculinity: the subordination of femininity and non-hegemonic masculinities.....	146
Real men don't cry	154
Pursuing the impossible ideal: Trying to be the man and failing	157
Resisting the old man and creating new masculinities	160
Summary	168
Chapter Seven: Discussion	169
Preventing child sexual abuse through the renegotiation of masculinity.....	176
Community awareness and intervention	183
Limitations, reflections and future research.....	185
References	188

Chapter One: Introduction

This research was inspired, initially, by an incident that occurred at a New Zealand police station where a man confessed to having a sexual attraction towards children. He informed the police that he thought he would sexually abuse a child if he was not detained or helped in some way. The man was informed that the police could do nothing until an offence took place. Becoming aware of this exchange raised questions for me about the tensions between policing and the prevention of crime, but more important for me as a clinical psychology student was the issue of the prevention of sexual abuse of children.

My colleague and I began a discussion with professionals about the potential for services, within the health or justice system, that might be available for men to access treatment prior to offending. A preliminary search of the research literature indicated the situation at the police station was not an isolated incident. For example, Elliot (1995) reported that a large proportion (46%) of convicted child sex offenders (CSO) did not seek help prior to offending because they thought it was unavailable. Indeed, due to social, legal and political factors, self-referral among paedophiles is rare (Seto, 2008).

Chapter 2 discusses how the dominant understandings of CSO as monstrous and deviant inhibit disclosure for men who might seek treatment. These understandings of sexual offending limit offending to a “few sick men” (Lea & Auburn, 2001, p.12) which perpetuates the view that child sexual abuse (CSA) is a psychopathically isolated oddity committed by a few deviant individuals. However, there is research evidence that suggests that sexual attraction to children is far more prevalent in the population. For example, Briere (1989) found that 21 % of a sample of college students reported sexual attraction to some small children. In another study involving college students, 22.8% of men and 2.8% of women reported sexual attraction to a least one child (Smiljanich & Briere, 1996). Similarly, Gannon and O'Connor (2011) reported that 57% of males in a community sample who were given 5 hypothetical examples of CSA showed some level of sexual interest in

children. This shows that sexual interest in children is far from a rarity. However, public appeals for paedophiles to self-refer are difficult to implement where sexual interest in children is demonised and those who would self-refer are ostracised (Finkelhor, 2009).

Beire et al. (2009) found that some men do self-refer in order to obtain treatment to prevent a sexual offence against a child occurring. Furthermore, Seto (2008) found a group of self-identified paedophiles (with no known history of sexual crimes) made up 8% of those at a sexology clinic. Beire et al. (2009) found that 87% of a sample of self-referring paedophiles had already confided in someone (e.g., friends and/or relatives) regarding strong paedophilic urges. Over half had confided in a professional, such as a GP or mental health professional, in the previous 6 months. In addition, Beire et al. (2009) reported that during the first three years of a media led campaign in Germany, 801 male paedophiles self-referred. Over half of these men claimed to have not sexually offended. A similar campaign in the UK and Ireland attracted almost twice as many callers.

If self-referral services were more accessible and the outcomes of self-referral were less punitive, then perhaps self-referral would be more commonplace. The fact that self-referral does exist in a society where child sex offenders (CSO) are ostracised and demonised suggests that the number who are willing to engage in pre-emptive treatment may be much greater than is reflected in the literature. Men may become more willing to engage in pre-emptive treatment when the media and psychological constructions of CSO do not assume that all CSO are paedophiles, and that not all paedophiles act on their sexual urges. One of the aims of this study was to challenge some of the existing assumptions regarding paedophilia and CSO, and to open up the possibility for interventions that engage men before they offend against children, reducing the suffering of victims, perpetrators and their families.

Theoretical framework

This research challenges the dominant understandings of CSO and CSA through examining the institutional power relations and discourses that reproduce CSO as deviant from the norms of masculinity. Hook (2001) conceptualised discourse based on a Foucaultian power-knowledge perspective where the pursuit of knowledge is governed by rules, systems and procedures that constrain how knowledge is produced and distributed. Gavey (1989) stated that there is an intimate relationship between knowledge and power, with those in power having the ability to regulate knowledge and thereby produce what counts as 'truth'. 'Truth' and discourse share a reciprocal and dynamic relationship where one is continually informed and shaped by the other. For Gavey (1989) discourse refers to an interrelated set of statements that cohere around common meanings and values and are a product of social factors, of powers and practices, rather than an individual set of ideas. It is a broad concept referring to the way in which meaning is created within social or cultural groups and historical periods. Statements within a discourse can be verbalised or remain unspoken. For example, a 'manly' discourse (identified in this research) comes loaded with statements such as 'real men don't cry'. Often it is the taken for granted discourse that remains unspoken that is the most powerful. The strongest, most pervasive discourses are those that associate with powerful truth-producing institutions, such as psychology. In contemporary Western society, this is most effective when a discourse is associated with the legitimacy of science.

Two truth techniques that have evolved in psychology are statistics and the experiment – the use of these procedures signify the alliance between science and psychology. Rose (1996) proposed that these procedures have been used by psychology and other social sciences to force themselves into the cannon of truth. Foucault went as far to say that psychology is a discipline that draws on qualified forms of scientific knowledge in its attempts to normalise human subjects (i.e. eradicate all forms of deviance from a human population) according to specialist instrumentation of experts (Hook, 2003).

Discourses themselves vary in their power; the most powerful being those that seem so natural that the majority of people will attempt to adhere to their normalisation. Despite the compelling desire to adhere to the dominant discourse, individuals can choose not to (Butler, 1990). However, this does not mean that an individual is a fully self-aware and self-present agent. Rather, a person is fragmented, inconsistent and contradictory, being pulled, constrained and shaped by social and institutional forces and disciplinary power (Gavey, 1989).

Operating outside of normative discourse can be tantamount to making no sense or speaking from a position so far removed from the norm so as to be perceived as deviant or mentally disordered (Hook, 2001). Operating outside of discursive rules and conventions renders the speaker's voice impotent and their actions subject to control and governance from those who operate from within normative discourse. It is from here that one of the associations of power and knowledge is made – those who speak from within a dominant discourse have the authority over those who do not. Various systems of exclusion operate to omit marginalised discourses thereby maintaining naturalised, dominant discourses. For example, some systems of exclusion operate by categorising certain discourses as forbidden or taboo. The most tightly governed fields tend to be those related to sexuality, gender and politics (Hook, 2001). By exposing the power behind discourse, the 'truth' associated with the discourse seems less authentic, more intentional, and provides more opportunities for other arguments to come to the fore. By examining what is already regarded as common knowledge we can often see that what is 'normal' is in fact very odd (Parker & Shotter, 1990).

Enabling the silenced voice

The goal of positivist methodology is invariably to discover new knowledge or new truths that supersede preceding truths. Much of the psychological research involving CSO uses a positivist epistemology that, arguably, maintains an exclusive discourse by silencing and rejecting that which does not adhere to its prescribed methods (Chamberlain, Stevens & Lyons, 1997; Freeman, 2007; Parker & Shotter, 1990).

Critiques of positivist modes of enquiry within the social sciences have led to

what is commonly known as the 'discursive turn' (Morgan, 1996). It is generally understood that the gradual shift away from positivist methods began in the 1960s and became prominent in the 70s and 80s (Morgan, 1996). One of the core arguments emerging from the discursive turn was that there is no universal structural form and no universal truth found in human behaviour (Bannister, Burman, Parker, Taylor & Tindall, 1994). As a result, psychology's use of positivist methods were challenged, particularly the use of experiments aimed at discovering the facts of human subjectivity (Shotter, 1975). What surfaced were arguments for the need to focus on language, meaning and peoples accounts of their lived experience. This led to the emergence of critical psychology and enquiries into the discursive production of human subjectivity (Morgan, 1998).

Historically, positivist child sex offender research has concentrated on discovering dysfunctions that lie within CSO. In this research, I argue that such approaches miss broader cultural, social and institutional influences that contain, amongst other things, discourses of masculinity. Attending to these influences may be crucial to understanding CSO given that certain masculine discourses, institutions and cultural norms can influence, condone, excuse or mitigate CSA (Flood, 2008; Messerschmidt, 2000b). Therefore, this research required a framework that could examine how media representations of CSO and psychological knowledge together produce a subject who is typically silenced through their position as deviant.

When a person is marked as a child sex offender through dominant discourse, he is excluded from society. The subject, positioned as other, becomes silenced through the discourses that produce him. A related example is a person who is portrayed as psychotic and is thus silenced based on the premise that what they say is incoherent or bears little resemblance to reality (Parker, Georgas, Harper, McLaughlin & Stowall-Smith, 1995). Similarly, a child sex offender's crime is perceived as so deviant, so far from the norm, so incomprehensible, that it renders the voice of the offender irrelevant or impotent, thereby producing a subject with no right to speak. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, empirically informed research tends to present studies of identified traits or characteristics thought to be present

in convicted CSO and sometimes these are compared with so-called 'normal' controls. This kind of research tends to indicate higher levels of psychopathology and social deficiencies in the sex offender group thereby serving to reinforce the view that sex offenders are different to, and distinct from, 'normal' people. This process of exclusion omits any enquiry into the influence of taken for granted assumptions of normative forms of heterosexuality. The deviant subject is produced as a particular kind of psychopathologically isolated person. The fact that child sexual abuse occurs in all social and cultural groups, is most often perpetrated within familial relationships, and has many forms, is obscured by much of the positivist research (Dillon, 2010; Lea & Auburn, 2001). Indeed, perhaps it is easier for society to exclude and dehumanise CSO rather than confront the notion that somebody who has committed a crime so 'monstrous' could be like 'us'.

Gender as a site of inquiry for future intervention

The practices and effects of gender have largely been ignored, or dismissed, in the criminal behaviour literature. However, what is clear from the research is that men are responsible for the majority of crime, and the overwhelming majority of sexual crime, and yet rarely is masculinity discussed in psychological or forensic literature (Schrock & Padavic, 2007). As a result, there is very little known about how practices of masculinity are developed and understood in the lives of CSO and how these experiences influence sexually harmful behaviour.

It makes sense that we should examine a cultural concept such as masculinity when it is so closely related to the population we are most interested in – those who commit the majority of sexual crime, men (Finkelhor, 2009). Poststructuralist epistemology denies the existence of an essential male or female nature or a fixed and stable subjectivity or sexuality. Gavey (1989) proposed that poststructuralist gender-focused research should be concerned with developing understanding of historical, social and cultural conditions with the ultimate goal being to change oppressive gender relations.

In order to unravel a complex and misunderstood problem, it is sometimes necessary to employ a novel perspective. When examining conceptions of masculinity it is necessary to look beyond the typically subjective realm of clinical psychology and examine the cultural and social resources that an individual has access to, reproduces, and is embedded in. Hence, this research has, for the most part, left empirical research in the background and used a poststructuralist theory of knowledge to understand the complexities of media representations and psychological constructs of CSO. The representation of CSO through psychological knowledge and media representations are the focus of Chapter 2. This poststructural approach assumes that knowledge is socially constructed in and through competing discourses and produced through relationships of power. The discursive production of gender and practices of masculinity, understood through social power relationships, is argued in Chapter 3.

Hearing the silenced

Silencing those who we seek to understand seems counterintuitive from both a theoretical and a clinical position. Hence, one of aims of this research was to give a voice to the former child sex offenders who participated in this study; to hear their story without focusing on the intricacies of their crimes or the ‘cognitive distortions’ that they may have employed at the time of their offending. In order to look beyond conventional understandings of child sex offenders, this research examined the processes and institutions that produce the deviant subject that dominates conventional thinking (Chapter 2). The social power relationships that produce and reproduce the normalisation of gender differences - or ‘heteronormativity’ - are discussed in Chapter 3 along with the powerful and destructive constructions of masculinity that have been associated with child sexual abuse. By bringing this knowledge together, I sought to understand how discourses of gender and sexuality influenced the lives of the former CSO who agreed to take part in this study. The purpose was to gather novel insights into the lives of CSO, providing possible points of intervention that could prevent CSA from occurring. The methodological processes that guided this research are discussed in Chapter 4. In this research, four former CSOs participated in conversational interviews focused

on how masculinity influenced their lives. Chapter 5 analyses the narratives of the participants. The primary aim of this chapter was to provide a rich account of the men's lives, and the development of their masculinity, prior to offending and after their offending. It was intended that this analysis would go some way to challenging long held assumptions of masculinity, social power, CSO, and child sexual abuse. Chapter 6 is a discourse analysis of the men's talk that sought to identify the discursive resources used by the men and the relationship between discourses of masculinity and the men's sexual offending. Chapter 7 summarises the findings of this research and offers suggestions for interventions that could enable people to seek treatment prior to offending and ultimately prevent some offences from occurring.

Reflection

Hearing the narrative accounts of CSO is likely to meet with resistance and/or raise anxiety for some researchers and practitioners. Giving a voice to the most abhorrent elements of child sexual abuse and offending can be anxiety provoking. However, I take up the position that it is necessary to be evocative to try to upset the balance in order to produce change in social power relationships. I understand the anxiety. For example, in a particular interview, I was challenged by the story of a participant who experienced his own childhood sexual abuse as feeling "good". My initial impulse was to employ a method of exclusion and omit this data from my research. However, I was also aware that my initial reaction was informed by the knowledge that this man's account of his abuse breaches dominant understandings of CSA, and contradicts normative and dominant discourses of sexuality. I could have understood this as a form of distorted cognition, however a part of me realised it was important – and that it needed to be talked about. This man's account of his abuse, which is discussed in Chapter 5, can seem abhorrent when it is discussed in isolation. To describe child sexual abuse as "good" is incomprehensible only when it is not made sense of within the context of this man's life and the cultural, familial and masculine resources that were (un)available to him.

Throughout this research, I have been conscious of telling the interviewees stories without their narratives being filtered by the dominant 'paedophile' discourse that pervades both psychological and popular accounts. The men have trusted me with very sensitive, highly personal narratives, which on many occasions, and in many ways, have evoked strong emotions in me and others who have been involved in this research. I have also been mindful of dominant discourses, not just in an academic sense, but in a personal sense, as I have attempted to distance myself from the lure of applying 'common sense' or popular representation of CSO to the men's narratives. I am very aware that in doing so, I am in danger of being accused of minimising the effects that child sexual abuse can have on victims.

On many occasions, it would have been easier to talk about anxiety over some of the issues in terms of 'disgust' or 'revulsion' in terms of the crimes. However, the details of the men's crimes are not the concern of this thesis. The narratives of the victims remain obscured, although I deeply acknowledge the harm the men's crimes had on their victims. However, the primary concern of this research is the prevention of child sexual abuse; not a reduction in the 'risk' of reoffending but the prevention of it occurring in the first place. It is the responsibility of men to understand what it is about men that leads to offending against women and children. This is why I talked to men who have offended, completed treatment, and expressed a willingness to help me explore this set of social power relations.

Chapter Two: Media and psychological representations of child sex offenders

Gavin (2005) argues that the dominant understanding of the child sex offender is produced through narratives that are historically and culturally located, including through psychological knowledge and media representations of crime and criminal behaviour. The dominant narrative produces the child sex offender as “male, inherently evil, inhuman, beyond redemption or cure, lower class and unknown to the victim” (p. 395).

Crime has long been a popular subject in media representations of human behaviour, beginning with crime novels and crime fiction radio shows with a focus on pursuit and capture, through to a more current fascination with criminal behaviour evidenced through an increase in media news reporting of crime, changes in television crime drama and the emergence of reality television shows that depict real life crime. Since the 1980s, there has been an increase in the reporting of violent and sexual crimes in the media where 85% of news stories about crime represented violent crime (Pollak & Kubrin, 2007). At the same time, there has been a rise in “penal populism” (Pratt, 2008, p. 364) which promotes a zero tolerance approach to crime alongside tough prison sentences for those who break the law.

Crime drama television shows have increasingly blurred the boundary between reality and fiction through the dramatisation of ‘real life’ cases to inspire their narratives. It is the sense of realism that is created that may lead viewers to think they represent an accurate depiction of crime (Eschholz, Mallard, & Flynn, 2004). With an emphasis on violence and sexual violence, there has also been a call for the need to ‘get tough’ on offenders.

By 2006, marked by the first season of CSI, the authority of the police to protect social order is legitimated through the authority of forensic science, and the emergence of criminal profiling, as the science of human behaviour. While these

representations of crime reflect dominant assumptions about crime and criminal behaviour, they also reproduce them, so much so that there is evidence to suggest that public perceptions of crime have been influenced by the power of forensic science – the CSI effect. The ‘CSI effect’ refers to the claim that media portrayals of the power of forensic science have caused changes in jury behaviour in real criminal trials. According to Schweitzer and Saks (2007) the CSI effect has become an “accepted reality by virtue of its repeated invocation by the media” (p. 359). Lawyers have become aware of this effect and have subsequently paid more attention to forensic evidence in order to sway jurors, thus forensic evidence gathers more power and momentum. This demonstrates how the media can both inform and be informed by powerful institutions.

Kitzinger (2004) has argued that the influences of media representations, for better or for worse, are implicated in the very ways through which we think about ourselves and relate to one another. Media representations are part of society and daily life. People interpret, and in many respects complement and reproduce, through a process of iteration, media accounts in homes, workplaces and social settings. In short, media representations of crime and criminal behaviour inform societal conversations through which people make sense of a raft of social issues, including CSA and CSO (Young-Hauser, 2010). Representation does not just reproduce something that exists; it produces meaning by recreating an event or a topic in a particular way, and can be reconceptualised through different versions of the story, misrepresentations or claims of multiple truths (Hall, 1997a).

Further, the media often reproduces public and institutional narratives and reframes them as taken-for-granted understandings. This reciprocal relationship between the media and its consumers can produce a perpetual telling and retelling of a story. Overtime this repeated story produces knowledge as it becomes ingrained in culture and assumes an unquestionable legitimacy. Unpacking this highly mediated knowledge offers an opportunity to examine contemporary social processes and understandings (Chamberlain & Hodgetts, 2008).

Media reporting of child sexual abuse

The terms 'paedophile' or 'child sex offender' typically evoke reactions of revulsion, fear and morbid curiosity. The child sex offender has become the scapegoat of the twenty first century with a host of anxieties, insecurities and uncertainties being associated with these people and their offences. The narrative that is commonly perpetuated in the media tends to represent CSO as cunning sexual predators, who are unknown to their victim and lurk in primary schools, public parks, and quite probably live in your local community (Finkelhor, 2009). The mainstream media frequently demonise and dehumanise paedophiles and CSO using terms such as "deviants" "beasts" and "monsters" (Lewis & Mega, 2009). The media is able to reproduce such representations repeatedly and pervasively so that almost nothing else is heard, subsequently subjugating other representations and creating a widely held view that is consistently being reinforced in multiple ways (Butler, 1993; Hall, 1997c). This representation filters into nearly all sources of contemporary knowledge production, including much of the academic literature. The media can also draw on other powerful institutions, such as law, medicine and science, to add authority to the knowledge that they propose and produce. Overtime this repeated story produces knowledge that becomes so ingrained in culture it assumes an unquestionable legitimacy (Kitzinger, 2004).

The media are often described as having widespread symbolic power through their ability to reach wide audiences (Schneider, Chamberlain & Hodgetts, 2010). News media can lead to the widespread adoption of views, and particularly misconceived views, of crime related activity that is disproportionate to the actuality of their occurrence (Ducat, Thomas & Blood, 2009; O'Connell, 1999). Further, understandings produced by news organisations can exclude people from society by fixing boundaries between 'them and us' (Schneider, Chamberlain & Hodgetts, 2010). Fischer (2007) proposed that Western culture favours such binary representations of both physical and social realities. Subsequently, people socialised to think dualistically tend to judge in oppositional, 'all or nothing' either/or terms, that produce a boundary that normalises the 'one' and marginalises the 'other'. Being present in the grey area, the chasm that splits the binaries, can be a source of

discomfort and evoke distress (Butler, 1990; Fischer, 2007,) and this is especially true in the area of child sex offending (Young-Hauser, 2010). The media narrative positions CSO as objects of scrutiny, revulsion and regulation, the 'other' to the norm to be subjugated to discipline and control and such tabloid sensationalism informs public opinion (Hudson, 2002). This representation maintains a pervasive child sex offender discourse, which serves to maintain fear and hatred of CSO, allowing communities to further disassociate themselves from the reportedly "monstrous" other who commit these crimes (Simon, 1998, p. 452).

Such representations when applied to CSO have implications for citizenship and social inclusion. The perpetrators' voices are silenced and their experiences remain unheard because, by virtue of their crimes, these men are perceived to have negated their human rights including their speaking rights (Ward, Mann & Gannon, 2007). By virtue of their silenced and demonised representation in the media, CSO are excluded from participation in defining and finding solutions for the problem of CSA (Schneider et al., 2010). What is produced through media representation is a heinous offender and a broken victim, both silenced and both ostracised.

As a result of a different kind of oppression, it is very uncommon for the victim to be given a voice (Young-Hauser, 2010). The crime is understood as so deviant that the child victim is excluded from having a voice in as much as they are silenced and protected by adults and institutional power (Young-Hauser, 2010). Subsequently, it is generally left to 'experts' to interpret the suffering of victims and the motivations of the offender. The complex relationship between the monstrous and the deviant subject, the blurring of the boundaries between the media representation of the subject and the psychological production of the subject, is a necessary site for transforming our understanding of CSO.

Media (mis)representation and research

Child sex offenders are frequently misrepresented in the media with a disproportionate number of media reports focusing on extreme cases (Mejia, Cheyne & Dorfman, 2012), or cases that perpetuate widely held notions of CSA. For example,

relative to reported cases, Mejia et al. (2012) found that media reporting in the United States overrepresented adult offenders with only 3% of reports focusing on youth offenders. Media reporting also tends to focus on specific incidents of CSA from a criminal justice perspective with very few details of contextual information about causes of, or solutions to, CSA. In addition, girls were under reported as victims and there was a history of over reporting 'strangers' as perpetrators (Mejia, et. al., 2012).

Young-Hauser's (2010) review of New Zealand newspaper reports found a representation of the diverse socioeconomic and occupational backgrounds of CSO. However, the newspaper reports also reproduced dominant understandings of CSO as deviant and, in many cases, evil (Young-Hauser, 2010) which can instil disgust and fear in the naïve reader. Further, what is typically reported in the news media, either explicitly or implicitly, proposes that prevention of CSA is most likely to be achieved by targeting CSO by increasing incarceration, monitoring or imposing medicalised treatments (Mejia, et. al., 2012; Young-Hauser, 2010).

The follow section discusses popular media representations of CSO with the use of extracts from the British and New Zealand popular press. In order to disrupt dominant representations of CSO, these excerpts are followed with a discussion of the mismatch between the media representations of CSO and the data from contemporary academic research.

Stranger danger

[A man], 35, broke into the girl's home when her mother had momentarily left her alone, and subjected her to a terrifying ordeal in his car, before dumping her naked and shivering in a freezing back lane. (Soodin, 2007)

Incidents of CSA where the offender is a stranger to the victim, and the victim is a young child, are what typically make the headlines. These are the stories that evoke the strongest emotion, sell papers and are the most likely to remain in the collective consciousness. Contrary to what is portrayed in the media, the academic literature reports that the majority of CSO are not strangers to their victims (Lambie, 2007).

Chaffin, Levenson, Letourneau and Stern (2009) reported that 90% of victims knew their abusers, who were most often family members or close acquaintances. In addition, an international review reported that, of victims of sexual abuse coming to law enforcement attention, more than a quarter are victimised by a family member, while 60% are abused by someone from within their social network. Only 14% were victimised by someone they did not already know (Finkelhor, 2009). Thus, the stereotypical image of a sexual predator lurking in the dark may exist, but he is very much in the minority (Kitzinger, 1999).

It is difficult to accept that a family member can also be a child sex offender. However, by ignoring familial child sex offences, media representations provide a false sense of security (Cowburn & Dominelli, 2001). Defining CSO as strangers allows a perpetuation of the notion that the nuclear family is a safe haven for children, free from the threat of being sexually abused (Young-Hauser, 2010).

Violent sex offenders

Boss-eyed and with tattooed knuckles, divorced Josef, 41, admits he raped a "terrified nine-year-old girl in her own home". (Harvey, 2009)

The CSO that pose most risk to their community are those who adhere to an antisocial discourse, experience ego-syntonic paedophilic urges, have a propensity for violence and have no wish to change (Seto, 2008). Serial, violent and psychopathic CSO that meet the criteria for this 'profile' are extremely rare but the media report a disproportionately high number of such cases. The prominence in the news media of horrific cases of sexually-motivated abductions and killings of children spreads the notion that all such cases adhere to this narrative of violence (West, 1998). This reproduces the notion of CSO as extremely dangerous individuals who violently coerce or force their victims into having sex. Contrastingly, the research literature reports that up to a third of child sex offences involve "compliant victims" or those that are described as "statutory sex offences" (Finkelhor, 2009, p. 172). These types of crimes are understood to involve teens who gave quasi-consent, raising questions of power relationships including sexual

relationships, where the dynamics of which can range from exploitation and seduction by the adult to forceful initiation by the juvenile. However, the boundary between sexual coercion and sexual offending is very blurred. Gavey (1992) argues that dominant understandings of heterosexual position women (and girls) as passive, producing compliance and submission to male sexual demands thereby privileging men's interests. Rather than a manifestation of a more 'distorted' coercive sexual act, sexual coercion can operate in more subtle ways than through force, violence and/or the threat of violence. Elliot (1995) reported that the majority of CSO did not use force to initiate sexual contact with the child. The lack of "obvious" resistance in the relationship of domination and subordination (Gavey, 1992) enables offenders to distance themselves from the dominant narrative and therefore minimise responsibility for their actions by positioning themselves outside the category of a sex offender who is a violent predator (Auburn & Lea, 2003).

Dirty old men

Bert Potter, 85, was jailed for child sex offending 18 years ago, but today maintains that sexual activity is healthy for children: "What's wrong with sexual contact? I don't think they had enough. That's not just children at Centrepont; I think those that didn't get to Centrepont are probably much worse off and need a lot more sexual contact." (Hume, 2010)

A popular (mis)representation of the child sex offender is that of the dirty old man. This image is based on the assumption of a category of sex offender, represented as an identifiable and recognisable individual who is middle to old age, with filthy personal hygiene and grubby clothes, perhaps even homeless – a social outcast (Young-Hauser, 2010). Indeed, child sex offenders in the media are most often portrayed as lonely adult males with repugnant or socially awkward characteristics (Young-Hauser, 2010). However, research suggests that CSO are a heterogeneous population and present in all walks of life (Dillon, 2010; Fortune, 2009). Contrary to the dirty old man media representation, academic research reports that at least one third of offenders are themselves juveniles (Finkelhor, 2009). Further, in New Zealand between 2000 and 2005, police statistics indicated that 15% of all convictions for sexual offences involved adolescents under the age of 17. Between 1991 and 2000, this figure was 11%

(Statistics New Zealand, 2005). This does not sit easily with the image of the innocent or asexual child, also a powerful media representation, which the popular media proposes that we must defend from “evil pedos”; thus, youth sexual offending is not as readily reported as it does not match the representation of the adult male predator. Other studies suggest that there are life stage peaks, in adolescence (Finkelhor, 2009) and again in the mid-thirties (Elliot, 1995; Finkelhor, 2009) as measured in the offending population. The unquestioned conflation of sex offenders and ‘evil’, or a particular type of predator, reproduces itself through an increasing blurring of legal, behavioural and psychological subtypes of offenders, in and through the media, producing a dominant narrative of ‘deviant’ male power into a “single polyglot” profile (Quinn, Forsyth, & Mullen-Quinn, 2004, p. 224) who is dangerous and untreatable, not just an old man in a raincoat.

Untreatable

Steven Taylor, defending, said he [the offender] was “plainly not safe to be out on unescorted leave” and accused someone at the unit of taking ‘a chance’. This was despite a pre-sentence report telling how Tudor had said: ‘I will definitely reoffend against children if I am released into the community” (Parker, 2011).

The popular media represents CSO as depraved, relentless offenders who are resistant to treatment and will invariably reoffend if they are released from prison (Ducat, Thomas & Blood, 2009). Tracing the historical representation of CSO, Gavin (2005) found that from 1888, perpetrators of sexual abuse of children have been represented as vile, often referred to as beasts or dirty old men, not dissimilar to contemporary representations of the monstrous other. Such dehumanisation and depersonalisation of sex offenders produces abnormality and leads to calls for long-term incarceration.

Rates of reported recidivism in CSO vary widely due to ambiguity regarding the classification of offences, and the definition of recidivism. For example, some studies count any additional charges of sexual offences, others count convictions of sexual offences and some include non-sexual crimes. It is widely postulated in the literature that paedophiles (i.e. those who are sexually attracted to pre-pubescent

children) are at a greater risk of re-offending compared to other categories (e.g., those who offended against post-pubescent children), although there is disagreement over the meaning of paedophile (Moulden, Firestone, Kingston & Bradford, 2009).

However, CSO are widely reported in the academic research literature to be some of the lowest recidivists in the criminal population. It is also thought that most adolescent sex crimes are generally impulsive and transitory acts as opposed to the onset of a career of sexual offending (Finkelhor, 2009; Messerschmidt, 2000b; Seto, 2008). Moulden et al. (2009) reported rates of sexual recidivism in CSO at 15.1% at a 12-year follow up and 22.8% for sexual recidivism at 20 years. Some prison-based New Zealand CSO treatment services reported recidivism rates as low as 5.47% (Hanson, et al., 2002) and New Zealand community services, such as WellStop, reported a 10% recidivism rate. While these figures have been disputed (Rice & Harris, 2003) they remain relatively low recidivism rates compared with overall rates of reoffending, 52% for the general prison population (Karp, 2010). For example, Karp (2010) reported a reincarceration rate of 52% for all prisoners three years after release. After statistical caveats are considered, it seems that the common media representation of CSO as untreatable, serial offenders is inaccurate. One of the problems associated with all treatment programmes is that, ultimately, one can never know whether a person has reformed, or not (Lea & Auburn, 2001).

Both media representations and psychological representations of CSO and CSA depend on offending data gathered is from those who have come under the scrutiny of legal systems. The number of sexually abused children in New Zealand, reportedly, remains high (Dillon, 2010). The high level of undisclosed offending, and the complexities of children's disclosure are also well reported (Alaggia, 2012). The legal system itself produces barriers to reporting through the construction of evidence and judicial processes. This is especially the case when young children are involved and where the offender is also a family member (Parkinson, Shrimpton, Swanston, O'Toole & Oates, 2002).

Despite an increase in feminist and ‘critical’ research on sexual violence, psychology remains traditionally focused on research at an individual level of analysis. Psychological representations are typically informed by medical/clinical and cognitive-behavioural understandings of sex offending and treatment that seeks to identify, more effectively, traits or characteristics, distorted beliefs and behaviours. Results that measure levels of ‘psychopathology’, ‘hostility’, ‘denial’ and the strategies of minimisation in the sex offender group reproduce the dominant understanding of sex offenders being different to, and distinct from, normal men as if sexual violence is a “psychopathologically isolated, idiosyncratic act limited to a few “sick” men” (Gavey, 1992; Lea & Auburn, 2001, p. 12).

Looking beyond personality traits or distorted beliefs of an individual allows an opportunity to understand the practical ideologies that govern acts (Parker, 1992) of sex offending. By doing so, research can begin to understand the context of the offending, and its meaning for the offender within cultural boundaries. It is this highly mediated process of meaning making that provides an opportunity to question contemporary knowledge (Chamberlain & Hodgetts, 2008) that produces a particular type of subject; one who is deviant, abnormal, untreatable and identifiably a stranger.

Where the media constructs representations of sex offenders, psychology too, produces the subject of whom it speaks. The following section is interested in how the sex offender is produced through psychological knowledge and practice. This section examines the ideological assumptions that produce and reproduce a psychological understanding of CSO and CSA that effectively perpetuates the problem (Lea & Auburn, 2001; Parker, 1992).

Research representations of the problem of child sexual abuse

The majority of studies on child sexual abuse use data obtained through offender and/or child disclosure. The information that is gathered is filtered and shaped by the institutions that gather it and the dominant discourses at the time. So, in effect, what is produced is a legitimised singular account of the victim and offender narrative that limits the fragmented and often contradictory experience of those under the scrutiny

of institutions. Legal systems produce a version of a victim and an offender, both positioned albeit differently, as psychologically 'abnormal' and thus subject to the psychologist's gaze.

Victims

Child abuse is often associated with long-term psychological problems and little is known about the mechanisms that initiate and perpetuate the various forms of mental health problems associated with early trauma (Jackowski et al., 2009). Children that experience one form of abuse are likely to be exposed to numerous forms; therefore, it is difficult to ascertain the degree of harm that is an effect of being subjected to sexual abuse (Woolley & Gregory, 2007). Separating the effects of sexual abuse from the effects of other forms of abuse, neglect, or dysfunctional familial relationships, can be difficult (Yancey & Hansen, 2010). However, there is no disputing the seriousness of CSA, and the ongoing effects that it can, and does have, on victims. Indeed, a range of psychological, social, behavioural and physical problems can affect victims of child sexual abuse over their lifetimes. Psychological impacts that have been reported consistently in the literature include depression, somatization, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and personality disorders (Finkelhor, 2009; Mortimer et al., 2008; Verduyn & Calam, 1999). Social and behavioural consequences include an increased likelihood of becoming involved in crime (Ogloff, Cutajar, Mann & Mullen, 2012), sexualised behaviours that may lead to early or unintended pregnancy, sexually transmitted infection or, in the minority of cases, a repetition of sexually harmful behaviour towards other children (Whittaker et al., 2008). In addition, there can be confusion and anger over offences that are claimed by the perpetrator to be acts of love and affection; those behaviours that Gavey (1992) argues are coercive, and produced through social relationships of domination and subordination. Hence, when the reality of the abuse becomes apparent, the victim can be left with feelings of self-loathing, distrust and anger and a state of confusion and distrust of their own judgments and feelings (Yancey & Hansen, 2010).

There are no incontrovertible answers about the outcomes that a child may experience as a result of abuse. Further, there is no evidence of a specific post sexual abuse syndrome however, around 50% of affected children show symptoms of PTSD, and 32% to 48% meet the full criteria for a diagnosis of PTSD (Mortimer et al., 2008). Studies have been unable to ascertain the specificity that explains the variability across outcomes, or the diversity that moderates the effects. Traditional research continues to refine measures through attention to characteristics of (often familial) dysfunction such as chaos and aggression, presence of other forms of abuse, domestic violence, impulse control and social isolation and their effects on the individual and their risk of disorder.

Similarly, there are no universal definitions of what constitutes CSA in research, treatment, or even among legal definitions (Yancey & Hansen, 2010). In general, it is thought that the longer that a victim is abused or the more abuse incidents that a victim experiences, the more likely the victim is to experience a negative outcome. Further, it has been suggested that the more severe the sexual abuse, the greater the chance that the victim will experience psychological damage. Intercourse is regarded as the most severe end of the abuse continuum and non- contact abuse (for example, exposure to pornography) is considered less severe (Woolley & Gregory, 2007). Non-contact categories of abuse are problematic. Understanding the meaning of how internet sex offenders understood their behaviour, Winder and Gough (2010) found that internet offenders distanced themselves from the label sex offender through the absence of a 'real' victim. In this way, offenders produced an account of themselves as different from popular representations of sex offenders who were "obscene, insatiable predators" (p. 132). However, minimising the effects of exposure to pornography and internet offending, risks the suggestion that the crime is an innocuous, victimless act and removes responsibility from the acts of abuse required to produce the images (Winder & Gough, 2010).

Given that a significant proportion of sexual abuse is perpetrated in the victims close family or social relationships (Fanslow, Robinson, Crengle & Perese, 2007), it follows that the victim is likely to live in an unsafe environment where they feel they have no

one to disclose the abuse to (Dillon, 2010). Research shows that a majority (60-80%) of children withhold disclosures of sexual abuse until adulthood (Alaggia, 2010). Young-Hauser (2010) argues that it is the complexity of sexual abuse, and how it is understood through notions of protection and institutional practices that produces silence. Adult survivors of child sexual abuse have reported an overpowering sense of silence that was produced through the familial social power relationships and their disproportionate speaking rights as children (Alaggia, 2010). It was also found that there was significant confusion over what constituted abuse, with representations of submissive young girls and stranger offenders competing with the realities of their own abuse. In addition, male survivors of sexual abuse were frequently silenced by tensions between healthy notions of masculinity and their damaged heterosexuality (Alaggia, 2010).

Perpetrators

Prevalence

The reported prevalence of CSA fluctuates across studies due to variations in definitions and criteria. Variables such as the age of the victim, age of offender, severity of offence and legal definitions of offending can include or exclude data depending on the nature of the research. Hence, the research data includes a range of abuse experiences, which affords either victim or survivor status to people who suffered abuse, diminishing their experience by categorising them in the same manner (Young-Hauser, 2010).

The following section outlines some of the recent prevalence research and the disparities across findings. A review of the international literature suggests that approximately 10% of men and 20% of women experienced some form of sexual abuse during their childhood (Seto, 2008). Meta-analyses, based on surveys of adults of adults in the US, reported up to 40% of women and 13% of men had been sexually abused at some time in their childhood (Finkelhor, 2009). Barth, Bermetz, Heim, Trelle and Tonia (2012) found that for boys, the prevalence was higher in low-resource countries than in high-resource countries whereas no significant effects of the country's economic development level emerged for girls.

Research pertaining to the socioeconomic background of CSO is difficult to find. As Russell (2010) points out, the perception that CSA is more common in low socioeconomic communities is related, perhaps, to the fact that those from higher socioeconomic backgrounds have greater access to resources to avoid conviction. Despite this apparent perception, available research has found that CSO come from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds with no economic status being overrepresented (Dillon, 2010; Young-Hauser, 2010).

Sexual crime continues to be a major problem in New Zealand, with 3,743 sexual crimes being recorded in the fiscal year 2008-2009 (New Zealand Police, 2009), although there are differences between groups of women. Fanslow et al. (2007) found that New Zealand women from urban areas were less likely to have experienced childhood sexual abuse (23.5%) compared with women from rural areas (28.2%). Māori women reported higher rates of CSA (Urban 30.5%; Rural 35.1%). There were no significant differences found in rates of CSA between the Pacifica sample and the sample of European descent. The prevalence of male child sexual abuse in New Zealand was reported to be approximately 17% by the Ministry of Justice (1999).

Prevalence studies may provide useful information to draw attention to the problem of sexual violence in the population, and to access resources to reduce it and its effects. However, the problem with using prevalence data is that it excludes how experiences of sexual abuse might be understood and reported especially where it does not match common sense understandings of what constitutes sexual violence, even with adult surveys. It also does not account for the prevalence of perpetrators, given that some perpetrators have strategies for distancing themselves from responsibility by not being a particular type of offender. It also does not capture the complexities of more than one abuser, or multiple offending. Prevalence studies also raise questions as to how much is enough; whether it is 1 in 3 or 1 in 7, it is a problem that warrants further resources for change.

Research producing the psychological subject

The psychiatric literature has attempted to classify deviant and 'normal' expressions of sexuality for generations. The editions of Diagnostic and Statistical Manual for Mental Disorders (DSM) are both a reflection of dominant discourses of sexuality and manufacturer of them, which shift and change over time. For example, the third edition of the DSM (APA, 1980) was the first to exclude homosexuality as a diagnostic category that disordered men for their sexuality-in tandem with shifting public opinion on same sex relationships.

Attempts to categorise and define child sex offending and CSO have been fraught with ambiguities and a multitude of conflicting meanings. For example, the term 'paedophile' is often used synonymously with the term 'child sex offender'. However, 'paedophile' refers to individuals who have a sexual attraction towards prepubescent children, not to the act of offending and is therefore not necessarily synonymous with the term 'child sex offender' which is a legal category (Moulden, et al., 2009). Further, not all offenders who sexually abuse children have a sexual preference for children and not all of those who are sexually attracted to children will offend. 'Non-paedophilic' factors thought to influence offences include drug or alcohol consumption, a high sex drive, opportunism and youthful impulsivity (Finkelhor, 2009; Seto, 2008); all factors that resonate with the discourse that privileges male sex drive and at the same time produces a discourse of victimisation (Gavey, 1992; Hollway, 1984). Furthermore, some men who are sexually attracted to children seek treatment in order to prevent an offence from occurring, and some may never offend (Beire et al., 2009). Seto (2008) reported that 8% of those at a sexology clinic were self-referred paedophiles and had no known history of sexual crimes. He also found that self-referred paedophiles were more likely to have been sexually abused, were more likely to use pornography, and were less likely to have a criminal history than other paedophiles or CSO.

The DSM-IV-TR (APA, 2000) definition of paedophilia leaves much to clinical judgment. For example, in order to meet diagnostic criteria, a paedophile must have "recurrent, intense sexually arousing fantasies" (APA, 2000, p. 571). In the absence of a

clear understanding of the 'operational definition' of 'pedophilia', there has been considerable disagreement over its meaning (Moulden et al., 2009).

Most of those who are categorised as CSO are not paedophiles, in fact most victims of CSO are post-pubescent, ranging from ages twelve to seventeen (Finkelhor, 2009). Subsequently, most CSO would not meet DSM-IV-TR criteria for a diagnosis of 'pedophilia' (Seto, 2008). Beire et al. (2009) argued that a separate diagnosis should exist for 'hebephiles' - those who are sexually attracted to pubescent children. However, such a category would not necessarily hold for unlawful sex with post-pubescent minors. What it would enable is the psychologists gaze to produce another psychologically 'abnormal' subject. Regardless of how CSO are defined and categorised, what is ultimately produced through the blurring of the boundary between a paedophile as a deviant subject, and a sexual offender as a criminal subject, is a subject positioned far outside what is considered culturally normative. The psychological gaze produces a subject who is typically silenced, stripped of context and represented by nominated experts according to criteria that are based on the assumption that male sex drive is inevitable and uncontrollable, and sex offenders "[hold] such beliefs more strongly than other groups in society" (Auburn & Lea, 2003, p. 282). The assessment of sex offenders measures the difference between a normal male sex drive and that of different social groups in the development of psychometric tools to assess sex offenders and subject individuals to intervention (Auburn & Lea, 2003).

Assessment

Assessment of CSO occurs within the limits of offender populations (embedded in coercive institutions), and is understood through either a medical/clinical (physiological response) model or a cognitive behavioural model that identifies traits or characteristics (compared with normal men) that produce abnormality. The majority of research into CSO involves reducing the meaning of sex offending by isolating particular variables located within individuals to produce a psychopathologically isolated subject (Auburn, 2005). However, the blurring of the boundaries between paedophiles and CSO (who may or may not be paedophiles)

remains problematic.

A number of assessment methods are used to determine paedophilic beliefs and sexual preferences. These methods are designed to assess for the presence and severity of paedophilic urges in order to consolidate classification and diagnosis. Among these are screening tools such as the 'Screening Scale for Paedophilic Interests' (SSPI; Seto & Lalumiere, 2001) that assess 'paedophilic' traits such as victim selection (sex, age, familial/unrelated, number of victims) (Seto, 2008).

Polygraphy has also been used to assess paedophilic beliefs and past behaviour, based on the assumption that physiological responses will be higher when deception is used to respond to questions. The validity and reliability of polygraphy has not been adequately researched and what has been done has produced mixed results of variable reliability (Marshall & Serran, 2000). However, polygraphy testing has been associated with an increase in self-report when used with CSO (Seto, 2008).

Other laboratory tests have been used including the choice reaction time measure that measures the time an offender spends focused on a range of pictures, based on the assumption that 'paedophiles' will spend more time viewing children (Gress, 2005). However, Seto (2008) argues that some offenders can mask their sexual desire under these conditions to achieve desirable scores. Further, this measure has been found to be inconsistent over time and unreliable in terms of identifying paedophiles (Silva, 2011).

Phallometry is associated with the most favourable validity and reliability scores in its ability to predict recidivism (Seto, 2008). Sexual attraction towards children is assessed in phallometry by measuring penile responses to provocative images of children. It has been claimed that phallometry can distinguish sexual recidivists from non-recidivists (Moulden et al., 2009). Results from phallometry studies have been shown to correlate with self-report data and viewing time more so than other physiological measures, such as heart rate and pupil dilation. However, phallometry is not without its problems; a lack of standardisation of the procedures and stimulus

materials, low retest reliability, low specificity or discriminant validity, low response rates, and high fakeability make phallometry subject to validity and reliability issues (Banse, Schmidt & Clabour, 2010; Moulden et al. 2009).

A further example of research with CSO that uses a reductionist approach is the growing amount of literature that examines the neuropathology of CSO. Seto (2008) differentiated 'adolescent limited' offenders from 'life course persistent' offenders and suggested that life course persistent offenders were more likely to have a neurological deficit. He proposed that these neurological deficits emerged from missed opportunities for neurological development. Mendez, Chow, Ringman, Twitchell and Hinkin (2000) suggested that nearly one third of individuals arrested for sex offending against children had some form of neuropathology. Furthermore, CSO are more likely to have suffered a brain injury before the age of 13, but not after 13. The supposition is that there may be a critical window, or mechanism of development, that occurs before the age of 13, that the injury may have prevented (Blanchard et al., 2003).

Structural changes brought about by a neural disease have also been associated with a concurrent sexual attraction towards children. Mendez et al. (2000) presented two such case studies involving elderly men who had bilateral temporal disease. Both men experienced hypersexuality and onset of sexual interest in prepubescent children concurrent with the disease. Further, both of the elderly men in the study by Mendez et al. (2000) were sexually abused by their fathers. The authors concluded that the sexual preference for children may have pre-existed the injury (and is possibly related to their own abuse) but had been inhibited by neural mechanisms subsequently disabled by the disease.

Seto (2008) provided a further case study of a man who had a right orbital brain tumour and subsequently developed a sexual attraction towards children. Once the tumour was removed the sexual attraction disappeared, again the tumour may have prevented inhibitory processes from working or the tumour may have triggered a separate neuropsychological reaction. Seto (2008) suggested that a dysfunction in

temporal regions involved in emotional processing and regulation of sexual behaviour, may be related to the development the paedophilic urges and behaviour. Cognitive behavioural psychology is based on scientific principles that attempt to quantify human thoughts, feelings and behaviour, which in theory, makes these human facets open to scientific scrutiny (Mansell, 2008). The cognitive behavioural model is, through its association with both science and psychology, a powerful narrative of normality, and as such, it dominates assessment and treatment programmes both internationally and in New Zealand, and is cited as the most effective approach to the assessment and treatment of CSO (Lambie & Stewart, 2011). The focus of assessment is to recognise distorted thinking and dysfunctional behaviour that together implicate a deficit in an individual. For example, maladaptive beliefs and processes of distortion are outside 'normal' belief systems (Barbaree & Marhall, 2006; Ward et al., 1997). Cognitive distortions are understood as beliefs that are implicated in offending that produce a minimisation of the offender's accountability for the crime, provide the basis for justifications for the crime and ultimately denial of the crime (Auburn, 2010).

Child sex offender research in New Zealand has produced a number of cognitive models for the assessment of distorted cognitive thinking. Ward and Keenan (1999) produced five key cognitive distortions: perception of children as sexual objects; belief in a male entitlement to sex; perception of a dangerous world where one has to achieve dominance to survive and/or people are perceived as untrustworthy; uncontrollability, where the CSOs actions, and the world in general, are perceived by the offender as uncontrollable, and a naturalisation of harm, where sexual contact with a child is perceived as healthy or the harm is denied.

Waldram (2010) argues that cognitive distortions or thinking errors are embedded in a broader narrative that assumes a salient moral positioning of the offender that is compatible with the principles of cognitive behavioural categories and legal system's definitions of the facts. Categories of CSO are abstracted from their lived context and the moral subject is produced as distorted at the "moment of rendering" (p. 269). The dominant assumption is that there is a difference between offenders and non-

offenders on particular psychological variables. The necessary condition for their offending behaviour is understood as a set of distorted abnormal beliefs about their individual entitlement to control over their victims who are somehow “receptive” to sexual contact (Auburn, 2010). Rather than understanding these beliefs as culturally and socially mediated relationships, research has focused on developing better instruments through which we can identify and measure distortion, attribute pathology and improve treatments, and measure risk factors.

Risk factors

Marshall and Marshall (2000) examined research that used cognitive behavioural models of assessment and proposed that offending was preceded by early childhood parental attachment issues, social problems and eventually sexual fantasies involving children; these fantasies were then reinforced by masturbating which subsequently made offending more likely. Masturbating was hypothesised to have been an early coping strategy; sex and sexual offending then became a coping strategy as the individual matured. Marshall and Marshall (2000) argue that sex offending is a process of movement from one stage to the other.

Life cycle

There are thought to be two life-stage peaks in onset for offending, one in adolescence which is associated with a general rise in delinquent behaviour, and one in the thirties, when access to children again becomes more common (Finkelhor, 2009). Further, the average age of onset for sexual offending is 24, so there may exist a period of hiatus of sexual offending for some adolescents (Barbaree & Marshall, 2006). Further research in this area may provide valuable data regarding recidivism and desistance (Dillon, 2010).

Cyclical abuse

A number of studies have examined the cyclical relationship between a history of CSA and becoming a perpetrator. The results of these studies have produced mixed findings with some reporting that up to 75 % of CSO had been a victim of CSA (Hanson & Slater, 1988); and others reporting no significant difference in rates of CSA

in CSO compared with other populations (Jespersen, Lalumiere & Seto, 2009). Lee, Jackson, Pattison and Ward (2002) used clinical interviews and psychometric assessments of childhood experiences to identify commonalities among 64 sex offenders. They found that a history of childhood sexual abuse increased the risk of becoming a sexual abuser of children by thirteen and a half times. In their study, Seto and Lalumiere (2007) found that 52% of adolescent CSO had a history of being sexually abused, making them five times more likely to have been sexually abused in childhood compared with other adolescent offenders. In their longitudinal study (7-19 years duration) Salter et al. (2003) found 11.6% of victims of childhood sexual abuse went on to become perpetrators. However, Seto's (2008) study found that a large majority of CSO had not been sexually abused during childhood. Indeed, a history of childhood emotional and physical abuse was found to be more common in CSO (Lee et al., 2002; Seto, 2008). When the victim had become the abuser, it most often occurred within a few years of the initial offence, suggesting that early intervention post-abuse is key in preventing the victim-perpetrator cycle. Sexually abused boys who did go on to offend were more likely to have had a female abuser, had a history of neglect, witnessed interfamilial violence and lacked parental supervision (Salter et al., 2003). This study did not find any single or collection of factors that protected victims from becoming perpetrators. However, the converse of this risk factor data is that victims of CSA are less likely to become CSO if they have consistent nurturing parenting, have not been witness to domestic violence and have not been abused by a woman. Although this supports the claim that a history of sexual abuse may lead to an increase in the likelihood of offending, it also shows that the vast majority of those who have been sexually abused do not become perpetrators. Again, the diversity in the data suggests ambiguities in definitions of offending and issues regarding disclosure.

Where the victim does become the perpetrator, a subject who occupies two categories producing a tension in dualistic interpretations of CSA is created. Typically, it seems, the representation of 'offender' supersedes that of 'victim', with attention being focused on criminal behaviour and little attention given to how the victim/offender interpreted their abuse and how that interpretation may have affected their

subsequent offending.

Social problems

Social problems are also frequently associated with CSO. Lawson (2003) interviewed imprisoned adult CSO (n=453) and found that social isolation was a common theme throughout the lives of CSO. Lawson found that social isolation often began in early childhood in the form of rejection from parents who were frequently described as cold and distant. These early feelings of isolation and rejection were reported to stay with many of the participants persisting into adolescence and adulthood. Forced sexual contact was seen by some offenders in Phelan's (1995) study as the only way to attenuate feelings of isolation, however fleetingly. Sexual contact with adults were said to remind some participants of humiliating experiences as an unloved child, so instead they reportedly tried to meet their emotional and physical needs through sexual contact with a child.

Meta-analysis

Whittaker et al. (2008) conducted a meta-analysis of the CSO literature examining risk factors associated with the perpetration of CSA. This meta-analysis identified factors thought to influence offending, either as a result of their absence, or as a result of their multiplicity. The study used 89 child sex offender studies dating from 1990 to 2003. There was evidence of familial risk factors such as a history of abuse, including physical and sexual abuse, neglect and family violence and parental dysfunction that led to either, mental illness, low self-esteem and anxiety disorders, or aggression and violence, or other forms of criminal behaviour. Whittaker's study included categories for sexual problems, including items related to a history of CSA, a higher sex drive, and a preoccupation with deviant sexual interests. The attitudes and cognitions category included beliefs regarding sexual contact with children and other sex crimes.

The exclusive attention to these risks and the development of better instruments to attribute pathology to the individual and develop treatment ignores the conceptualisation of acts of sexual violence as part of gendered relationships of power that are embedded in normalised sex drive discourse (Lea & Auburn, 2001).

Risk Assessment

The discourse which prophesies the future, not only announces what is going to happen, but can also help make it happen (Hook, 2001). We live in a world that demands the prophetic assessment of the dangerousness of individuals. The meaning of risk within the criminal system has evolved over time to the current understanding that the world seems to be tantamount to 'danger'. Currently an individual merely has to possess 'risk factors' derived from risk assessments to be classified as a danger to society (Hudson, 2002). There are a number of psychometric tools that assess the risk of recidivism for violent offenders, and these have been modified to assess recidivism among CSO. The Violence Risk Appraisal Guide (VRAG) and the Sexual Offender Risk Appraisal Guide (SORAG) are designed to predict violent and sexual recidivism respectively (Lussier, Deslauriers-Varin & Ratel, 2010). The VRAG consists of 12 items such as 'did not live with biological parents until the age of 12'. The SORAG is a modification of the VRAG sharing 10 of the items in VRAG. Both measures have items pertaining to offence history, substance abuse and school maladjustment. The SORAG has questions regarding the sex and age of victim (Seto, 2008).

The Rapid Risk Assessment for Sexual Offence Recidivism (RRASOR) was designed to predict sexual offending recidivism. This scale has four items; number of prior charges and convictions for sexual offences, male victims, unrelated victims, and age on release or anticipated opportunity to reoffend in the community. The Static-99 is designed for men who have committed at least one sexual offence. It has 10 items, 4 of which are the same as the RRASOR (Seto, 2008). Typically, these tools have been developed to categorise offenders into high, medium or low risk categories (Lussier, Tzoumakis, Cale & Amirault, 2010a). Harris et al. (2003) proposed that all four of the previously mentioned risk assessment tools were reliable in terms of predicting recidivism with the VRAG and SORAG consistently predicting recidivism most accurately. These authors also noted that high scores on both the Static-99 and the RRASOR predicted both violent and sexual recidivism, but without specifying the relationship between the two.

The Static-99R and the Static-2002R are the most commonly used actuarial risk assessment measures for sex offenders and are used for all sex offenders in including CSO (Helmus, Thornton, Hanson & Babchishin, 2011). The Static-99 tool was developed to assess the likelihood of sexual recidivism in adult males (Hanson & Thornton, 1999). The Static-2002R, is currently being used by the New Zealand Department of Corrections. Both Static tools examine historical data such as criminal history and relationship to victim. New Zealand has also developed the Automated Sexual Recidivism Scale (ASRS), an actuarial measure of sex offender risk based on New Zealand data (Department of Corrections, 2009).

There has been much debate over the validity and accuracy of actuarial risk assessment measures designed to predict sexual recidivism (Craig, Thornton, Beech & Browne, 2007; Hudson, 2002; Lussier et al., 2010). All of these risk assessment measures assess 'static' risk factors that are historical events that cannot be changed (Craig et al., 2007; Harris et al., 2003). In other words, they produce the subject of that history (Proulx, Lamoureux, Tardif, & Lussier, 2000). In addition, most of the risk factor assessments seem to focus on aspects that lead to an offence being committed. The assessment of recidivism should be more concerned with what maintains criminal behaviour as opposed to discovering commonalities in the histories of offenders (Kirsch & Becker, 2006).

The above assessment scales do not assess dynamic factors, the long term culturally and socially mediated interactions that may be changeable over time. 'Stable dynamic factors' are limited within a cognitive behavioural approach and measure social skills, criminal attitudes or 'maladaptive beliefs' about sex with children, employment and pro-social supports in community (Craig et al., 2007). 'Acute dynamic' factors are factors that are subject to change day by day or hour by hour including, mood state, drug intoxication and interpersonal conflict, all of which have been associated with sexual offending (Craig et al., 2007). Attention to 'stable' and 'acute dynamic factors' in offenders may enable the identification of sites for therapeutic change. However, they also reproduce offenders as distorted thinkers that exist outside of 'normal' belief systems.

The blurring of the boundary between legal and psychological meanings of CSO has implications for interventions. Incarceration as an intervention into a socio-cultural problem depends on psychological understandings of cognitive distortions as a resource for treatment. (Auburn, 2005; Gavin, 2005). For example, the outcomes of parole hearings are likely to be influenced by scores on actuarial risks assessments that are based on historical pre-offence data. This can be de-motivating for both the offender and support staff, given that no measure of rehabilitative effort will improve these scores. Thus, a subject of indefinite high risk is produced. Hudson, Ward & McCormack (1999) argued that those offenders classified as 'high risk' effectively lose the right to justice. Risk assessment measures are architects of risk that subject the offender to the discipline of the system that produces them (Hook, 2001).

Invariably a child sex offender categorised as a high risk offender will be placed in a secure unit with other high-risk offenders. This unit will house offenders with similar criminal and life histories and it is from here that an offender must begin his rehabilitation. In effect, actuarial factor risk assessments increase the risk of recidivism by placing the high risk offender in a 'pro-criminal' environment, which may explain the assessments reliability in terms of predicting recidivism.

Risk assessments seem to be constructed on the premise that the best predictor of future behaviour is past behaviour. This may make intuitive sense to some, however this premise also perpetuates the notion: 'once a criminal always a criminal'. This creates and maintains a deviant subject and instils a sense of hopelessness in offenders and therapists. Indeed, the research suggests that trusting intuitive sense making does not necessarily lead to effective interventions. On the contrary, factors that intuitively suggest a high risk of sexual offending (e.g., having a history of non-sexual offending) have been associated with both increased (Nisbet, Wilson & Smallbone, 2004) and decreased (Worling & Långström, 2003) rates of recidivism.

Fortune (2007) examined a model based on risk factors thought to predict recidivism in CSO for example, dropping out of treatment or having a criminal history. She found that the model had no success at predicting sexual recidivism but 100%

accuracy in terms of predicting desistance. Dropping out of treatment and having a history of nonsexual offending were associated with a decreased risk of nonsexual recidivism. Further, having a history of three or more sexual victims was associated with a decreased risk of sexually offending in follow up studies (Fortune, 2007). Clearly, the latter opposes the premise that criminal history is the best predictor of future criminal behaviour.

The New Zealand Department of Corrections (NZDC) uses the Stable-2007 in the *Te Piriti* and *Kia Marama* treatment units, in conjunction with actuarial risk assessments, to provide an overall risk estimate of sexual recidivism. The Stable-2007 measures 'stable dynamic' factors i.e. enduring but potentially changeable characteristics thought to be associated with recidivism. These include: significant social influences, intimacy deficits, general self-regulation, sexual self-regulation and cooperation with supervision (Silva,2011). However, it is unclear how the Stable data is used and what weight it carries relative to actuarial assessments.

Risk management

Hudson (2002) argued that, over several generations, the meaning of 'justice' has changed to the point where it has become synonymous with punishment and retribution. This places incarceration as a legal intervention into a socio-cultural problem, positioning offenders as irredeemable and prison as a site of societal retribution. Risk management is embedded in the complex relationship between legal systems, research and practice of psychology and media representations that can mobilise community responses to CSO and result in legislative changes. Both media representations and the production of the 'child sex offender' share a binary between them and us, producing a form of action that demonises CSO and calls for the exclusion of sex offenders from their communities (Gavin, 2005; Quinn et al., 2004). As a result, there have been legal mandates, named after victims of sexual crimes that enable public access to the identification of offenders living in the community such as Sarah's Law (UK) and Megan's Law (US). A further example of this is Jessica's Law, which was designed to punish sex offenders and reduce the likelihood of repeat offending. Named after the 2005 rape and murder of Jessica Lunsford by a repeat

offender in the US, Jessica's Law enforces a mandatory 25 year prison sentence and the lifetime electronic monitoring of adults convicted of sex offences against children under 12 years of age. The passing of the Adam Walsh Child Protection and Safety Act in the US in 2007 legislates that sex offenders be registered and monitored from between 15 years (adolescent offenders) and life time (adult repeat offenders). While there is no legislative authority to register sex offenders in New Zealand, safety campaigns have produced a website where similar information is held (see sex offender database <http://www.safe-nz.org.nz/Data/database.htm>).

There is little research evidence that supports the assumptions on which such legislations are premised and the findings on their effectiveness are mixed. Research has indicated non-compliance with keeping up to date registers, and that their enforcement is not resource effective (Finkelhor, 2009). These legislations seem to be a result of knee-jerk reactions to public pressure fuelled by media scare mongering (Ducat, Thomas & Blood, 2009; O'Connell, 1999) as opposed to research informed initiatives that aim to reduce the prevalence of CSA.

Critics note that such legislations exclude offenders from their community thereby increasing the likelihood that offenders will revert to anti-social and/or criminal behaviour in order to meet their needs (Finkelhor, 2009). In this way, the social power relations produced through legal and media and community discourse, reject the criminally and psychologically deficient offender through legislation that identifies and humiliates them (Finkelhor, 2009; Seto, 2008) based on the fear of the child sex offender as a predatory stranger that will inevitably re-offend.

Western society's preoccupation with risk assessment and risk management emphasises the individualisation of contemporary life (Hudson, 2002). 'Risk', is something that resides in a person, and it is when the person is positioned as a risk poser that they become acted upon, subjected to the power of the institutions that control the borders of social and cultural normality. In this way, risk management can be understood as a power relationship that produces a subordinate subject who is subjected to the sanctions of society, in the name of justice (Hudson, 2002).

According to Gavin (2005), the current public response to CSO is unrivalled and the call for harsher punitive measures to incarcerate CSO indefinitely is based on the assumption that they do not deserve treatment.

Treatment

In research on the efficacy of treatment for CSO two tendencies have emerged; the most effective is claimed to be cognitive-behavioural and relapse prevention methods, and intensive community based treatments have found to be effective when they include long-term follow up (Quinn et al., 2005). Most studies, however, show some degree of efficacy and this may be a result of the dominance of cognitive-behavioural methods in rehabilitation programmes (Finkelhor, 2009). However, there are inconsistencies in research on treatment efficacy, with doubts about the utility of prison based behavioural programmes, whereas others have found prison based programmes to be efficacious and cost-efficient, especially when compared to the costs generated by re-offense rates for untreated sex offenders. Other studies have reported that prison based child sex offender treatment was ineffective (Kirsch & Becker, 2006) or associated with a (non-significant) increase in offending (Rice & Harris, 2003).

Some offenders with a chronic offence history have been found to hold on to offence supporting beliefs (Ward & Casey, 2010). From an understanding that perceptions, values and beliefs are socially and culturally produced (Young- Hauser, 2010), offence-supporting environments, such as prison, are likely to increase offence supporting beliefs and subsequently recidivism (Ward & Casey, 2010). It seems counterintuitive, then, to segregate child sex offenders with other CSO where offences may be minimised and pre-existing beliefs regarding offending reinforced by (at least some) offenders.

Further, when the failure rate of CBT is high, it can be attributed by clinicians to the client's resistance to therapeutic intervention; an unwillingness to change their cognitions, beliefs and behaviours, rather than to any doubt about the legitimacy of the treatment itself (Horton-Salway, 2001). Evaluation methodologies have the

potential to exclude the method from scrutiny through the assumption that the offender embodies the deficit.

Prison-based treatment programmes in New Zealand

The intentions of change are optimistic but hypothetical, as life in prison plays out divorced from public realms (Hook, 2007, p. 200). The Te Piriti programme was established at Auckland Prison in 1994, and offers an amalgamation of tikanga Māori principles with CBT interventions. The cognitive interventions are designed to reduce recidivism by enhancing empathy with victims whilst developing a sense of responsibility for the offender's crimes (Nathan, Wilson & Hillman, 2003). This process infers that the problem lies within the individual, and that the individual must change in order for the problem to be rectified. In this context, cognitive approaches parallel the ethos of correctional risk management insofar as both aim to adapt pro-criminal attitudes, within the offender, in order to reduce recidivism.

One of the core principles of tikanga Māori is whakawhanaungatanga – the building of relationships – and is identified as a key component in recovery, and non-offending (Yansen-Hauser, 2010). Yansen-Hauser (2010) reported that the most important aspect of whakawhanaungatanga identified by offenders was reconnecting with family members. However, prison is a physically and socially distancing institution, and the double shame of being involved in a specialist treatment facility increases alienation from family rather than building relationships (Yansen-Hauser, 2010).

An early evaluation of the Te Piriti programme reported a low sexual offending recidivism rate of 5.47% following successful completion of its programme, compared with an untreated control group who had a recidivism rate of 21% (Hanson, 2002). A reanalysis of the data has shown that there was little difference between treatment and control groups over time (Nathan, Wilson & Hilman, 2003; Rice & Harris, 2003).

Current Corrections focused treatment in New Zealand

The primary model of treatment for CSO over the last twenty years has been relapse prevention, a cognitive-behavioural approach widely used in addiction therapy that

focuses on the identification and management of high risk situations, that could lead to relapse (Ward, Mann & Gannon, 2007). Similarities between addiction behaviours and sexual offending behaviours have led to relapse prevention being incorporated as a core element in the treatment of sex offenders. Relapse prevention is intended to help the offender identify situations that place him at risk of reoffending and teaches him strategies to help him manage these high-risk situations in order to gain control over his sexual behaviours.

Relapse prevention is a variant of, perhaps, the most well known and widely used method of rehabilitation in corrections, the Risk-Need-Responsivity model (RNR) (Andrews & Bonta, 2006). The RNR aims to target the dynamic risk factors (i.e. criminogenic needs) that are causally related to criminal behaviour (Ward & Langlands, 2009), commonly understood as the need principle. The risk principle refers to the organisation of treatment relative to the level of risk the offender poses to society. That is, the higher the level of perceived risk, the greater the intensity of treatment. The third principle, responsivity, is concerned with matching the treatment to the characteristics of the offender (e.g., cultural identity, intellect and motivation). Consequently, treatment programs for CSO are typically deficit-focused and aim to eliminate or reduce the various psychological and behavioural problems associated with sexually abusive behaviour. These include relationship problems, deviant sexual preferences, cognitive distortions, empathy problems, and problems associated with managing negative emotions (e.g., anger management).

The RNR and the related RP model have reportedly resulted in effective therapy and a reduction in recidivism (Hanson, 2002; Ward, Mann & Gannon, 2007). However, researchers and clinicians have recently challenged aspects of the RNR model, arguing that offender reform requires more than the mitigation of risk factors (Ward & Langlands, 2009). Stimulating motivation in offenders by concentrating on reducing dynamic risk factors has reportedly proved difficult (Ward & Langlands, 2009). Concentrating on the elimination of behaviours that previously met the offender's needs, without replacing them with an alternative, offers no alternative to the positive reinforcement for the desired change in behaviour. The RNR also neglects

wider social and cultural factors that are vital to the role of self-identity (such as gender, ethnicity and spirituality).

An important aspect of rehabilitation that is neglected in RNR, is the creation of a self-image of the offender as a different person capable of functioning in society, without relying on criminal acts to survive (Marshall, et al., 2005). The model also neglects the importance of the therapeutic relationship, regarded as a vital component of therapeutic change (Lambert, 2004). The RNR model is often delivered in a 'one size fits all' approach that does not cater for individual differences and unique circumstances.

Moving from punitive incarceration to strength focused recovery

Traditional methods in the rehabilitation of child sex offenders have focused on risk reduction where the therapist has set therapeutic goals (Marshall, et al., 2005). Marshall (2005) proposed that therapy should be a collaborative effort between client and therapist, and that the client should identify their goals. This therapeutic alliance is widely recognised as an essential component of effective therapy (Lambert, 2004). It is yet to be used in corrections treatments in New Zealand where the punishment and dehumanisation of sex offenders meets current social and cultural notions of justice is dominant (Hudson, 2002).

The treatment of CSO has developed in sophistication and effectiveness over the last decade or so, and the field is beginning to converge on the principals of good clinical practice. Current New Zealand models, such as the Good Lives Model, aim to incorporate therapeutic alliance and client focused interventions alongside the aim of replacing maladaptive behaviours by developing client strengths (Ward, Mann & Gannon, 2007).

The Good Lives Model – comprehensive

The Good Lives Model – comprehensive (GLM-C) is a succession to the Good Lives Model (GLM) originally proposed by Ward and Stewart (2003). The GLM-C aims to offer a more holistic and systematic approach to rehabilitation than the GLM. The

offender's social context in which the offender is likely to be released into is the focus of attention. Offenders are encouraged to make healthy decisions independently; this is in contrast to previous recommendations where therapists discouraged CSO from making autonomous decisions, something that was previously thought to increase the risk of recidivism (Ward et al., 2007).

The Good Lives Model–Comprehensive (GLM–C) assumes that sex offenders, like all people, are predisposed to seek a number of 'primary goods', which are states, activities and possessions that are likely to enhance subjective well-being in play, work, knowledge, spirituality and relationships. The model proposes that individuals commit criminal offences because they have not obtained the skills necessary to obtain primary goods in socially acceptable ways (Ward et al., 2007). Although the model focuses on strengths and explains the CSO actions in positive terms, it also focuses on the victim and the impact of the offender's crimes. This is addressed in 'victim impact' and 'empathy training' where the offenders are encouraged to generate and acknowledge the negative consequences of sexual abuse. The offenders also read or watch victims' accounts of abuse and are encouraged to find associations between these and their own crimes.

The GLM-C has a twin focus with respect to therapy with sexual offenders: promoting goods and reducing risk. The major aim is to enhance the offender's skills, values, attitudes, and resources necessary to lead a different kind of life, one that is meaningful and satisfying to the offender and does not involve inflicting harm on others. Therapeutic relationships are encouraged within this model; a critical therapeutic task involves managing the balance between promoting offender goods and the avoidance goal of reducing risk. Therapeutic interventions include enhancing the offender's ability to discriminate between sexual and nonsexual goals, and appreciating the role sex plays in various areas of life, including the offender's concept of his own masculinity (Ward et al., 2007). The GLM-C seems to offer a more holistic and strength focused approach to managing risk. Although this model is widely cited, the extent to which it has influenced rehabilitation programmes remains unclear.

Reducing the risk of criminal behaviour is generally the primary goal of rehabilitation and the enhancement of offenders' strengths is frequently neglected (Marshall et al., 2005). Recent research has suggested that treatment must move beyond adapting cognitive distortions and recognise the importance of social and cultural institutions as integral parts of offenders' lives (Ward & Casey, 2009). The shift away from the more punitive, therapist-directed therapy towards a collaborative therapy has resulted in a more open and therapeutic relationship (Marshall et al., 2005). Ward, Mann & Gannon (2007) also found that working collaboratively with offenders in developing treatment goals resulted in a stronger therapeutic alliance. Furthermore, these authors found that displays of empathy, warmth and encouragement by the therapist enhanced the therapeutic process.

Marshall (2005) proposed that a more supportive, strength-based approach should be used in conjunction with a risk management plan in the treatment of CSO. A risk management plan, without any interventions that provide a positive alternative to crime, leave the offender without additional skills and resources to survive in society upon release from prison. Ward and Casey (2009) suggest that sex offenders who are released without adequate social and occupational skills will not have access to correct or adaptive social and cognitive practices and will be forced to revert to criminal resources when attempting to solve their inevitable adaptive and life problems. Put another way, realistic and concrete multiple alternatives to previous behaviours may reduce the chances of recidivism – whether it be sexual recidivism or otherwise. The efficacy of strength-focused therapy has been supported by results on phallometry tests that suggest that responses to sexually deviant material reduced as scores on self-esteem increased (Marshall et al., 2005).

Moving on from reductionist models

Sex offenders, like everyone else, produce and reproduce themselves through language to fulfil certain objectives and to achieve particular effects (Parker, 1992). However, they are also positioned within treatment models in particular ways that restrict their language and behaviour. For incarcerated CSO, the demands of the institution are transparent, where good behaviour and compliance with treatment

programmes are rewarded with lower risk scores and an earlier release (Lea & Auburn, 2001). Any programme that requires the offender to acknowledge their cognitive distortions, recognise their high risk behaviour, increase their motivation not to reoffend, and show empathy for their victims also needs to be attentive to language. The ways that both sex offenders and therapists talk about the sexual offences are produced through the mediating relationships of legal and psychological meanings within normative cultural discourse. Therefore, filtering language with a cognitive model may miss key socio-cultural influences. According to Lea and Auburn (2001), it is understanding the ideologies that construct human subjectivity that enables us to challenge those social power relationships that produce and reproduce behaviours that facilitate the continued subjugation of victims through sexual violence.

Auburn (2010) argued that language should be understood as an action orientated tool intended to produce specific outcomes relative to the context of the conversation. The type of language used to describe a certain entity may differ between contexts and between different people. Therefore, language cannot be used as a means of mental assessment without taking into account the context of the conversation. Auburn and Lea (2003) argue that attention to language use in men's narratives has implications for treatment, especially where their social and cultural narratives are necessary to a "recursive and reflexive" process of repositioning in a counter narrative that legitimates a "'new' moral identity" (p. 297).

In their discursive analysis of offender talk in a cognitive behavioural sex offending treatment programme, Auburn and Lea (2003) found that the men constructed an identity for themselves from their descriptions of their offence that potentially mitigated culpability and were not 'self-statements' that were recognisable as cognitive distortions. Rather, they contributed to the minimisation of responsibility for subsequent actions. In the management of their blame and responsibility, the men were able to construct a moral position "in contrast to the implication of incompetence or deficit implied by the notion of cognitive distortion" (p. 294). The culturally produced narrative of their account was a function of the narrative of the

programme. Their moral positioning was constructed through a particular account of events, and it functioned to distinguish themselves from distinct categories of sex offender to which they did not belong.

Community reintegration

Research has demonstrated that men leave prison with hopes and aspirations of leaving prison, repairing broken families and finding a place in their communities. Most often though, these men are vilified in their communities, continuously reminded of their crimes, and prevented from the opportunity to change. If attempts at reintegration are futile then surely the risk of returning to offending behaviour, which previously met some needs, is increased. Many CSO would likely welcome opportunities to take part in such projects, while the communities would probably strongly oppose any such undertaking (Young-Hauser, 2010). Research has shown that poor community reintegration is associated with increased recidivism (Finkelhor, 2009). Tikanga Māori approaches offered at Te Piriti acknowledge social, and spiritual factors and promote social inclusion (for example, through whanau hui with prisoners prior to release). The Te Piriti programme seems to acknowledge the need for social reintegration, however community-based interventions are better placed to offer socially focused solutions without exposing the offender to the correctional system (Willis & Grace, 2009). A strength based model that encourages reintegration into the community calls for opportunities for offenders to make amends, compensate for their crimes and make positive contributions to their communities. Gavin (2005) argues that Ward's call for the concept of a good life in successful rehabilitation is based on the same values as everyone else – having a job, an income and a place to live – difficult to achieve when the narrative of the deviant other remains the same.

Lack of community support has been associated with an increase in recidivism in CSO (Craig et al., 2007). Many practitioners have argued for improved ways of integrating and supervising sex offenders in their communities when they are released from prison (Wilson, Picheca & Prinza, 2005). The notion of circles of accountability and support (CAS) was established in response to community targeting of sex offenders. Such programmes train support workers in the dynamics of sexual offending and how

to recognise signs of an impending relapse, and to mediate relationships that support offenders living in their communities (Finkelhor, 2009; Ward & Casey, 2009; Wilson et al., 2005). An evaluation over four and a half years found that offenders paired with CAS volunteers had a 70% reduction in sexual recidivism compared with the control group (5% vs. 16.7%) and a 35% reduction in all types of recidivism compared with the control group (28.3% vs. 43.4%) (Wilson et al., 2005), lending support for treatment in communities.

Community treatment options

Despite the positive results from the evaluation of community treatment programmes that suggest reductions in reoffending, improved psychological outcomes and cost effectiveness, the repeated narrative of vilification is so dominant that it has become normalised in communities and assumes unquestioned legitimacy, removing potential opportunities for change.

New Zealand however, offers more community-focused treatment programmes for adolescents who sexually offend than in the US (Lambie, 2007) and an evaluation of these programmes has yielded positive outcomes. The aims of his study were to assess whether treatment resulted in a reduction of sexual recidivism, improved psychological and positive outcomes and offered cost effectiveness. The study involved the three main community treatment programmes in New Zealand; SAFE Network, WellStop and STOP.

Lambie (2007) found that much of the content of the programmes were strength focused and were designed to enhance relationships between the offenders, their families, and broader social networks. One of the strengths of these programmes is that they are available for people who have offended but have not been convicted of the offence. Consequently, offenders have an opportunity to change without the institutional power of corrections. However, the accessibility to this service for adult and adolescent pre-conviction offenders may be limited due to the restricted number of places on the programmes. This may mean that there is a population of pre-conviction offenders who desire and require treatment but are unable to

access it. Men who are sexually attracted towards children but have not committed any offence, are excluded from funding, which exposes a gap in the resources for the prevention of sex offending.

Sexual violence prevention

Historically, interventions targeting sexual crime have focused on perpetrator incarceration and rehabilitation, and victim support (DeGue et al., 2012). This approach can isolate the responsibility for the crime with the offender and restrict the victims support networks to those who are deemed as sufficiently qualified to offer support.

Fanslow and Robinson (2012) asserted that investment in community-based initiatives is essential in establishing a community led prevention effort that has the potential to shift some the burden of sexual crime prevention from a sole focus on victims and perpetrators. Fanslow and Robinson (2012) reported that of the 362 women in their study who had experienced moderate or severe physical violence, 42.4% had also experienced sexual violence. In addition, victims who experienced physical violence were more likely (85.5%) than victims of sexual violence (61.1%) to tell someone about their abuse. This data suggests that stigma or myths surrounding sexual abuse in relationships may prevent women from reporting the sexual abuse that occurs in the context of an intimate relationship.

Recently, the United States Division of Violence Prevention (DVP) attempted to raise public awareness of sexual violence by defining it as a public health problem, as opposed to a solely criminal justice issue. This was achieved by illustrating the long term mental, physical and social consequences of sexual violence, the emotional costs to those associated with victims and perpetrators, and the financial and social cost to the state and the local community (DeGue et al., 2012). DeGue et al. (2012) proposed that presenting the problem in this way, and suggesting ways in which communities can help, enables public health strategies that encourage prevention through community involvement, intervention and education.

In a study designed to assess the degree to which communities could be mobilised to prevent sexual violence, McMahon, Postmus and Koenick (2011) used questionnaires to assess the degree to which college students would intervene as a 'bystander' in sexually inappropriate talk or sexually assaultive behaviour. The majority of students in their study believed that they should intervene where they feel they can prevent sexual crime from occurring. The majority also reported that they should challenge social norms that maintain rape myths or normalise sexually assaultive talk and behaviour. However, McMahon et al. (2011) pointed out that the participants' beliefs did not necessarily translate to behaviours. This suggests that forces other than the students' subjective moral reasoning may be working to prevent the progression from thoughts to action. Dominant masculine groups, such as fraternities and athletic groups were found to be least likely to prevent sexually assaultive behaviour suggesting that discourses that condone sexually assaultive behaviour are more pervasive in masculine groups that value camaraderie, physicality and sexual promiscuity.

Foubert, Tatum and Godin (2010) argued, that given that the vast majority of men commit sexual crime, it should be men that are targeted in primary prevention strategies. Foubert et al. (2010) used a 'constructivist analysis' to uncover common themes in the participants' assessment of a rape prevention programme 7 months after completion. Around one third of the participants, who were all men in their first year of college, reported that the program had changed their attitudes towards women, rape and their sexual practices including: becoming more aware of laws related to rape, personal responsibilities, and the impacts of rape. Some men also said they were more likely to intervene as a 'bystander' in order to prevent a sexual assault. Around one quarter reported an incident where their behaviour had been affected by attending the group, for example, refusing to have sex with a women who was intoxicated. However, the majority reported no change in attitude or behaviour. Foubert et al. (2010) rationalised that these participants may have already held beliefs that were in line with the messages of the programme prior to taking part in it. However, it may also be the case that these men held rape supportive beliefs prior to the programme and continued to do so after completing it.

Until very recently, the large majority of primary CSA prevention programs have been school-based child education programs that have produced a reportedly positive effect on children's knowledge about CSA and their acquisition of certain prevention skills (Rheingold, Zajac & Patton, 2012). However, critics have argued that these programmes do not, typically, accommodate a child's developmental stage and thus some children may have been confronted with contents they cannot understand. Further criticisms highlight that prevention should be targeted at perpetrators and not their juvenile victims (Rispen, Aleman & Goudena, 1997).

In tandem with interventions in adult sexual violence, recent research from the United States has investigated community focused CSA prevention programmes that aim to raise awareness of CSA and encourage community stake-holders to take an active role in prevention (Schober, Fawcett, Thigpen, Curtis & Wright, 2012). Rheingold et al. (2012) reported on a programme that aimed to prevent CSA by educating child-care professionals (e.g., teachers, school nurses or day care providers) about CSA and the warning signs that may indicate the presence of CSA. This was primarily a feasibility study that examined how receptive child workers would be to receive both in-person and web-based education aimed at CSA prevention. The topics addressed in education sessions included: education about prevalence rates, risks, and outcomes of CSA; how to discuss CSA with adults and children; recognising signs of CSA; appropriate responding when a child discloses abuse, and ways of getting the community involved in the reduction of CSA. The authors concluded that both web-based and in-person education could be useful, in terms of raising awareness and preventing CSA. Both methods of education were generally well received by child care professionals.

Between 2003 and 2007, Prevent Child Abuse Georgia collaborated with CSA prevention group Stop it Now! in an attempt to reduce CSA in Georgia. This was done by disseminating research-informed CSA information in the community, providing a helpline to callers who suspected that CSA may be occurring, or likely to occur, and a state-wide education and training programme (Schober et al., 2012). Schober et al. (2012) reported a reduction in the number of helpline callers over a four-year period

but stressed that the cause(s) for this decline could not be extrapolated from the empirical data. There were no details regarding the nature of the calls other than as an indicator to the surety of the abuse. Specifically, between 2005 and 2007, 884 calls were answered with 44.1% reported as 'confirmed abuse', 28.5% reported as 'possible warning signs', and 27.4% were 'healthy behaviour'. There was no indication of the number of self-identifying paedophiles that contacted the helpline or what follow up, if any, was provided to those who did call.

Although some of the aforementioned studies recognised that men should be the focus of prevention, none of them referred to the social and cultural forces that may influence men who commit these crimes. In a study that goes some way to addressing this, Turchik and Edwards (2012) examined the social and institutional forces that generate male rape myths. Turchik and Edwards (2012) examined the origins and perpetuation of myths surrounding male rape that serve to mitigate and justify the crime. The authors proposed that medical and religious institutions were, and continue to be, instrumental in the pervasiveness of erroneous beliefs pertaining to male rape, including: men cannot be raped; 'real' men can defend themselves against rape; women cannot sexually assault a man and only gay men are victims or perpetrators of rape. The authors also reported that the media have a pivotal role to play in the mis(representation) of male rape. For example, the authors note that male rape is represented in the media as a common place and accepted practice within prison.

Turchik and Edwards (2012) proposed that the myths that silence victims, and in some cases mitigate the crime of male rape, originate from the same patriarchal structures as female rape that are related to various systems of oppression including heteronormativity (as discussed in Chapter 3). The authors also assert that under a social system of patriarchy, masculine hegemony and heteronormativity are valued ideals and are incongruent with men's experiences of being victims of rape. For example, within correctional institutions in the United States, one quarter of correctional officers believed that if a prisoner had consensual sex in prison, he was subsequently rapeable, and that homosexual prisoners, by virtue of their sexuality,

deserve to be raped.

In order to tackle rape supportive myths, Turchik and Edwards (2012) proposed that clergy, military officers, prison staff, mental health and medical practitioners should be educated with regard to current research on homophobia, gender and sexuality in order to dispel myths and provide victims with accurate information and useful support. If we truly wish to prevent the problem of sexual and physical abuse we must address the problem at a community and societal level and target widely held beliefs and myths about the roles of women and men and the nature of relationships (Fanslow & Robinson, 2012).

Masculinity as a site of transformation

The narratives of treatment programmes, such as the one in Auburn and Lea's (2003) study, are formulated through the practices of the scientist-practitioner model advocated by clinical psychology. Like the factors that characterise child sex offenders, the treatment programmes' narratives resonate with the discourse that privileges male sex drive and at the same time promotes a discourse of victimisation (Gavey, 1992; Hollway, 1984). The psychological gaze of the scientist-practitioner produces a subject who is typically silenced and CSO are effectively silenced through their constitution in a particular account constructed through expert knowledge. The assessment that produces CSO differentiates them from those with 'normal male sex drive', othering CSO as deviant.

Resistance to legitimated understanding further consolidates the assessment of deviancy, constraining what can be said, reproducing relationships of domination and subordination (Hall, 1997b) that therapy seeks to transform. Institutional power relationships fix meaning, stopping the flow of resistance, thereby creating a sense of permanency around the produced knowledge. The result is an effect of there being only one meaning; something that seems inherently natural and authentic (Hall, 1997c), normal male sex drive.

What is troubling is the ongoing production of the deviant subject that assumes a 'normal male sex drive' and apparently reveals a form of masculinity outside dominant discourses. The boundary between 'normal male sex drive' and its deviance is produced as if it were rigid, and without questioning the possibility that it may be as blurred as the boundary between sexual coercion and sexual offending. In both 'normal male sex drive' discourse and CSO narratives, women and children are positioned as passively compliant and submissive to men's sexual desires. It would seem that the gendering of heteronormative positions within CSO narratives invites some investigation. How are dominant discourses of masculinity implicated in the production of male sex drive discourse and its deviance?

In the following chapter, psychological engagement with the concept of gender and discourses of masculinity are introduced. They are examined as a way of opening up the possibility for changes in gendered social power relations as a site of prevention of child sexual abuse.

Chapter Three: Gender

To use the metaphor of the elephant in the room is to acknowledge a form of silencing. The elephant represents an obvious 'truth' – or a problem – that needs to be addressed. In the case of this research, the elephant is the unspoken – but seemingly obvious – influence of masculinity in crime and especially child sex offending. What produces this silencing are naturalised discourses that regulate heteronormativity as a gendered social power relationship and exclude, marginalise or vilify those who do not adhere normative sexual or gender practices. This has implications for the psychological understandings of sexuality, 'paraphilia' and, of course, child sex offending.

The practices and effects of gender have, largely, been ignored or dismissed, in the criminal behaviour literature. However, what is widely acknowledged is that men are responsible for the majority of crime, and the overwhelming majority of sexual crime, yet masculinity is rarely discussed in psychological or forensic literature (Schrock & Padavic, 2007). As a result, there is very little known about how conceptions of masculinity are developed and understood in the lives of offenders, or how conceptions of masculinity can influence criminal behaviour.

Why masculinity has been omitted from the criminal psychology literature is unclear. Some have argued that, as a privileged construct, masculinity is awarded exemption from negative scrutiny (McCarry, 2007). It may also be, that masculinity is seen as too broad and too 'sociological' for psychological approaches that are generally concerned with internal mental processes, individual perceptions and attitudes, and behaviour. For example, current practices of cognitive behavioural therapy (CBT), currently favoured in criminal psychology research and practice, and by NZDC and criminal psychology paradigms, tend to be interested in subjective perceptions of events and the subsequent effects on emotion and behaviour (Dobson & Dozois, 2001; Marshall et al., 2005). However, confining investigations of behaviour to these largely subjective approaches means that important social or cultural influences are marginalised or excluded.

The concept of masculinity has the capacity to bridge the gap between sociological and psychological paradigms (Beesley & Mcguire, 2009), especially when it is understood as mediated through media representations and enacted through social relationships. It is important to psychological knowledge because how a person is constituted in and through social power relations is also informed through resources of masculinity.

This research attends to the gap between psychology and sociology by exploring how socio-cultural discourses of masculinity can influence the lives of CSO. In doing so, this research hopes to inform subsequent work that aims to prevent CSA by identifying some of the socio-cultural meanings of masculinity. Ultimately, one of the aims of this research is to inform primary interventions that can attend to harmful constructions of masculinity, before CSA takes place.

When examining conceptions of masculinity, it is necessary to look beyond the subjective and examine the cultural and social resources that an individual has access to, reproduces, and is embedded in. This interplay between socio-cultural, discursive and subjective conceptions of masculinity is central to this chapter, and to questioning masculinity as a site of CSA prevention. The pervasiveness and longevity of some constructions of masculinity and their effects are brought together in the following discussion. This opens spaces for masculinity as a site of transformation, where prevention can become possible if CSA-supporting constructions of masculinity are uncovered

Reductionist conceptions of gender

Traditionally, the terms masculinity and femininity refer to a stable set of attributes that distinguish men from women (Wall & Kristjanson, 2005). The biological reductionist model of gender tends to emphasise the differences between men and women with men being associated with rationality and women with emotionality (Hare-Mustin & Maracek, 1988). However, while there is little disagreement over the stability of physical sex differences between men and women, the idea that gender is a fixed and stable construct has been strongly contested (McCarry 2007;

Messerschmidt, 2000b; Wall & Kristjanson, 2005). For example, rarely is there confusion over the sex of a person when the terms 'male' or 'female' are used to identify the individual as they reduce sexual categories to biological difference. However, the terms 'masculine' and 'feminine' can be used to categorise particular characteristics of both men and women, boys and girls. Further, what is culturally defined as masculine or feminine varies over time and across contexts. Hence, the meanings of masculine and feminine are created, shaped and maintained by cultural discourses that define what is 'normal' or expected for a man or woman in a given time or context (Andersson, 2008). It is these socio-cultural constructions of gender, and their influence on criminal behaviour that are of interest to this study.

From a biological perspective, it is hard to determine an origin or cause of specific gender identities. One of the most culturally pervasive representations of masculinity is that which is associated with power, aggression and domination (Demetriou, 2001). Global history is littered with accounts of powerful and aggressive cultures subordinating those with less power, generally led by men. It is this account that has led to research that assumes that there may be something innate in the male body that produces aggression and domination. For instance, Messerschmidt (1993) points out that some proponents of biological reductionism have argued that acts of aggression and domination are the product of 'male' hormones such as testosterone, which are linked with increased aggression and activity. However, many cultural and social groups led by men do not use violence or aggression to oppress and dominate. Further, most men, most of the time, do not behave in aggressive, controlling or dominating ways (Messerschmidt, 1993). Therefore, male hormones do not 'hardwire' men to behave in aggressive ways in any deterministic fashion. Rather, aggression and dominance are an enactment of masculinity, of which hormone effects may be a part.

'Traditional' gender roles in families

The naturalisation of 'traditional' gender roles in the dominant narrative of nuclear families maintains the discourse of gender as difference. Hegemony in the household can be produced by performing 'masculine' roles associated with power and prestige, such as 'breadwinner' (Messerschmidt, 2000b). Within this hierarchy, traditionally

feminine roles, such as 'house-wife', are subjugated and devalued (Schrock & Padavic, 2007). In households where traditional ideology dominates, the distribution of labour is often divided up into 'men's' work and 'women's' work, with women's work being perceived as less important and subordinate to men's (Messerschmidt, 2000b). Domestic chores in such households are usually perceived as 'women's work' regardless of the employment and income status of the male and female adults in the house (Messerschmidt, 2000b).

In some cases, these roles are used to justify or mitigate domestic violence or domestic sexual abuse (Moertl et al., 2010; Schrock & Padavic, 2007). Preconceived ideas about breadwinning, labour distribution in the home and the 'right' for men to assert their powerful status seem to be taken for granted for some men. The normalising position, for some, is so strong that they are willing to enforce their perceived position of authority with violence (Schrock & Padavic, 2007). Language used to justify dominant domestic positions, such as 'right' and 'traditional', suggest that these justifications stem from a preordained assumption that men inherit a privileged position of authority. In order to perform masculinity or to be a 'real man', some men believe they must enforce dominance and must not engage in behaviours culturally deemed as feminine (Schrock & Padavic, 2007). To do so risks compromising their perception of their masculinity, something that some men are unable to do.

Messerschmidt (2000b) found in his study, that male father figures and/or male role models initially shaped masculine conceptions among the boys. The father figures taught the boys that men were entitled to sex, have a right to use violence, and portrayed women and children as subordinate to men. As Messerschmidt demonstrated, when these ideals are taken up they can work together to produce sexually harmful and violent behaviour; the enactment of the 'right' to subjugate another (Gavey, 1992).

A Reductionist approach to masculinity and crime

Male violence, sexual or otherwise, is not the unusual behaviour of a few 'odd' individuals, neither is it an expression of overwhelming biological urges: it is a product of the social world in which we live. (Cowburn et al., 1992, pp. 281-2)

Violent crime is overwhelmingly committed by males (Andersson, 2008; Flood, 2004; McCarry, 2007; Messerschmidt, 2000b). Despite this, most conceptual models of crime in criminal psychology do not focus on the relationship between gender and criminal behaviour (Webb, 2011). The following are two examples of a small body of psychological research that has examined the association between masculinity and crime. These examples employ a reductionist methodology, and individualise problematic masculinity to produce a deviant subject.

Beesley and McGuire's (2009) study found that hypermasculinity scores (measured using the Hypermasculinity Inventory; HI) were highest in violent offenders and higher in non-violent offenders compared with non-offenders. They also found that the severity of the crime was positively correlated with scores on the HI. What emerged from the study was an association between masculine gender identity (characterised by physical strength, emotional control, sexual potency and so on) and offending, and hypermasculinity and violent offending. For example, masculine gender identity was related to the elevation of masculine status through crime, and hypermasculinity was related to domestic violence. They argued that masculine self-orientation is not necessarily a risk factor, but there is increasing evidence to "warrant a fuller programme of research" (p. 266).

Tatum and Foubert (2009) tested a group of men attending college in the United States to find the degree to which men endorse rape supportive attitudes, including rape myth acceptance and hypermasculinity. They found that higher HI scores were positively correlated with past acts of physical aggression, sexually aggressive attitudes and rape supportive beliefs (measured using the Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale). They also found an association between hegemonic masculine ideologies and sexual assault. Their findings suggest that attitudes and beliefs based

on myth were widely held, and despite their attendance at a rape education programme, remained persistent.

Both studies provide useful insights into the relationship between masculinity and violent and/or sexual offending. However, the meaning of hypermasculinity remains ambiguous and the everyday taken for granted normative forms of heterosexuality that produce and reproduce relationships of domination and subordination remain unchallenged.

Poststructuralism and normalisation

Poststructuralism rejects positivist epistemologies on which reductionism is premised. Instead, poststructuralism proposes that social and cultural forces dictate which objects exist – rather than objects possessing essential characteristics that are waiting to be discovered (Burr, 2003). Subsequently, the terms by which the world is understood are through the cultural artefacts of social processes.

Poststructuralism prohibits categorical descriptions that assume an essential definition; so by definition poststructuralism is, and should be, difficult to define. However, there are a number of assumptions underpinning poststructuralism, the most obvious of which is the rejection of the notion that ‘truth’ is something that is fixed, stable or discoverable (Gavey, 1989). Within poststructuralism, language is not seen as a tool to describe something that is already there. An object or phenomenon, such as hypermasculinity, is not understood to embody certain characteristics that are waiting to be articulated, rather, language is used to give meaning to the object or phenomenon and this meaning is subject to change over time and across contexts.

Further, poststructuralism proposes that language is impure and can be interpreted in many ways depending on the historical, cultural or social context that constitutes its meaning. In addition, language is not innocent and neutral, rather it is loaded with presuppositions of its ontological location (Gavey, 1989). Poststructuralist approaches of inquiry can accommodate the complexities of knowledge production, and its effects including contradictions in meaning making processes without discarding that

which does not fit a preconceived method. Therefore, poststructuralist approaches to inquiry provide a vehicle through which to examine the complexities of discourse (Coombes & Te Hiwi, 2007).

Discursive approaches in psychology

Discourse analysis is interested in the construction of events, relationships and people, and how language, meaning and knowledge production are intimately intertwined with powerful institutions and social relationships (Parker & Shotter, 1990). As discussed in Chapter 2, the relationship between institutional knowledge and media representations repeatedly produce popular narratives that become so ingrained in culture they assume unquestionable legitimacy (Kitzinger, 2004) and produce a discourse of CSO that dehumanises and silences not only the offender, but also the gendered power relationship that produces relationships of domination and subordination. It is the production of power, manufactured through the ability to produce and repeat statements across multiple settings (Hook, 2001), that enable the persistence of normative forms of heterosexuality to remain unquestioned.

Discourse analysis aims to bring social power relations to the fore so that ideologies that are constituted by institutions as neutral can be examined for their effects and their possibilities for transformation. Discourse analysis is not concerned with discovering determinate links between language and behaviour; rather, it endeavours to explain how discourse operates within social settings and how it constructs objects and subjects (Parker & Shotter, 1990).

Naturalisation of gender

Gender performativity

Butler (1990) argued that gender is socially constructed, constantly in flux and constrained by dominant cultural discourses that shift and change over time. Further, she proposed that gender is 'performative', insofar as it is enacted by people according to their interpretation of dominant discourses and the pressures they experience from societal expectations or sanctions. For instance, men exposed to a 'hypermasculine' environment, such as prison, are embedded in a discourse that produces a particular

form of masculinity. Over time, and in order to survive or preserve their identity, men are likely not only to adhere to it, but also enact it within their own interpretation of the limited masculine resources available (Karp, 2010). This resonates with Butler's (1993) argument which proposes that, as we enact forms of masculinity and femininity, we constitute our identities within the prevailing culturally produced gender norm. Gender identity is thus produced through repeating dominant constructions of gender. Butler (1990) argued that some 'privileged' gender positions have become so ingrained that they have become 'naturalised', that is they have come to be perceived as a 'natural' or 'normal' state of being. Through this ongoing process of iteration, it becomes difficult to find a counter narrative and the privileged positions become understood as timeless, indisputable, 'normal' ways of being (Hook, 2001).

To say that gender roles are 'performative' is not the same as saying that gender roles are performed. To say that one performs a role suggests a conscious and autonomous decision that performativity does not necessarily imply (Butler, 1993). Rather, performativity proposes that dominant cultural discourses coerce and constrain individuals to act in a certain way. Resisting the dominant cultural discourse typically evokes social disapproval or results in rejection. Therefore, gender is culturally constructed and reconstructed over time (Butler, 1990). Importantly, at any point in time there might co-exist several different cultural discourses that define what is expected of men and women in relation to each other and that produce masculine and feminine ideologies (Andersson, 2008). Over time, certain ideologies become dominant and as a result achieve a privileged status that entitles those who adhere to these ideologies to certain benefits, each dominant discourse producing rights, duties and obligations (Davies & Harré, 1990). Men who do not, or cannot enact culturally dominant constructions of masculinity, are often excluded from normative social practices (Gough, 2006). This exclusive practice is evident in sport (which tends to favour portrayals of dominance and power), romantic relationships (that tend to privilege heterosexual relationships) and notions of the nuclear family. This is not to imply that the social pressures to conform are so strong that they are deterministic, people can and do resist them but this often comes with social sanctions and can

evoke great anxiety (Butler, 1990).

Naturalisation of sexuality

From a poststructuralist framework of understanding, the privileging of one sexuality over another is something that is culturally created and depends on categories of inclusion and exclusion. Hence, there are no authentic moral or ethical reasons why any form of sexuality should be privileged over another (Butler 1990). Naturalisation of sexualities can occur through coercion from state and legal institutions that privilege certain expressions of sexuality. Heterosexuality is one such naturalised, and privileged, sexuality that has been coercively favoured by many Western societies (Butler, 1990). For example, heterosexual marriages between one man and one woman are generally legally recognised and are often rewarded with benefits, such as greater access to government and legal sanctions, economic advantage (access to mortgages) and health care. Marriage between more than two people, or people of the same sex, are generally not recognised by the legislative institutions and are socially regulated through ongoing debates within communities; so much so that relationships outside heterosex are positioned as unnatural, and sometimes deviant (Butler, 1993). This process of exclusion works through social power relations where one group attains power or a majority and then coerces others (the less powerful minority) towards the group norm (Hook, 2001). The pressure to conform to the norm, such as heterosexuality, becomes increasingly difficult to resist (Butler, 1990). For example, a man may feel compelled to adhere to cultural discourses that produce a dominant, heterosexual male, enacting a stereotype that has become naturalised by countless preceding generations or risk social exclusion, ridicule, or in some cases, legal sanctions such as imprisonment and execution that are still enforced for homosexual practices in certain countries (Foucault, 1985). However, within some cultures, such as New Guinea, homosexual acts are seen as obligatory for all men and are considered utterly masculine (Messerschmidt, 2000b). Examples such as this demonstrate that sexuality, like gender, is something that is influenced by cultural and institutional forces.

Further, discourses that constitute heteronormativity produce homosexuality, and have evolved over time, reflecting in changes in legislation that govern sexual practices. For example, homosexuality in ancient Greece was exalted and in ancient Rome it was culturally accepted (Foucault, 1985). In more recent times, homosexuality was present as a mental disorder in the DSM until the third edition was published in 1980 (APA, 1980) and was a criminal offence in New Zealand until the Homosexual Reform Act was passed as recently as 1986. Military law has similarly changed in New Zealand; the passing of the New Zealand Human Rights Act (1993) legislated against discrimination in the workplace based on sexuality. Since then, there has been the potential for gay men and women to serve in New Zealand's armed forces; however, it remains a silent issue. For example, a search for research on the experiences of gay armed force personnel yielded no results.

Forms of sexuality which are now almost universally classified as 'other' (if not deviant) were once accepted and celebrated, although I do not suggest that they are not problematic. For example, in ancient Greece, sex between an adult male and a young pubescent or post pubescent boy was a socially accepted practice (Foucault, 1985). Also, Greco-Roman literature reflects a strong rejection of feminine characteristics in men and a celebration of masculine traits, despite the acceptance of homosexual relations between men (Foucault, 1985). The issue here is that cultural meanings can shape what is deemed appropriate in terms of the expression of gender and sexuality, and it is this potential that may open spaces for understanding heterosexual normative discourse and the prevention of CSA.

Power, hegemony and hegemonic masculinity

What is at issue here is the persistent presence of accumulations of power and powerful resources by certain men, the doing of power and dominance in many men's practices, and the pervasive association of the social category of men with power. (Hearn, 2004, p. 51)

Before discussing hegemonic masculinity, it is necessary to discuss how hegemony operates within Western culture and institutions. The term 'hegemony' is generally used to describe the maintenance of social power by certain groups, through persuasion. Further, hegemony invokes power by consent rather than by coercion. Hegemony involves persuasion of the greater part of the population, particularly through the media, and the organisation of social institutions in ways that appear 'natural', 'ordinary', and 'normal' (Hearn, 2004). Powerful groups and institutions maintain their domination by defining and legitimating a certain definition of the situation, framing the way events are understood and morality is defined (Speer, 2001).

The state, through punishment for non-conformity, is crucially involved in this negotiation and enforcement. This resonates with Foucault's (1979) notion of disciplinary power, where power is exercised over individual and social bodies through surveillance, where social sanctions or material coercions subject the body to norms, and conformity is maintained through self-regulation.

Mainstream science produces and reproduces a hegemonic discourse by ignoring and discarding that which does not fit within the scientific 'schema' (Parker et al., 1995). The removal of 'outliers' from statistical analyses demonstrates how the scientific method, like other powerful and hegemonic institutions, can exclude that which does not fulfil expectations. When a unit of analysis (a person, score etc.) does not fit within an expected or 'normal' range of distribution, it is typically excluded from analysis and plays no further part in the search for meaning. Such 'outliers' are likely to upset predictions and hypotheses and ultimately reduce the legitimacy of the final results. As an outcome of the omission, the results are more likely to support the original hypothesis and wield more power in as much as they obtain legitimacy.

Processes such as this pervade Western culture, and science is just one example. Hegemonic discourse is also evident in local, and increasingly, global institutions and technologies, such as the media. Mainstream psychology can, through its association with science and its adoption of the scientific method, produce and reproduce

hegemonic discourse by adopting empirical methods that exclude anything that does not adhere to prescribed doctrines (Webb, 2011). However, it is also possible for psychology to resist hegemonic discourse – often this entails operating on the margins of ‘mainstream’ psychology (Webb, 2011).

Hegemony, sexuality and gender are intimately intertwined (Foucault, 1985). Indeed, certain constructions of gender are privileged within scientific discourse, with rational and stoic forms of masculinity being associated with the empirical method. Furthermore, the association between masculinity and crime has been almost completely omitted from forensic psychology’s rendering (Webb, 2011). Despite the representation of normative heterosexuality changing over time, what has remained constant is the gendered relationship of domination and subordination (Foucault, 1985).

Hegemonic masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity (HM), as a concept and as a process, emerged from a study of social inequality in Australian high schools that found evidence of multiple conceptions of gender and gender hierarchies Connell (1983). Connell developed the concept of HM describing it as a dominant form of masculinity within the gender hierarchy. In Western societies at the time, HM was said to be associated with whiteness, heterosexuality, marriage, authority and physical toughness (Connell, 1983), however, HM can be enacted in many different ways across different environments (Messerschmidt, 2012).

Hegemonic masculinity is probably best described, at first, by what it is not. It is not a set of traits or characteristics that can be easily defined. Trait based descriptions of HM include associations with power and success, self-sufficiency, emotional restrictedness, misogyny and stoicism (Wall & Kristjanson, 2005) and in many environments an enactment of these traits is tantamount to ‘doing’ HM. However, Connell (1983; 1995) and Connell and Messerschmidt (2005; 2012) dispute definitions of HM that attempt to define it in terms of stable and essential characteristics. Rather, HM is a dynamic, cultural, social and subjective ideal that influences the way men

think about themselves and others. What is clear is that HM operates by subordinating the feminine and non-hegemonic masculinities (Messerschmidt, 2012).

Hegemonic masculinity operates by legitimating gender inequality through the subordination of women, femininities, and non-hegemonic masculinities (Gough, 2006). Indeed, HM has no meaning outside its relationship to femininities and non-hegemonic masculinities (Messerschmidt, 2012). Hegemonic masculinity is produced explicitly, through the active subordination of women and non-hegemonic men; implicitly, through performance of dominant gender ideals; or subjectively, by suppressing femininity in the self (Gough, 2006).

How HM is enacted can differ across contexts and need not be the most common or the most powerful form of masculinity in a given setting (Messerschmidt, 2012). For example, within certain transnational corporations, HM is produced, not through violence or aggression, but through showing evidence of a dedicated work ethic, tolerance and good communication skills (Connell & Wood, 2005). This is quite different from certain military populations where fighting, binge drinking and hyper-heterosexuality are celebrated, and required, in order to demonstrate adherence to the dominant HM discourse (Flood, 2008). To an outside observer, the enactment of HM in the business and military worlds may appear quite different. However, the production of HM is the same; it creates and maintains a hierarchy by subordinating women and femininities, and men and non-hegemonic masculinities that do not, or cannot, adhere to the HM ideal.

Messerschmidt (2012) proposed that hegemonic masculinities are produced at three sites: local (constructed in arenas of face-to-face interaction of families, organisations, and immediate communities), regional (constructed at the society-wide level of culture or the nation-state), and global (constructed in such transnational arenas as world politics, business, and media). There is an interaction between the three sites and global institutions that undoubtedly affect local levels; the relationship is interconnected (Messerschmidt, 2012).

Power is everywhere and nowhere: The panoptican and masculinity

It is the thought of not being a “real man” or “man enough” that overwhelms all men. (McGuffey, 2008, p. 224)

Foucault used the metaphor of the panopticon prison to illustrate how institutional and social power relationships disseminate power and instil self-discipline in the subjectivities of individuals (Webb, 2011). Foucault argued that Western society, like the panopticon prison, instils a sense of being perpetually supervised in and through discourse, knowledge and power. Foucault argued that this sense of self-surveillance can be instilled through the production of knowledge, and holders of power are able to distribute knowledge widely and pervasively so that their messages become ingrained in collective and subjective consciousness, so that it appears everywhere and nowhere, and subjects bodies to its effects.

The metaphor of the panopticon constitutes surveillance as a principle of hierarchal observation that disciplines the actions of the body through visibility and power, where the ‘seen’ is then ‘known’ and, perhaps, altered. The gaze of the knower is a form of disciplinary power that is dispersed through institutional structures and practices. Discourses are "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault, 1974, p. 49) - in other words, the discourses of masculinity both produce, and are produced by, the subject. In this way, disciplinary apparatus, or technologies of power (Gavey, 1992), such as normative sexuality, produce a certain type of subject embedded in a relationship of domination and subordination.

The disciplinary power enabled through self-surveillance can be likened to the influence of powerful conceptions of masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity cannot be seen and does not reside in any man; it does however influence men and constrain how they behave. It is powerful and influential in the sense that most men compare, contrast or actively reject counter narratives that might affect their performance of masculinity. As numerous researchers have found, men assess themselves based on their interpretation of a masculine ideal (Andersson, 2008; Messerschmidt, 2000a; Speer, 2001). Flood (2008) found that men who strongly identify with HM have a

sense of the ideal being omnipresent. The men reported a sense of being observed by male peers and assessed against a powerful masculine ideal; and this sense of being watched and critiqued affected how the men interacted with the world.

The exertion of power and control to subordinate women, femininities and subordinate forms of masculinity is generally how HM is enacted. Messerschmidt (2000b) provided an example of the discursive production of HM in the following example. All of the CSO described in Messerschmidt's study were adolescent boys exposed to a similar construction of HM across all of their social environments. At school, and at home, the boys were embedded in social relationships that adhered to discourses of heterosexual normativity where a propensity for violence was 'manly'. Hegemonic masculinity was achieved in school through subjugating those who did not adhere to the ideal. Parents and caregivers reproduced gendered power relationships that realised a discourse of power and control as manly. What emerged in the analysis was that the sexually offending boys were unable to enact this particular masculine discourse amongst their peers. As a result, they were subjected to ridicule and bullying to mark their position in the social hierarchy, and remained silent in their failed masculinity through fear of further humiliation and rejection.

Messerschmidt (2000a, p. 286) argued that the boys sexually offended against younger children in order to enact the dominant and pervasive construction of HM that they had been exposed to. The enactment of power and control over their victim was perceived by the offending boys as a 'masculine rite of passage' to become a 'real man' (Messerschmidt, 2000a, p.286). In this way, the boys acted outside the norms of hegemonic masculinity, but the form that it took did not change; 'subordinate' children were used to enact HM.

One of the most important factors in the lives of the boys in Messerschmidt's (2000b) study was the absence of competing discourses of masculinity or femininity that challenged, or offered alternatives to discourses of HM. Without being offered alternative representations of gender, discourses become repeated continuously and eventually naturalised in subjectivity (Butler, 1993). What seemed to protect the non-

offending boys in Messerschmidt's study were alternative masculine constructions that were associated with values such as nurturance, emotional expressivity and responding to aggression without violence. Only discourses of masculinity that produced manliness as unemotional were present in the offending boys' accounts. The non-offending boys had at least one outlet where they could communicate openly about their fears, failings and social problems, and were able to shift their positions on masculinity.

Men who adhere to the HM discourse may enhance their masculine status by, for example, successfully competing in sport, having multiple consenting sexual partners and portraying an air of toughness (Messerschmidt, 2000b). Alternatively, those who adhere to the HM ideal but cannot legitimately enact the characteristics through legal means may turn to crime in order to move up the masculine hierarchy. Illegal means of enacting HM are most often associated with aggressive and violent dominance (Flood 2004; Flood, 2008; Langa, 2008). Those who position themselves through an aggressive and/or violent HM ideal, and have no alternative construction of masculinity to draw on, pose the greatest risk to others (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Illegal means to achieving such a status include, fighting other males, having non-consensual sex and using force (physical or otherwise) to subordinate others. This thesis is interested in the link between hegemonic conceptions of masculinity and sexual offending against children. It aims to further explore how HM is discursively produced and how the enactment of these discourses, and the failure to enact these discourses, affect the lives of men and produce and reproduce forms of harmful sexual behaviour.

Sexuality and hegemonic masculinity

The ability to classify appears to be something that people are inherently able to do (Hall, 1997a). However, the manner in which classification is organised is something that is constructed through language, knowledge and power (Messerschmidt, 2012). Classification extends to sexuality where there is a hierarchy of socially acceptable sexual practices in Western culture based on classification and exclusion. Heterosexuality is clearly located at the top of a hierarchy, being repeatedly

associated with 'normality' and naturalness. 'Other' forms of sexuality are subordinated and in some cases ostracised (Messerschmidt, 1993). The pressure to adhere to the most dominant form of sexuality is immense, with most dominant cultural conceptions of gender constituted through heterosexuality (Butler, 1990).

Hegemonic masculinity and sexual crime

Understandings and expressions of sexuality can change over time, fluctuate over an individual's life and be influenced by social experiences and institutions (McGuffey, 2008). Like McGuffey, Messerschmidt (2000b) proposed that sexuality is a socially produced concept and is subject to change throughout life and influenced and coerced by various cultural discourses. Understandings of sexuality are frequently embedded in constructions of HM that coerce men and boys into enacting masculinity by performing a certain type of heterosexuality. Therefore, masculinity informs sexuality; sexuality confirms masculinity (Messerschmidt, 2000a).

For example, adherence to a HM ideal was aggressively and violently policed in the schools of the sexually offending boys in Messerschmidt's study. He described how the discourse of HM pervaded the boys' schools through a 'culture of cruelty' (2000b). School students who did not adhere to hegemonic ideals were frequently rejected, ridiculed, physically abused and given derogatory and emasculating labels, such as "wimp" and "mama's boy" (2000b, p. 27). For the sexually offending boys, adherence to the HM ideal promised power and access to sex. This highly seductive, yet to them, largely unobtainable world of masculine power, influenced them to the point where they sexually abused other children in an attempt to adhere to the HM ideal. When one of the boys was informed by peers that homosexual acts were socially ridiculed, he changed his victim from a boy to a girl. This particular example demonstrates how a culture of masculinity can influence an individual's sexuality to the point where the individual changes his sexual practices in order to fit in with the masculine culture.

Flood (2008) offered a further example; in the military a specific kind of HM is something that is imposed on soldiers and is endorsed throughout the ranks. Those who don't measure up to the military ideal and conform to expectations are

ostracised and rejected (Flood, 2008). Those who seek HM within the military (and desire the highly seductive rewards of HM such as power, camaraderie and access to heterosexual sex) must prove themselves capable of meeting military expectations. This type of HM is not something most men enter into the military with, rather it is a relationship of discipline and performativity (Langa, 2008). Sexual practices and sexuality are intertwined with many HM cultures and especially so within the military. Flood (2008) discussed the HM culture within an Australian military academy where sexually humiliating acts on women were practiced and socially rewarded. Taking part in such 'rituals' enhanced homosocial bonds and typically maintained or elevated status within masculine hierarchies. Resisting such practices risked severe social sanctions.

Unlike the boys in Messerschmidt's study, this practice of HM does not operate outside the norms of heterosexuality. Despite it being an example of sexual assault, it falls on the side of culturally (institutionally) acceptable. Hegemonic masculinity operated here by producing, through coercion and rewards, sexually assaultive behaviours that elevated masculine status by subordinating and dehumanising women. Langa (2008) also found rape acceptable as a practice between paramilitary groups. There remains a problematic positioning of normal and deviant sexual practice that repetitively reproduce normative forms of heterosexuality.

Health consequences associated with hegemonic masculinity

Inflexible adherence to a HM ideal can produce behaviours that can be unhealthy or dangerous, both to those subordinated by them and to those who enact them. As an ideology, hegemonic masculinity frequently celebrates certain qualities such as stoicism, physical resiliency, independence and emotional restrictedness. Research has found that adherence to HM discourse contradicts the desire for intimacy and emotional expression, creating stress and conflict between men's masculine identities and social expectations (Karp, 2010). Furthermore, despite having most of the social determinants of health in their favour, men have higher mortality rates for fifteen of the leading causes of death and a life expectancy about seven years shorter than women (Hearn, 2010). A number of studies have examined the association between

hegemonic conceptions of masculinity and health and social functioning. Adherence to HM ideals has been linked with reduced support seeking behaviour (Hale, Gordon & Willot, 2007); problems coping with illness (Chapple & Ziebland, 2002); social and mental health problems (Burns & Hahalik, 2008; Fergus, Gray & Fitch, 2002; Gough, 2006), difficulties in coping with relationship dissolution (Flood, 2010), perpetration of domestic violence (Flood, 2010) and in sexual offending against children (Messerschmidt, 2000b).

Critiques of hegemonic masculinity

Connell and Messerschmitt (2005) discussed a number of criticisms that the concept of HM has received. For some, it is “an invention of New Age psychologists” who intend to portray men as excessively macho (p. 830). The concept is also said to be an ideal, as opposed to an accurate understanding of men’s lives that is too vague to offer an accurate account of the complexity of masculine identities. Speer (2001) reported that, for some, the concept of HM was unsuitable for analysts to apply to their research, as it is a process of meaning rather than a measurable object. Even if we define HM as an embodiment of aggression, power and dominance (Wetherell & Edley ,1999) it is most likely impossible to find a human example that consistently and pervasively enacts the stereotype. However, most men do recognise that such an ideal exists and they are affected by it at some level; either as a concept to identify with, or resist. For example, resistance of the HM ideal can be used to construct individuality, autonomy and identity (Andersson, 2008; Wetherell & Edley, 1999). Thus, it seems that the ideological hegemonic man is persistently used by men to evaluate their masculinity, whether it is in terms of their identification with the ideal, or their rejection of it, and it is therefore implicated in social practices.

Messerschmidt (2012) has argued that there has been an appropriation and reformulation of the concept HM; an appropriation that “engenders gendered knowledge” (p. 1), and this reformulation has implications for gendered knowledge. Studies that measure how women practice in masculine professions by producing and reproducing the discourse of HM and resisting femininity, risks perpetuating the subordination of femininities by excluding them as construct of interest.

Understanding women's gendered experiences through masculinity reproduces a relationship of domination and subordination of masculine/feminine and men/women. This research is interested in this relationship, particularly as a space where we can talk about the effects, at least in terms of men and masculinity, and speak to the silent privilege of social power (Webb, 2011).

Salvaging masculinity: how victims of child sexual abuse manage the perceived loss of masculinity

Discourses of HM can produce sexually harmful behaviour when men (mis)interpret HM statements that assume a masculine right to power and sex (Flood, 2008; Langa, 2008). The notion of power often associated with the perpetration of CSA contrasts with the sense powerlessness and loss of control experienced by those positioned, in the abuse, as victims - a state of being that is incompatible with most conceptions of masculinity (Alaggia, 2010). Indeed, the terms 'victim' and 'masculine' are almost always mutually exclusive in Western societies, and produce a potential crisis of masculinity for male victims where a position of victim might exclude them from authentically enacting powerful forms of masculinity (Andersson, 2008).

The subordination and powerlessness experienced by victims of CSA (including families) has been linked to an increased adherence to practices of domination and control. McGuffey (2008) reported that fathers of male victims of sexual abuse became increasingly authoritative and attempted to instil particular masculine values in their sons. They promoted the importance of acting powerfully in relation to others; aggressive conceptions of masculinity that restricted emotional expression.

The fathers rationalised this in a number of ways, one man feared that his son may learn to be dominated by other men and thus forced his son to become involved in sport in order to learn to dominate others. Other fathers feared their sons would become feminised or homosexual as result of the abuse so discouraged 'feminine' behaviours, such as discussing emotions including those associated with the abuse. Some mothers were found to passively reinforce this behaviour by supporting the father's modelling of a 'real man' (McGuffey, 2008). Reproducing normative forms of

heterosexuality, threats to masculinity and sexuality represented social rejection and potential sanctions (McGuffey, 2008). This research is interested in this relationship, particularly as a space where it is possible to speak of the silence.

Prison: a criminogenic and hypermasculine environment

Hierarchy within prison

Complex gender hierarchies are an effect of institutional and social power, and omnipresent in crime (Connell, 2008). The weaker or more vulnerable the victim, the less the status afforded to the offender, where raping or killing a child is afforded the lowest status (Karp, 2010). Many prisoners may attempt to elevate their own status by subordinating (e.g., assaulting) a prisoner of lower status. The conditions for enacting diverse forms of masculinity within the confines and practices of prison are limited. Relieved of the resources usually available for the expression of manhood, men in prison necessarily compete for what is left. What results is often an extreme enactment of HM to the point where it becomes a caricature of masculinity (Karp, 2010). Research suggests that men perform hyper-masculine discourse that is aggressive, or at least is an absence of vulnerability, reproducing the very risk factors that prisons seek to discipline. Furthermore, the institutional conditions that reproduce hyper-masculine discourse also inhibit effective rehabilitation; where recognition of vulnerability may be a threat to a given position within the hierarchy. Relationships of domination and subordination, between guards and inmates, also limit the effects of rehabilitative programmes. For example, attempts to practice appropriate assertiveness learned during therapy may be misinterpreted by staff as misconduct and subsequently stifled or punished (Ward, Mann & Gannon, 2007).

Child sex offenders are of the lowest status in prison environments, and among sex offenders, and as such, are targeted in struggles over power and status. It is also well documented that child sex offenders are marginalised, whether in specialist units or in isolation in prisons. Flood (2008) argues that under these conditions, CSO can become socially acceptable among the margins, especially where they are able to position themselves in a hierarchy of categories of sex offender.

Resisting the hegemonic masculinity ideal

Hegemonic masculinity is not assumed to be something that many men can become; rather it is a normative process in the sense that most men measure themselves against the almost omnipresent concept (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Some men attempt to adhere to HM ideals, actively portraying their understanding of HM in their environment. However, others construct their masculine identity by resisting the social coercion to adopt and enact HM values (De Visser & Smith, 2006; Flood, 2008). Wetherell and Edley (1999) used data from interviews with 30 men enrolled at Open University to examine how cultural 'stereotypes' of HM were taken up by men in their study. All of the men recognised a cultural stereotype of HM or, defined the concept as a 'real man', but few attempted to construct their own identity in accordance with these 'stereotypes'. Knowledge of the construction of HM was realised in their talk about their own identity, but it was accounted for as inauthentic, and therefore they did not attempt to embody it. In other words, the men were able to define HM as something they were not, but it was still in a relationship with the meaning of their masculine identity.

Masculinity as a site of intervention and prevention

As discussed above, sexual violence is more likely to be present in contexts where masculinity is culturally associated with power, dominance and toughness (Flood 2002; Flood 2004). Such discourses continue to pervade society and influence sexual practices. For example, approximately one in seven boys and young men in a survey in Australia held beliefs supporting sexual violence, agreeing with such statements as "it's okay to put pressure on a girl to have sex but not to physically force her" (Flood, 2004, p. 26). Discourses of masculinity are located within institutional and cultural processes, and it is this location where it is necessary to transform the meanings that occur at the personal level (Flood 2002; Flood 2004; Messerschmidt, 2000b).Very little attention has been given to interventions that help offenders redefine masculinity in a way that will help them succeed upon release (Karp, 2010). Likewise, there has been very little in the way of interventions that target masculinity as a pre-emptive or preventative intervention. Flood (2002) emphasised the need to undermine the social and cultural supports for physical and sexual assault found

among many men. However, historically sexual assault prevention has been the responsibility of women through attention to avoiding potentially dangerous situations. More recently, there has been something of a shift in attempts to address sexual violence; media representations of violence as weak or cowardly have emerged to challenge assumptions of strength and courage, but it does not challenge normative heterosexuality or masculinity, producing the offender as 'other' to the norm, or at least 'at risk' of violating the norm.

The preventative initiatives that focus on men, aim to challenge hegemonic assumptions about entitlements to sex and increase effective communication in sexual situations. Masters (2010) argues that these initiatives attempt to construct counter masculinities. However, the language to produce a counter-narrative remains a form of hegemonic masculinity.

There comes a time in a guy's life when he has to act like a man, not a wimp. So, take a fucking stand. Tell people how you feel. Tell them that anyone who disrespects women, who abuses, who date rapes, who thinks he can it get over is going to have to talk to you about it. (The Safety Net website cited in Masters, 2010, p. 38).

The extract appeals to hegemonic values of exclusion by othering those who have used coercion or violence to have sex with women and encourages a hostile and aggressive response to these 'others'. It also appeals to men to 'act like a man' and juxtaposes acting like a man with 'a wimp' (a subordinate form of masculinity) which in effect subordinates most of the men it appeals to - men who have disrespected or coerced or violated women (Masters, 2010).

Other campaigns that appeal to men draw on 'androgynous advocacy' to encourage men to engage with both masculine and feminine discourses. For Masters (2010), the following extracts challenge hegemonic masculinity, both through understanding the differences between the masculine and feminine so that both are valued, and where negotiating the meanings of sexual desire are promoted as an alternative.

We have learned to divide feelings into masculine and feminine ... We pretend that men can only be aggressive and strong, logical and unemotional. In fact, we are also at times confused, nurturing, intuitive, and sad ... Misogyny is the often-disguised yet widespread fear or hatred of women, including the attributes in ourselves which are traditionally labelled feminine. (Men Stopping Rape Inc website cited in Masters, 2010, p. 40)

Sexual violence often goes hand in hand with poor communication... By learning effective sexual communication – stating your desires clearly, listening to your partner, and asking when the situation is unclear – men make sex safer for themselves and others. (Men ending violence website, cited in Masters, 2010, p. 41)

Masculinity and femininity are produced in a relationship of difference, where the hegemonic representation of masculinity is produced as a practice of misogyny. The gendered difference, therefore, remains unchallenged but provides a space to recognise, and perhaps transform, relationships of domination and subordination.

Various short-term evaluations have shown that educational programmes have dispelled rape supportive myths and attitudes and have resulted in increased empathy towards rape victims (Flood, 2004). Campaigns involving ‘ordinary’ men and celebrities speaking about appropriate sexual behaviour were effective in the United States (Flood, 2000). These are similar to New Zealand campaigns that have targeted domestic violence using portrayals of ‘ordinary’ men that encourage men to seek help in order to stop them engaging in domestic violence. Perhaps similar campaigns could address CSA.

Summary

This chapter questioned the gendering practices of normative heterosexuality to address how dominant discourses of masculinity were implicated in the production of normal male sex drive, and its deviance, by examining psychological engagement with gender and discourses of masculinity. The naturalisation of heterosexuality, and the pressure to conform to its social power, produces a form of masculinity that achieves

hegemony by legitimating gender inequality through the subordination of women, femininities, and non-hegemonic masculinities. Questioning masculinity as a site of transformation in understanding CSO opens a space where we can talk, as men, about the effects of men and masculinity, and speak to the silent privilege of social power. In doing so we open up further opportunities to discover how individuals and institutions can transform conceptions of masculinity that are associated with CSA.

The following chapter develops a methodology for questioning the discursive constitution of HM and how it affects the lives of men to produce forms of harmful sexual behaviour.

Chapter Four: Methodology

This chapter outlines my research methodology, and how it addresses the questions: How do discourses of masculinity operate through the interviewee's lives? How it is discursively produced, and enacted, by men in their stories? How do the men understand themselves and their offending through narratives that examine masculinity? And, with these questions in mind, what can be done to prevent CSA?

This research takes masculinity as the site of inquiry in two ways: The first is through an analysis of the narrative histories that enabled the men in this study to make sense of critical periods and influences in their lives as they negotiate masculinity (Messerschmidt, 2000b). The second is an analysis of the discursive constitution, or discourse analysis, of masculinity in the men's talk. So, put simply, the narrative approach allows the interviewees to have a voice, to tell their story and the discourse analysis allows an investigation into the cultural and institutional forces that influenced their narratives. These approaches engage a process that examines the interviewees' life stories and the influences that shape them. One of the aims of using these approaches is to attenuate the representation of "CSO as monsters" rhetoric that continues to permeate much contemporary research involving this group of men. Applying such a methodology to the problem of child sexual abuse, and questioning the most taken for granted assumptions, allows the best opportunity to examine the problem and find new and useful ways to influence interventions.

Positioning theory

A poststructuralist epistemology rejects the notion that a person possesses a stable and locatable identity. Positioning theory, which emerged from poststructuralism, proposes that – as opposed to a person having a fixed identify - subject positions become available within discourses that allow an opportunity to express selfhood in certain ways under certain conditions. Or, put another way, discourses offer subject positions or possibilities that individuals can adopt under certain circumstances (Gavey, 1989). Positioning theory proposes that people engage in constructing and reconstructing their identities in relation to their environment and available subject

positions (Coombes & Morgan, 2004). Indeed, there can be multiple and contradictory discourses offering a multitude of possible subject positions (Davies & Harre, 1990). This may be especially true in contemporary society where people are required to take up multiple subject positions in different locations and must adjust their performance as their subject position changes (Smith & Sparkes, 2008).

Each subject position is associated with varying degrees of rights, privileges and power (Coombes & Morgan, 2004). For example, the rights and privileges afforded to a 'victim' are quite different to those afforded to an 'offender' and, depending on the environment, the power associated with each can differ dramatically (Chamberlain et al., 1997). Every subject position provides a unique view of the world from a certain standpoint. By adopting a subject position, the individual becomes affected by the assumptions attached to the position and subsequently, his or her view of the world will be enabled or limited by their subject position and the cultural and social performance of it (Coombes & Morgan, 2004).

Subject positions tend to be situationally specific and temporal as opposed to roles, such as father, son, mother, and so on, which are more pervasive and long term (Harre & Slocum, 2003). By paying attention to the social context of the experience, social discourses can be highlighted and examined for how they function and relate to power structures in society (Gavey, 1989; Parker, 1992). As discussed in the Messerschmidt (2000b) case studies, the available subject positions do not always sit well with those who are subjected their power. The sex offending boys in Messerschmidt's study lived within a culture where a violent, powerful and sexually promiscuous form of HM was exalted. The boys who craved the rewards associated with allegiance with HM ideals but could not perform this construction of masculinity, were positioned as victims or wimps and excluded from normative masculinity.

Non-dominant groups are marginalised through a relationship of domination and subordination. Those who have access to, and take up marginalised subject positions, do so at the risk of being subordinated and ostracised (Butler, 1993; Gavey, 1989). This

has implications in terms of speaking rights, with more marginalised subject positions having either less authority to speak, or become silenced. However, in a process of power and resistance, marginalised positions become more available and distinguishable, opening up possibilities for the construction of counter-narratives.

Discourse analysis

Interpreting, then performing or living by a discourse, can produce recognisable behaviours. For example, the discursive production of a “manly man” can include, depending on the social and institutional conditions, the ability to: embody physical power, physically defend oneself, protect and support oneself and one’s family, and have a high degree of control over one’s emotions. However, discourses themselves are multiple and often offer complex and contradictory ways of giving meaning to the world. Foucault’s work alerted us to the notion that discourse works in discontinuous and often contradictory ways (Hook, 2001). If we are to successfully identify discourse, and to gauge it in the fullness of its various capacities, then we need a notion that can join together an ensemble of discourse's various components, despite their diversity (Hook, 2001). As discussed earlier, HM discourse can manifest in a multitude of different ways across time and context. What defines HM is how it operates and how it produces a gendered hierarchy, by oppressing subordinate masculinities and femininities (Messerschmidt, 2012).

Discourse analysis seeks to understand human action in terms of the language used to account for that action (Lea & Auburn, 2001). Discourse analysis is interested in analysing the discourses used to create particular constructions of events, relationships and people. In asking how discourses function, the analyst aims to isolate techniques of power that produce available subject positions, privileging some and silencing others (Gavey, 1989; Hook, 2001). Discourse analysis is able to identify discursive practices that are embedded in social power relations and legitimate exploitation and oppression (Parker, 1990). This process opens up the possibility of constructing alternative discourses that are less distorted by hegemony and power.

Information is frequently omitted from normative discussion when it contradicts what is commonly accepted or when the information in question is considered unmentionable, unthinkable, or taboo (Hook, 2001). Arguments may be overlooked when they seem to have been resolved. It is these moments, these silences or absences that remain unquestioned, that maintain the status quo. By not discussing unspoken naturalised assumptions, they retain their powerful status. In this sense, Western culture silently privileges masculinity (Maher, Segrave, Pickering & McCulloch, 2005). This is evident in the almost total absence of masculinity as a site of intervention in the criminal psychology literature. Hook (2001) proposed that discourse analysis should busy itself, not just with the search for a plenitude of meaning, but rather with a search for the scarcity of meaning; what cannot be said and what is impossible or unreasonable within particular discursive locations. So rather than categorising CSA as deviant, the analyst is concerned with exploring the discursive resources used to give meaning to the silence, the unspoken of CSO.

The challenge then, for this research, was to displace dominant discourses and allow space for more conditional arguments, and to show that the dominant discourses related to masculinity are nothing more than a temporary product of discourse that has been socially and historically constructed (Hook, 2003). I was interested in how discourses attain their power, who they serve and which institutions shape and maintain them. If the preceding discussion of discourse and discourse analysis seems vague, it is perhaps because there are no recipes or formulae. It is a form of analysis that is attentive both to detail in language and to the wider social picture (Hook, 2001). Attaining poststructuralist truth (if there could be such a thing) or replacing one truth with another, is not the goal of the discourse analysis, to do so would perpetuate the hegemonic discourse which is embedded within knowledge producing institutions (Gavey, 1989).

Discourse analysis involves the careful reading of texts (e.g., transcripts of conversations or interviews, or existent documents or records, or even more general social practices), with a view to discerning discursive patterns of meaning, contradictions, and inconsistencies. Discourse analysis of the kind I am interested in,

involves examining the discourses for the power relationships and the subject positions that were available to the interviewees throughout key points in their lives. This research examines the discourses of masculinity that were available to the interviewees and the subject positions they took up through a narrative of key events they used to describe this process.

Narrative approaches in psychology

Narrative approaches evolved in resistance to psychological approaches that presented a dehumanising portrayal of people as a kind of clockwork mechanism (Parker, 2005). While narrative approaches to psychology do not meet the criteria for 'evidence' enabled through positivism, they do have their own criteria for making meaning. Narrative approaches are often dismissed as non-scientific, however 'non-scientific' does not necessarily translate as lesser, and proponents of narrative approaches generally do not accept that empirical methods are best suited to understanding the human condition. On the contrary, narrative approaches typically reject simplistic positivist models that reduce human behaviour to simple cause and effect relationships and, in effect, remove the lived experience from the human condition (Freeman, 2007; Hook, 2003). The criteria for constructing 'scientific narratives' are useful for stories about complex causal processes in the world, but are not necessarily suitable for considering meaning in people's lives (Chamberlain et al., 1997).

To narrate a cognitive framework of CSO (see Marshall & Marshall, 2000) is to transform what would otherwise be a mere string of meaningless, disconnected events into a meaningful, connected story, perhaps with a plot or running theme (Freeman, 1999). Further, narrative approaches offer an opportunity to employ the historical/genealogical aspect of Foucault's arguments by examining the person within the historical and social milieu in which they are embedded (Hook, 2001). They also provide an opportunity to examine text from which discourse can be inferred. One of the fundamental assumptions of narrative psychology is that language is not seen as a direct route to the individuals underlying cognitions. Rather, it is the stories people tell and the way they tell them, that is of interest to the

narrative researcher (Riessman, 1993). Psychologists have argued that narrative construction is a human means of making sense of the world (Sabin, 1986).

In the past 20-25 years, there has been a significant increase in the use of narrative methods of inquiry within the social sciences (Murray, 2000). One reason for this is the assumption that human life is itself lived through stories and the narrative is both a method of understanding and an ontological condition of social life (Smith & Sparkes, 2008). Narrative approaches in psychology, like discursive approaches, are fluid and negotiable (Chamberlain, 1997). However, the basic principal of narrative psychology is that people make sense of themselves through language and do this most comprehensively through storied language, rather than statistics (Smith & Sparkes, 2008). Typically, narratives in their 'traditional' form are understood as stories made up of a sequential ordering of events and an effort to make something out of those events: to render, or to signify, the experiences of persons-in-flux in a personally and culturally coherent, plausible manner (Chamberlain et al., 1997). Narrative enables a sense of unity, meaning and coherence that configures every day lived experience (Crossley, 2000).

Like most disciplines, narrative psychology is not unified or without its ambiguities (Riessman & Speedy, 2007). For example, some arguments propose that narrative and identity, or subjectivity, amount to the same thing - that the self belongs in the narrative and the narrative is a reflection of the self, perhaps even 'navel gazing'. Other approaches reject this as a reductionist argument that equates identity and language and presumes that the self can be no more than the language available. Others posit that the narrative self is, or can be, a performance that serves to defend and cover a deeper and more complex identity. For others, narratives are designed to conceal and censor as much as they reveal, that is, they serve to protect against uncomfortable unconscious realities (Smith & Sparkes, 2008).

Riessman and Speedy (2007) discuss how individuals and groups construct identity through story-telling. However, the identity that is constructed in narratives is always fluid, producing and reproducing itself through a combined process of being and

becoming, belonging and longing, to belong. This does not infer that narratives are always consciously purposeful; the ends that are achieved may be utterly obscure to the narrator. Rather, the claim is simply that narratives, as sense making tools, inevitably do things - for people, for social institutions, for culture and more (Freeman, 2002). Narratives can engage the audience, inviting the listener into the world of the narrator. Narratives can also mislead an audience where the narrator can, through a creative representation of a story, dissuade a listener from thinking that the speaker is responsible for misdeeds (Riessman & Speedy, 2007).

Individual narratives are shaped by social, cultural and contextual influences (Andersson, 2008). In some cases, and in simple terms, the telling of one's story can help one understand the world and their position in it, and convey this understanding to others. However, personal narratives can be produced through a relationship of power and the production of narratives can re-produce power (Murray, 2000). This is similar to the way individuals can maintain normative, cultural and social discourses by adhering to the dominant, or 'normal' discourse. For example, while there is no simple or clear cultural definition of masculinity in Western culture, there appears to be a highly contested HM discourse that champions those who adhere to its dominating, controlling and heterosexual discourse (Andersson, 2008). In order to understand how a person is influenced by HM, it is necessary to look beyond their subjectivity and examine their cultural location from an historical perspective (Yates & Hiles 2010).

In many ways, narratives inform us of the available discourses and subject positions available in a culture or society. Further, in a manner similar to performativity, popular narratives such as those portrayed in the film, TV and other media, seep through into personal narratives (Murray, 2000). The narrator may be at centre stage but he or she cannot extricate him or herself from the broader soup of the social environment that they are embedded in (Murray, 2000). Likewise, the narrator cannot remove himself from the history that allowed him or herself to tell the story.

The process of creating a narrative enables the person to give coherence to the constant change in his or her life and bring order to disorder (Murray, 2000). Given that CSO are typically silenced through dominant discourse, and their stories are unheard, a narrative approach seemed suitable in terms of filling some of the identified gaps in the child sex offender research - to understand CSO and the context in which they lived their lives. I was interested in how and why the men told their stories, that is, who they were in their stories, how they identified themselves through their life story and how it was ordered. I was also interested in the relevant others in their stories, and the identities produced over time.

The importance of narrative to this research is its ability to empower the participants through attention to their voice. According to Murray and Sargeant (2011), the study of narrative response is the connection between the ways individuals make sense of, and give meaning to, their experiences through narrative form. It is through narrative that a participant can speak in their own voice and tell their own story, and through this process can apply the understanding achieved to their own action (Mishler, 1986).

Narrative analysis

The role of the researcher in narrative analysis is to connect the understanding individuals make of lived experiences with some form of conceptual interpretation (McAdams, 2001). Narrative analysis takes the story as its object of investigation, the purpose of which is to see how respondents make sense of the events and actions in their lives (McCance, McKenna & Boore, 2001). The sequencing of a narrative is particularly important as it demonstrates the constructional ordering of events in the narrators mind – how one event affected another. Respondents will, most often, offer a narrative to explain extraordinary or unusual experiences in their lives, and doing so infuses meaning into the occurrences of these events and offers explanations presented in a sequential manner that a third party can understand (McCance et al., 2001).

In narrative modes of inquiry, the analyst focuses on particular actors, in particular environments at particular times, and is interested in how a speaker assembles and sequences events and uses them to construct their story (Riessman & Speedy, 2007). Attention to sequences of action distinguishes narrative analysis from other modes of inquiry (Riessman & Speedy, 2007). Using a narrative approach allows an analysis of the contradictions, complexities and discourses that have shaped the interviewees lives. Up until very recently, there has been a dearth of research that exclusively draws on the narratives of men who have sexually abused children (Young-Hauser, 2010, is one exception) and none that ask men who sexually abused minors to reflectively examine the development of their masculinity.

The narrative method I used was influenced by Foucault's historical approach, which stresses the importance of social and cultural discourse and relations of power. My method was also strongly influenced by Messerschmidt's (2000b) life history approach that examined adolescent CSO reflective accounts of key points in their lives, using masculinity as a framework. The analysis is also influenced by what Langerliier (1989) describes as personal narrative as social process. This approach understands storytelling as being embedded in larger social processes and examines the settings that stories are produced in, and the effects that these settings have.

Method

Ethics

The Massey University Human Ethics Committee approved this project on the 21st of July, 2010 (approval number: Southern A 09/85). The informed consent and information sheet provided to potential interviewees are provided in appendices 1 and 2. The information sheet reflects the ethical tensions between assuring the men's confidentiality and the ethical need to inform WellStop staff of any ongoing offending, another necessary performance of the barrier that silences the voice of offenders. All of the men signed the form acknowledging that any current offending would be reported to WellStop staff. Pseudonyms were used for all the men and any identifying information was removed from the transcripts and the analysis to maintain confidentiality.

Participants

Participation in this research was voluntary. Volunteers were required to be men convicted of sexually offending against a minor. They were also required to have completed the 12 month WellStop Adult and Family Programme that is designed to provide people who have sexually abused with the skills to stop offending and build lives that are more positive. Due to the sensitive nature of the content of the interviews, WellStop agreed to provide counselling to the men post-interview, as required by the ethical protocol. Interviewees were provided fuel vouchers to compensate for travel expenses.

Four participants, whose ages ranged from their mid-thirties to mid-fifties, volunteered and were accepted to take part in this research. Three of the four interviewees had served a prison sentence, and all of them had undergone treatment for their offending. This history provides a context for the conduct of the interviews. All of the interviews took place at a WellStop office in the North Island where the men had completed their treatment. The men were aware that I was a trainee psychologist interested in the prevention of CSA. The men were from a variety of social backgrounds, Josh could be considered privileged (in a socioeconomic sense), the others less so. Two of the men, Jake and Paul, had previously been involved in primarily male dominated highly physical careers. Chris had a career in the armed forces and Josh had pursued a specialist position the health industry. An approximation of the men's career was used in the analysis where they were relevant to forms of masculinity enacted in their workplaces, however the specific details have been excluded to protect not only their identities, but those of their victims.

Child sex offenders are arguably the most feared and detested population in Western society. Therefore, attracting volunteers to discuss their offending presented difficulties that delayed this research by over a year. The ethical necessities of the project, such as having to conduct the interviews in a suitably resourced facility, also delayed proceedings. However, attracting a large number of interviewees was not the goal of this research; this was an exploratory study with no desire to generalise to a population. Rather, the intent was to open a space to allow discussion and further

investigation. A small group was preferred to allow a comprehensive and thorough analysis of interview data. In addition, the sample size allowed a thorough reading and assessment of the interviewee's talk with two analyses – narrative and discourse. This dual analysis allowed this research to achieve two of its aims: to give former CSO a voice (narrative) and to examine their talk for evidence of dominant masculine discourse that may have influenced their offending (discourse analysis).

Recording, transcribing and protection of data

The interviews were recorded using a digital recording device and were transcribed verbatim by the researcher. The method and rationale for the transcription is discussed in more detail in the 'interviews' and 'narrative analysis' sections.

The digital copies of the interviews were stored on a password-protected computer in a secure location. Once the data had been transcribed, the audio files were deleted. Transcribed interviews were not returned to the participants, as was specified in the ethics protocol. The transcribed files were kept in password-protected documents in a secure location separate from consent forms. Consent forms were returned to Dr Leigh Coombes who secured them, separately from the data, as per the Massey University protocol. The consent forms will be destroyed after 5 years.

Interviews

The impetus for a masculinity focused interview came from Messerschmidt's (2000b) qualitative case studies which examined constructions of masculinity in adolescent CSO using a 'life history' approach. Qualitative interviews were used, as opposed to other qualitative methods such as self-generated written or verbal accounts, to allow a thorough investigation of development of masculinity.

As Hook (2001) discussed, historical narratives can be seen as a work of the present, constrained and distorted by current institutional, social and cultural discourses. The WellStop institution was, at one time, effectively the gatekeeper of the interviewees freedom. The powerful position that this organisation once held in these men's lives was evident in some of their stories and will have influenced the telling of their

stories. Therefore, what was produced was a construction of the men's identity moulded for a particular audience, in a particular setting and viewed through a particular lens (Riesmann & Speedy, 2006). The men's narratives are, therefore, viewed as the result of a joint enterprise in which two participants, myself and the interviewee, are involved in the production of text within a particular social relationship (Murray, 2000). Narratives were co-constructed between the narrator and the narrators (perceived) audience (Riessman & Speedy, 2007). In this case, the audience included myself – a 31 year old clinical psychology student, the eventual readers of the research and WellStop. The men understood that I was interested in their understandings of masculinity at particular times in their lives. They were also aware that I was interested in CSA prevention and that the information they provided would be confidential (with the exceptions mentioned above). Perhaps, the most salient aspect of this co-construction was that all of the men were convicted CSO and were positioned as such prior to the interview. This positioning cannot be separated from the narratives.

Given that masculinity is very rarely discussed (in everyday discussion or in psychological literature), an interview was deemed necessary to both sow the seeds of discussion and encourage conversation through open ended questioning (Riessman, 2007). Qualitative interviews also allowed me to pick up on discursive cues in the men's talk (such as an indirect reference to masculine discourse) that written approaches would not have been able to do. It was rationalised that a man leading the discussion on masculinity would, in some way, overcome some of the barriers for men to talk about this hitherto silenced topic.

The interviews lasted between one hour 45 minutes and two hours and 45 minutes. The interviews were unstructured; however, the men were aware that I was interested in their understanding of masculinity and how discourses of masculinity had affected their identities. An open format was purposefully engaged in the interviews, to encourage the men to tell their own story. The men were encouraged to begin their stories from their earliest childhood memories and, from there, the men's narratives were loosely structured in a temporal ordering of key events including parental and

familial relationships, school, intimate relationships, occupations, offending and how they understood masculinity through these events. I was interested in how these men constructed their identity in each of these domains and how their masculine identity developed over time and culminated in their identity post-offending. Particular attention was paid to moments of special meaning in the men's lives, regardless of whether these moments seemed to be especially relevant to masculinity (Riessman & Speedy, 2007).

The interviews were loosely focused around the notions of masculinity within the men's social, cultural and discursive milieu. After introductions, the interviews began with open questions such as "tell me about your earliest memories". Where there was evidence of naturalised discursive influences in the men's language, for example, "that's just the way it is", I would investigate further with questions such as "where to you think that [feeling/belief/state of mind] comes from? I used gender specific language, often offered by the interviewees, and explicit references to masculinities during the interviews to enquire about key moments and turning points in the men's lives. For example, "you described your father as a 'manly man'; what was a manly man?" was asked to investigate a paternal representation of masculinity that was present in the childhood of one of the interviewees. Later in the interview, this was followed up with questions that investigated how this conception of masculinity had transformed in adulthood. Further questions were asked concerning the implications of adhering to a certain type of masculinity, for example, "what would it mean if you did cry in front of your [male] friends? I was also interested in the perceived authenticity of the masculinity that the men aligned with and enquired around this with questions such as, "how is it the men at school had more authority?" These techniques allowed insight into how the men constructed their masculinity and the implications these constructions had in terms of subject positions that were available to them, as men. However, the interviewee's were also encouraged to take the interview in other directions in a conversational manner.

I did have particular questions informing my own position in both the interview, the co-construction of the telling and the analysis. Riessman's (1993) first level of

narrative representation is 'attending to the experience'. The individual in attending to experiences makes choices about what is noticed, and what is chosen to retell. This level also applies to the researcher who will decide which parts of the narrative will receive attention. Riessman's second level is the 'telling of the experience by the story teller'. The telling of an experience is a performance of a personal narrative, drawing on cultural context. By talking and listening, asking and answering questions, the interviewer and the narrator co-construct the story. I was guided by questions of masculine resources that were available to the men throughout their lives; what discourses of masculinity were adhered to? How 'authentic' was the men's performance of masculinity to the men? How did the narrative construct HM? How is HM discursively produced in the men's talk? Did the men connect their understanding of masculinity with their offending? Has their understanding of masculinity changed, and how do they understand themselves through masculinity now? What does it mean if someone tries, and fails, to do masculinity in a particular way?

Prior to the interviews the men were, unavoidably, positioned as both former child sex offenders and as volunteers in a psychological study that aimed to prevent future cases of CSA. At the outset, I noted my appreciation for the men's participation and attempted to position myself as a grateful student as opposed to an 'expert' seeking to explain their deviancy. This was done to engage the men and to set the scene for a collaborative discussion that could be clinically useful and ultimately prevent suffering.

Conducting the interviews a chronological manner allowed the interview to progress in such a way that allowed the interviewee to put his offending in the context of his life. Thus, by the time we discussed offending, the men had already created a life story of a person (not a monster) that most people can relate to. The interviewees, being ex-offenders, were then asked to narrate their development after their offences, conviction and subsequent treatment. This allowed an opportunity for the men to reflect on the implications of their offending through their development post-conviction and post-treatment.

During, and prior to, the interviews I was aware of the demonisation of CSO and how this pervasive discourse could affect my interaction with the men. However, I was also aware of the research that resists this discourse, and the gap in the research where CSO are silenced. My aim then, was to encourage the men to relay their narratives as freely as possible while at the same time attending to salient moments that were indicative of the influence of masculine discourse.

Like most life histories, the men's stories had a number of successes and failures, ups and downs. However, as they told of their various traumas, I was moved by many of the moments in the men's lives that do not occur in most people's narratives. There were also a number of common themes that ran through the men's stories that the analysis would later reveal.

Narrative analysis

A narrative approach allowed me, as the researcher, to look beyond pre-ordained assumptions about who CSO are, and more closely at the temporal ordering of key events in the offender's lives. I used narrative analysis to construct and present moments of the interviewees' life stories with particular attention paid to key relationships in the men's lives and the development of their masculinity.

A narrative approach was especially useful in this study because it enabled the men to reflect on their understanding of masculinity from an early age up until the point I met them – post-conviction and post-therapy. A narrative history method allows interviews to be conducted and analysed within a framework that can accommodate both the subjective experience and the socio-cultural influences of lived experience. In addition, this method attends to the apparent and the absent, the explicit and the silenced, where that which is silent or repressed can be investigated and brought to the fore (Freeman, 2002).

The narrative method was intended to give a voice to CSO, something of a rarity in the current academic and mainstream literature (Messerschmidt, 2000b). By enabling the men in this research a voice, a human one, it was hoped that it would become

evident that given different circumstances, given the right interventions at the right time, their offending might have been averted. Within the men's stories I aimed to identify possible points of intervention, points in the men's lives where they were they were at risk of sexually offending, consciously or otherwise. By opening a space for conversations about masculinity as a site of intervention, these voices may inform possible points of intervention for the prevention of child sex abuse. This analysis then, is an interpretive process, where transcribing the experience (level three) required decisions about how much detail to include in the meaning making (Riessman, 1993). The details of the offending are not the focus of this research, and are excluded.

One of the key components of narrative analysis is the extrapolation of common elements or themes that can cut across individual experiences or a collection of individual stories in order to give meaning to the experiences. Studies using narrative analysis usually produce a case study of each participant and then a commentary addressing the differences and similarities among the case studies. In this analysis, I have formed a hybrid narrative.

A narrative hybrid was used in order to group together common themes from the men's narratives in a chronological and sequential order. Common themes were then grouped together in this way to show how the men's lives and constructions of masculinity developed to a point of offending. The narrative analysis involved multiple readings of the data to identify themes related to masculinity, prevention and other salient topics. Themes were extracted and grouped together under multiple headings. Themes were then condensed with some being discarded, and in some cases, multiple themes were arranged under a common heading.

Narrative 'story lines' were identified in order to provide a (roughly) sequential ordering of the events so that the men's lives could be understood as a narrative. Significant events or 'turning points' were also identified so show how the men explained how major incidents, epiphanies and changes in circumstances impacted on their development. The storylines reflected my questions, i.e. I wanted to know

certain things about the development of their masculinity that lead to their offending, with a view to preventing CSA in the future.

As Potter and Hepburn (2005) point out, approaches that do not focus on the idiosyncrasies of talk miss some of the 'quality' of the interaction between the interviewer and interviewee (pauses, "uncertainty markers" and so on, p. 294). While attention to these details are important in certain types of analysis (such as conversation analysis), the primary aim of this research was to provide both a narrative account of the men's lives leading to their offending and an analysis of the cultural and social forces that influenced their lives and their offending. This is not to say that my approach to the analysis captures all that is relevant and important from the interview. On the contrary, a Jeffersonian representation of the men's talk may have produced further insight (Potter & Hepburn, 2005). However, what is produced in the analysis fulfils the aim of this study; namely a representation of the development of masculinity in the lives of CSO with an examination of the cultural and institutional forces that influenced their lives and their offending.

In addition, the narrative hybrid account of the men's lives allows the events to be constructed in sequence. Presented in this way the men's life stories become more accessible to the reader and the men themselves are portrayed in a more complete way that puts their offending in the contexts of their lives. Examining the intricacies of their talk surrounding their offending could have reduced their narratives to salient moments of 'deviancy', similar to that which is produced through some positivist methods. The narrative hybrid also allows an analysis of the construction of subjectivity as a result of historical forces and powerful institutions. The discursive production of masculinity and subjectivity is then illustrated in more detail in the discourse analysis.

According to Riessman (1993), the values, politics and theoretical commitments of the analyst impact at level four; the analysing of the experience. The analyst creates a summation, an aggregate, of what the interview narratives produce, turning the stories told into a new or hybrid narrative. The interviewee's relationship with their

parents was of interest, as gendered parental relationships are typically a person's first interaction with representations of masculinity and femininity (Rohner & Veneziano, 2001; Steinfeldt, Vaughan, LaFollette & Steinfeldt, 2012). I was interested in how the interviewees identified with these early gender representations and how they attempted to perform masculinity in relation to their siblings and peers. School is typically the first point, outside the family, where an individual can test out such an identity with one's peers and construct parallel narratives running adjacent with narratives constructed around the familial identity. School is also typically a gendered and hegemonic institution with its own set of cultural norms that shape its students (Messerschmidt, 2000b). Masculine identity is also co-constructed with a partner in intimate relationships, and occupations can offer an environment to perform various gender identities (Butler, 1990; Flood, 2008). The narrative analysis presented in Chapter 5 produces an account of the meaning of masculinity in the men's lives.

Discourse analysis

I was interested in how masculinity was discursively produced in the men's talk. I attended to the discourses of masculinity that positioned the men in particular ways, and how an 'authentic' masculine identity was produced. I was also interested in how the men reflected on their changing masculinity over time through their lived experiences. A critical discourse analysis allows the researcher to identify how different understandings of masculinity are constructed through language and the implications for subject positions. It enables the examination of social power relations that exist within particular institutions, including the technologies of gender (Gavey, 1992; Parker, 2005).

I used discourse analysis to identify how the participants constructed their masculinity throughout various key points in their lives (Parker, 2005). I was interested in identifying the discourses of masculinity that the men had access to and how they reproduced relationships of domination and subordination of normative heterosexuality, specifically how they positioned women across time and context. I was interested in the discourses the men used to make sense of the relationship between their masculine identities and their offending.

I was also interested in how the men's discursive production of their masculinity had strengthened or attenuated, became more versatile, or remained stable. Language that adheres to the rules of the permanency of gender indicates a naturalisation of the belief (Hook, 2001). For example, comments such as, "that's just what men do" or, "it's just the way it is" suggest that the discourse is embedded in the social and cultural lives of the men. In addition, I was particularly interested in language that indicated a naturalisation of heterosexuality that might condone, or mitigate the subordination of women and children. For example, the discursive representation of the right for men to have sex, to dominate, or to use violence as a means of control is analysed. It is precisely where dominant discourses are produced as stable in their adherence to HM that Messerschmidt (2000b) argues produces the conditions for child sex offending. I was also interested in the ways that the men positioned other forms of masculinity and femininity in their talk.

Hook (2001) proposed that discourse analysis should not only search for meaning but also a scarcity of meaning (i.e. it should look for what cannot be said). As discussed in Chapter 2, conceptions of masculinity are often left unexamined in psychological and criminal literature. Revealing the naturalised discourses of the performativity of gender, the 'truth' of masculinity and heterosexuality, enables the unspoken discourses of masculinity to emerge as a potential site of intervention for CSO.

As previously discussed, HM is confirmed through certain practices of heterosexuality, especially those which subordinate women (Flood 2008; Messerschmidt, 2000b). I wanted to investigate which discourses of sexuality were available to the men and if they were able to practice these discourses; if not, what would a failure in this regard mean to their masculinity? Was there any point in the men's lives where they, with hindsight, became aware that their enactment of masculinity was unhealthy; and ultimately what could have made a difference?

The following analysis chapters therefore address how HM is discursively produced in the men's narratives and how masculine discourse is implicated in sexually harmful behaviour. To address these questions, Chapter 5 (re)presents narrative histories through an analysis of the critical moments in their lives as they renegotiate their masculine identities, and Chapter 6 is a discourse analysis of the discursive constitution of masculinity in their talk.

Chapter Five: Narrative analysis

From the beginning of this research, one of the primary goals was to provide the men in this study with an opportunity to tell their story. Throughout the conduct of this study, the men were respected as experts of their own experience and their stories were honoured as a legitimate source of knowledge. What is (re)presented in this chapter, is of course, a 'hybrid' story of the men's stories co-constructed with me in a particular setting, and with the knowledge that this is a story of offending. What follows is a representation of the men's narratives organised temporally through key events.

The outcome of this process is a set of narratives configured through the use of a plot in order to give meaning to the experience (McCance et al., 2000). Plot in this context refers to the sequential ordering of life events drawn on by the men to account for their understanding of masculinity as they reflected on their histories. Within each narrative, there are turning points in which critical events took place, or decisions were made, that influenced the men's lives (Young- Hauser, 2010). The primary plot in the following stories involves men who, due to various circumstances, sexually offended against a minor, were convicted and subsequently received treatment for that offence. At the time of the interviews, the men had reached a point in their lives where they were able to reflect on how conceptions of masculinity transformed throughout their histories and influenced their offending and the 'after' effects. Although each story is unique, there are common themes that occur across the narratives, perhaps because the participants were drawing on similar cultural and social discourses (Polkinghorne, 1988). The narratives are organised through the following meaning making themes.

- Distant dad
- Early representations of masculinity; power authority, freedom and irresponsibility
- Impotent women
- Freedom and lack of discipline

- Violence at school
- Sexual objectification of women
- Fragile identities and feelings of worthlessness
- In secure relationships
- Offending
- Prevention

Distant dad; incompatible father figure

Usually the first and most influential masculine figure in a person's life is the man who plays the father figure (Rohner & Veneziano, 2001; Steinfeldt et al., 2012). For most boys, the father figure is the measure of masculinity against which all other men are compared and is the figure that boys themselves will ultimately measure themselves against (Dempsey & Day, 2010).

All of the interviewees were asked to begin their narratives from their earliest memories and, for numerous reasons, their fathers played a key part in the men's early years. All four interviewees described a father figure that they could not identify with.

Chris's most salient memories of his father are of him seriously assaulting his wife (Chris's mother) and using harsh physical discipline with Chris and his younger sister. Chris felt that he received disproportionately severe and more frequent physical discipline. As a result of this and other discrepancies, Chris felt he was the least preferred of his father's two children and described his sister as his father's "little princess".

I always felt sort of second best to my sister - with regards to my dad anyway, I always felt that things were a bit harder, and a bit rougher, on me than her. He was always a very manly man. (Chris)

Chris explains his father's aggressive and dominating approach to parenting as a process of hardening resulting from his own abusive and neglectful upbringing.

[Dad] had a very rough upbringing, his father used to beat him and burn him with cigarettes. He's one of these guys where you hear stories about; 'oh I used to ride a horse to the school and keep my feet warm in cow pats'... Dad was the youngest so he was the one doing all the work as the youngest child. I mean, if he got it wrong he'd get a whack. His dad used to cut his hair with sheep clippers – the old hand sheep clippers - and if he moved while he was getting his hair cut it would be whack across the head with the sheep clippers. Dad's got scars across his head where his head's been ripped open, so ye it was pretty rough for him. That's the sort of upbringing that he had and a lot of with my offending he blames himself because of his upbringing. He didn't get taught how to teach me properly as well so as a result he's always been a manly man. (Chris)

Chris referred to his father as a “manly man” on numerous occasions throughout our conversation. It is interesting, and telling, that he seems to equate manliness here with being rough and hard – descriptors that are frequently used to describe masculinity (Flood, 2008; Messerschmidt, 2000a). Chris uses a story of his father's own upbringing to illustrate, and make sense of, his father's “manly” and abusive approach to parenting (Freeman, 2002). His father's approach to parenting seems to be differentiated based on the gender of his children. This was possibly based on assumptions, influenced by his own upbringing, about how best to prepare his boys and girls for life in a masculine world. Indeed, a strict and harsh upbringing is often perceived to be the culturally normative way of making a ‘man out of a boy’ (Toerien & Durrheim, 2001). Presumably, this approach to fathering is taken in order to show boys how to be physically imposing, dominant and oppressive so that they re-enact it to avoid subordination. The position of the “little princess” in the family reproduces the understanding that femininity is valued and reproduced through nurturing.

Paul represented his father as absent. Paul last saw his father on his seventh birthday, and has no clear memories of his father prior to this, other than the conflict between his father and mother.

I don't really remember a great deal. I can't remember a lot of love or anything like that coming from him, there just doesn't seem to be a lot that stands out about him. (Paul)

Within the space of a year a stepfather who Paul “hated” replaced Paul’s father. Paul went on to say that, he felt his stepfather had replaced his father – without being invited by Paul to do so. Paul explained that he avoided his stepfather as much as possible, preferring to spend time away from the family home with friends. His stepfather seemed to do little to build a relationship between the two and was content to keep a distance between them. The absent or distant father represented a “lost” form of masculinity that disciplines.

I guess I felt a bit lost there for a while - for quite a long time... I got a bit wayward [is how] I suppose you could describe it. I sorta hadn't got that father figure to keep you in line...I just had nothing to do with [my stepfather], I just avoided him, didn't even like being in the same room as him; and he seemed quite happy for me to go off and do whatever I want, just so long as I wasn't in his space and um there was no real discipline there I suppose. (Paul)

Jake’s mother and father separated when he was very young. Jake explained that following the split he had sporadic and unpredictable contact with his father and was repeatedly disappointed after his father reneged on numerous promised visits. Jake felt that without a stable representation of masculinity in his life that could meet the level of decency that could be looked up to; he had no access to a relationship in which he could perform masculinity.

I didn't have a decent male character to look up when I was a young fella, I didn't know how a decent person – or a decent male was supposed to act. (Jake)

Once every three months or something he might come and spend a day with me, or a day with me and my sister....I've got vivid memories of being a young fella, of being home in the house and he's come round pissed as a newt to pick me and [sister] up to go out for the day or something. (Jake)

Although Josh's parents were physically available, and seemingly supportive, he repeatedly constructed his own identity through difference. The normative values of his conservative family were contested and his identity was produced as outside the cultural resources available in his family.

I guess they're kind of 'one job for life', the white picket fence, 'you've got to have good savings', quite sort of conservative, quite middle-class; whereas I think I'm a lot more adventurous, a lot more risk taking. I'm a bit more kind of 'a sensualist', like I'll spend my money on rich foods and drinks or travel or experiences like bungee jumping, whereas they'll be like 'buy a new carpet for the lounge'. (Josh)

Josh positioned himself as different from both his father and his brother who were as closer as they shared similar masculine values. He experienced these differences through a split between physical and academic masculine identities.

I always felt that my brother had the closest relationship with dad than I did... I always saw [my brother] as a better athlete. He had more girlfriends, he was just more the sort of 'jock' kind of guy and I was more the academic, sort of booky, crafty or whatever; whereas he was more kind of physical. But I don't know I think we are very, very different people, I mean he's more like my parents. (Josh)

I see [my dad] as a strong guy, we're the same height but he's a lot bigger than I am, his arms are a lot bigger than my arms. (Josh)

Josh positioned his father as a 'strong guy' and his brother as an 'athlete' representing a dominant form of masculinity that values physical strength. This excluded Josh's subordinate masculine position that resonates with the position of nerd (booky and creative) within his family culture.

The men positioned their fathers, as absent or incompatible, in their performance of masculinity. They experienced, differently, dominant forms of masculinity that were unable to be negotiated with the men, as boys. The early experiences of masculinity were interpreted through fragmented access to discourses of normative masculinity through the available resources they had.

Early representations of masculinity; power, authority, freedom and irresponsibility

Families dominated by men and masculinities that subordinate women and femininities and practice power by oppression were found in Messerschmidt's (2000b) study of adolescent CSO. A similar pattern of masculine oppression was reported by the interviewees in this research. This section examines how the men interpreted their (step) fathers' enactment of masculinity in their early years.

Each of the interviewees had a different story to tell but they seemed to interpret their fathers' performance of masculinity in similar ways. Only two of the interviewees, Josh and Chris, had fathers who were physically present in their families. Both Josh and Chris spontaneously used the term "manly" when asked to describe their fathers. Both men positioned their fathers as authoritarian and physically imposing figures.

We'd get pulled around and yelled at. [Dad's] temper was on a very short wick so if things weren't going right he'd get angry pretty quick...he never really explained why he did [discipline us]. I suppose it was part of him as well - you don't talk about that sort of thing, you don't talk about feelings, you don't talk about all that sort of stuff. (Chris)

Both Chris and Josh described their fathers as being emotionally restricted, where feelings were not an available resource to being 'manly'. Anger, is produced as an authority to discipline, and therefore, a physical (dominant) rather than an emotional (subordinate) relationship. This form of masculinity enabled him to express his legitimated emotion whilst maintaining a powerful identity (Dempsey & Day, 2010; Gough, 2009).

Chris found it difficult to consolidate his understanding of his father as 'manly' through the position of protector, especially where he experienced harsh discipline enacted through this form of masculinity.

I don't exactly understand it myself but um manly man, the way I saw it was, the protector [of the family] - which doesn't make sense either - being the protector and then beating up on the family. (Chris)

Although Josh's father never used physical discipline, he still positioned him as a man with an authoritarian and physical presence, reluctant to express "unmanly" emotions in his enactment of normative masculinity.

He's like sort of an authority figure type of a man, so both in a hierarch[ical sense] and in physical capability. He was like, I guess what you'd call, a stereotypically manly man. He's kind of fairly unemotional just gets things done. If there's a tragedy, 'ok we'll deal with it -no point getting upset about it'. (Josh)

Jake positioned his father as enacting power and control through anger and aggression. He stated that he used these strategies to manipulate his mother. Jake understood his father's performance of masculinity that has access to his right to authority, but without responsibility. This form of normative heterosexuality produces men as entitled to do 'what they want'.

[My dad was] a guy that's there whenever he wants, he's always pissed and gets what he wants, if he wants his way he'll bloody yell and scream and get it his way. Ye it wasn't a good male example for me I don't think ... He could go out and do what he wanted basically. So ye that would be the impression I got - that men could do what they wanted, it was their choice.
(Jake)

For Jake, this representation of masculinity enabled expressions of power to dominate women, to act without consequences. Power produced desired results through aggression.

The absent father represented a “lost” form of masculinity that disciplines for Paul, including the lack of discipline offered by his stepfather.

[My stepfather] seemed quite happy for me to go off and do whatever I wanted, just so long as wasn't in his space. There was no real discipline there. (Paul)

Paul remembers his father leaving when he was aged 7, and the desertion and subsequent distant relationship with his stepfather was, perhaps, the most significant turning point in Paul's life. Paul's loss of his father, and of masculine discipline, was interpreted by Paul to mean he did not have disciplined boundaries. Paul lived by the philosophy: “[if] I could get away with it, it was all good”, a principal that influenced many decisions in his life – including his offending.

Perhaps I got a bit wayward [is how] I suppose you could describe it. I sort of hadn't had that father figure to keep [me] in line...it's pretty hard to describe, it just seemed to have a bit more freedom to do what I felt like.
(Paul)

The men in this study had access to representations of masculinity in their childhoods that valued power, authority, and discipline as a right without the responsibility for emotional reciprocity. The men's relationships with their fathers were abusive, absent, or present and disengaged. The masculine resources available to the men were associated with power and control over the family. The men in this study reproduced the historical narratives as they enacted masculinity through the power to control and without discipline.

Freedom and lack of discipline

As Murray (2000) pointed out, narratives can both produce and reproduce power. The interviewees do this both by reproducing their father's enactment of masculine power and by continuing to make the association with paternity and power. Boys' behaviour and enactment of socially normative moral codes are influenced by their fathers' performance of such codes. It is also possible that boys seek approval from their fathers through the practices of masculinity that are valued. This section discusses how the men enacted the construction of masculinity established in childhood through the masculine resources available to them.

Jake, Paul and Chris pushed institutional boundaries and enacted a powerful form of masculinity from an early age. Josh, on the other hand, rigidly adhered to institutional protocol until later in adolescence.

Jake learned from his father's behaviour that men can do as they pleased and that acts of aggression can result in the desired outcome. He developed masculine characters of power through media representations that support his practices to achieve his desired outcome. He likened his masculine identity in childhood and adolescence to the Incredible Hulk, in a process of meaning making (Murray, 2000) that informed his performance of aggression and violence to get his own way; invariably this tactic was effective.

Maybe I wanted a 50c lolly and I didn't get it, so I turned into a green monster and I'd end up getting this 50c lolly and [thought] 'oh that worked...

I know what I'll do next time if I want something and I don't get it'. (Jake)

Paul associated masculinity with disciplinary boundaries, and therefore did not afford his mother with any power to control his behaviour.

There didn't really seem to be any boundaries in my life at all really. I guess the only discipline was sort of - before you do something - you weigh up the chances of getting caught. (Paul)

Discipline was not absent in all the men's lives. For Chris, discipline was strict both at home and in his chosen career in the armed forces. He told of his resistance to authority as being "mischief" and although it did have consequences for his advancement, he did not necessarily understand it as a challenge to his masculinity.

I did all right in school and as mischief as I was I actually learned something [laughs]. I've always been a bit cheeky mischief fella, I just haven't seemed to have gone on as well or advanced [in the forces] as much as I could have.....so maybe I was over cheeky [laughs]. (Chris)

Josh reflected that discipline and boundaries were not a prominent part of his childhood. Both he and his brother were generally obedient, and as such, their parents adopted a "permissive" approach to parenting that offered little in the way of structured rules and guidance. Josh reflected that at school, discipline and guidance was similarly vague and unnecessary. His academic achievements and his allegiance to the 'academic'/'geeks' group meant that he rarely resisted the schools boundaries or behaved inappropriately.

Josh's location as a 'geek', provided him access to a masculinity that separated his own identity from that of his 'manly' father. He talked about testing available boundaries and their consequences to produce his own moral boundaries; with each successive break, a new one was formed.

I used to be extremely moral about the whole faithfulness thing. When I was with [my first girlfriend] I was at a party and basically there were these drunk fifth formers who were throwing themselves at everyone. I was like whoa! What are you doing sitting on me? Get off I've got a girlfriend! (Josh)

More recently I've been very bad at being faithful - something changed around 7th form. I think it was basically that when I did cheat on someone it was like 'oh is that all it was', I didn't get struck down by karma or anything. I think the wrong thing to do was to start because then it became easier to do - like drinking and drugs.... It's almost like there was this barrier in my mind that was just this illusion or I felt was just an illusion. (Josh)

In this way, the social and cultural authority of his conservative family was resisted, and represented a turning point in his life and produced the conditions for a lack of discipline on his own behaviour. The knowledge that he could break the rules, without consequence, enabled him to continually shift his understanding of his moral boundaries, a shift that would eventually culminate in his offending. These narratives position the men within histories of an absent authentic masculinity that they could adhere to as they contested the effects of presence or absence of authority and boundaries.

Impotent women

Masculinity, like most powerful ideologies, can define itself through what the other is not, maintaining power by the exclusion of the other. Masculinity operates through the exclusion or oppression of femininity (Maher et al., 2005). The relationship of domination and subordination is produced and reproduced through normative heterosexuality, where women are positioned as domestically subservient to men (Gough & Edwards, 1998). The men described a dominating and oppressive father figure who subjected their mothers to power, in various ways. This oppression was realised in their narratives where they were able to describe their fathers, but found it difficult to recollect stories of their mothers.

All of the men described their mothers as either absent or ineffective in terms of discipline. They positioned their mothers as overshadowed or even eclipsed by a dominant and pervasive masculine influence. Despite their mothers' presence in their lives, the men found struggled to recall concrete memories. Mothers, when talked about, were naturalised through normative heterosexuality, minimised or excluded from their stories. Paul recalls his mother being present, "just looking after him".

I suppose [she did] the sort of things that mothers do you know, sort of make sure you're alright and, I suppose just being there for you, just looking after you. (Paul)

Josh positions his mother in a narrative of domination and subordination that was produced through the institutional culture of the military. He described this as a powerful masculine presence, which dominated his mother's family home and suppressed 'feminine' expressions of emotion. Josh explained the perpetuation of his mother's suppressed identity in terms of an omnipresent and oppressive presence – once physically present in his mother's life but perpetually oppressive in his mother's subjectivity.

Mum came from a family which was, although it was four daughters, utterly, utterly dominated by my grandfather, the father figure. He was a military guy, in the air force. I think mum, compared to a lot of other mums, was quite subdued. So even she doesn't kind of show her emotions that much in public, I get the feeling that she thinks if she does it's a bad thing it's not something she is supposed to be doing. (Josh)

The image of Chris's father dominated his childhood memories to the point where he found it difficult to recall memories of his mother. He understood the positioning of his mother in the background as a result of his father's performance of masculinity.

Mum was very quiet, I can't pick any particular memories [of her], I mean mum's always been there but always sort of quiet and in the background. I suppose that's from being suppressed by dad. (Chris)

Jake understood his mother sending him away as an effect of reproducing his father's disrespect for her, and his sisters. He explained that he took up his father's performance of an aggressive masculinity to get what he wanted.

Not respecting my mum - that was a big problem. [I] didn't respect anyone: my sister, my mum as I was growing up. Basically, it came to a point where mum had had enough and she sent me to my auntie...to give mum a break from me basically. (Jake)

Where do you think that lack of respect for your mum comes from? (Keith)

Probably the examples I've been given from my dad. I think they would probably be where they come from because he didn't have any respect for [mum] and that's what I saw, the way men treating my mum, mainly. (Jake)

Like the boys in Messerschmidt's (2000b) study, disrespect for women, by other performances of masculinity extended beyond his home. Disrespect for women teachers at his all boys high school was practiced through a relationship of domination and subordination where masculine power (an ability to control) is set against the ridicule of feminine emotion (lack of control) rendering women's authority impotent.

I remember that at one school we had one woman teacher and she just couldn't control anything. Sometimes some of the guys would get her in tears and running out of the friggin' class room, it's like oh my God! (Jake)

As an historical representation of hegemonic masculinity, Jake questioned the effect of a women teacher calling on the authority of a man to restore discipline, however it reproduced the legitimacy of masculinity; to be respected.

The next thing you know she would get the bloody dean or the deputy principal in there to teach the rest of the class. It's like 'you guys are fuckin' dicks'. She was the cruisiest teacher you know but then they would upset her and she'd get the principal in and we would have to do some bloody hard work or something [laughs]...He would come in and lay his discipline down, because basically no one respected her I think, just no-one would listen to her. (Jake)

Jake also understood the gendered power disparity between men and women teachers as an effect of the threat of physical strength.

Because they were men and we just thought they were bigger than us, maybe a bit more grown up and stronger and so we better just do what they bloody say...Even though the men weren't being threatening and that there was the potential because they were bigger than us, I don't know more manly I suppose, there was that sort of threat, that calmed us down maybe. (Jake)

Jake was able to recognise the threat of violence as a powerful resource for men, and that it could be a means of humiliation for women. The operation of power as a process of violence and humiliation is an enactment of hegemonic masculinity - where physical size is paired with masculinity it is associated with power, where it is paired with femininity it is disempowered and oppressed (Gough & Edwards, 1998). As Andersson (2008) wrote, there is no clear cultural definition of what masculinity is in Western culture, however there are many practices of masculinity that coerce men to subjugate others as they yield to more powerful masculine figures. Compliance with hegemonic masculinity protected Jake from social exclusion. While he was able to reflect on the position of the woman teacher with sympathy, any indication of emotion (feminine) would result in a loss of standing among his

peers. The social pressure to conform coupled with the threat of losing masculine status was too strong, and maintained silence, rendering women impotent.

I used to feel sorry for her almost at times you know? Especially when she'd get upset and run out. It's like 'oh my god how can you guys do that, don't you feel any remorse?' I wasn't the only one that felt a bit sorry for her as well, I wouldn't try to defend her or anything though because you know, at school you don't want to be seen to do that... You'd get all the guys giving you shit, you didn't want that to happen.... it would have been 'oh you're a dick, what do you care about her? Is that your mother or something?' you know? You just would have lost all respect from your classmates I suppose. I didn't want to lose any respect from my classmates anyway. (Jake)

For Jake, the most influential aspect of masculine power at school was something pervasively present but difficult to make sense of. For Jake, the enactment of authority evoked a fear response in the boys that produced compliance.

They knew how to stamp their authority down, if a group of boys were starting to play up they weren't playing up for very long if there was a [male] teacher in there that's for sure. A couple of teachers would slap the ruler on the desk and there would be silence or, I don't know it was just the presence of the man going [makes roaring sound]. We were young men as well, but em ye I can't really say what it was... even though they weren't being threatening and that there was the potential because they were bigger than us, more manly I suppose, there was that threat, that calmed us down maybe.... masculine presence being there going [roars again] and I'd be going [squeals]. (Jake)

There were several contradictions and ambiguities in Jake's narrative understanding of masculine power and feminine impotence that, as Hook (2001) points out, can indicate that another process other than physicality, is responsible for maintaining the power relationship. In this case, it seems to be a

dominant form of heteronormativity, where the privileged position of masculinity is embedded in cultural discourse, so much so that it takes on a timeless, naturalised and taken for granted position that is so ingrained that it is not immediately obvious, rendering it exempt from scrutiny (McCarry, 2007).

All of the men's mothers were involved in their lives and none of them were positioned as abusive or hurtful, and were not understood as holding any authority. Mothers were positioned in the stories of childhood as oppressed, disrespected, taken for granted, and ineffective at discipline as opposed to the power, authority and autonomy of fathers. The same relationship of domination and subordination was reproduced in the hierarchical boys school. The enactment of masculine 'presence' was embodied by the men, as boy's, and the impotency of women became naturalised.

Violence at school

Messerschmidt (2000b) identified a *culture of cruelty* that exists in schools and endorses the use of masculine violence, both as a means of defence and as a means of achieving status. Messerschmidt proposed that hierarchies were formed around an enactment of masculinity that involved an authentic performance of bravado and a physical presence that carried a threat of violence. Within this culture, those who had ambitions of climbing the masculine hierarchy could do so by subordinating others. All of the interviewees in this study were involved in this culture of cruelty to some degree.

Jake used violence as a pre-emptive strike against potential assailants. He explained that he established a formidable physical identity, after he "punched over a couple of people" which enabled him protection from risks in the future. These acts of violence also served to elevate his status and created an identity that warranted "respect". Jake describes a 'dog eats dog' culture where an expression of physical strength is required to protect oneself. Without such a demonstration of physical prowess, one is left vulnerable to others who could exploit weakness and use it as a means to elevate their own status. Turning down a fight or "backing down"

was a sign of weakness that could be taken advantage of by other aggressors.

You'd start off school, then you'd lay down your territory, then once you'd done that no-one would pick on you because they would know where you were. It's like in third form of school; I got into a couple of big fights but once you've punched over a couple of people it's like 'don't mess with him, he can throw a punch'... I wasn't one to back down or to try and talk my way out of anything. I can't think of any incidents where I might have backed down. You never back down because my mates are there, you can't look like you're a bit scared or anything around people. It's not the thing to do when you're a teenage boy. (Jake)

Similarly, Chris manufactured a “macho” identity that served to protect him from physical threat and elevate his status. Fighting was used, as required, to validate and consolidate his “macho” identity. This identity was associated with a form of masculine power, big and tough, that produced a number of subject positions; he was macho in the culture of school, and was able to conceal his weakness at home.

It was something to hide behind, so no-one sort of knew what was really going on [at home]... I was just real confident, cocky um probably [portrayed being] bigger and tougher than I really was. It sort of helped a wee bit that I got into a lot of fights and I very rarely lost, so the tough side of the whole image sat quite well. (Chris)

Positioning theory postulates that people engage in constructing and reconstructing their identities in relation to their environment and available subject positions (Coombes & Morgan, 2004). Further, the notion of a solid and united identity is a resource used to obtain a preferred self-presentation (Andersson, 2008). Chris was able to use his “macho” identity to protect himself from others, and maintain his masculine status. Those who construct a powerful identity are likely to have access to more subject positions than those with less power (Andersson,

2008). Chris seemed to enjoy the power associated with this identity which “sat quite well” with him. By contrast, Chris’s home environment offered very little in the way of desirable subject positions. Indeed, the positions of impotence and victimisation that Chris was coerced into at home made the powerful and “macho” positions at school even more appealing.

Paul reflected on his fighting at school, and understood his use of violence as an expression of the anger he felt towards his father for abandoning him. He was also involved in fighting between boys from his school with boys from a rival school, reproducing masculinity through a relationship of domination and subordination, or homosocial bonds (Flood, 2008).

I got kicked out of 2 schools because of fighting, just suppose it was because of the anger and resentment that I was holding inside. (Paul)

Josh was typically reserved and withdrawn at his primary and intermediate schools and described himself as “invisible” within the school culture. However, Josh seemed to use violence to protect his emerging masculine identity that he was struggling to construct at home. As a result, he was very sensitive to negative comments made by his peers and reacted violently to critical comments.

When I was 8 or 9, [I’d do] things like picking a chair up and threatening to throw it at one of the kids in the class because they’d said something that had pissed me off. I got in a fight in 3rd form at high school with, again it was a really good mate of mine, and again I can’t remember what set it off - which shows how trivial it probably was. I got really angry, then the 2 of us were rolling around the floor knocking over desks in the class room; pulling each other’s ties and trying to like push each other into the floor. I had lots of examples...I’d take things really personally or whatever and eventually I guess I kind of learned to deal with that and you know by the time I was 16 or 17 it kind of all stopped. (Josh)

Messerschmidt (2000b) described how the school institution can promote a 'culture of cruelty' that reproduces a hierarchical structuring of masculinity. Those who do not, or cannot, embody masculine ideals can be excluded, victimised and punished – not just by peers but also by the school institution itself. Josh made a number of references to masculine hierarchies at the all-boys high school he attended.

Every form was expected to hassle the form below. There was very much division at school into juniors and seniors. The assembly hall was set up with the 7th form down the front and all the juniors are like around the outside and the back. It was all just structured around moving to the next level. (Josh)

Josh discussed how these hierarchies could be maintained and consolidated through participation in the violent subordination of non-masculine boys. Participation in the violent subordination of less 'manly' groups or individuals enables a social position within a dominant group that also provides protection from being positioned as a victim (Phoenix & Frosh, 2007). Josh explained that showing proficiency in popular sports that reproduce masculine ideologies of physical prowess and domination, were rewarded by his school. Those who represent the school in popular sports are often exalted by their peers and by the school institution (Messerschmidt, 2000b). Those who could not embody such ideals at Josh's school were typically excluded from normalised social participation and were often subject to ridicule and victimisation.

We had a guy in our class and we used to have this game where we were standing around the hallway waiting for the class to be open and we'd bounce him around. He was on the chess team so it was like 'ah that's not very manly thing to be so we're allowed to pick on you because you're on the chess team'. I would have got bullied like that had I not been [an accomplished athlete], I'm almost certain of it because I would have just been this chess playing geek. (Josh)

Association with the dominant group appeared to give Josh certain rights, such as “being allowed to pick on” subordinate others – in this case a member of the school chess team. Being a member of a subordinate group without having the protection of at least one masculine position (such as being an athlete) is a vulnerable place in the social hierarchy.

For all of the men in this study, violence was an accepted, even naturalised, part of school life. Both Josh and Jake had considered challenging the entrenched tradition of violence at school. However, knowledge of the social sanctions maintained silence, and enabled a better position in the social hierarchy. Indeed, taking up a position of resistance to the cultural norms of the institution was understood as futile, and remaining silent provided meaningful protection.

I don't think anyone would have listened [if I tried to stop the bullying]; it's just one guy saying. Maybe that's what I felt sometimes, but I joined in because that was going to be more in my self-interest. (Josh)

It seems that Messerschmidt's (2002b) culture of cruelty was present in the experiences of the interviewees through their schooling. Josh and Jake used violence to protect themselves becoming a victim of bullying. Jake recognised that fighting was a useful tactic to establish his masculine status and develop a territory of power. Josh reflected on his reluctance to use violence, but normalised its necessity within the school culture where normative heterosexuality was achieved through relationships of domination and subordination that included violence. Like Jake, Chris used violence to establish an identity at school, which served to protect him from becoming a victim but also protected him from peer scrutiny that he feared may expose an underlying vulnerability. For Paul violence was part of school life, which he actively participated in and, in some cases, used cathartically to express his distress over the loss of his father.

Sexual objectification of women

The interviewees were embedded in a culture that normalised the subordination of women and femininities. This culture pervaded the men's schools and their homes. Their fathers were absent, physically abused their mothers and/or perpetuated a masculinity that subordinated women. As the men grew into adolescence, hegemonic masculinity became entwined with a growing sexual interest in girls and women.

As an adolescent, Jake positioned women as "sexual objects", "a creature, a lay". He publicly disrespected and subordinated women with comments such as "I'm not talking to you, I'm talking to my mate". He reflected that this attitude to women, that was intended to subject them to an enactment of masculinity among his peers, may have been a factor in the breakdown of his early intimate relationships.

I had no respect, didn't respect them [girls] enough anyway. I objectified them I suppose, as objects rather than actual people. (Jake)

Chris explained that he had a similarly low opinion of girls, or a particular representation of them as objects, during his youth and early adulthood.

I certainly didn't think much of them [girls]. If I didn't sort of like a girl, I didn't think much of her at all you know? (Chris)

Paul also objectified girls, and reflected that this was normal within his masculine work environment, where girls were positioned as sexual objects.

I probably didn't have a very good opinion of women perhaps viewed them more like objects I suppose. (Paul)

Josh's own history did not include much contact with girls; he had no sisters and attended an all-boys school. He remembers being attracted to girls as an adolescent, but was too "afraid" to approach them. Indeed, the masculine hierarchy at Josh's

school extended to expectations of sexual adventurousness, with those in their senior years expected to be more sexually experienced. The school culture sexualised girls through stories of sexual exploits, pornographic playing cards and biology lessons that objectified girls and women.

Without access to alternative representations of women, his embeddedness in heterosexual normativity remained unchallenged.

I couldn't really have girl-friends at school because it was all boys. I just remember conversations like this one guy going on about 'oh in 3rd form you're supposed to kiss and in 4th form you're supposed to have a bit of a feel and in 5th form you're supposed to have sex and this is just the way it is...it's the older brother introducing the younger brother. Certainly in early uni', most of uni' actually, girls were seen as a way to get a bit of action. (Josh)

The men in this study reflected on the cultural resources of heterosexuality throughout their histories, and how their enactment of these resources positioned women through relationships of hegemonic masculinity and subordinate femininity that continued into their adult lives.

Fragile identities and feelings of worthlessness

Low self-esteem is commonly reported in the child sex offender research (Whittaker et al., 2008). All of the men reflected on a sense of worthlessness that began in childhood and extended into later life. Josh felt second best to his brother and described himself as being alienated within a seemingly caring family. He also positioned himself as outside of the social group, but had access as a visitor, never quite fitting in.

I always felt like the one who would come along and not part of the established group and I guess that was emphasised when I was off again to another [school]. I guess it was I was like the visiting exchange student or

something like that [laughs]; I would provide a bit of light entertainment for a while, maybe even as the butt of a joke or something but then I was gone.
(Josh)

Cultures that promoted a masculine hierarchy based on achievement and success pervaded Josh's school and home. Competition was encouraged between him and his brother and ultimately Josh felt that he failed to achieve the success required. His brother had more success in "popular" sports such as rugby and cricket, and earned his masculine position alongside his father. Josh positioned himself as less successful than his brother in attracting women, another form of successful masculinity. Positioning his brother as manly like his father was a source of failure to Josh. His brother succeeded in traditionally masculine pursuits but achieved "average" grades at school. Josh, on the other hand, achieved excellence academically and was an athletics champion, lesser on the masculine hierarchy, including his physical presentation. He understood himself as failing at both masculinity and as a son.

I'm pretty unhappy with the way I look and maybe that adds to that lack of confidence issues and so forth. (Josh)

The masculine identity that Josh takes up values achievement, something he pursued then, with avid determination. His accomplishments, however, were not necessarily recognised and this produced a particular vulnerability that he constantly needed to manage.

I guess it's a fear of not being respected or recognised as someone significant. I guess I have this fear of being the guy in the corner that no-one wants to talk to because no-one's interested so I don't even start. I always like to be seen as someone who is successful or someone who is an achiever, and people who know me maybe see that but people who don't know me don't like [the] first impression and [may] not realise this kind of stuff about me. I don't like giving the wrong impression so I'd rather give no impression. (Josh)

Jake, like Josh, scaffolded his fragile masculine identity with his achievements. Indeed, without a sense of accomplishment, he felt like a “waste of space”. Throughout his childhood and early adulthood, Jake positioned himself as a “little shit”, or as “useless”, and he explained that his girlfriend’s infidelity was a result of his inadequate masculine identity, produced through his subjection to sexual abuse as a child, and ‘doing it wrong’.

I brought myself down, thought that I wasn't doing it right, [I thought] 'there's something wrong with me'. I was thinking that I was no good as well, it was my fault, what did I do? Why did she do that? Why? What could I have done to have kept her with me instead? I can't think what her response would have been, I just didn't [ask]. (Jake)

Chris constructed a set of rules to his engagement with sexual relationships; casual relationships were privileged over one-night stands. In this way his masculinity, or success at sex, was reassured.

I suppose it was a bit more of a personal build up but again or a like a reassurance thing, if I can get back a second time then I've obviously done something right the first time so ye I think that is more what it was about as well – personal reassurance. (Chris)

For Chris, reassurance was a marker of being wanted and strengthened his already compromised identity, that of an “unconfident little man”.

All of the men, at some point, seem to have created a position in hegemonic masculinity to protect them from the very effects of the power relationship that produced a fragile masculine position. Enacting dominant forms of masculinity served to protect them but also silenced their vulnerability, and did not provide them with the resources for healthy or negotiated relationships with women (Kippax, Crawford, Waldby & Benton, 1990).

Insecure relationships

Problems within intimate relationships have been frequently reported in the child sex offender literature (Marshall & Marshall, 2000; Ward & Keenan, 1999; Whittaker et al., 2008). All of the men described having problems with intimate relationships at various points in their lives. Despite their bravado and objectification of women, Josh, Paul and Chris described a social discomfort around women during adolescence. For example, Paul and Chris described being “shy” around girls at high school and Josh described girls as “scary” during high school.

Josh highlighted the tension between a loose adherence to traditional protocol in relationships and his more rigid adherence to workplace protocol where there is a clear relationship between an agreement and entitlement.

I'm almost a bit obsessive because even if it's going to be really inconvenient for me to carry on doing this thing, even if it's something like meeting someone for coffee, but suddenly my day is really busy and I can't really fit it in, I'll still do it but then I'll be pissed off doing my other stuff later on because I'll have to stay late..When I feel that I'm fairly entitled to something you know, that's put in a contract or something like that, and someone's not giving it to me then I'd be really pissed off. It's kind of ironic because I got married and then cheated you know? So in that sense I've given a pretty strong word you know? That I wasn't going to do any of that, then I did so it's maybe a bit hypocritical in some sense. (Josh)

As Murray (2000) argues, the use of stories can be used to give coherence to contradictions in meaning. Josh reflected on the contradiction between what he understood by meeting the obligations of a contract (marriage) and his breach of that contract as something outside his moral position. He also described the contradiction between being in and leaving a relationship through a loss of identity – there is a contest between too much and too little time. This contest was realised through a cycle of commitment, loss of identity, ending the relationship, elation and then longing to be in the relationship again.

Actually I tend to go too far when I'm in a relationship maybe I spend too much time with them and don't give myself enough chance to do what I want to do. When I'm out of one I spend a lot of time of my own and suddenly crave for it again. (Josh)

Like Josh, Chris was initially fearful of rejection when approaching girls. He had a long history of casual sexual relationships before his first serious relationship, when he was 22 years old. He seemed to need the “reassurance” of a follow up encounter after a one night stand to assure himself that he “wasn't crap” the first time round.

Paul has a history of being in stable relationships and gradually being attracted back into the masculine world of drinking, partying and casual sex. After a while in a relationship, Paul craved the freedom and autonomy of single life.

I think towards the end we [former long-term partner] started really getting on each other's nerves. It was a bit of a relief that it was over and finished. Then I could go and do basically what I wanted, if I wanted to go out and have a drink I could do that whenever I wanted. (Paul)

Like Paul, Josh also felt a sense of freedom at the end of a relationship. Josh found being unfaithful had become a habit, which effectively ended his search for “the one”. This signalled the beginning of a trajectory in which moral boundaries were repeatedly broken, re-established and broken again.

I thought 'man, I just fucked up in the biggest possible way but it's done now, the relationship's over, now I can do whatever I like' and so there was this sense of freedom as well, and so I went through a sort of reckless sort of period. (Josh)

All of the men discussed having some problems with intimate relationships. These seemed to stem from early (mis)constructions of women learned within a culture of dominant heterosexuality. As the men grappled with their sexual relationships, they

found contradictions in their identities, finding it difficult to negotiate alternative constructions of masculinity. As Freeman (2002) wrote, through the production of a narrative, the narrator and the analyst are, on some occasions, left with incomplete or seemingly nonsensical accounts of events. And, in these accounts, there is an underdeveloped and yet present understanding that the women were positioned as the gatekeepers of the moral boundaries; and leaving the relationship enabled freedom and autonomy.

Real men don't cry

Traditional constructions of masculinity, centred on stoicism and emotional inexpressiveness, leave men ill-equipped to deal with emotionally distressing events (Flood, 2010). All of the men, until well into their adult lives, seem to have adhered to a traditional masculine ideology that prohibits an expression of “weak” emotion and forbids that such emotion should be expressed in front of other masculine men. To do so might risk compromising a masculine identity and exposing an emotional vulnerability that could be exploited by other men (De Visser & Smith, 2006).

All of the interviewees lacked a home environment that enabled an open expression of emotion. All of the men experienced masculinity that was produced to control and suppress feminine attributes of emotion. Anger, which is typically equated with masculinity, was perceived as the only valid and acceptable expression of masculine emotion (Dempsey & Day, 2010).

Josh described his father as a model of emotional control where emotions were understood as barriers to rational solutions.

He's quite a manly man I guess... he's fairly unemotional, just gets things done, if there's a tragedy 'ok we'll deal with it', no point getting upset about it'. (Josh)

Josh told of feeling uncomfortable expressing emotion in front of his parents as a child, and this perpetuated into adulthood. Although Josh was able to reflect on his

development in terms of his emotional expressivity, this only extended to particular social relationships where the expression of emotion, specifically crying, is limited through gendered relationships; crying is acceptable among women and was restricted in his relationships with family and male peers.

What would that say about you if you did [cry] in front of the boys? (Keith)

If I'm talking about something difficult and I start crying amongst the boys, I'm just not in control of my emotions, I should be able to say these things, I should be able to get them out without blubbing through a sentence or whatever, that's the way a man should do it. (Josh)

For Chris, masculine emotions, such as anger, were valued in his childhood and feminine emotions were silenced and or controlled. Chris adopted this representation of masculine identity and kept his emotions under control, including his anger, as best he could.

[Dad] didn't get taught how to teach me properly. He's always been a manly man and 'don't cry' and, the man of the house and 'you've got to be strong'. Being brought up not to talk about things - about feelings and um ye how we're feeling and stuff like that, you just didn't talk about it (Chris).

I think I was a bit of an angry fella. Most of the time I was able to keep it under control and tucked away. I wish I had had someone to talk to at that stage to be able to get rid of [pent up emotion] because I don't like getting into fights and I'd rather get rid of it in other ways. (Chris)

Chris served in the forces, an environment that typically promotes a similar philosophy regarding the expression of emotion (Flood, 2008). In the following quote, Chris described the atrocities he witnessed during an operational deployment. This deployment ultimately left him overwhelmed with unprocessed trauma and without appropriate support to make sense of his experience.

The hardest thing about dealing with mass graves was [the] women and children. A lot of the women were the same age as [my wife] and a lot of the children were the same age as my kids. I just had a baby three months before I left and one of the bodies I picked up was a baby about the same age as [my baby]. I picked up this [baby's] body and it basically disintegrated. I came home and would go to pick up my own children and that's the first image that flicks through my head, and that's why I started to detach myself which was the start of my problems. (Chris)

Without access to alternative means that did not breach normative masculinity, Chris had no means to produce an account of his experiences.

I would shut everything off, I would be in a little bubble. I wish I had someone to talk to but I didn't feel like I could. Even [my wife] said to me 'you should have just talked to me about it', I mean I even had [my friend] that I could have turned to and talked to about it I just - I suppose I didn't want to burden them with what I had to deal with.. If I have to talk about it then I'm going to break down and being the manly man that I was I couldn't break down in front of my family and friends. I suppose I thought I was too much of a man to be able to break down in front of my family. Every time I want to talk to someone about it the emotion come up I just wanted to break down and I couldn't let that happen. Then I started having sexual issues and then [my wife] had medical issues as well on top of that, ye everything sort of built up, I wasn't coping with anything, I was pretty much 8 years after coming back from [the deployment] that I offended. (Chris)

For Chris, the events overseas are a significant turning point in his narrative. Chris was so embedded in culturally normative hegemonic masculinity, he was unable to position himself as vulnerable to his emotional response. Positioned through a 'manly' masculine identity had the effect of maintaining the silence of his trauma. On reflection, Chris produced an account of his offending through his inability to talk

about his traumatic experience without fear of a failure of masculinity.

The lack of a position within masculinity to express emotion was also important to Paul's enactment of violence and aggression. He was unable to express the loss of his father, and found violence to be a means of catharsis.

As an 8 year old child, Jake was sexually abused over a 6 month period. The way he experienced the abuse was in stark contrast to how it was reacted to by his family when it was disclosed. Where disclosure was met with shock and rage, his own understanding of it was silenced.

I think when I was growing up I felt [the sexual abuse] was normal even after it had sort of, been over, and people went blah blah, '[he] shouldn't have done that.' I didn't really recognise it as being bad, I never had my dad to talk to about things like that...I felt uncomfortable talking to my mum about it, she even tried to get me to see people and that...But I just wouldn't open up to anyone – not to strangers or anything like that. I know that's fuckin' stupid thinking now - to justify what I did in my own offending – but I think that's probably what I did, I thought oh it must have been ok, he got away with it nothing will happen to me. (Jake)

As McGuffey (2008) noted, parents' reactions to a child's disclosure of sexual abuse can be damaging to the child. Jake felt that his inability to disclose his feelings regarding the abuse, coupled with his reluctance to adopt a victim position, prevented him from processing his own abuse. For Jake, the misfit between his feelings over the abuse and his family's reaction was a significant turning point. The contest over the meaning of the abuse was present throughout his narrative, most often as he reflected on his own offending.

Like Josh, Jake attended an all-boys high school, where the expression of emotion was actively excluded from practices of masculinity.

People don't want to admit that they had feelings, it was a boy's school and you don't have feelings at boys' schools. (Jake)

As Messerschmidt (2000b) has argued, institutional boundaries of schools and work places produce and reproduce hegemonic masculinity that excludes any performance of feminine emotion. All of the men adopted a masculine identity that valued the control of emotion, with the expression of anger and violence being the only acceptable means of catharsis. To be accepted as real men, the men disciplined their own masculine identities for social and cultural inclusion, and this was implicated in their offending behaviour.

Offending

The following is an account of the men's offending narratives. Large extracts of transcribed text have been included in order to give a voice to the interviewees and allow space for a re-telling of the men's accounts of their offending. A decision in the interpretive process was not to interpret the detail of the offending in the meaning making (Riessman, 1993). The stories of offending are embedded in the cultural narratives of masculine identity.

Paul's victim was 14 years old when the offending began, and he was in his late forties. The offending occurred repeatedly over a period of one year, and he understood himself to be physically attracted to her.

I suppose it started off um, my victim come up the drive looking for a cat. She wasn't, at the time, a friend of my daughters but my daughter ended up helping her look for her cat and I guess a relationship sort of formed, with my daughter and my victim, through that...I think [the attraction] was physical. (Paul)

When Jake was an adolescent, he sexually offended against his younger cousin. In adulthood, he sexually offended against his stepdaughter. At the time of the adult offence, he had not positioned himself as a sex offender, although he reflected upon

having kept his prior offending a secret.

Before I got married to my wife she, [Jake's cousin and victim] had written me a letter about what I did to her and the disgust that she had with me. [She said in the letter that] I wasn't going to be part of her family any more, and she knows that my wife has a couple of kids and she was concerned for their safety. I read this letter and basically brushed it off. I thought, 'that was in the past, that's not me anymore, I'm not going to do that anymore'. I sort of regret that now, because when my wife asked me to marry her I should have shown her the letter and said 'look this is me really' and I probably would have been able to come in here [WellStop] to get help and saved the hard life for my victim who I offended against, not that she's got a hard life but I mean the extra trauma that she has now. Then a few years down the track we were happily married and next thing you know [my wife's] kids are coming out for holidays, and then one Christmas holidays the father sent them down there and said don't bother sending them back. From there we were stuck with the kids basically, [period of time of some years] that happened. She did ask if I had any problems with it, probably that's when I should have said 'ye I do have problems' because of my sexual offending but I didn't think I would.

I ended up having problems and used to try and have my way with the young girl basically, I'd try and encourage her to strip down and pose for me naked and I'd expose myself and play with myself in front of her. That went on for a wee while until I got caught, when my wife walked in. Straight after she walked in and caught me, she went round and told her family. We removed [our daughters] and the next day I was just in pieces, I didn't know what the fuck to do. And I was like 'there must be something out there for me' so I just picked up the phone book and had a look through and ye 'oh that [WellStop] looks like it could help' so I just rung up and went from there.

It felt like a weight being lifted off a bit because it's out there, it's not a secret. I can go and get something done about it, try and sort it out and not just keep it hidden and sneaking around doing stuff which is not good. I was sort of happy about it in a way because, it got me in here [Wellstop] and it has built our relationship [with Jake's wife]. [The relationship is now] a lot stronger, we're a tighter couple than what we were, it's just a sad thing that [the offending] had to happen. (Jake)

The use of alcohol and socialising is often used by men as an escape from the discipline, routine and drudgery of work. Such alcohol related escapism is often associated with an outpouring of masculinity suppressed by the workplace (Gough & Edwards, 1998). Josh spent an increasing amount of time drinking and socialising and would use social networking websites, along with drinking, to suppress the pressures of work and postpone retiring to bed, knowing that he would waken to the reality of another day at work, in a continuing struggle with maintaining disciplined boundaries.

Effectively what happened was that there was a progression - again it's one of those barrier kind of breaking things. I was 24 at the time and so I started talking to people [on a social networking website] who were 20 - 24. I mean why would you want to talk to someone who was 18 or something - that's a first year student, you want nothing to do with them? But then sometimes at night there weren't many people online it was like 'oh ok I'll talk to this person they're only 19 or whatever' you know?

Once the barriers are broken then it's not a barrier anymore, 'oh 17 that's not big deal'. I mean I guess part of it was the fact that I was often drunk when I was doing it. A lot of it was this desire to just defer work for as long as possibly um through going out, through drinking, through chatting online, like chatting online until 3 in the morning.

So they just got younger and younger until it eventually got to the point where I met up with someone who was 15 via this process of chatting. I mean eventually that's when the offending began. Never in a million years would I ever imagine myself talking to someone who was 15 ... I think it was basically the availability and ease, [with younger girls] it was easier to get what I was after because they were much less guarded and cautious, they were more reckless than grown up girls. There were two 15 year old girls. Then at this party up here [there were] a couple of [underage] girls who I hadn't had sex with but who I kissed and stuff.

[re: 15 year old victim] I don't want to call it 'on again off again' but [it was] probably about ten times over a period of about 6 months and she'd come round to my place and we'd watch a DVD or something and just lie on the bed and talk or whatever and then have sex and then she'd go home ... I think a relationship is the wrong word because it was just meeting up for sex. In some sense she was a lot like me as well like a loner so I guess there was sense in which we were kind of attracted to each other in that way. (Josh)

Like the other men, Josh experienced relief when he was caught, and reflected on the court process to make sense of his offences.

There was a party at my apartment in Wellington at which there were some young people and there was an altercation at the party. This led to a bit of bad feeling between me and some girls and one of them, or one of their mothers, said this guy's doing some dodgy stuff. [The police] just came and talked to me basically and looked at my computer and thought 'oh he's obviously been meeting this girl, he's obviously been meeting that girl' and they went and spoke to [the victims]. [The victim] obviously just told the truth and then [the police] came and arrested me.

[When the police arrived] I guess it was kind of a feeling 'oh yup I knew you guys would come' there was that feeling, um, so in some sense it was a relief that this is finally over [laughs]... But then there was also a feeling [that] I hadn't really done anything wrong - they all agreed to it. [I was] denying that, that there was wrong doing on my part when clearly there was because of the big power imbalance. The worst part was that it dragged on and on. Originally, I was charged with a rape charge and I absolutely flat out denied that. It took a long time to work through the courts before the police eventually withdrew that charge and downgraded it to underage sex charges. So, that took 2 and a half years [from] arrest to sentencing and that was a big chunk of my life. I had to live at my parent's house, that was one of the bail conditions and then I was in the prison for a year as well so that's like three and a half years going on four years altogether. (Josh)

Chris sexually assaulted his 13 year old stepdaughter on a particular occasion at the end of a degenerative period, where his lack of access to emotional resources had impacted on his relationship, and he was increasingly reliant on hegemonic means of coping.

I started looking at porn on the computer. I was using that as an escape and the lack of sex that I was having at home and because of my own issues that I was having with detaching myself from everyone and everything...I wasn't coping with the fact that [my wife] had medical issues that meant she couldn't have sex. We'd plan to have sex like a week in advance and then the kids would do something and that would just screw the whole thing up so I was getting real angry with the kids and with [my wife] and then I'd get angry at myself because I was getting angry at them. Everything just sort of built up and built up and um ye the opportunity basically arose and I took that opportunity, I was um basically I was just being selfish, I saw what I wanted and I went for it...I didn't sort of realise I was doing it until it was done and I sort of sat back done and went 'shit what have I just done?' And then it didn't come out for about a week, but I wasn't coping at work I was

getting in shit at work. I wasn't sleeping, things weren't going right at home and the worst thing about it was I was going to come out and say what I'd done but it came out before that.

*[My step daughter] had seen the counsellor at school and the counsellor called [my wife] and [my wife] called me at work and I was like 'oh crap'. I went home and I was dealing with [my wife] and basically I shut down while [my wife] was yelling and screaming at me. She didn't hear what I was trying to say and basically she just yelled for a good couple of hours so I was like 'you want me to deal with this I'll go and deal with it'. So I went and grabbed the shotgun and the shotgun shells and went to take off out of the house. I was going to deal with it, I was going to end it but she took that off me basically slapped me about a bit said 'don't you fuckin dare'.
(Chris)*

Being caught was a significant turning point for all of the men. They all described a sense of relief from being caught and subsequently were able to engage in treatment in ways that enabled a shift in their accounts of their offending.

Prevention: Changing the “mentality of the world”

A number of researchers have looked at strategies that could be used to prevent CSA (Beier et al., 2009; Seto, 2008). However, none to my knowledge have explicitly asked adult CSO, who have been through treatment, what may have prevented them from offending.

Paul's disciplinary philosophy “it's all good if you can get away with it” seemed to extend to and influence his offending. However, Paul also thought it was unlikely that anything could have prevented him from offending but said if he had someone who he could completely trust, he would have talked to him/her prior to offending.

Maybe if I hadn't of become involved with alcohol and drugs I probably wouldn't have done it...I guess the main one would be realising the

consequences [going to prison] of your action...if I had somewhere or somebody I could talk to when I was feeling this way, before anything had happened [that might have helped]. I suppose being confident enough in somebody to share the way I was feeling, being a pretty hard sort of thing to talk to a stranger about...you would have to be really close to somebody to share, you know the way you are feeling ... But the chances of me doing that would have been quite slim. (Paul)

Jake recognised that there needs to be a societal shift before men to ask for help when they feel at risk of offending. Jake believes that effective communication between him and his parents may have enabled him to deal with his own sexual abuse and this may have prevented him from offending. He said greater awareness of services such as WellStop and other support agencies may also be crucial in prevention, however the social stigma, and the implications of that for men, is embedded in our culture.

What would have made it easier to ask for help when you realise you have a sexual attraction towards children? (Keith)

Oh it's almost impossible mate. [You would have to] change the mentality of the world, but that's not going to happen, because there's such a stigma about it that just about no-one is going to admit 'I've got a kiddy fetish' until it's too late, until they've been caught you know, which is a shame. If people could recognise that they had an issue and then know that this place [WellStop] was here or places like this that they could come and get the help, I think it would help a little bit. (Jake)

Jake experienced the services that support CSO as culturally marginalised. Chris also made reference to the pervasiveness of CSA and its concurrent absence from normative discourse – effectively silencing both victims and perpetrators.

Sexual offending is a huge thing and it's happening all the time and in places that you wouldn't expect it to be happening and yet it's probably the least talked about thing in the world. (Chris)

As Hook (2001) wrote, operating outside of normative masculinity is tantamount to being mentally disordered. Expressing a desire for sex with children, even if it is for help, is so far removed from normal that it is inconceivable. Hook (2001) also points out that operating outside of normative heterosexuality renders the speaker subject to the control and governance from authorities or through the cultural narratives that operate within such norms. WellStop and other community agencies do offer support to men who have offended prior to conviction. However, due to staffing and funding constraints, they are unable to offer programmes for pre-offending help seekers who have not (yet) offended.

Opportunities to disclose were important. Jake, constrained by his own position in masculinity, was unable to speak of his own experiences of abuse. Those who have access to, and choose to adopt marginalised subject positions, do so at the risk of being subordinated and ostracised (Butler, 1993; Gavey, 1989). Jake lived in a culture where dominant narratives position CSO as 'beasts' and abused children are positioned as damaged. Jake enacted masculinity through a tension between the dominant narrative that positioned him as a victim, and his own experience of the abuse. His masculine identity did not enable a position of victim.

I saw what [my abuser] was doing wasn't bad, I felt it wasn't bad, it made me feel good, he never physically hurt me ... Maybe I looked up to him and thought that's the way men are supposed to be ... I didn't really recognise it as being bad, I never had my dad to talk to about things like that ... I felt uncomfortable talking to my mum about it, she even tried to get me to see people and that...But I just wouldn't open up to anyone – not to strangers or anything like that

What do you think you were scared of [re: disclosing how he felt about abuse]? (Keith)

Being embarrassed, that's what I was scared of really. Having my mum looking at me in a different light, not as her littler boy but as 'poor victim' I didn't want that I suppose ... didn't want to be 'oh that poor boy oh' I didn't want people to feel sorry for me and that. I went to 3-4 different [therapists] but it was only ever one off sessions so it never really got anywhere, mainly because I think mum may have thought it wasn't helping. But, it's going to get worse before it gets better, it doesn't happen just like that, it's going to take time, maybe if mum understood a bit better, that it wasn't going to be fixed just like that, a bit more time at a specialist might have helped as well.

I know that's fuckin' stupid thinking now - to justify what I did in my own offending, [but] that's probably what I did, I thought it must have been ok, [my abuser] got away with it, nothing will happen to me. (Jake)

Like Josh, Jake felt that a culture of open communication and masculine expressivity is necessary in the prevention of CSA. However, in order for this to happen at an individual level, he recognises that there have to be changes in socially produced cultural narratives to enable a counter narrative to the positions offered through hegemonic masculinity.

Do you think there's anything that could have helped you, at any point to prevent you from offending? (Keith)

Communication - between myself and my partner, my mum and my dad, growing up after I'd been offended on. It would have been a great help, but I don't know if I would have seized the opportunity to communicate as well, you know it's got to go both ways. You can't just have one person telling you and telling you, you've got to communicate why you're feeling that to be

able to be helped as well. (Jake)

Josh reflected on how his own identity as a child and adolescent had been constructed in a way that made it difficult to discuss his problems or emotions.

I think perhaps if I was less a 'close myself in my room' sort of person, maybe that would have been easier for [others to approach me]. I just have never have been used to be doing that [asking for help]. In our family we never, asked each other those sorts of questions. I don't know about me specifically but I think families in general should be more communicative. I never wanted to ask my parents for help because I was supposed to be this successful independent son who'd achieved this, this, and this. I knew that things were going badly and I could have rung up mum and dad and said 'look I'm really unhappy at the moment, can I come and live at home for a few months?' but it never crossed my mind to do that because that's not the done thing. (Josh)

For Josh, establishing networks of open communication for men is vital in preventing CSA. He reflected that a culture where people feel they can intervene and offer support when they notice a friend is struggling, or acting harmfully to others, would go some way to preventing CSA. Access to counsellors at university and in postgraduate positions may also have helped. He also suggested that compulsory group sessions (similar to those facilitated by WellStop) may also have been of benefit during postgraduate training. The compulsory nature of these sessions seems important, given that many men adhere to HM ideologies that hinder help seeking behaviours (Burns & Mahalik, 2008). Josh also emphasised that these changes need to provide a counter narrative for men.

I think that people should take a deeper interest in the lives of the people around them. When I was [offending] I was living in a flat with 4 others and there were people coming and going in my room and no one said anything. It's me that was doing it, I'm not blaming them or anything, but things could

have been completely different if one of my flatmates had said 'oh who was that girl she looked kind of young what's going on'? It has made me think a bit about the people around me, is there anyone around me in trouble?

I think that as a society we'd do well to do more of that rather than just let people cope on their own. That never really went on at my school, there were token gestures, there was a counsellor and stuff but no-one really took a deep interest in [me]. [It was the] same in [postgraduate study where junior staff] were expected to be these robots that could do everything. I think I have accepted that it's a really stressful job and that maybe people have poor coping strategies and even if they are coping, just checking up on people you know - 'what's going on?', 'how's your relationship?' Things like that - more communication. (Josh)

We live in an increasingly individualistic culture where self-sufficiency is exalted (Hudson, 2002). Dominant forms of masculinity and the social and institutional narratives that produce them are a site of intervention. Josh felt that the most effective means of encouraging men to talk was to offer a "model" of a communicative and expressive man or men. Doing so would offer a challenge to heterosexual normativity that equates masculinity with emotional restrictedness. It also gives permission for other men to do the same, creating new emotionally communicative subject positions for masculine identities.

I learned to communicate and talk myself by observing people that did, particularly my wife's family that were very communicative, very open, they told each other everything. I think being with [my wife] for 6 years probably shaped me a bit in that direction, um to the point where I did become more comfortable doing that. In the programme [at WellStop] it was a lot easier to do once I could see other people doing it in the group. So I think maybe at school, or [other institutions], small group work [would be helpful] where you encouraged to share that sort of stuff. I could see it working...let's just get together and share concerns. (Josh)

Chris also reflected on the need for counter narratives to provide positions for men to seek help in the prevention of CSA. He also advocates for education and support across the armed forces, especially for recognising signs of un-wellness. He is also an advocate for compulsory counselling in the armed forces, and “wishes he had someone to talk to” prior to his offending. Making counselling mandatory may help bypass masculine ideologies that prohibit help-seeking behaviour (Burns & Mahalik, 2008). This narrative emphasises the need for change at a cultural level before individuals are able to take advantage of the changes.

I think not only the army but everyone [would benefit from a] greater awareness of depression. I suppose at the end of the day greater awareness from commanders looking at their soldiers or friends looking at their friends and saying ‘look hey you need help, something’s going on, speak to someone’. I suppose in the army’s case they need to order their soldiers to have counselling. If something happens that going to adversely affect their soldiers, get some counselling because their soldiers are going to be better for it. (Chris)

In a statement that represents the silencing of CSO and CSA, Chris discussed the potential benefits of increasing awareness of ‘grooming’ of victims, reflecting that he was unaware of the grooming that often precedes offending.

He reflected on a process that built-up to the offending, and argued that there were moments in the process where it could have been spoken. Men supporting men to seek help, requires an understanding of the process, including denial, or a distancing, from the possibility of ‘being like that’.

I suppose for me being on the outside seeing that sort of thing happen to someone else then I could step in and say ‘hey you know this is what’s happening? You’ve got to be careful, you might need to go and see someone, do talk to someone because this is what’s going on’ ... I think it would [help] but I also think that a lot of people would sort of brush it off

'oh it won't happen to me, I'd never do that sort of thing you know' I used to say that all the time 'I'd never do that I hate people that do that' but yet that's exactly what I did because all you really see is that end effect of the end offending, you don't see what's gone on before. Had I known about the build up to [offending] then I could have gone 'hold on whoa this is what I'm doing'. So I suppose the awareness of how it builds up and what leads up to it [would be helpful]. (Chris)

Constructing a counter narrative to masculinity that is limited by enactments of toughness and emotional suppression can enable men to discuss issues that have been silenced (Kia-Keating et al., 2005). Treatment at WellStop created a culture where men were encouraged or, arguably, forced to express emotion, discuss failures and expose vulnerabilities; not just in private sessions but in front of other men.

Summary

In the telling of these stories, post treatment, the men were able to tell of their masculinities, and the relationships of domination and subordination that they were embedded in. There were various turning points in the men's talk that were produced through an understanding of their positioning in their cultural narratives. All of the men stated socially produced cultural narratives of hegemonic masculinity needed counter narratives, and the production of networks of support among men to open communication about emotion. This necessarily involves a challenge to the historical, social and cultural narratives that position CSO as deviant and help-seeking without fear of recrimination and social humiliation. The following chapter identifies the discursive constitution of masculinity in the men's talk.

Chapter Six: Discourse analysis: Discourse, power and knowledge

Discourse analysis can be understood as an inquiry into sites of knowledge production – such as, schools, the media, medical institutions or the forces that legitimate social injustices (Parker, 1990). By examining these sites of knowledge production, and challenging the taken for granted messages that are produced there, discourse analysis can contribute to the construction of knowledge, and the reconstruction of existing knowledge, by reorganising social power imbalances. In addition, as Willig (2007) has argued, discourse analysis can identify the discursive practices, entrenched in social power relations, that legitimate exploitation and oppression.

Discourse enables and constrains ways of speaking, writing and thinking, and impacts on lived and embodied experience (Hook, 2001). Discourses simultaneously complement and constitute each other, re-circulating and re-forming. In this way, discourses carry with them historical, cultural and social significance that are in a constant process of iteration. Dominant discourses can envelop counter-discourses and incorporate them into their own ideals. The mobilisation of any given discourse at any given time, will enable dominant and subordinate positions; those in the dominant position typically reproducing the ways of talking and knowing that affords them power, while the subordinated look for ways to resist or tolerate their position as the ‘other’ (Hook, 2001). This research sought to identify the discourses at work in the interviewees’ construction of their masculine identities, and how their positioning in discourse was enabled and constrained. The discourse analysis identifies the social power relationships that influenced their performance of masculinity.

The discourse analysis employed in this research examines how “manly” discourse is constituted in and through HM and how hegemony is maintained through normative relationships of domination and subordination that devalue femininity, and exclude or silence alternative masculinities, subjecting the other to its power, for example, by removing masculine status. Discourse analysis also examines the legitimacy of a

subject to speak within a discourse (Parker, 1990). In this way, it finds spaces in the silences that HM produces and makes sense of the social practices that enable and constrain them.

Thinking of discourse as an 'event' allows an historical look at how power is held within the institutions that promoted it, preceded it and contributed to it (Hook, 2001). Thinking of discourse in this way, within this research, allowed a temporal analysis of the men's interviews showing how the men's conception(s) of masculinity changed over time through adherence and resistance to various powerful institutions and discourses.

The discursive production of masculinity

As discussed in Chapter 3, gender is constructed in discourse, the language of everyday talk that reproduces statements of difference such as "the opposite sex", and through iterations produced in and through dynamic cultural and social relations. Therefore, gender and sexuality are repeatedly connected through a normalising process of language, knowledge and power so that they become a natural background to our everyday affairs. Discourses of gender and sexuality are omnipresent but are only fleetingly brought into everyday conversation (Speer, 2002). It is this process of naturalisation that maintains the legitimacy of the dominant and powerful regulation of some groups or categories of subjects over others. In this way, a gender hierarchy is produced, through practices of surveillance and discipline that define the other in terms of what they are not.

The men drew on dominant discourses of masculinity as they reflected on their own position in the gender hierarchy. Such discourses consisted of clusters of terms, networks of meanings or systems of statements that provided content to their understanding of masculinity as an 'object', in this case to their position as a man (Toerien & Durrheim, 2001). The most salient discourse produced by the men in this study was the 'manly man'. As a network of meaning, this discourse resonated with discourses that reproduce traditional masculinity (Flood, 2010), where manly men are constituted as stoic, emotionally restricted, independent, powerfully present,

physically competent and the protector and provider to the family.

As discussed in Chapter 3, there has been considerable debate about the utility, significance or existence of the concept of HM (Phoenix & Frosh, 2007). HM is a process rather than a set of essential characteristics; it emerges as a dominant form of masculinity within a gender hierarchy performed through adherence to gendered power (Messerschmidt, 2012). Hegemonic masculinity is not a stable category, but rather a dynamic relationship of gendered power that operates to subordinate women, femininities and non-hegemonic masculinities; it has no meaning outside this relationship of gender and sexuality.

In this analysis, HM was realised through the power relationships that disciplined the performance of masculinity, and discourses that positioned the men as 'manly'. Indeed, the men positioned themselves, variously, as 'doing' HM. In this sense, hegemony was accomplished through the hierarchical organisation of gender and sexuality and also as a function of oppression. Both access to gendered power, and oppression in the gendered hierarchy, can occur together (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) and this was evident in the men's talk.

As Hook (2001) has argued, the strongest discourses are those that are repeatedly legitimated through truth producing institutions and culturally normative social relations so that they become so naturalised they become ordinary. In order to be convincing, discourses, as stitched together as they might be, present themselves as unified truths, and failure to adhere to them results in social sanctions. It seems that this practice functions, not so much to concretise dominant discourse, but rather, it acts to concretise what does not constitute the dominant discourse insofar as it excludes others from the discourse (Hook, 2001). This analysis shows that the men in this study confirmed their masculine identity through taken for granted culturally embedded knowledge of 'the way it is' and the culturally available masculine resources that were limited by HM and manly discourses. It also shows that masculine identity is not a stable category and can be, and is, constantly renegotiated.

Men can do what they want; Masculine liberty and autonomy

As discussed in Chapter 1, the media constitutes masculine ideology through the continuing processes of creating and being created by dominant discourse (Butler, 1993; Hall, 1997). The operation of manliness in media representations offers dominant discourses of femininity, masculinity, and heterosexuality that are coercive and become embedded in every day interactions. Freedom and autonomy is often equated with masculine power and is reflected in masculine images of men being in control of their actions and choices, and privileges their desires.

The media representations of masculine power, available to the interviewees in childhood and adolescence, included characters of masculine identity such as *James Bond*, *Indiana Jones*, *Han Solo*, *Dirty Harry*, *Rambo* and *The Incredible Hulk*. The men drew on these representations as a reference to the legitimacy of masculine liberty and autonomy and on some occasions made explicit comparisons between their identities and these caricatures of masculinity. Drawing on heroes from popular narratives functioned as metaphors for their masculine identity; they represented their masculine right to act on their masculine desire. Threats to this privilege were met with resistance in the form of violence of the emasculation of their opponents. Jake adhered to discourses of masculinity that promised autonomy and liberty and would call on the “green roaring monster”, his representation of the *Incredible Hulk* character, if this right was threatened.

In order to access the rewards of masculine autonomy and liberty, adherence to the institutional and cultural discourses of gendered hierarchies was required, which positioned the men inside discourses of HM; they were constrained by the very discourses that enabled them.

For example, the men in this study worked within masculine dominated careers that enabled access to independence and freedom in their social relationships, however they were also constrained through rigid institutional regimes that normalised long hours, hard work, and dedication, often privileging camaraderie over intimate relationships. These institutions provide liberty, autonomy and power by appealing

to traditional masculine notions of 'bread-winning' and autonomy at the expense of traditionally less valued masculine endeavours such as participation in intimate relationships.

Men, who adhere to a discourse of liberty and autonomy, do so in a gender hierarchy where some forms of masculinity and femininity are subjected to subordination, produced as objects of men's desire. Within the gender hierarchy, the other is dehumanised. This gender differentiation was evident in Jake's talk.

[Dad] didn't really give me a positive image of a man, a man was, probably he thought was – [someone who] just did what he wanted when he wanted; [that] was probably the sort of impression I probably got from him. I mean, here's mum working like a dog cleaning and looking after us, that was her job and dad's job was just to do what he wanted. (Jake)

Jake draws on gendered difference to make sense of his mother's position as caring for the family and his father as doing what he wanted. In Jake's talk, his mother did not resist the cultural norms that produce a 'good mother'. This also enabled his father to exercise his right to autonomy and liberty – performed in this case, through leaving the family. While Jake positioned his father as a 'bad father' in his performance of autonomy and liberty, he also afforded both "love" and "respect" from Jake who interpreted his drunken or irresponsible behaviour as being "fun" or "easy going".

Paul's father communicated his right to liberty and autonomy by deserting his family without explanation. Paul went on to exercise this right throughout his life by abandoning several relationships and replacing them with homosocial relationships or "partying with mates". He also drew on masculine heroes (specifically James Bond) to represent his masculine right to act from a masculine desire for autonomy and liberty. The character James Bond, constituted through the practices of a masculine institution (the British Military), exercises his right to autonomy and liberty by performing the very function of masculine power in resistance to it; a form of hyper-

sexuality that pushes the boundaries of the institution. Paul adhered to discourses of masculinity that enabled autonomy and liberty and rewarded his status in the gender hierarchy as a way of avoiding punishment within the institution, and practiced the sexual objectification of women.

During high school, Josh was also embedded in, and reproduced, masculine discourses of autonomy and liberty. Success at school was rewarded with measured amounts of freedom and autonomy, which in turn enhanced his masculine status within a quasi-masculine “academic” hierarchy.

[Josh speaking] ‘I’ve done this so can I go and do such and such? [teacher speaking] Ye fine go and do whatever’, that sort of thing. So by working my way up that hierarchy I had a lot more freedom to do whatever I wanted (Josh).

Josh experienced the authority and control of institutional legitimacy in his career as a threat to his entitlement to autonomy and liberty, and to his masculine identity.

There’s all these other things I wanted to be doing, I don’t want to be thinking about patients, I don’t want to be working 15 hour nights. I want to go tramping and running and surfing and stuff in the weekend, I don’t want to be on call. (Josh)

Josh resisted the coercion of the institution to conform and practiced resistance to the institution by gaining power through discourses of masculinity that operated outside of the institution. As he began to resist a position of conformity, he became immersed in a tension between control and liberty moving further into the dynamic cultural and social relationship of power that constitutes HM; where power was performed through sex acts with multiple objects of desire, and autonomy was reinstated through late nights and drinking.

Adherence to discourses of HM was all pervasive in Chris's account. As a child, he learned to discipline his body through the practice of martial arts, a skill he used to position himself as 'macho' throughout school. He also learned to discipline his masculine identity through the institutional practices of the armed forces. His disciplined body rewarded him with freedom and liberty, and supported his entitlement to heterosexual sex.

Understood as a process, discourses of autonomy and liberty emerge where the privileging of male power operates to sexually subjugate women; the male-sex drive discourse is an entitlement. The inevitability of the discourses through which masculinity and heterosexuality are produced and reproduced, resisted and reshaped are authorised through gendered power relations. Without troubling gendered power relationships, alternative performances of masculinity and autonomy were not accessible to the men in this study. It took an insurmountable authority (the legal institution) to remove their entitlement to freedom, to force a renegotiation of masculine identity.

Measuring up? Doing hegemonic masculinity: the subordination of femininity and non-hegemonic masculinities

Hegemonic masculinities work to subjugate women and other men through a range of ideals and practices such as competition, aggressiveness and heterosexuality. While many men will not actually attain or maintain culturally valued modes of masculinity, they nonetheless benefit through complicity with dominant discourses. Such privilege is not readily available to 'marginalised' masculinities (Gough, 2006).

The interviewees complicity with HM was evident in their language use – especially where they reflected on their understanding of gender in their childhood and adolescence. All of the men drew on discourse that positioned first their mothers, then women, as subordinate to men. For example, the responsibilities of their mothers were constructed around taken for granted, or naturalised cultural discourses of femininity as passive and masculinity as active.

[My mum did] the sort of things that mothers do you know?... Sort of make sure you're alright and just being there for you, just looking after you. (Paul)

Mum came from a family which was, although it was four daughters, utterly utterly dominated by my grandfather, the father figure, who was a military man. So I think mum compared to a lot of other mums was quite kind of subdued. (Josh)

Mum was very quiet, very quiet, I don't actually - I can't pick any particular memories [of her]. I mean mum's always been there but always sort of quiet and in the background. I suppose that's sort of from being suppressed by dad I suppose um ye there was no memories [of mum] sort of pop out. (Chris)

Not respecting my mum ... that was a big problem - I didn't respect anyone; my sister, my mum as I was growing up. (Jake)

Such statements maintain the HM discourse, subjugating the position of the mother in relation to the father. In Chris's case, the "manly" presence of his father was so dominant that it almost completely eclipsed his memories of his mother. The rights and responsibilities of masculinity dominated. As a youth, Chris also positioned his mother as having less responsibility than his father; his father did the hard work and his mother was responsible for "less hard work".

Where a paternal presence is absent or negated, as in Paul's case, women are positioned through a naturalised and culturally normative discourse of femininity; to be 'looked after' is a responsibility that is minimised, so much so, that it was almost invisible in the men's accounts. The "sorts of things" that mothers do; nurture, provide care, be there in the background, were located in the men's talk in relation to their fathers' dominance. The HM discourse functioned to devalue the social position for women in traditionally feminine roles in the nuclear family.

Jake talked about not “respecting anyone” as a child and adolescent, but this seemingly normalised disrespect did not extend to his father who was afforded unconditional “respect” and “love”, despite neglecting Jake and his family. Jake held his dad in the privileged position of masculinity; “he’s still my dad”. Holding his father in the privileged position within discourses of HM reproduced a relationship of domination and subordination where his mother was positioned as “working like a dog”; a discourse dehumanising the feminine other.

School institutions also produce and reproduce discourses of HM, often achieved through unspoken complicity to the power relationships that hold them in place (Messerschmidt, 2012). For Jake, men at his school seemed to embody a “manly” presence that commanded respect. However, teachers who were women, were ridiculed, disempowered, and positioned in Jake’s account, as vulnerable and emotionally fragile. Hegemonic masculinity discourse was enacted through the institutional practices of the all-boys high school. Power, control and stoicism were achieved through the physical strength and authority of men. Women teachers were positioned as ineffective at discipline by the boys, who through their own access to masculine power, subjected women teachers to humiliation. Despite empathy with the object of male power, stepping outside the boundaries of HM was not a position that Jake could take up and still maintain his masculine status.

It would have been like ‘oh you’re a dick, what do you care about her? Is that your mother or something?’ you know? You just would have lost all respect from your classmates. (Jake)

Within Jake’s school, “respect” was something that could be earned, lost or taken and was used to negotiate position within masculine hierarchies. Gaining respect was achieved by performing HM and could be lost by stepping outside the boundaries of the discourse.

For Chris, repeated performances of dominant, and dominating, masculinity became gradually more authentic to his identity; they became naturalised. In a reflection that

approximates Butlerian performativity, Chris described drawing on manly discourse to enact a performance of HM which seemed “like acting” at first, but eventually seemed real (Butler, 1990). This illustrates how dominant discourse can seep into subjectivity and become a normalised part of a person’s identity (Butler, 1990). Dominant discourses of masculinity produce and reproduce, and enforce through social sanctions, masculinity that is in control, strong, respected and infallible.

Josh’s school actively encouraged hierarchies and was complicit in the hierarchical ordering of masculinities. Hierarchical structuring - entrenched and encouraged within Josh’s school institution - was maintained by force or coercion. Hierarchies were rigidly imposed at school within a cultural discourse that excluded those who did not adhere to hegemonic ideals.

Such practices at the all-boys school maintained HM by promoting values that led to the subjugation of “juniors” and excluded those who resisted the entrenched masculine discourse. Being exposed to the exercise of senior power over the bodies of juniors was a significant experience that impacted on boys construction of their masculinities. Like Josh, the boys in Light and Kirk’s (2000) study took for granted the “suffering” they experienced from seniors as the ‘way it is’ and thought it was necessary in the process of learning how to be a man.

I guess it was just ingrained in the teaching staff. You’d turn up and that hierarchy’s just kind of there and you think ‘ah that’s just the way it is’. I mean the school had a fairly low tolerance for people who disrupted the hierarchy, the trouble makers. They were often suspended or expelled, it was just a very traditional boys school. (Josh)

Different groups organised themselves within the school’s hierarchical system. At the top of the masculine hierarchy were the “hostel boys”, who could perform a certain type of exclusive masculinity involving playing sport, excessive drinking, partying and engaging in heterosexual sex. Josh positioned himself outside the dominant ‘hostel boys’ group, stating that he did not wear the clothes that acted

as the group's insignia. While the academic group Josh belonged to was excluded from the dominant 'hostel boys' group, the lowest group in the masculine hierarchy were those positioned as "geeks"; those who did not adhere to normative masculinity. Bullying was explicitly used against this group as a means to demonstrate the power relationships operating within the hierarchy. In effect, being a perpetrator of bullying was a resource for boys excluded from the dominant group to maintain status over those who were lower on the social hierarchy. Bullying as a technique of power was enacted to privilege some and subjugate others (Gavey, 1989; Hook, 2001). Bullying became a strategy to affirm masculine gender identity where other means of achieving masculine normativity were not available. Dominant discourses of masculinity and practices of violence and coercion offer the cultural resources to achieve or maintain some sense of being a 'normal' man.

The rules of engagement, while enacted through a relationship of domination and subordination, were sometimes ambiguous. For example, Josh understood the requirements for membership to his own social group (including adherence to a form of masculinity that meant he was not bottom of the hierarchy) but struggled to make sense of how the 'hostel boys' gained their social power. Inclusion did not require a high performance in rugby, rather the necessity to be able to participate in the culture of rugby and drinking.

*I guess where you are in the [academic] hierarchy is displayed in a different way, it's basically 'what did you get in your exam' – that was the kind of medium we chose. Whereas for [the hostel boys], you know I'm not entirely sure what would [be required of membership]. The people who were at the top -it's kind of like 'why?' What has this guy's got that we haven't? Ye ok he plays rugby but he's not in the first 15. Ye ok he drinks a lot but so what?
(Josh)*

The process of exclusion produced by dominant groups, where what is required for membership is ambiguous and elusive, echo's what Hook (2001) wrote about dominant discourse consolidating its position by defining the excluded – as

opposed to defining itself. Josh reflected that success within the hostel boys depended on a “forceful personality” that produced an authentic identity enabled through the performance of masculinity within rugby culture. Connell (1987) has argued that discourses of masculinity operate as uncontested common sense notions of what it is to be a man, and hegemony is never complete, however certain forms of masculinity are connected to dominance, force and physical competence. Rugby has been culturally constituted as a process of empowerment of an expectation of physical domination, and as a means of producing a form of masculinity that maintains its hegemony through its dominance over alternative ways of being a man (Light & Kirk, 2000). It is reproduced through discourses that discipline the body.

A lot of it might have been personality based, [most of them had] forceful personalities, [they could] joke a lot but also had a finger in each of those things - rugby, drinking. I guess charisma is probably a big part of it. (Josh)

The domination of hegemonic masculinity within the school hierarchy did not only exclude alternative ways of being a man, it also reproduced the relationship of domination and subjugation of normative heterosexuality. While Jake reflected on the effects of hegemonic masculinity as a way of disciplining the masculine body, he understood his own conformity to dominant discourse subjugated the position of women and girls. The pressure to adhere to the most dominant form of sexuality is immense within most dominant cultural conceptions of gender constituted through heterosexuality (Butler, 1990).

The dominant positioning of women and girls within heteronormativity is as sexual objects. Hollway (1984) argues that women as objects are produced through male sex drive discourse, which is so hegemonic in the meaning of sexuality that it is normalised. Male sex drive discourse depends on the notion of a biological urge and assumes that men need, and are focussed on, sex and that they are always up for it. Heterosex is necessary to their masculine identity, it is a performance of manliness, and women are positioned as objects of this desire. So in a complex

relationship of domination and subordination, Jake is subjected to hegemonic masculinity, and reproduces domination through subjectifying women and girls as objects of desire.

They're either sexual objects or they're my mother or sister or something like that. (Jake)

As Hook (2001) argued, discourses restrict access to subject positions, and here, Jake positions women as sexual objects, or excludes them. Mothers and sisters have already been positioned within heteronormative masculinity as the objects of power and control of the father. Bringing together HM discourse and male sex drive discourse, produced women as dehumanised objects of heterosex and as objects of masculine power and control.

I would look at them as you know - they're there to kiss, 'I'm not talking to you I'm talking to my mate', 'just stand there and look pretty you don't need to say anything' um things like that you know. They were a creature, a lay. (Jake)

Adherence to dominant discourses of masculinity and heterosexuality limited Chris' relationships with girls. Reflecting on his adolescence, Chris resisted controlling girls through violence, stating he "didn't really hit girls", deviating from the representation of masculinity taken up by his father. However, he was limited by his adherence to a "manly" discourse that excluded emotional expression. For Chris, men who could not perform stoicism were positioned as "less of a man", with the risk of exclusion through a loss of masculine status. The loss of masculine status through the expression of emotional sensitivity was also produced as less attractive to women. The hegemony of social relationships compelled the men to engage in the continuous heterosexualising of interpersonal relationships (Hearn, 2004).

In adulthood, Josh described a transformation in terms of his emotional expressivity, however, some of his masculine ideologies have remained intact. Josh drew on

conceptions of HM to account for the silencing of emotional expression “in front of the boys”; lack of control of emotions would result in loss of masculine status. His account drew on a naturalised conception of how men should be able to “control emotions” “the way a man should”; crying in front of a group of men was unacceptable - “you don’t do that in front of the boys, it’s just not the way it’s done”. For Josh, being able to discuss a distressing situation or event without “blubbing through a sentence” is “the way a man should do it”. Such language indicates a strong adherence to powerful and naturalised masculine discourse – one that informs a man on how to do, and not to do, masculinity and disciplines their behaviour. The form of masculinity that maintains its hegemony over femininity and therefore emotion, disciplines the performance of being a man. While Josh has increasingly resisted the HM ideal through taking up an alternative masculine discourse that enables him to express his emotion, it is always partial; he is “comfortable” expressing his emotions with close women friends, but adheres to the constraints of HM within social relationships that have the power to exclude him.

As discussed in the narrative analysis, all of the men recognised adhering to certain “manly” discourses could be damaging and destructive both to them and to those around them. Without access to alternative masculine discourses, which accepted non-manly expressions of emotion, the men were constrained by the most powerful and pervasive discourses of masculinity.

The men in this study performed HM in similar ways; not only did HM subjugate alternative ways of being a man through disciplinary practices, it was also reproduced through an adherence to normative heterosexuality that positioned women and girls as sexual objects. This adherence, combined with a perceived right to freedom and autonomy, and a disregard for institutions and legislations that constrain this right, enabled possibilities for sexually harmful behaviour where heterosexual sex was understood as an essential performance of masculinity.

Adherence to dominant discourses of masculinity enabled the men a position within a masculine hierarchy. As the men reflected on their understanding of masculinity

over time, they were able to take up positions within alternative discourse within the constraints of gendered normativity.

Real men don't cry

Knowledge about how 'normal' masculinity should be performed permeates social relationships, and is exercised through relations of domination and subordination that produce meanings of masculinity and femininity. Supported through institutions, such as school and nuclear families (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005), HM discourse locates emotion as feminine and subsequently excludes it from masculine discourse. The men in this study drew on discourses of masculinity that constructed violence as a form of masculine power and control to objectify and subjugate women and non-manly men. They also positioned themselves within discourses of stoicism and restricted emotion. The men reflected on their lack of access to a legitimate position of emotional sensitivity within masculine social power relationships; it was unmanly. Discourses of masculinity that subjugate emotion (as feminine) leave men ill equipped to engage with emotional trauma (Flood, 2010).

All of the men, until well into their adulthood, adhered to a manly discourse, which prohibited an expression of "weak" emotion and forbade that emotion be expressed, or talked about, in front of other masculine men. To do so risks compromising a masculine status; it exposes an inability to control emotion - something that a manly man should be able to do. To cry is unmanly. To cry is to be feminine, where women and emotion are subjugated by and within masculine discourse (Cleary, 2011).

The process of the subjugation of emotion as feminine also produces non-manly men as emasculated. Adherence to manly discourse empowers men to control emotion, and to control those who do not adhere to the discourse. This reflects a celebration of the performance of control or suppression of emotion as normative masculinity. There was however, a competing discourse to the performance; there is a contest over the meaning of emotion and anger, within discourses of HM that use violence and aggression to oppress others and gain masculine status.

Chris positioned himself as “macho” and “angry” as an adolescent, both manly and with legitimate masculine emotion. He also accounted for his ability to suppress anger through the institutional practices of the armed forces, produced through discourses that discipline the body. He learned to “tuck it [anger] away” and use it strategically as a performance of “controlled aggression” in a highly constrained masculine context. Chris reflected on the lack of alternative discourses to understand his experiences in the armed forces, and found himself “trapped” within a discourse of masculinity that he became vulnerable to. Operating within a HM discourse, “weak emotions” positioned him as non-manly, and he was subjected to its power. As Parker and Shotter (1990) pointed out, by examining common knowledge we can often see that what is produced as ‘normal’ can in fact be very odd. Chris grew up in a culture where masculine stoicism and physical toughness was normalised and expected of men. However, adhering to such a discourse typically limited his access to the support that might lower his risk for developing physical and psychological problems (Alaggia, 2010; Burns & Mahalik, 2008). So by adhering to a “manly” discourse of physical and mental toughness, Chris, without access to alternative forms of masculinity, becomes vulnerable.

Paul reflected that he used aggression and violence as a means of catharsis, which resonates with O’Neill’s (1998) discourse of the expression of inner tension; the notion that violence is driven by an impulse, a “bubbling up” within a man, usually understood as anger or tension, that when released offers a sense of gratification. Paul enacted HM through disciplining his own body, “holding it [emotion] inside” until he was able to “let the anger go”. As he reflected on his own participation in discourses of masculinity, he was able to locate partying as an “escape from reality and good times” as a culturally sanctioned condition for the expression of emotion.

Institutional power constitutes schools as a site of physical domination and as a means of producing a form of masculinity that maintains its hegemony by acting on or disciplining the body, including discourse that controls the expression of “feelings”. The control of fear, empathy and sadness through HM was effective. Jake learned that to participate in masculinity, to be a manly man, to have status, emotion must remain

under control. To express emotion risked access to male power, and made them vulnerable.

People don't want to admit that they had feelings, it was a boys school and you don't have feelings at boys schools. (Jake)

Operating within a manly discourse, Jake disciplined his emotion and enacted violence as an expression of anger. However, where women and emotion are subjugated, he maintained his masculine position by deferring responsibility for his anger to the feminine, positioning the women of his broken relationships as dehumanised objects of heterosex; “cheating bitches” who violated masculine power and control. He drew on a violent metaphor to describe his feeling of vulnerability – “having your heart ripped out of your chest”. On reflection, Jake questioned his own adherence to HM to make sense of the relationship. This reflection was of the manly discourse at work; suppressed emotion, violent expression of tension and the recognition of vulnerability that reproduces compliance or opens the possibility for resistance.

As Gavey (1989) has argued, a person is fragmented and contradictory, being pulled and shaped by social and institutional forces. As Josh attempted to resist the discourses of HM, he also reproduced them. However, the most salient and clearly defined elements of manly discourse appear difficult to resist. As Josh moved between HM and alternative discourses of masculinity to access emotion, he found limited feminine spaces for emotion, a place to cry. At the same time, he reproduced manly discourse within his family and social relationships. In a contest between manly discourse and alternative discourses of masculinity, Josh positioned himself outside heterosexuality as a form of resistance (Flood, 2008; Messerschmidt, 2000a). Josh deliberately resisted the manly discourse by aligning himself with a form of non-masculinity that is excluded from heterosexuality, with access to feminine emotional resources that are stereotypically assigned to “gay guys”. At the same time, he is able to perform manly discourse, through his engagement in numerous masculine pursuits; he was able to move strategically between the fragmentary and competing

discourses of normative heterosexuality.

There's a lot of things I do that might fit into that sort of thing – stuff like mountain climbing – which is probably perceived as a pretty masculine sort of thing to do. But I see myself as quite emotional, even if I don't like showing it, but I can talk about a lot of stuff that might be stereotypical of like a gay guy or something. Like I can talk to girls about clothes and fashions and stuff. I don't see myself as a masculine guy and to be honest most of my friends now are girls. (Josh)

The men failed to disclose emotional distress at various points in their lives because of the constraints of masculinity; to cry was unmanly. The disciplinary practices of hegemonic masculinity excluded them from access to the emotional resources that, as Cleary (2001) has argued, may have provided support for their trauma.

As discussed in the “prevention” section of the narrative analysis, for three of the men (Josh, Paul and Chris), sexual offending occurred during a period of degeneration marked by the subjective subordination of ‘feminised emotion’ and a reluctance to express this emotion or seek help. An unrelenting adherence to HM and manly discourse impeded the men from accessing support that may have halted the degeneration that culminated in their sexual offending.

Pursuing the impossible ideal: Trying to be the man and failing

Everybody fails at gender, and that is a good thing (Butler 2007 in Zadjermann, 2007).

Butler (2007) denies the authenticity of categories of gender and argues that any attempt to consistently embody a gender ideal is destined to fail. Men who rigidly adhere to discourses of HM without access to alternative forms of masculinity are likely to experience vulnerability to the risk of emotional trauma (Clearly, 2001), and struggle with challenges to their understanding of the entitlements afforded masculinity (Flood, 2010). They are also likely to develop physical and psychological

problems (Burns & Mahalik, 2008) and are at risk of interpreting the power enabled through HM to enable the sexual abuse women and children (Flood, 2008; Messerschmidt, 2000b).

Those who fail to authentically perform HM within their social relationships are at risk of exercising their power over people that are more vulnerable. Men who adhere to, and fail to produce a masculine identity that celebrates heterosexuality and subjugates women, may use their assumed right to power to subjugate children (Messerschmidt, 2000b).

The interviewees grew up within discourses of masculinity that privileged physical, dominating and emotionally restricted subject positions. Without access to alternative masculinities, they assumed everyday taken for granted normative forms of heterosexuality and reproduced them. It was at the point of 'failure' of their masculine identity that the men in this study began to reflect on the fragility of HM as a construct. For these men, it was the rigid adherence to HM that was implicated in their eventual harmful behaviour. The performance of HM brought benefits; power and status, access to sex and camaraderie. It also offered limited subject positions.

Paul experienced the benefits of liberty, camaraderie and "partying" available through his social relationships with the "guys". The rewards depended on adherence to discourses of HM that sexually objectified women. As he reflected on these benefits, he was able to recognise that his adherence to HM excluded him from intimate relationships with women. The subjectification of women as sexual objects for men was implicated in his offending.

Josh failed to replicate the discourse of the manly man performed by his father and other prominent men in his life. His sense of failure at masculinity was related to his brother's seemingly authentic representation of manliness. Josh both complied with, and resisted, manly discourse; he enacted the norms of masculinity that reward excellence. Resistance to manly discourse did not provide resources for an alternative form of masculinity. Instead, Josh performed a relationship of domination and

subordination, where he was positioned as powerful through his success, and women were positioned as the objects of his desire. Like Paul, he drank heavily, partied excessively, and achieved the rewards that his adherence to heterosexual norms enabled. As he reflected on these benefits, he recognised his position in HM - that the subjectification of women to meet his “unquenchable desire” for sex was implicated in his offending. As research has shown, immersion in an HM environment can lead to sexually harmful behaviour (Flood, 2008; Langa, 2008). Josh, like all of the men at the time of offending, was deeply embedded in a construction of HM that subordinated women, entitled men to sex and failed (or refused) to recognise alternative forms of masculinity. Josh’s embeddedness in the discourse was evident in his reflections on being caught, including a feeling that he had not “done anything wrong”, rationalising that the consent given by his teenage victim negated any accusations of “rape”. After the subsequent trial, imprisonment and treatment, Josh’s enmeshment in HM was stripped away revealing to him the “power imbalance” that was intrinsic in the sexual contact with his teenage victims. Again this shows how adherence to certain constructions of masculinity are implicated in offending but also how these constructions can be transformed over time with sufficient intervention.

Jake’s construction of the “green monster” produced a masculine identity that both embodied masculine strength and aggression, replicated his father’s behaviour, and brought immediate reward and “respect” from his peers. Jake continued to enact this discourse of masculinity, taking what he wanted by force where necessary, into his adult life. His adherence to HM discourse functioned to protect him from the unmentionable; his own position as victim, and his failure of masculinity. His masculine identity was constantly in a struggle between compliance and resistance to HM.

As Andersson (2008) discussed, the position of victim is almost always incompatible with dominant masculine discourse. Boys who live in a manly world who are also victims of sexual abuse, struggle with the threat to masculine identity and its meaning for social relationships. The effects of the discourse reproduce silence (Alaggia, 2010). Positioning himself as victim of CSA and of HM in our conversation, Jake reflected on

his offending through a fragmentation of discourses that did not make sense of his experience of abuse and his masculinity. As an abused boy living in a manly world he was disciplined by discourse to maintain his silence or suffer the effects of subjugation and the ridicule of emotional vulnerability. This pattern of abuse and silence became repetitive; it prevented Jake from appearing “weak” by asking for help, and prevented him being positioned as sexually deviant by his father. His position as innocent child in his mother’s eyes was also threatened should he have disclosed that the abuse “felt good”. It was the threat of being constructed as a “poor victim” that is incompatible with his masculine identity, and secured his silence.

Chris’ adherence to HM discourse was enacted through his performance of controlled aggression, reproduced through the institutional power relationship of the armed forces. His performance of masculinity failed following a traumatic event, and he had no access to alternative discourses of masculinity, preventing him from seeking support. His masculine identity was also threatened when he was unable to maintain a sexual relationship with his wife. The ability to perform coital sex is intimately connected with discourses of masculinity and sexuality. Reflecting on his masculine identity, Chris locates the trauma as the site of a broader crisis, where he begins to lose control of being a man (Wetherell & Edley, 1999). Within HM discourse, his failure to perform sexually constituted a challenge to normative heterosex, and threatened his masculine position. Discourses of heterosexuality were challenged in a context of a continuous negotiation of power in his relationships. His attempts to regain masculine power are implicated in his offending.

When these men failed at doing manly masculinity, they had no alternative discourses of doing gender to fall back on. As the benefits of their compliance to HM became failure, they reproduced male power in sexual relations that did not accept their performance.

Resisting the old man and creating new masculinities

As Davies and Harre (2001) wrote, our understanding of ourselves emerges through a process of social interaction and is constituted and reconstituted through the process

of interaction. In this way, the construction of a subject position is not a stable endpoint but is produced through a fluid and ongoing process of iteration. Each subject position is associated with varying degrees of rights, privileges and power (Coombes & Morgan, 2004). Conviction, and subsequently treatment, positioned the men as child sex offenders, which stripped them of social power. Treatment provided the conditions of possibility for the men to renegotiate their masculine identities.

Most of the men in this study discussed a transformation of their masculine identities following treatment within the complex social power relations that construct and discipline masculinity as in control, strong, tough, respected, free and autonomous. As this form of masculinity becomes contested, a discourse of a 'new man' emerged in the men's talk. This new man discourse was constructed as emotionally sensitive, nurturing and valued intimate relationships. The men did not reject their positions as real men, but brought the new man discourse to their masculine identities; maintaining male power in their social relations. The trouble with this, as Gough (2006) points out, is that without challenging the gendered power relationship, the dominance of the real man discourse risks the ongoing performance of HM as authentic masculinity.

All of the men described pulling away from 'destructive' masculine discourses and creating a multitude of masculinities, and producing tensions in their masculine identities. Evidenced through their talk about the process of transformation, the men struggled to articulate how they could maintain their positions as manly men and as good men, and the discourses they drew on were often contradictory. This reflects the ambiguity of the conception of masculinity as well as the complexity, multiplicity and contradictions often found within discourses (Parker & Shotter, 1990). Most of the men distinguished between the production of power through masculinity – often termed as “manly” – with what they perceived to be a “good man”. The men differentiated between two concepts based on their life experience. The conception of “manly” was most often defined in terms of oppressive social power relationships performed through the domination of wives, mothers, children and subordinate (non-manly) forms of masculinity. At the same time, manly discourse was compatible with

constructions of masculinity that value men as protector, provider and hardworking, were not contested.

...ye the protector of the family, the strong person, the provider; as well as [doing] all the hard work that men are supposed to do, while the women don't do so much of the hard yards for the family. (Chris)

The cultural meanings of masculinity, that position women as the other of men – she does not do the hard stuff – is not challenged. As Hook (2001) pointed out, to define and exclude the ‘other’, is simpler – the woman positioned within a ‘manly’ discourse cannot do the ‘hard work’ (whatever it may be). Normative discourses of masculinity, to provide and to protect were contrasted with hegemonic ways of being a man; they could not be simultaneous with “beating up on the family”. For Chris, the tension between these two positions became a struggle between maintaining manliness and renegotiating the meaning of a new masculine identity that included emotional expression as a strength.

My views of it [the concept of ‘manly’] is still blurred and are starting to change and take a slightly new direction. I’m just sort of trying to redefine myself ... I still sort of believe it the same way but I certainly feel that emotions play a big part in being a manly man. I still believe in [being] the provider, the protector side of things but I’m certainly not too much of a man to talk about things. You’re more of a man if you talk about things, you’re more a man if you can show your emotions and show your feelings and sit down and talk with friends and family about what’s going on The whole thing [cultural conceptions of gender] is evolving and changing now women are out there working and men are staying at home. A lot of those things that were considered weakness back then are now strengths. (Chris)

As new masculinities are negotiated in a fluid and ongoing process, dominant forms of masculinity are simultaneously being reproduced and redefined within gendered cultural norms. Chris reconciles his position as a man who protects and provides and

legitimizes emotional expressivity as a strength. He understood this process as having “left the door open” for legitimate multiple masculine subject positions. He reflected on changes in social and cultural understandings of gender norms, and had renegotiated his performance of masculinity to include emotion as a strength. As he constantly reconfigures his masculine identity, a new man discourse is produced. At the same time, a power relationship between strength and weakness (masculine and feminine) are also reproduced.

Jake’s reformulation of masculine identity distances him from the “roaring green monster” – a construction based on the aggressive and controlling conception of masculinity produced by his father. For a long time adhering to this manly discourse brought Jake immediate rewards. The process of renegotiating his masculinity produced tensions between control and aggression, and respect for women and responsibility.

Well presented, good communicating, can get people to, na not not to get people to do, um well. Ye can respect women, for who they are and their points of view don’t necessarily have to disagree or start fights. A good father figure, responsible, make sure the kids are safe, just generally morally a good person, that’s what a good man should be I think. (Jake)

In this excerpt, Jake’s talk shifts from the HM reward, “can get people to”, to a position of resisting a discourse of control. A new masculine identity produces the ‘good man’, responsible for providing protection and respect for women, as the reward. While there is resistance to control, adherence to masculine discourses to provide and protect reproduce the culturally normative power relationship between masculinity and femininity.

Josh had engaged in a process of renegotiating his masculinity in adolescence when he failed to perform manly man discourse. He reflected on the limited subject positions available through masculine discourse throughout his childhood and adolescence. Without access to alternative forms of masculinity, he was socially

excluded, and experienced himself as “invisible”. Without access to alternative forms of masculinity, he was able to negotiate his position within masculinity through successful academic achievement and sporting success on the fringes of acceptability. He also took up HM rights and used bullying to attain masculine status. The tension between attaining masculine status through his success and practices of and resistance to HM, were experienced as a failure of gender. By adulthood, he understood his career choice as produced through the “expectations” of others, and of masculinity. It was a lack of Josh’s adherence to a manly (mis)conception of masculinity to resolve the tension that was implicated in his offending. Reflecting on the constant renegotiation of masculinity through the tension between HM discourse and resistance following treatment, he recognised the rewards of his achievements; they became attractive to others.

Academically it’s almost like it pays off later when you can earn a good salary. I guess academic guys are attractive later on when [girls] realise this is actually something useful. Whereas at high school it’s ignored. (Josh)

Josh’s renegotiation of masculine identity was continuously formed through resisting manly discourse as desirable. He also began to trouble the boundaries of gender normativity, drawing on desirable feminine attributes, such as emotional expressivity as necessary to discourse of a good man and therefore a good father. He also drew on feminine attributes to make space within masculine discourse for diverse masculinities.

I think that that’s how I still describe a manly man but I would say that a manly man is not something to be desired so I might say, if I said ‘he’s a manly man’ that’s not necessarily a compliment. Maybe he should be a bit more womanly and some ways, to use those terms. A good man, like a good father figure, is someone who can share in their kid’s emotions, who can enjoy doing things with them regardless of what they are, it doesn’t have to be sport and stuff. Maybe [the father] enjoys sewing dresses for his daughter or something you know, a much more diverse range of interests

rather than, not that my dad did, but some manly men are like this is the way it is, you must do such and such. So much more permissive and encouraging of various things, a good father figure should be more of an educator and a facilitator rather than a rather than a muscular tyrant.
(Josh)

Paul's renegotiation of his masculinity was realised in a struggle between his adherence to the cultural norms of HM through his social fraternal relationships that sexually objectified women and his desire for a loving relationship. In his masculine dominated career, stable romantic relationships were subjugated through a male sex drive discourse that positions women as the objects of male sexual power. Casual sexual encounters with "loose women" constructed women as sexual objects among the men; normalised as "how guys talk".

So women in general were seen as sexual objects, did you see your partner at the time in the same way? (Keith)

No it was more like after we split, ye you know how guys talk when they are drunk. (Paul)

The normative discourses that produced a shared understanding of masculinity were invited in this account. Drawing on hegemonic discourse that sexually objectifies women in a masculine relationship among guys who are drinking, offered a position either as inside or outside of this masculine group; to 'know' would be compliant with the discourse, rewarded through the camaraderie enabled. To not 'know' would be a position excluded from this form of masculinity. Such a process of iteration naturalises the sexual subjugation of women, and non-hegemonic masculinities, and reproduces the discursive construction of HM. As he became more embedded in HM, the discourses that subjugated women and devalued relationships were rewarded through acceptance into the HM culture. As Flood (2008) and Messerschmidt (2000b) have argued, masculinity both produces and performs sexuality and a particular performance of sexuality confirms masculinity.

I started you know forming friendships out there. I started drinking and smoking drugs and sort of gradually drifted away from [my first girlfriend]. I sort of preferred you know partying and that sort of thing with the [male dominated industry] guys. (Paul)

What was so powerful about the [work place] experience that pulled you away from that woman that you loved and into their scene? (Keith)

I think maybe it was the camaraderie. (Paul)

The tension between discourses of camaraderie and stable relationships were continuously being reproduced and redefined within HM. When the social relationship failed, through the loss of work and access to male dominated culture, Paul renegotiated his masculine identity to enable a stable relationship, a “settled period” that resisted the lure of the HM culture where he found acceptance. The tension, rather than producing a space for a new masculinity, positioned Paul on either side of competing discourses; his position in gendered cultural norms only enabled one or the other.

[My partner and I] ended up having a daughter together. I suppose that [relationship] lasted maybe eight years ... it was pretty good, but ye I think perhaps once again after a certain period of time I missed being out with my mates, the drinking, that sort of thing. I gradually got back into it again. Towards the end I would prefer spending Saturday out with my mates partying rather than being with her. (Paul)

It was quite good to be single again because there was quite a lot of tension in the relationship just before we split. It was good for the first year or maybe two years to be single again and be able to do what I wanted to when I wanted to. Then I suppose the loneliness started setting in there again - I guess it was just lack of intimacy with a female. (Paul)

As he reflected on these competing discourses, he began to trouble the boundaries between the rewards of an intimate relationship and masculine camaraderie, where his masculine culture was experienced as “bad”. He was able to make sense of the outcome of his adherence to HM as he renegotiated his masculine identity toward the “good”; to take responsibility of the “wrongs” and work to be a good man.

[The culture provided] all the bad things - not really having a stable relationship with a woman, just sort of wasting your money on alcohol and drugs. (Keith)

If you could go back and do it differently, would you? (Keith)

Na I don't think so I realise it's a mistake - looking back - it was just a bad choice to make I suppose. (Paul)

Do you know what it is that's pulling you away from the bad and towards the good? (Keith)

I suppose I might be reflecting on your life and um sort of trying to put wrongs right I suppose. (Paul)

At the time of the interview, he was in a relationship with a woman he described as his “childhood sweetheart from college days”. As he reflected on his renegotiation of masculine identity post therapy, he was able to make sense of putting things “right” through valuing intimacy in his new relationship.

Summary

All of the men had noticed a transformation in their understanding of their masculine identities throughout the course of their life and, without exception, they were able to resist a rigid adherence to the powerful discourses that constitute hegemonic masculinity. The renegotiation of masculine identity produced various tensions in normative gendered power relations that constitute masculinity and femininity, and at the same time opened space for the men to access multiple discourses of masculinity. Their accounts of masculinity post treatment, enabled them to renegotiate manly identities as powerful, but not all forms of masculine power were necessarily desirable or 'good'. A good man is something different; it embodies normative masculine discourse, and at the same time, it is flexible enough to create space for the inclusion of the value of communication and emotional expressivity. The men in this study performed new masculinities by resisting discourses of HM that devalue the expression of emotion as feminine reproduced through normative assumptions that 'real men don't cry', and disciplines the performance of being a man. They reflected on HM to find legitimate ways of expressing emotion within masculine social power.

All of the men discussed a transformation in their masculinity (post therapy) that allowed more open communication, a greater repertoire of emotional expression, and insight into how their earlier constructions of masculinity were harmful. This transformation seems to have provided the men with access to different ways of being that have made offending much less likely. Had they had access to these ways of being earlier in life, they may never have sexually offended.

Chapter Seven: Discussion

This research began with a curiosity about the availability of pre-offence treatment services for paedophiles. As a training clinical psychologist, I was invested in reducing the incidence of child sex abuse in NZ. What emerged from the literature was that the evidence based research focussed almost exclusively on the offending population. It was also clear that, due to a number of social and political factors, self-referral among paedophiles was rare. Moreover, there was a conflation between paedophilia and CSO, a product of the merging of clinical, legal and popular meanings. One of the aims of this study was to challenge some of the existing assumptions regarding paedophilia and CSO, and to open up the possibility for interventions that engage men before they offend against children, reducing the suffering of victims, perpetrators and their families.

As I became immersed in the research literature on CSO (Chapter 2), I became increasingly aware that psychological knowledge, through research that defines and categorises paedophilia and CSO, assesses risk for reoffending and provides treatment according to psychometric testing. This produces a psychologically 'abnormal' subject; a criminal subject positioned outside cultural norms. There was also a troubling blurring of the boundaries between media and psychological understandings of CSO and paedophilia where psychology produced a deviant subject that resonated with the 'monstrous other' in media representations of CSO. It was not surprising that paedophiles and CSO are unlikely to engage in pre-emptive treatment when they are demonised, ostracised, and subject to institutional discipline and control.

In Chapter 2, I also drew attention to the media representation that constitutes CSO as objects of scrutiny, revulsion and regulation - the distant 'other' to social norms and therefore subjected to social discipline and exclusion. This representation of CSO maintains a social order that separates 'good' citizens from the 'monstrous other' who commit such crimes. Unpacking media representations enabled the opportunity to examine social and cultural assumptions of CSO

alongside contemporary psychological research. What emerged in this chapter was the complex relationship between the 'monstrous' and 'deviant' subject. I therefore argued, that the blurring of the boundaries between the media representation of the subject and the psychological production of the subject, is a necessary site for transforming our understanding of CSO. I then began to develop a theoretical framework that could make sense of the silences and exclusions that emerged at this boundary.

Where psychological expertise has the legitimacy to normalise human subjects, it also seeks to discipline (treat) deviance. It is generally left to experts to interpret CSO, who then distort or remove the voice of whom they seek to understand. In this situation, those subject to the gaze of the psychologist are silenced through the very discourses that produce them; where CSO are so deviant, so far from the norm, so incomprehensible, that it renders their voice irrelevant or impotent, it produces a subject with no right to speak.

In order to provide a novel insight into hitherto misunderstood and misrepresented phenomena, my early research was guided by a poststructuralist philosophy. A poststructuralist philosophy was useful because it rejects positivist notions of discoverable or fixed truths, is not bound by convention and prescribed methods, and allows an open minded approach to research that is less distorted by institutional power.

In Chapter 2, I argued that the relationship between psychological knowledge and media representations repeatedly reproduce popular narratives of individual deviancy that become so ingrained in culture that they assume an unquestionable legitimacy that not only silences the offender, but also obscures gendered social power relationships from view. Silencing those who we seek to understand seems counter-intuitive from both a theoretical and a clinical position. Therefore, disrupting this silence through hearing the voice of CSO became an aim of this study.

The assessment that produces CSO differentiates them from men with 'normal male sex drive'. However, where psychological discourse produces a subject who is typically silenced, it also strips their experience of context. By continuously being represented by nominated experts in a particular way, the persistence of normative forms of heterosexuality and the assumption that male sex drive is inevitable and uncontrollable, were left unquestioned. This research specifically addressed the question; how was masculine identity constituted in men's narratives of offending?

I began to question the rigidity of the boundary between normal and abnormal masculinity in the literature, and found that there was an assumed boundary between sexual coercion and sexual offending, where normative forms of heterosexuality were enacted through a relationship of domination and subordination that position women as passively compliant and submissive to men's sexual desires. It became possible, through Chapter 3, to question the gendering practices of normative heterosexuality and address how dominant discourses of masculinity were implicated in the production of normal male sex drive, and its deviance, by examining psychological engagement with gender and discourses of masculinity.

The naturalisation of heterosexuality, and the pressure to conform to its social power, produces a form of masculinity that achieves hegemony by legitimating gender inequality through the subordination of women, femininities, and non- hegemonic masculinities. Questioning the pervasiveness and longevity of hegemonic forms of masculinity and their effects opened space for examining masculinity as a site of enquiry with regard to CSO. It also opened a space where we could talk, as men, about the effects of men and masculinity, and speak to the silent privilege of social power. From this chapter, the research question became a questioning of masculinity itself; how is HM discursively produced and how might the enactment of masculine discourse, and its failure, affect the lives of men, and produce and reproduce forms of harmful sexual behaviour?

To address the research questions, I developed a methodology that enabled the men to tell a narrative of offending through tracing the trajectory of their masculine

identities. In this way, the interviews produced a co-constructed narrative of the critical moments in the men's lives as they negotiated their masculinity that specifically invited the men to reflect on their masculine identities and the implications for their offending.

In Chapter 5, I (re)presented a hybrid story of offending. The men negotiated their masculinity through stories that positioned their fathers as absent, distant or incompatible and experienced these relationships as a loss – either of masculine discipline, or of a performance of masculinity that they understood now, to be healthy. As boys, the men struggled to negotiate their masculine identities with their fathers, resulting in fragmented access to masculine resources.

From their early experiences of masculinity through their relationships with their fathers and stepfathers, the men had access to representations of masculinity that subordinated femininity through practices of oppression. For the men in this study, the resources for masculine identity were the authority to discipline, the physical power to control, and rational control over emotion. Anger was experienced as the enactment of normative masculinity; the power to control and to protect. The performance of normative masculinity carried the right to authority, but without any obligation to responsibility; men were entitled to do what they wanted. These understandings of masculinity were then reproduced in future enactments of masculine domination and offending.

The men resisted discipline and gained freedom in diverse ways. Where they resisted the social and cultural authority of parents and institutions without consequence, the knowledge that the boundaries could shift did not breach masculine entitlement to domination. Rather, the men found autonomy as they resisted boundaries and, in the absence of a paternal construction of masculinity to guide and discipline, the men continued to resist norms and conventions and this was implicated in their offending.

The men's narratives of masculinity positioned women as culturally impotent through practices of normative heterosexuality that excludes or oppresses femininity. The men

told of the subordination of their mothers and women through narratives where their mothers were invisible or irrelevant. Performances of masculinity that subjugated women were also institutionalised through school in the men's narratives, where women were subject to masculine power (an ability to control) over feminine emotion (lack of control), rendering women's authority powerless. The operation of masculine power in these narratives was recognised as the threat of violence as a practice of HM. The men also recognised the practices of masculinity that coerce men to subjugate others as compliance with social pressure. This, coupled with the threat of losing masculine status was too strong to resist. Thus, resistance to HM remained silent, and the status quo was maintained.

The narratives reproduced a dominant form of normative heterosexuality, where masculine privilege is so embedded in cultural practices that it is not immediately obvious, rendering it exempt from scrutiny. The enactment of masculine physical presence and the fear of losing masculine status were embodied in the men. Women were seen as a means of demonstrating HM, thus the subjugation of women became naturalised.

Masculine hierarchies were maintained and consolidated at school through participation in the violent subordination of non-masculine boys. Participation in hegemonic forms of masculinity enabled a social position within the hierarchy and protection from victimisation. Within this cultural narrative of masculinity, the men objectified women (and girls) in their early sexual experiences. As they negotiated their positions within the masculine hierarchy, they moved from positions of resistance to adherence to the privileges of successful sex; as they were assured of sex, they gained a sense of accomplishment as men. In this way, enacting dominant forms of masculinity that objectified women consolidated their membership within a masculine hierarchy.

All of the men discussed having some problems with intimate relationships. These seemed to stem from early (mis)constructions of women learned within a culture of dominant heterosexuality. While the men sexually objectified women, they

simultaneously experienced the loss of intimacy in relationships. This loss was expressed through a particular boundary between masculinity and femininity, where commitment to a relationship meant a loss of freedom and autonomy.

As the men reflected on their narrative identities, they related the rules of engagement of HM that excluded any performance of feminine emotion. All of the men adopted a masculine identity that valued the control of emotion, with the expression of anger and violence being the only acceptable means of catharsis, and this was implicated in their offending.

While the men were able to locate turning points in the negotiation of masculinity that led to their sexual offending, it was being caught that brought them relief and enabled them to engage in treatment. None of the men believed that anything could have prevented their offending, especially where opportunities to disclose are constrained through performances of HM and the risk of marginalisation. To disclose victimisation is to disclose operating outside of normative heterosexuality and both offender and victim are subject to the control and governance from authorities, or through the cultural narratives, that operate within such norms.

The men identified communication and emotional expressivity as necessary to the prevention of child sex abuse; however, they also recognised the need for changes in socially produced cultural narratives to enable a counter-narrative to the positions offered through HM for men to access, such as a communicative and emotionally expressive masculinity. While the men did agree that greater awareness of services such as WellStop and other support agencies may be crucial in prevention, the social stigma would need to change if men were to access pre-emptive treatment.

In Chapter 6, I examined the men's talk for the sites of the production of HM and to challenge the taken for granted assumptions that are produced there. In other words, I identified the discursive practices embedded in social power relationships that legitimate exploitation and oppression. I was interested in how the men's positions in HM changed over time through adherence and resistance to powerful institutions and

discourses, and how they achieve ongoing action as they renegotiate their masculinities.

The most salient discourse produced in the men's talk was the 'manly man'. As a network of meaning, this discourse resonated with discourses that reproduce traditional masculinity; stoic, emotionally restricted, independent, powerfully present, physically competent, and the protector and provider to the family. As the men reflected on their masculinity, the dynamic relationship of gendered power that operated to subordinate women, femininities and non-hegemonic masculinities was difficult to escape.

The men drew on discourses of autonomy and liberty as a masculine privilege that operated to sexually subjugate women; the male-sex drive discourse is an entitlement. The inevitability of the discourses through which masculinity and heterosexuality are produced and reproduced, resisted and reshaped, are authorised through gendered power relations. Without troubling gendered power relationships, alternative performances of masculinity and autonomy were not accessible to the men in this study. Even where the men resisted conformity to masculine power, the tension between control and liberty reproduced the relationship of power that constitutes HM.

Manly man discourse was enabled through practices of violence and coercion. These discourses of masculinity operated as uncontested common sense notion of what it is to be a man; dominance, force and physical competence, reproduced through discourses that discipline the body. The manly man discourse maintains its hegemony over femininity by controlling emotion, and therefore disciplining the performance of being a man. Even where the men were able to contest the HM ideal by engaging alternative masculine discourse, they were constrained by the social relationships that had the power to exclude them. The discourse 'real men don't cry' excluded men where emotion was reproduced as feminine. The lack of access to a legitimate position in the gendered hierarchy reproduced a tension between stoicism and emotional expressivity. The performance of HM brought benefits; power and status,

access to sex and camaraderie. It also offered limited subject positions.

Discourses of masculinity that privileged physical, dominating and emotionally restricted subject positions, also produced a 'failure' of gender. Without access to alternative masculinities, they assumed everyday taken for granted normative forms of heterosexuality and reproduced them. It was at the point of 'failure' of their masculine identity that the men in this study began to reflect on the fragility of HM as a construct.

Through a failure of gender, the men in this study were able to contest the discourse of masculinity as in control, strong, free and autonomous and began to transform their identities through access to emotion and intimacy. However, the men did not reject their positions as manly men but brought a new discourse to their identities. Without challenging gendered power relationships, the dominance of the manly man discourse risks the ongoing performance of HM as authentic masculinity. The tension between discourses of camaraderie and stable relationships were continuously reproduced and redefined within HM. In this way, the renegotiation of masculine identity produced various tensions in normative gendered power relations that constitute masculinity and femininity, and at the same time opened space for the men to access multiple discourses of masculinity. At the same time, they reflected on HM to find legitimate ways of expressing emotion within masculine social power.

Together, these two analysis chapters engaged a process of inquiry that has potential to empower the participants, not only by attending to their voice, but also through attention to meanings of masculinity so they can apply the understanding achieved to their own ongoing action.

Preventing child sexual abuse through the renegotiation of masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity disciplines the performance of being a victim of abuse, both by controlling the expression of emotion and subjugating the experience of abuse. Ultimately what is produced is another deviant subject who possesses a damaged

(deviant) sexuality. Victims of CSA reportedly benefited from renegotiating their own masculinities outside the cultural expectations of 'manly' masculinity (Kia-Keating et al., 2005) thereby opening up possibilities to be both masculine and (temporarily) a victim in need of acknowledgement and support. Similarly, men who have learned to resist HM and adhere to new masculinity, or masculinities, are better equipped to manage traumatic events and overcome adversity (Burns & Mahalik, 2008; Kia-Keating et al., 2005) without resorting to harmful behaviour as a means of coping.

This research found that where the men positioned themselves within discourses of stoicism and restricted emotion, they lacked access to a legitimate position to manage trauma. The interviews with the men brought masculinity to the fore, and allowed them to discuss and evaluate their constructions of masculinity. By doing so, we opened up possibilities for change. In fact, change was evident in some of the men's talk where they grappled with inconsistencies in their gender identity and envisioned a way forward for their evolving masculinities. Discussing these inconsistencies, in a supportive environment, seemed to provide an opportunity to disrupt existing constructions that they identified as being unhealthy, and opened the possibility for new and seemingly healthier, more balanced, constructions of both masculinity and sexuality.

As a co-constructor in the men's narratives, I was aware that my own constructions of masculinity (most recently influenced by academic research) would affect the narratives that we produced during the interviews. For example, some of the men discussed an adherence to a construction of HM (associated with hedonistic promiscuity, violence and sexism) that I felt was in conflict with my own, and I was aware that, unconsciously, my own views may transfer into the men's narratives. However, the men's early constructions were set in a historical context and all of the men discussed a transformation from this construction – some in line with my own views, and some not. Moreover, the men's accounts of their masculine development varied considerably, with each man having different turning points but influenced by a similar HM discourse that all the men were able to articulate. At the conclusion of the interviews, the men reported varying adherence to previously held constructions

of masculinity, suggesting that each narrative was able to arrive at an end point that was not unduly affected by own understandings of masculinity.

This research demonstrated how CSA can occur in the absence of any paedophilic urges. For three of the men (Chris, Paul and Josh), their offending emerged through a degenerative period, where they became socially isolated and dependent on means of coping (the use of drugs and sex) that was clearly related to their offending. These men suggested that, in order to seek help, a third party would have to be used to provide access to support, thereby bypassing the manly discourse that forbids help-seeking behaviour for men. If such supports were mandated by trained staff in institutions (such as in the military), or access offered by trusted associates, then perhaps more men would have access to help before degenerating to a point where their actions hurt others.

It is apparent from the literature (e.g., Marshall et. al., 2005) that CSO can benefit from the current mainstays of clinical practice such as therapeutic alliance, strength and skill enhancement, and one-to-one therapy. Indeed, all of the interviewees identified a supportive environment and “communication” as the fundamental catalysts for change, both in terms of their own subjective change and as a basis for future initiatives aimed at prevention.

As a result of therapy mandated by NZCD, the men reflected that their renegotiated masculinity, or masculinities, allowed them to communicate more effectively and express emotions in ways that they were unable to do prior to treatment. This suggests that therapy could be used to explore and, where appropriate, redefine troublesome conceptions of masculinity in CSO, or potential CSO, which are linked with sexually harmful behaviour. A therapeutic approach that builds on this research and allows men to narrate their masculinity, could provide possibilities for multiple masculinities and perhaps prevent the harms associated with embeddedness in a singular form of masculinity.

The emphasis in narrative therapies is on exploring a range of alternative 'voices' or stories that can provide different social and moral identities or positions for the teller and other narrative characters. By understanding how discourses construct human subjectivity, we can begin to challenge those conceptions that produce and perpetuate behaviours that facilitate the continued subjugation of people through sexual violence (Lea & Auburn, 2001). From this understanding, possibilities for alternative future based narratives, opportunities to renegotiate masculine identities that incorporate their cultural and historical resources to create a different future (Auburn & Lea, 2003), may emerge.

By co-constructing a story of masculinity, the therapist and client can begin to notice the discourses that have shaped unhealthy constructions of masculinity. Bringing masculinity and its associated social power into conscious awareness, allows opportunities to question the authenticity of its sources and examine what is produced through adherence to powerful discourses, including sexually harmful behaviour. In this way, therapy may provide opportunities to question the authenticity of harmful masculine discourse and provides space for new constructions of masculinity.

In terms of reducing offending, there is a need to transform adherence to HM among men who sexually abuse (Langa, 2008) or are at risk of sexually abusing. Those who interpret the masculine ideal as aggressive, violent and/or controlling, and persistently and pervasively attempt to enact the discourse, or fail at HM and have no alternative masculine construction, may be at the greatest risk of offending. During their formative years and into adulthood the interviewees discussed an almost complete adherence to HM or manly constructions of masculinity. Many men engage in manly or HM talk with other men that sexualises and subjugates women, however most of these men have access to non-harmful representations of masculinity, and of femininity, which conflict with this talk and devalue its meaning. Those who do not have access to opposing representations are vulnerable to accepting these representations as truth, placing them in danger of sexually offending. Those who adhere to HM discourse regarding their sexuality and masculinity are also more likely

to dehumanise the 'other', the feminine or non-masculine, and detest and repress elements of the other that they observe in themselves (Moertl et al., 2010). Men who accept feminine elements in themselves and can adjust their portrayal of masculinity according to their environment, are better equipped to accept other genders and adapt to changes in their own world (Burns & Mahalik, 2008).

Analysis of the men's talk indicted that a subjective willingness to adapt sexually harmful behaviour had to be supported by opportunities within institutions and communities, which at the very least, allow opportunities for this change to begin. Attending to power, discourse and harmful constructions of masculinity at a broad social level is essential if social change that allows CSO and potential CSO to seek help is to be brought about.

Outside of the home, school and masculine dominated work environments did not offer alternative discourses to be a 'good man'. As discussed, the men's reliance on culturally pervasive manly or hegemonic forms of masculinity remained largely unchallenged in institutional practices of schools and work; they were embedded in a culture where hegemony, violence and oppression were commonplace and accepted. As discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, performing 'manly' masculinity (through playing sport or engaging in other 'macho' pursuits) was typically rewarded by the school and work institutions through the reward of status and camaraderie.

As Turchik and Edwards (2012) identified, there is a need to question and disrupt the discourses of HM and heteronormativity that pervade powerful institutions. As numerous authors have illustrated (cf. Flood 2004, 2008; Langa, 2008; Messerschmidt, 2000b), these institutions can produce a masculine discourse that condones sexually harmful behaviour. Thus, in order to prevent, or reduce, incidents of sexually harmful behaviour we must continue to question and undermine the power that authenticates these discourses.

School is often blamed for all sorts of human frailties and issues, so saying that school is an important influence in the development of masculinities is not to lay blame at

the door of schools. However, dominant discourses are often reproduced in schools. In co-ed schools, for example, boys often disproportionately occupy the physical spaces of the playground. Girls and non-sports playing boys are forced onto the sidelines, perhaps mirroring cultural discourses and practices that marginalise non-masculine ways of being. Also, it is frequently the norm to segregate boys and girls and encourage competition between them. Further, hegemony is often evident in schools with dominant positions (such as the principal) being disproportionately occupied by men, despite the fact that women teachers often outnumber men in schools (Connell, 1997).

Schools are also a site of gendered difference in subject specialisations, where boys are less likely to engage in communication and language areas. The curriculum in schools is limited in gender studies, where gender is often limited to issues of sex difference in health studies. Learning the experiences of other historically and culturally placed groups can develop alternative conceptions of gender and can inform subjective conceptions of masculinity (Connell, 1997). In addition, developing knowledge of human relationships through the study of health, psychology and sociology, is often equated with feminised characteristics of nurturance and empathy. This is reflected in the relatively low number of boys and men who study these subjects.

If multiple and healthy constructions of masculinity and femininity were available early in life, then perhaps an adherence to a singular construction of masculinity could be avoided. By having access to masculine resources that resist HM, boys and men have more opportunity to resist discourses that can permit sexually harmful behaviour. Thus, by providing access to multiple and authentic forms of masculinity at an early age, social and cultural institutions can help prevent CSA from occurring.

As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 dominant discourses that inform HM can be resisted and eventually transformed, but first of all, the resistance must be given a voice. The analysis showed that a subjective awareness of the constructions of masculinity that were harmful is not enough to create change. Even where interviewees recognised

that the production of HM at school was morally wrong, they were silenced through the fear of losing masculine status. Thus, hegemonic masculinity remained unquestioned by silencing alternative 'non- hegemonic' constructions.

In order to enable change, it is necessary to bring the effects of masculine power at institutional and local sites into view. Like all dominant discourses, the ingrained gender disparity can be resisted, and new ways of being can be developed. At a classroom level, social experiments (such as those famously pioneered by Jane Elliot in the 1970s) have provided students with powerful learning opportunities that allow them to experience power through both domination and subordination, as well as develop empathy and compassion (Elliot & Reynolds, 2012). Exercises such as these, could facilitate discussion on the fallacy and fallibility of 'manly' masculinity or any singular gender construct.

An extension of this idea could be used to show pre-adolescents how social pressure and gender relationships can inform sexual activity and harmful sexual behaviour. The emphasis should be reflexivity (being aware of one's vulnerability to social power relationships) and how open communication can be used to challenge assumptions about gender. Also, providing young people with an opportunity to talk about gender and how "normal" men and women are embedded in dominant discourse of masculinity and femininity, should open up discussions on how gender power relationships operate.

Sex education classes generally teach an unreflexive heterosexual discourse (Connell, 1997). Moreover, sex education is often taught to groups segregated through gender difference; the two groups most likely to have sex with each other. This segregation may lead to an anxiety around sex and maintain the mysteriousness of sexual practices and the 'opposite' sex. This lack of communication and knowledge of, and between, boys and girls may be a factor in sexual offending. Furthermore, CSA in all its forms, should be discussed openly with young people.

The current discursive representation of CSO is of a lone, adult, violent, sexual predator that is unknown to his victim and reproduced in the 'stranger danger' representation of offenders is often presented in schools. As previously discussed, this contributes to the confusion and distress for children who are sexually abused without physical violence, by people who are known to them or by other young people, which affects the likelihood of disclosure (Alaggia, 2010). Perhaps if accurate information was available to children, disclosure would be easier and further crimes could be prevented. Informing young people about how to get help and support is also essential. Research has shown that child care professionals (Rheingold et al., 2012) and other community providers (Schober, et. al., 2012) are willing and able to be involved with CSA prevention. Therefore, if accurate information regarding how to identify and support victims and perpetrators of CSA was available then there is no reason that these providers could not be successful in preventing CSA.

Community awareness and intervention

As identified in the analysis, there needs to be a shift in dominant discourse before most men are able to seek help for urges to sexually offend against children. Media education is necessary if the perpetuation of the misrepresentation of CSA and CSO is to be interrupted (Mejia, Cheyne & Dorfman, 2012). Pressure must be put on the popular media to represent CSO and CSA in a way that reflects the recent literature, and gives both victims and perpetrators a voice. Doing so will better enable both individuals and communities to understand the problem and take informed action to help prevent CSA from occurring.

In a related field also influenced by masculine discourse, media interventions aimed at reducing domestic violence in New Zealand have, to some extent, moved the responsibility from individual men and women and broadened it to incorporate the wider community (Hand & Martin, 2011). Historically the burden of responsibility was placed on the woman; "why doesn't she leave" being the prevailing question. The "It's Not OK!" domestic violence prevention programme has contributed to a shift in community consciousness and a willingness to act in defence of women and children (Hand & Martin, 2011).

Moreover, the “It’s Not Ok!” media campaign appeals to masculine discourses of camaraderie but does so in a way that challenges pre-existing masculine discourses of camaraderie frequently associated with subordinating women, binge drinking and sport. Media campaigns aimed at reducing dangerous driving have also utilised masculine discourse. They appeal to masculine discourses of control and individual responsibility or, as it is described in the television campaign, ‘mantrol’ (New Zealand Transport Agency, 2011). A similar intervention that aims to raise awareness of CSA, offers support to pre-offenders and appeals to the community to help prevent CSA and by allowing access to support for those who need it. In addition, campaigns could focus on men and boys and promote communication in sexual circumstances, promote safe sexual practices and discuss gendered social power in sexual relationships. Such campaigns could also provide the simple communication skills needed to prevent some forms of sexually harmful behaviour from occurring.

It is not enough to expect all individuals to be able to resist constructions of masculinity that are associated with CSA. In order for prevention to happen, there must be meaningful changes in the institutions where HM or manly discourses are pervasive (Turchik and Edwards, 2012). This research has shown how certain hegemonic masculine discourses can permit sexually harmful behaviour including CSA. Perhaps men who adhere to HM or manly discourses are unlikely to seek help for paedophilic urges in the way that some men do. Media led campaigns, such as New Zealand’s “It’s not Ok!” campaign, have shown how discourses of masculinity associated with camaraderie can be tapped into to undermine other masculine discourses that champion sexual promiscuity and autonomy over protecting family members. A similar campaign could be used to simultaneously raise awareness of CSA and ‘warning signs’ such as ‘grooming’ and encourage ‘bystanders’ to step in and encourage acquaintances to seek help.

The malleable and dynamic nature of hegemonic masculinity means that a less oppressive and more open idealisation of masculinity could become the norm in the future (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). As awareness of gendered social power relations are constructed, it is possible that healthy performances of heterosexuality

may become more common place.

Limitations, reflections and future research

The small number of interviews limited the scope of this research. Also, having only one interview with each man limited the breadth of interviews and there were points in the interviews that I would have liked to have followed up on. A further interview would have allowed a broader scope and perhaps allowed a broader analysis.

This thesis was primarily concerned with examining how discourses of masculinity influence CSA, with a view to troubling dominant discourses in order to open space for future intervention. The interviews and the men's narratives were analysed with this in mind, and subsequently what was co-produced was a story of the men's masculinity. Of course, the men's stories could have been conceptualised in many other ways (from a psychoanalytical perspective, for example) which no doubt would have produced alternative and useful findings. Again, future research could do similar interviews but analyse the data using a different approach.

Researching the relationships between the media and the psychological knowledge in the production of CSO provided me with an insight into how hegemony pervades our culture. As my awareness of hegemony, and HM has grown, so has my willingness to question dominant discourse. I have been surprised by the pervasiveness of HM in our culture, and in my life, and I have become aware of how surreptitious and powerful HM can be.

For me, one of the most surprising things to come out of the analysis, was how CSA occurred during a period of degeneration rather than as a result of an innate sexual attraction to young people. I think this shows, again, that it is not hyper-sexual paedophilic 'monsters' that we need to be afraid of; it is a cultural phenomenon that inhibits men from seeking help. Future studies could investigate the link between personal degeneration (and concordant alienation from support networks) and CSA. Future research should also look at how CSO could be better rehabilitated. For example, does the content of a child sex offender treatment programme apply to men

who do not have a sexual attraction towards children?

Examining masculinity from a background in clinical psychology has not only opened up possibilities for further research, but also opened up the idea that discussions of masculinity may be useful in therapy. Speaking about something that not generally talked about opens up the possibilities for fruitful discussions that provide novel perspectives and ultimately, may offer different ways of being. It is unlikely that the men in this study were asked questions about their masculinity in this way before. The depth and breadth of their talk, that followed my specific questions is evidence that clinical work that addresses masculinity may be effective.

It has been pointed out to me a number of times whilst writing this dissertation, that men who sexually offend against children should held accountable for their actions, based on the fact that many men face similar hardships to the men in this study and do not go on to sexually abuse children. I agree that offenders should be held accountable for their actions but I also think that the current situation does not encourage individual responsibility, when those who fear they may offend and ask for help are turned away until they offend. This seems to be slowly changing, but the emphasis still seems to be on 'treating' individuals after an offence takes place and ignores the socio-cultural forces that permit sexually harmful behaviour.

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