

Reconceptualizing De-stigmatization: A Content Analysis of the Term ‘Minor-Attracted
Person(s)’ on the Internet Forum Reddit

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Abstract

The term “non-offending pedophile” describes persons who, while sexually attracted to children, have not committed, a sexual offence against a minor (Cantor & McPhail, 2016). the term minor-attracted person (MAP) grounded in recognition and personhood was implemented by psychologists to aid in the de-stigmatization of these non-offenders. A content analysis was performed to assess the perception of how users of Reddit perceived the term minor-attracted person. The analysis explores how the perception of the term minor-attracted person specifically regarding personhood, monstrosity, and the notion of the public self through a precarious and post-structuralist informed lens. The results demonstrated negative perceptions of the term MAP, based on high levels of stigma and low levels of personhood. Reddit users perceived the term minor-attracted person to be more stigmatizing, expressing the view that the term minor-attracted person is an attempt to hide and mask the true monstrous identities.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Jonathan Watson is a Californian inmate serving time for multiple murder convictions who was recently “carelessly” transferred to a Level II prison facility (Gartrell, 2020). While Watson was in this Level II prison facility, two child sex offenders entered the prison to serve their sentences (Gartrell, 2020). It has been reported that Watson, in an effort to do the right thing, requested an immediate transfer back to maximum security “before I really (expletive) one of these dudes [child sex offenders] up” (Gartrell, 2020). Despite Watson’s history of having committed murder and his clearly articulated temptation to do it again, no action was taken even though Watson asserted the transfer needed to take place as immediately as possible to secure the offenders’ safety (Gartrell, 2020). Watson murdered both offenders (Gartrell, 2020). If Watson had expressed an intention to murder a non-child sex offender, would his expressed intention have been met with the same response or lack thereof? I leave with you these final sentiments of Watson’s: “...these people [pedophiles] are every parents’ worst nightmare. These families (sic) spend years carefully and articulately planning how to give their children every opportunity that they never had, and one monster comes along and changes that child’s trajectory forever.” (Gartrell, 2020).

We are experiencing a refashioning of political identity. Pride movements are becoming the hallmark of developed cities throughout the world. These movements celebrate non-normative sexualities (sexualities that do not adhere to heteronormativity).and represent the arrival of sexuality as a political identity. While these developments hail the emergence of many forms of sexuality, the result has not been the acceptance of all sexualities but, rather, a defiance of a single heteronormative

understanding of sexuality and an acknowledgement that consensual sexual activity among adults varies. Positive and more inclusive shifts in sexual identity politics have resulted. However, the marginalization of individuals who belong to sexual minority populations (for example, those engaged in bestiality and pedophilia) outside of consensual sexualities has yet to be addressed. The pedophilic population is notably one not eliciting sympathy; its members are often seen as monsters that should be kept away from children and society. Advancements in Germany, with the aim of demonstrating non-offenders with pedophilia have human qualities and can function in society, are controversial in terms of public perception. In part to address the problem of public perception, the term minor-attracted person was put forward within academia in 2011 to de-stigmatize non-offending pedophiles (Reisman & Strickland, 2011; Freimond, 2013). Yet, there has been no research conducted assessing how this term is being interpreted, for example, whether or not the term is being interpreted as an enabling tactic. This thesis explores how the term minor-attracted person is perceived, received, and debated on one of the most relevant social media and news platforms: Reddit.

Consider the following hypothetical situations. Scenario 1: a man in his mid-twenties, scared by the fantasies he has been experiencing, walks into a psychologist's office. He is seeking help to manage his inappropriate sexual urges towards minors. Each day he worries about being truthful about the fantasies he is having. He is rightfully afraid because, under the current legal structure in Canada, a psychologist may report him for what is in effect a thought crime. Scenario 2: A man in his forties is a husband, a breadwinner, and a father to four adopted children. This man has pedophilia. He continues to manage his feelings toward the children in his home. With nowhere for a

non-offender like himself to turn for treatment, he wonders how much longer he will be able to manage his attraction before he has no other choice but to take his own life to protect his children. Scenario 3: A man in his sixties knows there is something wrong with him. As he grew up, he realized he had pedophilia as the people he found himself attracted to remained the same age. He chose not to marry, as he feared if he married for companionship, his wife might want children. He has lived a lonely and scared life, unable to confide in anyone. He fears being alienated, ostracized, and judged by the few family members he has. He has nightmares of being locked up for the attraction he experiences, not an offence he has committed. This man has no right or access to confidential psychological services. He has nowhere to go to develop healthy coping mechanisms.

The common issue in these narratives is the lack of access to treatment for members of a population who have not committed a crime. Why should this man and other men and women like him be unable to seek confidential, preventative treatment? Canadian anti-discrimination legislation, legislative and professional regulations are often unhelpful to non-offenders seeking help to control their attractions, which essentializes them as offenders and limits their rights as if they have offended. A psychological lens has framed most research in this area; the examination of pedophilia from the perspective of Women and Gender Studies allows me to ask and answer new questions by foregrounding interdisciplinarity and social justice.

Psychologists coined the term *minor-attracted person* to aid in the de-stigmatization of individuals who have pedophilia but have not committed an abuse of a minor. The term is not being used for, nor was it intended to be used, as a means of

advocating for or representing pride in identity, but, rather, as a means of survival for this population. This term, however, rejects the notion of the pedophile as “monster” as it is an effort to de-link the individual from their perceived un-natural “monstrosity.” Studies have shown the use of terminologies such as “sexual interest in children” and “minor-attracted persons” is associated with less stigmatization and, by extension, fewer or more minor consequences for the population in question, when compared to terms like “non-offending pedophiles” (Cantor & McPhail, 2016; Levenson & Grady, 2018).

Etymology

This section pertains to the etymological basis of the term minor-attracted person. The term is grounded in recognition and personhood. Here, we will explore the term MAP’s social significance. The term began to be used by academics in 2011 and continued throughout the early 2010s (Reisman & Strickland, 2011; Freimond, 2013). The term gained more traction increasingly in 2016, onward being used in psychological research publications (Cantor & McPhail, 2016; Levenson & Grady, 2018). The term began to be used and recognized by those outside of academia midway through 2018, marked by the Wikipedia page for the term being created.

Whether the term minor-attracted person contributes to or minimizes the stigma associated with non-offending pedophiles in the perception of the general public has yet to be studied, rendering this research pioneering in nature. This thesis queries how successful this de-stigmatization effort has been through the theoretically novel examination of a snapshot of public perception on a public platform, contributing to developing research in the field of social and digital communication using a women and gender studies approach.

In psychology, pedophilia, a type of paraphilia (a sexual deviation), is the sexual attraction to prepubescent children, either girls or boys, by a woman or a man (Berlin & Meinecke, 1981). Pedophilia, and thus pedophilic interest differs from other sexual orientations as the object of the attraction is determined by age rather than by gender and, if acted upon in Canada, is punishable under the Canadian criminal code subsect 490.011 (R.S.C., 1985, c. C-46) (see Appendix A).

The term “non-offending pedophile” describes persons who have not committed, and often express the desire not ever to commit, a sexual offence against a minor (Cantor & McPhail, 2016); they may or may not meet the criteria required for a diagnosis of Pedophilic Disorder according to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM). Non-offending pedophiles differ from offending pedophiles as they have not committed an offence may express the desire not to commit and may not ever commit a sexual offence against a minor (Cantor & McPhail, 2016). The DSM-5 defines Pedophilic Disorder as the “sexual attraction to prepubescent children [...] indicated by recurrent, intense, sexually arousing fantasies, sexual urges, or behaviours involving sexual activity with children generally aged thirteen or younger which must be present for at least six months. Furthermore, a person suffering from Pedophilic Disorder must have acted on these sexual urges or experienced significant distress or interpersonal difficulties because of them.” (5th ed.; DSM-5; American Psychiatric Association, p. 698, 2013). An offender who has not been characterized by recurrent or invasive fantasies for six months may not be diagnosed with pedophilic disorder but may be convicted of pedophilia. However, not everyone with pedophilia has been diagnosed, and not everyone can seek and access treatment.

The purpose of this thesis was initially to examine the legal and psychosocial barriers that may have been inhibiting and may continue to restrict clinicians from treating non-offending pedophiles to aid them in controlling their actions, avoid criminal prosecution, and decrease potential harm to minors. This thesis began with the intention to explore the barriers and struggles clinicians face when rendering services to non-offending pedophiles. Countries such as Germany have recently restructured laws and psychological counselling requirements to treat non-offenders. However, the goal of suggesting best practices for Canada informed by both quantitative and qualitative analysis changed direction when I discovered there was a gap in the research that critically needed attention. The core concern of this thesis is that current identity politics holds that sexual identity is both political and biological. The tensions exist surrounding the public viewing and understanding of pedophilia as an offence (a violent crime), a mental illness (a diagnosis), or a sexual orientation. The tension of the concepts of an offence and a mental illness corresponds to the following concepts, respectively, that of the monster and the public self. Sexuality, as understood by Foucault (1978) and other social and political theorists, is constructed, and this is considered throughout this thesis.

The initial study yielded such a low number of participants than had been expected. The data was unable to be analyzed as a group due to this low number. The intended number of participants was 6-8. The survey yielded one response. Therefore, I was unable to meet the goal of my initially proposed research: suggesting a future direction on the reconceptualizing of treatment for non-offenders. I believe the low number of responses can be attributed to an indication that the focus of my thesis was off.

Please refer to the following appendices for further reference: Appendix B for the Consent Form, and Appendix C for the Feedback Letter.

Because of the disruption of my initial study plans, my research experienced a crucial pivot. I began to ask how the term minor-attracted person was being perceived and understood in relation to the tensions of understanding pedophilia as an offence, an illness, or an orientation. The term minor-attracted person is an attempt at neutrality. However, it is essential to highlight that the one participant expressed it in my original survey, that their practice was situated within a clinical and forensic population. The non-offending individuals this clinician has treated have always been positioned *within* the criminal justice system. This participant explained the difficulties with treating the non-offending population outside of the criminal justice system relating to the lexical ambiguities in the mandatory reporting laws, specifically regarding the terminology “at-risk.” The participant posited that the lexical ambiguities were associated with the “unintended consequence” of resulting in an obstacle to the provision of preventative treatment for non-offending people. The one participant stated that in order to adequately be able to provide preventative forms of treatment to the non-offending population, there needs to be an exception in mandatory reporting laws for this type of work to be done. If exceptions were not made, the participant expressed the necessary alternative would be the development of explicit guidelines to be implemented (made possible by addressing the ambiguous terminology within mandatory reporting legislation). It is vital to bear in mind that the mandatory reporting laws vary provincially.

Clinicians have begun to synthesize, express, and publish the ambiguities inherent in the law, which at times result in uncertainty as to how to proceed and whom they may

treat (McPhail, Stephens & Heasman, 2018). Mandatory reporting laws are comprised of ambiguous language (Walters, 1995). It is increasingly being stressed that specific terms such as “at-risk” leave too much room for interpretation, resulting in ambiguity in legal obligations and their obligation of practitioners to society at large (McPhail, Stephens, & Heasman, 2018). These terms require precise working and clear, unambiguous definitions within government and professional regulatory legislation and regulations.

When my thesis pivoted, I took a step back in order to investigate what seemed like a more fundamental issue to me: the public perception of the term minor-attracted person. The stigmatization of pedophiles has seldom been studied. The results of such a study would seem almost self-evident; who would advocate for the rights of people who sexually desire children? When it has been studied, it has done so through opportunistic sampled questionnaires (Jahnke, & Hoyer, 2013). Existing studies examining pedophilia and the media have been carried out concerning film, child porn, examinations of pedophiles in news media, and tabloids (Greenhill & Kohm, 2009; Giancesini., (n.d.); & Hughes, 2017). Studies surrounding the stigmatization of non-offending pedophiles have yet to be explicitly studied regarding the perceptions surrounding term minor-attracted person. I could not conduct a study of what psychologists require to deliver preventative treatment for the non-offending population (outside the criminal justice system, before offences are committed) due to the limited data I was able to collect. Studies of the stigmatization of non-offending pedophiles have not examined perceptions surrounding the term minor- attracted person, and I, therefore, investigated the perception of the term minor-attracted person(s) (MAP) on the internet forum Reddit. This thesis queries: How is the term minor-attracted person being perceived by users/commenters on Reddit?

Borrowing frameworks and terms from Women and Gender Studies—the goal of this research has been to query whether the efforts to de-stigmatize this stigmatized population through the use of alternative terminology is having an impact on people participating in Reddit discussion forums.

Throughout this thesis, I will be employing the term non-offender as opposed to minor-attracted person. This decision was made based on my findings, which indicate the term is not correlated with the de-stigmatization of the non-offending population. Importantly, the non-offending population was not consulted, or considered in the creation of the term minor-attracted person; thus highlighting that even despite the term being created from clinical compassion, it is *how* the conversations we are having, and how the population at hand is being considered must change.

Reddit is increasingly being used as a tool for conducting and collecting research in many academic disciplines, including computer science and the social sciences. This includes anthropology, economic history, health, linguistics, political science, sociology, psychology, media studies and now Women and Gender Studies (“Reddit and academic research: What disciplines have studied Reddit so far?” 2019). Reddit is used both as a platform to collect data from a sample through the discussion board “r/sample” or through the analysis of existing content via case studies and content analyses on topics such as eating disorders, JUUL, and victim-survivor stories for example (Brett et al., 2018; Sowles et al., 2017; O’Neill, 2018). Reddit is providing the space for an unspeakable topic to be spoken about, to be discussed, debated, distorted, and even attenuated. Reddit is a real-time social tool that allows for the construction, maintenance, enforcement, and evolution of community and politics as people react to and comment on

the concept and the term minor-attracted person. Reddit is providing the space for an unspeakable topic to be spoken about.

Below, I provide a brief outline of what is to come in my thesis, as well as a few words about my position as a researcher, before moving on to Chapter Two, a literature review that explores the existing literature on the topic. Chapter Three outlines the critical theories and concepts that form the theoretical framework for this thesis. Chapter Four will address method, and methodology, the rights-based approach my research employs and a discussion on the contributions and limitations of this work. Chapter Five delves into the results, and analysis will be explored in detail. The concluding chapter (Chapter Six) will summarize the research question, theoretical framework, method, results and analysis, the contributions of this work, and states what future directions should be explored.

Positioning the Researcher

I, like many, assumed that everyone with pedophilia was an offender. It was in the final year of my undergraduate degree at Mount Allison University that I took the seminar course “Advanced Topics: Sex and Sexuality,” with Dr. Lisa Dawn Hamilton. We watched *Mysteries of the Mind*, a documentary which informed me that non-offending people could not obtain confidential psychological services in Canada, conveying the discrepancies and failings of our legal and social justice system regarding the treatment of non-offenders. One significant issue that hinders access to confidential psychological services relates to ambiguities surrounding mandatory reporting laws. Moreover, social stigma and ethical concerns play a critical role in limiting the access of

the non-offending population to treatment. The limited access to treatment struck me as a significant injustice and a breach of fundamental human rights, which sparked my interest in this topic, leading me to conduct this research.

I will never be able to understand the discrimination and isolation experienced by persons who sexually desire children, and my sympathies are informed by a sense of justice as fairness. As such, I believe non-offenders deserve the fundamental human right to seek and obtain confidential psychological help. I do not condone offending pedophiles who commit crimes against minors, as minors are unable to provide consent. I, like many, used to fail to consider that not all individuals with pedophilia necessarily offend, thereby contributing to the essentialization of these individuals. I take a rights-based approach to this issue and my research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and State of the Field

These first sections of the literature review explore the notion of pedophiles as monsters, and the stigmatization experienced by those with pedophilia. The following section covers the etiology of pedophilia, to equip the reader with a holistic understanding of pedophilia and current forms of treatment and prevention, in order to thus paint a full picture of a vulnerable population that cannot advocate for themselves.

Stigmatization

Divorcing non-offending minor-attracted persons from the analogy of a monster allows us to consider that these individuals have feelings, families, fears and are desirous of and struggling to live healthy lives. “I am not a danger to kids just because I’m attracted to them. Just like men aren’t a danger to women, just because they are attracted to them” (Levenson & Grady, 12, 2018). According to Cantor & McPhail, access to treatment encourages socially acceptable behaviour and serves as an outlet to discourage negative, deviant, and criminal behaviour (2016). Cantor & McPhail also claim that there is a correlation between knowledge of one’s attraction to minors and the stigma associated with the attraction to the development of mental health disorders, harmful levels of isolation, and substance abuse (2016). In their work, Levenson and Grady provide first-hand accounts of some of the hardships non-offenders explain experiencing when wanting to seek support. In one excerpt, a non-offender expressed the desire to be able to access treatment in “coping with the life-sentence of being alone with no companion, no one to love, no one to cherish [...] through no fault of [their] own.” (Levenson & Grady, p. 14, 2018).

Goffman theorized that there are three kinds of stigma: bodily deformities, tarnished or tainted individual character, and tribal (race, religion) (1963). The minor-attracted population is stigmatized based on their “tainted individual characters.” (p.3). Tainted individual characters are understood as “weak will, domineering or unnatural passions [...] mental disorders,” (Goffman, p. 4, 1963). Other examples of people or groups of people who experience this form of stigma (individual character stigma) fall under the category of incarcerated individuals, drug addicts and alcoholics (Goffman, 1963). Goffman’s work is dated but is still relevant for my research and a backbone to the research on stigma.

Specific stigmatized populations, particularly those with mutable stigma, may attempt to resolve their stigma through changing it; Goffman highlights this through the example of a person with physical deformities opting for and undergoing plastic surgery (Goffman, 1963). Non-offenders, however, are not among the stigmatized populations that have this option. Non-offenders do not have the power to change their pedophilic preference of attraction to minors, as their attraction is immutable, and therefore, will always remain tainted and stigmatized (Goffman, 1963). Offenders “pursue strategies of resilience in which they seek to protect/maintain a positive actual social identity in the face of negative virtual social identity communications.” (Tewksbury, p. 609, 2012s). While non-offenders fall outside of the scope of those whose stigma is mutable, non-offenders can manage their stigma through their presentation of their public selves in order to have governance of their experienced public stigma.

In Henson and Olson’s work on how serial killers manage their stigmatized identities, they present four themes that are integral to the stigma management (2010).

The first and most relevant theme applies to the non-offending population. While this theme applies to another deviant and stigmatized group aside from serial killers, it is not my intention to infer an equivalency between the two groups, as there is not one. The first theme focuses on the public self, and the maintenance of a “communicative presentation of normalcy to others, labelled as a normal self, and a concealment of a deviant self when relating to others.” (p. 353). I suggest that with the case of the non-offending population, the public self and the normal self can be interpreted synonymously. The concept of the public self will be discussed in depth in Chapter Four; please refer there for more detail.

A psychological lens continued to frame most research on pedophilia with a focus on the offender; the examination of pedophilia from the perspective of Women and Gender Studies allows me to ask and answer new questions by foregrounding interdisciplinarity and social justice regarding those with pedophilia which have not offended. My undergraduate education in Psychology did not equip me a strong theoretical background in feminist theory. I struggled with balancing the two fields that have been notoriously incompatible. Throughout conducting this research, I often felt as if I was breaking important grounds, yet I was unsure if I was doing so appropriately or if I was managing those tensions adequately.

It is feminist scholars who have been “particularly influential in challenging the notion that children subjected to sexual abuse were somehow complicit in the crime.” (Angelides, p. 142, 2004). Further, it is feminist movements and thinkers that challenge the sexualized depictions of minors prior to the 1990’s (Angelides, 2004). In cases of sexual abuse, molestation and violent sexual crimes, it is feminisms that have broken down and combatted the victim-blaming rhetoric and tendency towards adult and child

victims. The contribution and importance of the perspective uniquely offered by Women and Gender Studies expand beyond those mentioned above as: “Without a feminist analysis, evidence of child sexual abuse means that danger lies in sex perverts, in public spaces, in unsupervised girls, and assertive girls. [...] As with adult rape, child sex abuse without feminist interpretation supplies evidence and arguments for constricting and disempowering children.” (Gordon, p.61, 1988,).

Media representations (in varying forms: news media and popular culture) of pedophiles reinforce the rhetoric of monsters, and evil, which we can assume maintains or possibly even increases the anxiety of being judged and punished in the non-offending population (Kohm & Greenhill, 2011). This fear is exacerbated through the media’s use of non-humane descriptions of pedophiles as “monsters” (p. 195). It is not uncommon for news media articles about pedophiles to use the term monster interchangeably in the article heading and throughout the body of the article for example “‘Monster’ Pedophile Back Behind Bars” and “Kitchener Monster Declared a Dangerous Offender” (Warmington, 2019; Paul, 2017).

The non-offenders daily realities are made worse by the lack of support outlets for non-offenders, and the negative experiences resulting from attempts to seek support (Levenson et al., 2017). Suicide may become a daily consideration, commonly attempted among non-offenders, for example: “I think about suicide every day. [...] Seeking help is a joke...” (Levenson & Grady, p. 14-15, 2018). Exposure and forced conditions such as social isolation and rejection increase the likelihood of non-offenders committing an offence (Cantor & McPhail, 2016). Through the use of semi-structured interviews with self-identified pedophiles, Houtepen et al., found that stigmatization and negative

depiction of non-offenders by the media have contributed to the turmoil this population faces when acknowledging and identifying their sexual age attraction and, in some instances, have resulted in non-offender's failure to recognize and admit their pedophilic tendencies (2016).

Etiology

Causes, or lack of awareness of causal factors, can influence public perception and behaviour and merits a holistic exploration of the etiology of pedophilia. Pedophilia has been the subject of numerous etiological assumptions and investigations. These etiological hypotheses are rooted in social learning, neuropsychology, and neurodevelopmental theories of development. This section will explore each of these hypotheses and highlight the hypothesis with the most empirical support. In my view, understanding etiology is crucial for understanding how the social identity of the pedophile becomes politicized and stigmatized.

Social Learning Theories

Social learning theories assert that behaviour is learned; this can be either through passive or active learning (Smallbone and McCabe, 2003; McGuire, Carlisle and Young, 1964; Burton 2003). These theories have been directly applied to pedophilia through masturbatory conditioning and experienced sexual abuse. The research found that earlier masturbation onset occurs in children who have been sexually abused is correlated to the sexual abuse experienced in childhood, and acts as an extension, a repercussion of sexual abuse (Smallbone and McCabe, 2003; McGuire, Carlisle and Young, 1964). Sexual attraction to children is hypothesized as being learned through the social learning theory (McGuire, Carlisle and Young, 1964). It is hypothesized that, following a pedophilic experience, the victim may personally undergo a subsequent masturbatory mechanism conditioning as a cause of pedophilia - it is important to note that this study, while it merits attention is dated.

Burton (2003) asserts the history of the teenager who sexually offends is associated with a high likelihood of having been sexually abused. However, this association does not guarantee these individuals will continue to offend into adulthood if intervention is made, and support and treatment is offered through victimization-trauma resolution techniques. Although Burton's (2003) findings were made in support of a socially learned etiology to sex abuse, pedophilia and pedophilic acts were not explicitly accounted for within the dataset.

According to social learning theory, it is understood that pedophilia is learnt through conditioning or through experiences of sexual abuse one encountered throughout their childhood.

Neurodevelopmental Theories

Neurodevelopment begins in utero and concludes in early adulthood (Blanchard, 2002). A neurodevelopmental etiological investigation of pedophilia found the pathology to result from neurodevelopmental issues that occurred either in utero or, in childhood, up to the age of 13 (Blanchard et al., 2003). Individuals with pedophilic interest (offending or not) are either born with their sexual preference or develop it through no fault of their own—although Blanchard et al. (2003) do claim that abnormal prenatal neurodevelopment is associated with pedophilic preference (Blanchard, et a., 2003). They also found a correlation between a conviction for pedophilic related offences and pathologies related to brain injuries before the age of 13 (meaning while the brain was still in a state of development) (Blanchard et al., 2003). Specifically, a relationship with pedophilic attraction was found among 6-year-old children who experienced accidents before or at the age of 6 that resulted in a state of unconsciousness (Blanchard et al., 2002). Therefore, according to Blanchard et al., neurodevelopmental issues occurring in utero suggest a fetus' potential for "accident proneness" or that men with pedophilic interest who did not suffer from neurodevelopment in utero developed pedophilic preference following subsequent brain injury (Blanchard et al., 2003). A third, unknown variable may be the causal factor to this finding (Blanchard et al., 2002). While these findings are relevant, it must be noted that limitations include the low validity of head injuries self-report measures as lacking falsifiability (Blanchard et al., 2002).

Cantor (2003) found several supporting neurological factors among pedophiles that support a neurodevelopmental etiology, including lower IQ levels, increased white brain matter, increased left-handedness, decreased height, and deviant sexual age

preferences. Blanchard et al. (2003) suggest that men with pedophilic interest tend to have lower general intelligence than non-pedophilic men (also see Cantor, Blanchard, Robichaud and Christensen, 2005). The authors state that while not all individuals with lower IQs are attracted to minors, lower IQ compared to non-sexually deviant population is empirically associated with pedophilia. Although the causal relationship is not fully understood, the authors speculate that lower IQ may be indicative of impaired brain functioning (Cantor et al., 2005). Mental deficits and developmental issues can be understood as a source of pedophilic preference and associated characteristics, such as higher rates of lower IQ (Cantor et al., 2005). Although the authors suggest that impaired brain functioning may be a causal mechanism of pedophilia, they also recognize the complicated relationship between IQ/brain functioning and pedophilia. For instance, the relationship between lower IQ and pedophilia may be the result of an intricate relationship between socioeconomic status (SES), IQ, and conviction rates. That is, lower SES may moderate the relationship between IQ and pedophilia and the availability of skilled defence attorneys (also see Blanchard et al., 2002). Simply put, according to these authors, the lower socio-economic status may lead to lower-paying jobs, which in turn limit the availability of quality attorneys leading to higher conviction rates and an increased presence of lower IQ pedophiles in the prison population. The neurodevelopmental argument, therefore, may have structural roots within social class bias issues.

Instances of maldeveloped attachments styles among sex offenders developed during prepubescent childhood led other researchers to examine developmental pathways and events of child sex abuse (i.e. Smallbone and McCabe, 2003). These authors claim

that maldeveloped attachment styles expose children to a more significant potential for falling victim to child sex abuse (Smallbone and McCabe, 2003). The less-developed an attachment style is at the time child sexual abuse occurs, the higher the severity of the implications for that individual when entering adulthood (Alexander, 1992 in Smallbone and McCabe, 2003). Limiting this research is the inaccessibility to intrapsychic functions to serve as empirical evidence (Goth, 1979 as cited in Smallbone and McCabe, 2003).

Smallbone and McCabe (2003) found the relationship between insecure attachment styles and sex offenders. Among offenders with insecure paternal attachment, there was found to be a history of child sex abuse (Smallbone and McCabe, 2003). These findings are acutely limited due to the small sample size and the actuality that nearly 40% of the general population suffers from or is subject to insecure attachment styles stemming from childhood development, according to Smallbone and McCabe (2003), rendering this study low in external validity and reliability. Attachment styles such as isolation, neglect, and abuse (physical or sexual abuse) experienced in childhood have been shown to reduce the size of the corpus callosum (Teicher et al., 2004). The corpus callosum is an area of the brain that modulates the communication between the left and right hemispheres of the brain. Size reduction of corpus colosseums was found among boys in conjunction with experiences of childhood neglect, contrasting with a similar reduction in girls whose stunted growth of the corpus collosum was correlated with histories of sexual abuse (Teicher et al., 2004). This evidence provides support to the suggested neurodevelopmental etiological approach that pedophilia results from maldeveloped attachment styles in childhood.

Research by Kafka (1979, 2003) has demonstrated that monoamines (the group of neurotransmitters: serotonin, norepinephrine, and dopamine) play a role in the behavioural characteristics of pedophiles. Manipulation of monoamines through treatment illustrated that pharmacological substances might potentially alter monoamines to positively affect behavioural characteristics in those with pedophilic pathologies (Kafka, 1997). The alleged success of serotonin reuptake inhibitors (which allows for an increase of serotonin levels) needs to be studied in a double-blind fashion before being rendered a form of “treatment” for pedophilia (Kafka, 2003) as the implementation of antidepressants (known to elevate serotonin levels) led to a reduction of sexual arousal (Kafka, 2003). However, we must ask: Is it ethical to lower the sexual drive of someone with a deviant sexual preference determined by gender? Is a drug-induced plan of treatment, rather than support-based therapy, a rational way to approach this sexual age ‘orientation’ even if the cause is neurodevelopmentally rooted?

Several studies found that men with pedophilia are significantly more likely to be left-handed (Bogaert, 2001; Cantor et al., in press; Fazio, Lykins and Cantor, 2014). Compared to a controlled sample without sexually deviant interests in which 11.4% of men were left-handed, sex offenders have a rate of 16.3% of left-handedness, which is anomalous (Fazio, Lykins, & Cantor, 2014). Child sex offenders categorically, when compared to non-child sex offenders, are 30% more likely to be left-handed or to use both hands either due to a lack of even left-handed skill or to halter hand use dependent on varying strength, rendering them ambiguously handed or mixed-handed respectively (Fazio et al., 2014). Both ambiguous and mixed-handedness differ from ambidexterity, which is marked by a uniformly skilled left and right-handedness (Fazio et al., 2014.).

The likelihood of being left-handed is increased in babies born prematurely (Fazio et al., 2014). Individuals with an attraction to prepubescent children (pedophilia) show the highest propensity for left-handedness compared to other types of paraphilias (sexual deviations) such as attraction to pubescent aged children (hebephilia) or middle-aged individuals (teleiophilia) (Fazio et al., 2014).

A standard limitation of etiological research to date is three-fold: it almost exclusively occurs in the fields of psychology and criminology, it seldom acknowledges the non-offending population, and it even more rarely acknowledges or studies the female pedophile or female non-offender. The dominant discourse imbued in Psychology and Criminology does not allow for discourse surrounding the non-offender outside of the discourse of the time until they will offend, therefore assuming the likelihood of criminality is inevitable.

Forms of Treatment

It is impossible to properly examine and comprehend the importance of attempts to de-stigmatize non-offending pedophiles, in part through the introduction of the term minor-attracted person. The creation of the term was aimed at improving treatment availability and efficacy through decreasing stigma to prevent progression from non-offenders to offenders (harm reduction). Without an understanding of the existing treatment and prevention programs available to the non-offending population, it is impossible to realize how unavailable and unhelpful/effective they are for the stigmatized non-offending population. Destigmatization, through the implementation of the term minor-attracted person, should recognize personhood, create understanding and awareness, decrease discrimination, and improve treatment. The shortage of available

resources and access to support is a significant hurdle for non-offending people. The treatment and support available to non-offenders are almost exclusively offered in prisons, to those who have committed an offence. Additionally, there is a discrepancy in what non-offenders express is needed for them to control their attraction and what is being offered.

Initial forms of treatment for individuals with pedophilic interests involved the castration of testes and the administration of antiandrogenic hormones. The biological and chemical approach to treatment resulted in a decreased rate of re-offence among offenders. The low repeat offence rate (2.9%) after castration can be compared to the re-offending rate of 58% before castration (Heim & Hursch, 1979). An absence of testosterone abnormality among offenders prompted ethical concerns regarding insufficient scientific validity (Heim & Hursch, 1979). Ethical debate and concern grew in and outside of the psychological and legal fields regarding permanent and inconclusive results and effects of the treatment (Heim and Hursch, 1979). An alternative form of treatment deemed more ethical involved the administering of medroxyprogesterone acetate injections, which decreased testosterone levels in offenders (Berlin and Meinecke, 1979). Progesterone is a female sex hormone.

More recently, psychologists have been using penile plethysmography testing (PPT) and cognitive-behavioural techniques to treat offending pedophiles. The sexual attraction to audio stimuli of children by men diagnosed as pedophilic was determined by sensors around their penises that measured their penile tumescence was determined by a study by Muller et al. (2014). This study raised the question of whether or not non-offending individuals could be treated with the result that they would no longer

experience a said attraction. The authors note that PPT has not been proven to be effective in the long term and is still being developed (Muller et al., 2014). It is counterproductive to offer treatment to convicted pedophiles with a pathologized diagnostic and restrict access to treatment to non-offenders. The methodological limitations of PPT include the inability to account for individual depressed or enhanced reactions that demonstrate their perceived sexual response rates (Muller et al., 2014).

It is vital to examine the arguments used to restrict, limit, or even deny, treatment for those experiencing attraction to minors who have not offended or been criminally convicted. It is imperative to study further the implications of making this treatment available only to those individuals who have been convicted of pedophilic sexual activity. Non-offending people are significantly disadvantaged as they are without question uniquely unable to obtain support or treatment before committing an offence and being convicted, according to Levenson et al. (2017). Non-offending people are failing to seek help not because they do not want help but rather due to the structure of social, medical, and legal barriers that prohibit them from doing so in a safe, confidential, non-judgmental manner (Levenson et al., 2017). Due to social and legal repercussions, non-offenders were unable to seek support, or a listening ear (Levenson et al., 2017). Active listening was expressed as the most valuable aspect of support being sought by non-offending persons: “Twice I tried, twice I was told not to go any further because they would report me to the police. I was offered no help, no suggestions” (quoted in Levenson et al., p.109, 2017). The cost of support further impedes non-offending persons accessing professional help and support (Levenson et al., 2017). Further, lack of knowledge among professionals, reluctance to associate and get involved with “high risk” non-offenders,

and ambiguity surrounding mandatory reporting requirements are a failing of the Canadian Psychological Association (Levenson et al., 2017).

Houtepen et al., (2016) conducted interviews with non-offenders who revealed their desire for support and detailed their positive experiences upon obtaining support from other non-offenders either via virtual or in-person forums (Houtepen et al., 2016). These outlets of supports were reported as beneficial, carrying no associated judgment from others with similar lived experiences and high rates of not offending (Houtepen et al., 2016). The use of coping tools that reinforce the separation between “real,” such as fantasizing, and “make-believe,” such as child dolls, encourages non-offending behaviour and discourages blurring of the lines between the fantasy of a child known to the individual and action on that fantasy (Houtepen et al., 2016).

There is a greater interest in learning, experimenting, and publishing on the non-offending population than there is in helping them and ensuring patient-focused treatment, which does not go unnoticed by non-offenders. There is no quick or medicated solution or cure; rather, proposed treatment includes a spectrum of treatment that includes therapy and medication, not just castration.

Prevention

Prevention programs are available for offenders convicted of child sexual abuse and molestation. There are no similar programs for non-offenders seeking help, much less ones they can access without the fear of legal repercussions. Perpetuating systems of treatment and support solely for those who have already committed the crime and produced a victim is not a solution. Stigmatization and media representations of (convicted) pedophilic offenders reinforce the anxiety in non-offenders of being judged

and punished and play a role in discouraging the existence of prevention programs. This school of thought and the consequent active censoring of the non-offending population, both legally and socially, is not a solution that considers the reduction in the harm of potential victims.

Societal anxiety is exacerbated through the media's use of non-human descriptions of pedophiles, such as the term "monsters" (Levenson et al., 2017). This anxiety and inner turmoil among the non-offending population is made worse by the deficiency in support outlets for non-offenders, and the negative experiences associated with the attempt to seek support (Levenson et al., 2017). Suicide may become a daily consideration, commonly attempted among non-offending individuals, for example: "I think about suicide every day. [...] Seeking help is a joke..." (Levenson & Grady, p. 15, 2018). Exposure and forced, unfavourable conditions such as social segregation and rejection increase the likelihood of non-offenders committing an offence (Cantor & McPhail, 2016). Stigmatization and negative depiction of non-offenders in the media have contributed to the turmoil non-offenders face when acknowledging and identifying their sexual age attraction and, in some instances, have resulted in non-offenders' failure to recognize and admit their pedophilic tendencies (Houtepen et al., 2016).

Beier et al. (2014) conducted a year-long pilot study examining the Prevention Project Dunkelfeld (PPD) based in Germany. PPD is a form of preventative, anonymous, therapy-based treatment open to all self-identifying non-offenders (Beier et al., 2014). An integral aspect of PPD was the stigmatization reduction campaign, which aired broadly across Germany (Beier et al., 2014). The study found that non-offenders were interested in seeking anonymous, preventative based therapy (Beier et al., 2014). Participants self-

reported an increase in their ability to self-regulate their attraction, diminished feelings of sexual preoccupation, and a decreased sense of isolation (Beier et al., 2014). Despite participant dropout rate, PPD provided a means to reduce stigmatization (Beier et al., 2014). However, given the extent of the anonymity that was being ensured, PPD may have been taken advantage of by offending pedophiles who experienced a sense of comfort and safety to commit offences without fear of being convicted.

The Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR) model is a psychometric model of treatment that does what its name states: it assesses the risk level of the offender to determine their criminogenic needs - the needs that render them the most vulnerable to recidivism - and tailors a responsivity model of treatment unique to an offender's style of learning (Andrews, Bonta and Wormith, 2011). Reducing criminogenic needs is a safer approach to treatment, as it reduces the likelihood of toxic relationships forming among offenders that may encourage recidivism or engagement with other high-risk behaviours or criminal acts (Andrews et al., 2011). RNR is a "strength-based" model (p. 751). A core principle of RNR is respect for the offender provided by clinicians and treatment providers (Andrews et al., 2011). RNR requires all treatment providers to be void of all judgments and biases (Andrews et al., 2011). It has been suggested that the GLM could be used as a supplementary and complementary tool to fill the gaps of treatment, and both models reject punishment-based models of treatment (Andrews et al., 2011).

A situational prevention model to child sex offending was researched by Wortley and Smallbone (2006). This criminological model assesses how environmental factors play a role in encouraging child sex crimes with the goal being "create safe environments rather than creating safe individuals." (p.8.). Situational prevention entails opportunity

reduction and functions off the premise that diverse environments with varying conditions will elicit different behaviours, with some “enable[ing] crime.” (p. 10; Cornish & Clarke, 2003). Situational prevention models claim a person with pedophilic interest commits an offence because they are being “provoked” by a child, insinuating victim-blaming among sexually abused and molested children as active causal stimulants to the offender’s behaviour (Cornish and Clarke, 2003; Wortley and Smallbone, 2006).

This criminological prevention-based model functions off the assumption that offenders are capable of engaging in a cost-benefit analysis of a situation before offending, according to Wortley and Smallbone (2006). The average age of first offence (among intrafamilial offenders) was found to be when the offender was in their early thirties, among individuals with previous criminal records (Wortley and Smallbone, 2006). The domestic spheres (institutional and public spheres being the other two) are the most difficult of the spheres to monitor (Wortley and Smallbone, 2006). Further limitations of this preventative based model are that it assumes access to and knowledge of an offender and therefore may not be sufficient for convicted and released offenders; nor would it be useful for non-offending people as authorities and those attempting to survey these individuals cannot always be privy to their whereabouts or their thoughts. This model takes for granted that offenders have the mental capacity to reason and subsequently act on that rational thought process.

A parent-based prevention model for teaching children personal safety skills has been assessed as a means of reducing instances of child sex abuse (Wurtele, Currier, Gillespie, & Franklin, 1991). It was hypothesized that it might be more useful for parents to teach personal safety skills to their children as opposed to having teachers deliver the

same message in schools (Wurtele et al., 1991). With instances of child sex abuse often occurring with children younger than the age of seven, it seems irresponsible to ill-equip children about the concept and constructs of personal safety and advises them how to inform someone they have been made to feel uncomfortable by unwelcomed touching (Wurtele et al., 1991). However, not all parents may be comfortable discussing appropriate and inappropriate touching with their children, and these messages being delivered by parents will vary socioeconomically (Wurtele et al., 1991). A child's perception of the concept of improper touching is improved when his or her parent educates them on the difference between types of touching that are okay, and types of touching that are not right (Wurtele et al., 1991). Children as young as 3.5 years of age are being taught these types of safety skills, yielding the ability for children this young to differentiate between appropriate and inappropriate touches in much the same way a seven-year-old can (Wurtele et al., 1991). While it seems parents can effectively convey types of touch that are and are not okay to their children, it has become apparent that parents' teachings left their children unsure about whom to tell and where to go if they found themselves in a situation, they were uncomfortable in (Wurtele et al., 1991). This inadequacy needs to be communicated to parents and schools and incorporated in pedagogy.

Literature Review: Concluding Thoughts

Much of the past research on pedophilia has focused on the neuroanatomical and neurocognitive functions of convicted pedophiles in prison populations demonstrating a lack of personhood among individuals with the diagnosis of pedophilia (offending or non-offending). Past research has emphasized obligatory and invasive biological and

chemical treatments as opposed to focusing on the stigma, rights, and personhood that the non-offending population struggle with. This study, however, examines the perception of the term minor-attracted person in relation to the concepts of personhood, monsters and the public self. This study further considers if this term appears to be having the desired impact that was intended by taking a rights-based approach to addressing the gap in the research. Public perception matters, not only for the well-being of the non-offending population being less isolated but also regarding treatment, prevention jobs, social interaction, housing – their psycho-social well-being. This research is imperative as anti-discrimination legislation tries to regulate against the experienced precarity of the non-offending population.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework used in this thesis draws on feminist post-structuralism, and Judith Butler's formulation of precarity. This framework is designed to address the silences non-offending individuals have been subjected to within and outside of institutional research and psychological inquiry by examining the potential for de-stigmatization through the use of alternative terminology. Given that most of the research on individuals with pedophilic interests—predominantly those who have offended—has been studied from a psychology perspective, this study employs feminist theory to examine the stigma and public perceptions associated with the term minor-attracted person as an alternative to non-offending pedophile.

Precarity

Precarity, as defined by Butler, an American philosopher and gender theorist, as “designates that politically induced condition in which certain populations suffer from failing social and economic networks of support and become differentially exposed to injury, violence, and death. Such populations are at heightened risk of disease, poverty, starvation, displacement, and of exposure to violence without protection. Precarity also characterizes that politically induced condition of maximized vulnerability and exposure for populations exposed to arbitrary state violence and to other forms of aggression that are not enacted by states and against which states do not offer adequate protection” (Butler, p. ii, 2009) Precarity, therefore, is a socio-political state of heightened vulnerability and aggression. As those with pedophilia experience a heightened state of vulnerability and aggression, this definition is employed for this research. Further, this definition for the purpose of this research does not include a consideration of precarity in

an economic sense. Precarity and the process of Othering go hand in hand, according to Jasbir Puar, a scholar and professor in Women and Gender Studies (2012). Puar comes to understand Butler's concept of precariousness as "as a relational condition of social being that cannot be avoided" (Puar, p. 165, 2012). Butler asserts that not every precarious population experiences precarity equivalently, as their experiences "depend upon dominant norms regarding whose life is grievable and worth protecting, and whose life is ungrievable, or marginally or episodically grievable – a life that is, in that sense, already lost in part or in whole, and thus less worthy of protection and sustenance" (Puar, p. 170). I borrow from both Puar's and Butler's understanding to build on my object of inquiry. I do so by recognizing their precariousness defines non-offending people as it is not only that their object of desire is unavoidable but also that it renders them socially feared, undesirable, and inhuman, making them the most precarious of sexual offenders. Rape cases such as the Stanford Case highlight the sentiment of not ruining a young man's life over the stigma associated with a poor choice (rape) he may have made (Manne, 2016). In 2011 it was found that only 14-18% of reported American rape prosecutions result in a conviction (UK Center for Research on Violence Against Women, 2011). The majority of rapists walk free. While these sexual offences are marked by an absence of consent on the part of the victim, the blame is often still placed on the victim with sympathy expressed for the alleged rapist. Non-offending pedophiles noted for not having committed any sexual offence are too precarious to even talk about not because of the issue of consent but because their attraction is to minors.

Precarity "pertains to living beings" (Butler, p. ii, 2009). It is a useful concept when examining the deployment of the term MAP aimed at making this stigmatized

population less vulnerable. Non-offending living beings, like the individuals' Butler describes in her work, "cannot appear as 'subjects'" due to their vulnerability psycho-socially and politically (p. iii). MAPs by virtue of their sexual attraction, meet this definition as individuals who are socially, legally, and politically vulnerable and therefore designated as illegible. As Butler insists: "Precarious life characterizes such lives who do not qualify as recognizable, readable, or grievable." (p. xii-xiii). Like terrorists, the focus on Butler's (2004) work, I would argue that non-offenders are un-mournable; they are a group of people society does not and cannot have sympathy for. While there are no equivalencies that can be drawn between non-offenders and terrorists, the application of precarity regarding an absence of sympathy is useful. It is crucial to note that the argument Butler (2004) makes about terrorists extends beyond precarity into intersections of racism, religious intolerance, antinationalism and colonialism. The non-offending population experiences a condemned precarity due to the lack of sympathy this population receives systemically, institutionally, and societally. These populations share the qualities of being un-readable and un-grievable by society but again are by no means equivalent.

It is due to their precarity that non-offending people cannot occupy the status of subjects, and this signifies the need for foregrounding change in social justice as there is a need for prevention programs. The denial of outlets of treatment in the form of psychological aid may be routed to the fear of normalizing or tolerating these individuals and their sexual attraction, rendering them subjects. Butler states that "every act of reproduction risks going awry, or adrift, or producing effects that are not fully foreseen." (p. iii, 2009). Thus, this form of control imposed on the non-offending population obliges

them to maintain an inauthentic public self and to conceal their private selves. This may bring about these unanticipated repercussions, which may have harmful effects on minors¹. The advocacy for this injustice is not one that can be made by themselves (non-

¹ It may be interesting for future studies to see how the concept of the closet could be used in understanding the non-offender's social and political position within society. The use of the closet as a concept would by no means support the re-establishment of a link between queer subjects and those with pedophilia. However, given the history of queer theory and the risks associated with the use of the closet as a concept for studying the non-offender's positionality and subjectivity should not be taken lightly and therefore, falls outside of the scope of this project but should be explored in future studies. Since the 19070s, the closet has become a concept in explaining and understanding homosexuality and the "homosexual experience" (Seidman, p. 177, 1998). Typically, the closet within the realm of queer theory refers to the "homosexual closet" (Seidman, p. 177, 1998). One's presence inside the closet can be representative of repression within queer theory (Seidman, 1998). For this thesis; however, the closet refers to the space in which a minor-attracted person is seen as mis-fitting from society, a virtual place where one deviating from the societal norm is safely hidden. For the purpose of this thesis the notion of the closet is perceived through a lens of disability theory as opposed to queer theory). Within disability theory, the closet denotes a virtual space that is defined as a "secret and safe place" (Schneider & Conrad, p. 42, 1980). Concealment of one's authentic identity renders those stigmatized individuals as discreditable as their stigmatized aspect cannot be and is not known by others without disclosure (Goffman,

1963). Without disclosure, minor-attracted people can remain in the closet and allow them to continue to conceal their identity as long as an offense is not committed. This is the opposite for the discredited (the offenders) (Goffman, 1963). I posit that even after selective disclosure would occur, the closet would render a safe enough space for minor-attracted people to maintain their stigmatised identities as discreditable (Goffman, 1963).

The more stigmatized a piece of one's identity is the less likely they become to talk about it (Schneider & Conrad, 1980), and the a presentation of a public self becomes even safer than their stigmatized private selves for those individuals. Selective disclosure is possible, allowing one to manage their positioning within and outside of the closet (Schneider & Conrad, 1980). Selective disclosure is referred to as instrumental telling (i.e. To a doctor within disability theory of the closet, and to a clinician for the non-offender) (Schneider & Conrad, 1980). Instrumental telling "involves disclosure, but like concealment, are conscious attempts to mitigate the potentially negative impact" such as loss of personhood and being seen as a monster (Schneider & Conrad, p. 39, 1980). Selective disclosure would allow for minor-attracted people to seek treatment and reinforce their personhood. It appears the goal of terming non-offenders as minor-attracted people would have facilitated this outing of minor-attracted people from the closet to clinicians while maintaining their levels of safety. This, however, will only be made possible once legal ambiguities are revised within provincial legislation.

To be in, and remain in the closet, one must be deviating from a societal norm (Myers, p. 255, 2004). The closet "denotes a place where you hide things (or yourself) (e.g. Jay and Young 1972; Gross 1993) [...] They [those deviating from the norm, i.e.

offending people) for themselves but must be done due to the inevitability of the more significant potential harm possibly imposed upon minors.

The minor-attracted person] are often forgotten there - 'Out of sight, out of mind.'" (Brown, p. 3, 2002). However, when something or someone is closeted, and it is categorized as an illness, there becomes heightened risks within "personal, social and professional spheres; and both can include internalized shame and guilt." (Myers, p. 255, 2004). Stigma, shame, and precarity are not exclusively attached to visible illness, but also those that are invisible (Myers, p. 256, 2004). minor-attracted people fall into the invisible category (in the closet), while offending pedophiles fall within the visible range (ousted from the closet). The creation of space and available resources is necessary to receive the appropriate professional help for someone in the closet (Myers, p. 266, 2004). Without recourses and the recognition of the need for prevention programs, that individuals' shame and risk increase.

Steven Seidman (1998) refers to the aspect of liberation that occurs "beyond the closet" (p. 181, 178). For minor-attracted people, this experience beyond outing from the closet would ideally consist of greater acceptance of the term minor-attracted person and reduced stigma, which would increase their perceived levels of personhood and possibly allow for a more attainable exit from the safe place the closet offers them through disclosure of their attraction to a clinician. Levels of personhood are created and constructed around one's identity and affected by social fallout. While outside of the scope of my research, it merits thought beyond this study.

Feminist Post-Structuralist Theory

According to Weedon (1987) post-structuralism is emancipatory as it aims to bring about change directed at liberating oppressed and subordinated groups; this attempt at change involves the deconstructive efforts – particularly surrounding binaries and will function as the definition of feminist post-structuralism for this thesis (Weedon, 1987). The feminist post-structural theory is the most suitable as it will allow for the examination of doing away with the binary of offender/non-offender and allow for the analysis of the term minor-attracted person and how that term creates a continuum for those with pedophilia.

Post-structuralist thinking regards social status as defined by language and, by extension, by words (Weedon, 1987). According to Weedon (1987) post-Structuralism is emancipatory and attempts to disrupt structures and binaries; this thesis, aiming to bring about change directed at ameliorating the rights of the oppressed and stigmatized group of non-offending individuals will function off of this definition. Post-structuralism takes a discursive and ontological theoretical approach to examining phenomena such as subjectification (Weedon, 1987).

The DSM is a medical model that takes a structural and functionalist approach. The DSM, crucial for diagnosing and treating a condition, highlights the question of what is normal and how it is understood. That is why this thesis is informed by post-structuralist critique, which allows me to take a political, feminist, analytic, and activist perspective to inform my analysis of the perception of the term minor-attracted person and the stigma that the population faces.

Within a post-structuralist analysis, there is a critique of the aspect of the “normal” and the power structure imbued within the construct of normalcy. The issue, for this work, regarding pedophilia remains that of consent. The users of Reddit demonstrate the tension of wanting to recognize a level of humanness in someone, and what it is that threatens their human qualities and pushes them to monstrosity. While post-structural feminism is incompatible with the field of Psychology due to the systems and structures, psychology functions off of MAP can be read as an attempt by the field of psychology at a post-structuralist effort. The creation of the term MAP as an effort to open power relations that continue to fail the non-offending population because of the current structuralist system. It is a post-structuralist effort which needs to be broken down.

A feminist post-structuralist approach encourages the rethinking of dichotomies such as male-female and normal-abnormal and how these dualities discursively maintain and create social power and, by inference, oppression (Gannon and Davies, 2012). Agency is a crucial aspect of feminist post-structuralism. As Gannon and Davies explain, the agency allows for the “capacity to recognize that constitution as historically specific and socially regulated, and thus as able to be called into question.” (36). Feminist post-structuralist theory that allows me to consider the implications of disrupting the binary between having / not having pedophilia, or being, not being a pedophile. A post-structuralist lens allows me to examine how the fluidity of the term minor-attracted person has the potential to break a fundamental binary and to consider the potential effect this might have on identity and personhood.

Justice and equal treatment, even for stigmatized and undesired populations, matters. I am sensitive to the fact that I do not belong to this population, and that

members of this population often cannot advocate for themselves. However, I understand that the system which we are currently trapped in (re)inforces binaries like deviant / nondeviant and good/bad. Considering these issues post-structurally, encouraging us to break these binaries through the use of the term minor-attracted person, may allow for systemic social change. This pioneering examination of pedophilia in a theoretically novel way from the perspective of Women and Gender Studies allows me to ask and answer new questions by foregrounding social justice to study the yet to be considered impact of the term minor-attracted person.

Sexuality

According to Weedon, Foucault asserted that “sexuality is seen as the primary locus of power [...] through the discursive constitution of the body [...] which is often found to have everything to do with the individual” (p. 118, 1987). Weedon offers Foucault’s explanation that institutions govern and police sexuality hierarchically, which I argue constitutes the highest power as a heteronormative one (Weedon, 1987).

The bodies and beings of non-offending people are “sexed” (Butler, 2006, p. 130). Foucault, as cited in Butler (130), explains the process of being sexed as being “subjected to a set of social regulations, to have the law that directs those regulations reside both a formative principle of one’s sex, gender, pleasures, and desires and as the hermeneutic principle of self-interpretation.” According to Butler, Foucault describes complicated and damning “relations of power [...] that are] both constructed and condemn [...] sexuality” (p. 128).

The distinction between societal subjects and subjectivities is delineated by the adherence to and deviation from norms (Foucault, 1978). The socio-politics of offenders and non-offenders is ultimately impacted by their sexuality (Foucault, 1978). Sex is typically something that is desired or desirable (Foucault, 1978). However, sex concerning the pedophilic offender, or even the non-offender, is an intolerable and abusive offence.

People with pedophilia (offenders and non-offenders) are subject to repression regarding the law and their sexuality through four things: negativity, the rule, prohibition, and censorship (Foucault, 1978). Firstly, negativity entails power being exercised over acts that are not deemed as acceptable by society (Foucault, 1978). The extent to which something is negative varies based on the severity of the act. Secondly, rule occurs when power is prescribed or conveyed through legislation and societal rules/morays (Foucault, 1978). Thirdly, prohibition involves legislation mirroring what society sees as taboo (Foucault, 1978). Lastly, censorship can take the form of banning, preventing or denying what is deemed as taboo (Foucault, 1978). The sexuality of non-offending people is governed by the principles of negativity, rule, prohibition, and censorship, as their attraction to children is taboo.

Foucault's theorizing of sexuality, which examines phenomena such as subjectification, and sexuality thus allows me to conduct a holistic, informed, and thoughtful consideration of how sexuality, the greatest determiner of power, affects everything related to an individual and their public self (Weedon, 1987). Foucault's explanation of sexuality, with the addition of a feminist post-structural lens, allows for a

disturbance in the structural binary of deviant-non-deviant human-monster and creates space for the examination of the term minor-attracted person.²

² In legal studies, specifically criminal law there is a distinction made between reasonable persons as opposed to disabled persons. The reasonable person can be understood through its synonymous term, the justified person (Gardner, 2001). The MAP, or non-offender does not fit the trope of a reasonable person by our society's standards or laws. While it is important to draw from disability studies, it is important to recognize the field and its importance as its own. Ensuring to continuously engage in reflexivity as to not make one's work ableist must remain at the forefront of our work, as it is our differences that make us who are and those must not be diminished. Disability studies offers some useful language to discuss non-offenders, and while these groups are not equivalent, I am unwilling to risk suggesting their equivalency. The exploration of the language drawn from disabilities studies merits attention in future research.

The non-offending population becomes disabled due to damaged sexual self-esteem rooted in their sexual incompetence, sexual disapproval and sexual disgust (Mayers, Heller, and Heller, p. 270, 2003). Sexual self-esteem is typically applied to the areas of "women's issues, weight issues, sexual trauma, adolescent psychology, and disability." (Mayers et al., p. 270, 2003). Defining non-offenders as disabled is conceivable and serves to facilitate the advocacy for prevention programs.

The boundaries of outsider-insider relations are fluid, yet, there is still a vast and problematic process of othering that occurs (Jagger, p. 329, 2015). "How we look and look at each other, Alcoff insists, determines in large part how we make our way through

the world and how we treat one another.” (Garland-Thomson, p. 596, 2011) which ties into the notion of our public selves. While this is unfortunate and impacts those culturally deemed as unfit, it is a regrettable reality which highlights the importance of reshaping the world as “[R]eality (the world) is considered to be agentic rather than passive: “Language structures how we apprehend the ontological, but it doesn't constitute it.” (p. 597; Jagger, p. 325, 2015).

The damage we inflict on our own self-esteem cannot be known for certain, the damage caused by others can be (Mayers et al., p. 271, 2003). Damage by others occurs verbally, through various media platforms, and through the denial of rights. Mayers et al., explain the impact words have on depreciating self-esteem, which I highlight here through the example of the tendency to refer to non-offending individuals in a dehumanizing fashion, calling them monsters (2003). It may be possible that damage by both self and others, worsening one’s sexual self-esteem, may lead to increased fear, shame, and hesitation to attempt to seek help and resources (p. 274).

Some people view disability as a “personal problem” (Clare, p. 81, 1999) which is a direct example of Jagger's theorization that “[T]he disadvantage of disability comes partly from social oppression encoded in attitudes and practices, but it also comes from the built and arranged environment.” (594). Is damage caused by others and othering hindering non-offender’s rights to help? In the *Politics of Recognition*, Taylor (1989) explains that non-recognition/misrecognition (of non-offender’s human rights, for example) may perpetuate the increased possibilities of further damage (p. 25). Additionally, non-recognition of the non-offending population’s rights may exacerbate

Chapter 4: Method and Methodology

Content Analysis

Content analysis is defined as a research method that is a “systematic and objective means of describing and quantifying phenomena (Krippendorff 1980, Downe-Wamboldt 1992, Sandelowski) as cited in Elo & Kyngäs, 2007). A content analysis “seeks to analyze texts in terms of the presence and frequency of specific terms, narratives or concepts.” (Seale, p. 368, 1998). The content analysis holds the goal of “providing knowledge, new insights, [representing facts] and a practical guide to action (Krippendorff, 1980 as cited in Elo & Kyngäs, 2007). A content analysis was the most suitable method for this thesis, as it allows for a public snapshot of a discussion on the perception of the term minor-attracted person that might have otherwise been impossible to assess and analyze. This content analysis analyzes the frequency of concepts within discussions among relevant conversation threads within Reddit communities.

I conducted a content analysis of six Reddit threads (the r/conspiracy, r/todayilearned, r/nudism, r/askreddit, r/insanepoeplefacebook and r/cringetopia) to examine the Reddit population’s perceptions surrounding the term minor-attracted people. Please see Appendix D for more information on these six Reddit threads and how they function. This section sets out to explore the fundamentals of content analysis. As opposed to discourse analysis, a content analysis emphasizes frequency as opposed to a

their sexual and non-sexual self-esteem or already precarious beings, perhaps increasing their tendency to become a higher risk for offending.

narrative (Kenneth & Gergen, 1997). While a discourse analysis could be developed for this area of research, it is not explored within the parameters of this thesis and would be best suited for future research.

Research Design

This study is comprised of a content analysis of data from six Reddit threads (r/conspiracy, r/todayilearned, r/nudism, r/askreddit, r/insanepoeplefacebook and r/cringetopia). Reddit is a low-cost platform that uniquely facilitates data collection in an organized matter (Jamnik & Lane, 2017). Reddit enables reliable data collection at no financial cost to researchers as the data has been volunteered by online users around the world (Jamnik & Lane, 2017). Reddit was founded by Steve Huffman and Alexis Ohanian in 2005. Its co-founders sold Reddit in 2006 to Condé Nast. Reddit is an online platform used to host and organize transparent and genuine conversations and discussions on any arena of interest. Reddit users can post, comment, upvote and downvote each other's content. The point system functions off of Karma. There is a power structure to Reddit as there are moderators that censor the content. Enabling a pedophile would be deemed unacceptable and removed, whereas bashing a pedophile would be deemed acceptable content. Enabling would be characterized as encouragement and allowance. Reddit users range from 18-65 years in age. Reddit is an anonymous platform; however, their privacy policy states regarding sharing personal and identifying information with a third party:

"We will not share, sell, or give away any of our users' personal information to third parties unless one of the following circumstances applies:

- Except as it relates to advertisers and our ad partners, we may share information with vendors, consultants, and other service providers who need access to such information to carry out work for us;
 - If you participate in contests, sweepstakes, promotions, special offers, or other events or activities in connection with our Services, we may share information with entities that partner with us to provide these offerings;
 - We may share information (and will attempt to provide you with prior notice, to the extent legally permissible) in response to a request for information if we believe disclosure is in accordance with, or required by, any applicable law, regulation, legal process or governmental request, including, but not limited to, meeting national security or law enforcement requirements;
 - We may share information in response to an emergency if we believe it's necessary to prevent imminent and serious bodily harm to a person;
 - We may share information if we believe your actions are inconsistent with our user agreements, rules, or other Reddit policies, or to protect the rights, property, and safety of ourselves and others;
 - We may share information between and among Reddit, and its current and future parents, affiliates, subsidiaries, and other companies under common control and ownership; and
 - We may share information with your consent or at your direction.
- We may share aggregated or de-identified information, which cannot reasonably be used to identify you."

Research shows that the anonymity of Reddit accounts is associated with feelings of disinhibition among Reddit users, which has been found to increase authenticity and increased honesty about themselves and their opinions (De Choudhury & De, 2014; Caplan & Turner, 2007; Chester and O'Hara, 2007).

The five threads from which the data were extracted are the r/conspiracy, r/todayilearned, r/nudism, r/askreddit and r/insanepoeplefacebook, communities. The threads date from three years ago to eight months ago and were collected and archived on January 17, 2019. The most recent post was made eight months ago. The data from these threads were archived onto the principal researcher's laptop and coded, grouped, and categorized thematically. The data was input and stored in Excel. For this study, the analysis took an inductive approach to assess the stigma surrounding the term minor-

attracted person by individuals outside of the field of psychology as what is currently known in this area is at best limited (Elo & Kyngäs, 2007). Due to the ambiguity and speculation of interpreting and analyzing latent data, this study set out only to utilize manifest data (Elo & Kyngäs, 2007).

Concepts

This section explores the three main concepts of personhood, the public self, and the monster used to analyze and interpret the data. These concepts are most relevant as they are essential in establishing and understanding stigmatization and presentation of sexual deviancy.

Personhood

Personhood affirms one's humanness (Dennett, 1988). For the purport of this research, I draw from the concept of personhood from disability theory. Personhood (within disability theory) is defined as one's affirmed social inclusion, respect and human value (Ikäheimo, 2008); "individual differences and anomalies, such as impairment [...] often lead to non-recognition and social exclusion, or in other words, [...] a non-person" (p. 6). The non-offender becomes a non-person through their moral impairments and sexual attraction to minors.

According to Ikäheimo, one's personhood is fluid (Ikäheimo, 2008). Recognition of one's identity by others has the power to transform (Taylor, 1989). When others reinforce one's identity, it has the power to emphasize the personhood rather than stigma and/or diagnosis as when one's personhood is in question or has been revoked; it has

psychological repercussions for that ‘non-human’ (Taylor, 1989; Ikaheimo, 2008). The term minor-attracted person provides a level of recognition of the non-offender as it is rooted in acknowledging them as a person, not as their attraction thus strengthening one’s perceived personhood (Taylor, 1989). Thus, a non-offenders level of personhood changes with their experience of disclosure and, thus, concerning their public self.

Using the term minor-attracted person serves as a reminder of one’s humanity, more so than their paraphilia (Wise, 2014). James Wise explains flourishing something attainable by those who utilize terms grounded in and promoting personhood as opposed to stigma and derogatory terms (2014). It is my opinion that the term minor-attracted person was therefore meant to restore personhood to non-offenders, act as a reminder of their humanity, and allow for flourishing via the means of access to treatment. Personhood is dependent on one’s social status but is also fluid (Ikaheimo, 2008).

Public Self

The public self refers to “a person’s public reputation” and “one’s public self-image.” (Hogan and Briggs, p. 185, 1986). Contrary to the public self, the private self is “said and done” within someone’s mind and in an unobservable, hence private sphere such as in their home (Tedeschi, p.1, 1986). The public self is tied to and impacts one’s public reputation (Tedeschi, 1986).

Sometimes one’s public self is inauthentic to their private self (Gardner, 1991). This inauthenticity of the public self to the private self can be traced to the avoidance of the dangers associated with a debut as a member of a stigmatized group (Gardner, 1991). A Debut is when “members of some stigmatized groups present themselves in public” (p.

256). Non-offenders' private selves are concealable (Sedlovskaya et al., 2013). That aspect of their identity is a concealable identity, an identity that is not publicly known or observable (Sedlovskaya et al., 2013).

When the debut occurs, the non-offender can no longer be protected by their public self. Non-offenders may choose to conceal their private selves as a member of the stigmatized group with pedophilic tendencies through an inauthentic public self. Non-offenders can conceal their private selves.

The Monster

Monsters are any one individual whose identity is in some way too, "transgressive, too sexual, perversely erotic, a lawbreaker" (Cohen, p. 212, 2007). Monsters are associated with "forbidden practices" and deviance, deeply rooted in taboo, prompt fear (Cohen, p.212, 2007). These monsters become defined by society by their varying levels of stigma and taboo (Schultz, 2005). Typically, monsters are understood as sexual predators, and typically males (adolescents or adults) (DiBennardo, 2018). Despite differing degrees of how deviant or dangerous one may be to society, the ultimate form of taboo, the worst kind of monster, has always been the pedophile - those with pedophilia (Balmer & Sandland, 2012). The more one is seen as a monster, the lower the levels of personhood that an individual is seen as having. Stigmatization and the concept of the monster are related as stigma, defined as unwanted levels of "differentness from what we had anticipated" results among those who do not share this differentness as seeing these stigmatized populations as less than human (Goffman, p. 5, 1963). Monster, therefore, becomes an identity category.

Sex offenders are viewed as and referred to synonymously as monsters and thus rendering them as being seen and understood as less than human, either as animals or as evil (McDonald, 2014; Wilson, 1981; Ingebretsen, 1998). This results in stigma affecting the non-offenders, the most hated and feared non-criminal criminals (Brown, 2002), resulting in the population being "indefensible" (McDonald, p. 604, 2014). There is a moral panic associated with pedophilia, which has been transcribed into how legislation has been written (as ambiguous) regarding the clinical treatment of non-offenders (also known as the "regressed pedophile") (McDonald, p.599, 2014). Moral panic is described as a fear experienced by some or all of society toward action or person deemed immoral and threatening (Goode, 2017). Moral panic stems from a societal fear of "the evil they do or are thought to do" (Goode, p. 35, 2017). It is defined by the qualities of the feared population being disproportionately and undeniably experienced regarding concern, hostility, and volatility (Goode, 2017). Those with pedophilia are "so far removed from the human that he [they] stands in stark contrast even to other criminals" (McDonald, p. 600, 2014). Media platforms commonly describe and depict pedophiles as monsters and as violent (Jahnke & Hoyer, 2013).

Both non-offender and pedophiles fit the trope of the "sexual pervert," defined as someone whose sexuality is tied to "criminality and madness" (Kelly, 2013). Pedophiles, and by extension, non-offending individuals, are understood as a form of "moral evil" (Kelly, p. 37, 2013). Non-offenders meet the criteria for civic monsters, those who "the process fails, and they cannot be allowed to live." (Ingebretsen, p. 97, 1998). MAP, who have not committed an offence, are being let down through society's denial of a level of personhood, rendering them more precarious.

Data Analysis

There are three steps to performing content analysis: preparing, organizing, and reporting (Elo & Kyngäs, 2007). I prepared the data for analysis by selecting applicable Reddit threads through the utilization of the search bar on Reddit as generated by Reddit's search bar algorithm and narrowing down the threads by keywords. The keywords I searched for were: MAP, minor-attracted person, pedophilia and Dunkelfeld. I archived the Reddit threads on January 20, 2020. Before organizing the data, I familiarized myself with it (Elo & Kyngäs, 2007). The inductive approach entails organizing the data in three ways: openly coding, categorically, and abstractly (Elo & Kyngäs, 2007).

I read through the data twice, noting elements and themes as they appeared in the data. For example, when a comment detailed explicitly violent acts the user would like to see performed to the non-offending population, it was marked down as a "violent" comment as opposed to comments that expressed the act of harm on a non-offender in absence of an offence being committed would not be a moral one, these comments became be categorized as "tolerant." The same analysis was also done for levels of personhood. Please see the analysis section for further detail. Data were organized and input into Excel. This thesis employs content analysis to interpret the written data extracted from Reddit (Elo & Kyngäs, 2007).

Methodology

Rights-Based Approach

Leslie London describes a rights-based approach as one that "must seek to give voice to those who are vulnerable and enable them the decision-making scope to change their conditions of vulnerability." (p. 68, 2008). A human rights approach highlights ethical demands (London, 2008). Offering non-offenders' confidential treatment and resources before they commit an offence is, in my opinion, an ethical obligation based not solely on the rights of non-offending people but also on the human right of children to safety and society's ethical obligation to protect children. Thus, given this rights-based approach, my thesis takes a post-structural feminist approach and will draw on disability theory, precarity, othering, and the theory of the public self to highlight the "conflicts between providers and users of health services" (London, p. 73, 2008). It is important to note that rights-based approaches are typically unsuccessful when the population in question is unpopular. Further, allotting fundamental rights to the population in question becomes politicized and associated with the politician and political party that would be willing to deem this population as a class of persons.

Contributions of this work

This thesis provides theoretical, methodological, and substantive contributions to the field of Women and Gender studies, social and digital communication, the field of Psychology and for the non-offending population, which will be explored in detail throughout this chapter.

Theoretically, this study describes the perceptions of individuals outside of the field of psychology on the effort to de-stigmatize the pedophilic population of non-offenders through the creation and implementation of the term minor-attracted person. This study does so in a theoretically novel way (through the analysis of the public self and the element of disguise).

Methodologically, the research design employed through this thesis contributes to the developing field of social and digital communication for collecting data through the performance of content analysis using Reddit. While Reddit is increasingly being used as a platform to conduct research and facilitate data collection, it is most often used in the fields of “anthropology, communication studies, economics, history, musicology, human geography, linguistics, political science, psychology, public health, education, social and media studies and sociology” and is a more novel tool for research within Women and Gender Studies (“Reddit and academia research: What Disciplines have studied Reddit so far?”, 2019). Further, given my previous academic training in psychology, my research contributes a nuanced methodology of a content analysis that incorporates data analysis through positional maps and pie charts to convey the data in a visually descriptive mode.

Substantively, my research further provides pioneering data from a perspective that had yet to be considered. The term minor-attracted person has been widely adopted by academics and clinicians without considering the impact the term may be having on the already vulnerable and hated population of non-offending individuals. What is unique about this dataset is the heightened levels of disinhibition associated with Reddit users’ anonymous accounts allow for transparent, unfiltered opinions to be shared (De Choudhury & De, 2014; Caplan & Turner, 2007; Chester and O’Hara, 2007). Therefore,

it can be assumed that Reddit users who engaged in the conversation on the term MAP, were not censoring their words and thoughts when expressing their opinions as opposed to if they had knowingly taken a survey on the topic and they no longer felt those same levels of disinhibition associated with a pseudonym through a platform they rely on.

This data has the potential to impact how clinicians (and researchers) use the term minor-attracted person and advance their efforts to secure preventative treatment for the minor-attracted population. Prior to this research, there was no pre-existing research on the perception of the term minor-attracted person by both the general population and by the non-offending and offending pedophilic populations.

This research demonstrated the relevance of post-structuralist work and post-structuralist fields. Psychology is a structuralist field and therefore lacks a poststructuralist critique of identity politics concerning the non-offending population. This work has ignited a poststructuralist conversation that can now continue. No longer referencing persons by their diagnosis, minimizes their identity to that label and frees them from associated stigma. This re-categorization is impactful for resorting personhood but remains in sharp contrast to those proud of a label and seeking to further their cause through its use.

Limitations of this work

Throughout the completion of this study, limitations relating to demographics, a small dataset and inter-rater reliability arose.

The first limitation of this study is that the personal demographics of Reddit users cannot be known. While demographic data would offer rich insight into the sample pool, Reddit accounts are anonymous and, thus, not feasible to be known. Research on Reddit's

user base, however, revealed that nearly half of Reddit users are American men, and over a majority of them are between that age range of 18-49 ("Reddit and academia research: What Disciplines have studied Reddit so far?", 2019). However, it cannot be known for sure how representative those statistics are for the sample that comprises this study's dataset, again due to the anonymity of Reddit accounts. It would be beneficial for future research to utilize Reddit as a forum for posting surveys via an external host such as Qualtrics through the r/samplesize Reddit page. Thus, information on the personal demographics of Reddit users would enrich the dataset.

Secondly, this study is limited as there was a potential in which rich data may have been excluded from the studies dataset. Given the amount of content on Reddit generated daily, searching for the selected keywords researcher (MAP, minor-attracted person, pedophilia and Dunkelfeld) over a more extended period could have led to the discovery of additional relevant data among Reddit users. Rather than searching for these keywords over a week, it may have been valuable to have done so over a month. However, that is something that could be explored and corrected for future research and will be explored in the following section. Unfortunately, a data collection period of a month was not something that could be allotted for this study.

Thirdly, the question of reliability and validity comes into play as the final limitation of this study on the investigation of how Reddit users perceive the term MAP. While this study took an inductive approach to content analysis, to safeguard this (minimizing ambiguities and interpretation regarding the dataset), the study remained low in inter-rater reliability. Inter-rater reliability was low as there was an absence of agreement among raters as the principal researcher was the only coder. A second coder

could have been of help to ensure inter- and intra-rater reliability and therefore increased validity and should be adapted for future research. The addition of one or more coders could also provide the opportunity to analyze deductive data as well, accounting for both latent and manifest data in data collection, synthesis, analysis, and results.

Chapter 5: Results and Analyses

Before exploring how Reddit users perceive the term minor-attracted person, I provide a summary of how Reddit users express their attitudes about offending pedophiles. For this, I draw on two Reddit threads: r/truecrime and r/bestofworldstar. These threads provide a conversation among users regarding their attitudes toward Jonathon Watson. Jonathon Watson is a prisoner in the U.S. who shared his plan to murder two pedophiles with correctional officers and then murdered the pedophiles. While the guards were privy to Watson's plan, there was no attempt to stop it.

The majority of Reddit users engaging in the discussion of Watson's murder of two offending pedophiles included applause and expressions of approval for his actions: taking the lives of two people. Some users went as far as to congratulate Watson, affirm his actions and call or label him a hero. A reaction this strong led me to ask if Reddit users recognize and understand that not all individuals with pedophilia are offenders? If the two sex offenders had been female, would their murders be as celebrated? My research has indicated that yes, the majority of Reddit users are aware of this distinction (as seen in Figure 1). This was found through examining the amount of Reddit comments that distinguished between someone who had and someone who had not acted on their attraction to minors. Reddit users expressed: "I think their case is special and needs to be treated as so. Not criminals, but they shouldn't be allowed to work at day cares either" demonstrating an understanding that non-offenders, or MAPs have a sexual attraction to minors but have not acted on it. Reddit users further demonstrated an understanding of the fact that both offenders and non-offenders can both have pedophilia, but that does not serve as an indication of their history of offender versus non-offending: "The only

innocent pedo is the ones going to doctors to get help. The rest are not innocent.”, and “Pedophile is not the same as child molester.”

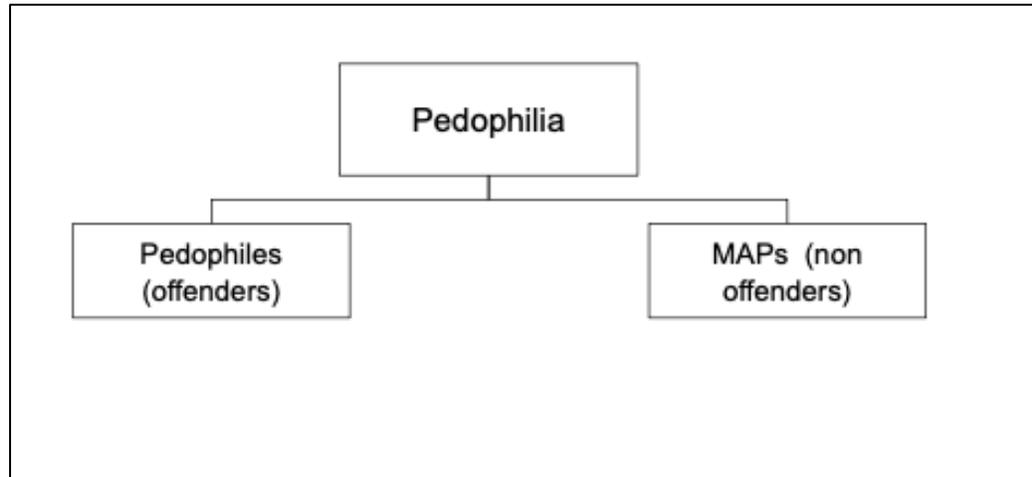


Figure 1: Trajectory chart of those with pedophilia.

This understanding that not everyone with an attraction to minors is an offender was very apparent within the dataset of six Reddit threads (the r/conspiracy, r/todayilearned, r/nudism, r/askreddit, r/insanepoeplefacebook and r/cringetopia). Reddit users outwardly express understanding that there are offending pedophiles and those who experience attraction to minors who have not yet acted on their urges (non-offending people) as highlighted by an additional example: “I would imagine if people were more for treatment in the US this would help a lot of people. The day my crim law teacher (who was a psychologist and before that a state trooper, that lady had an interesting life) in college explained pedophilia as a genuine attraction to children for some people that is as uncontrollable as heterosexual attraction changed my perception on that forever. It sounds like a horrifying thing to live with, even without a stigma so strong that even

admitting such a thing would get you beaten.” Reddit users also attempted to explain to others who did not have this understanding of the trajectory of pedophilia that “[...] People who are no-contact pedophiles (Against having any sexual contact with minors, also called NoMaps) are completely innocent, and are only affected by mental illnesses outside of their control. Pedophiles live in a personal fucking hell that they will never escape from. [...]” This second figure (*Figure 2*) demonstrates the offender-non-offender breakdown fully.

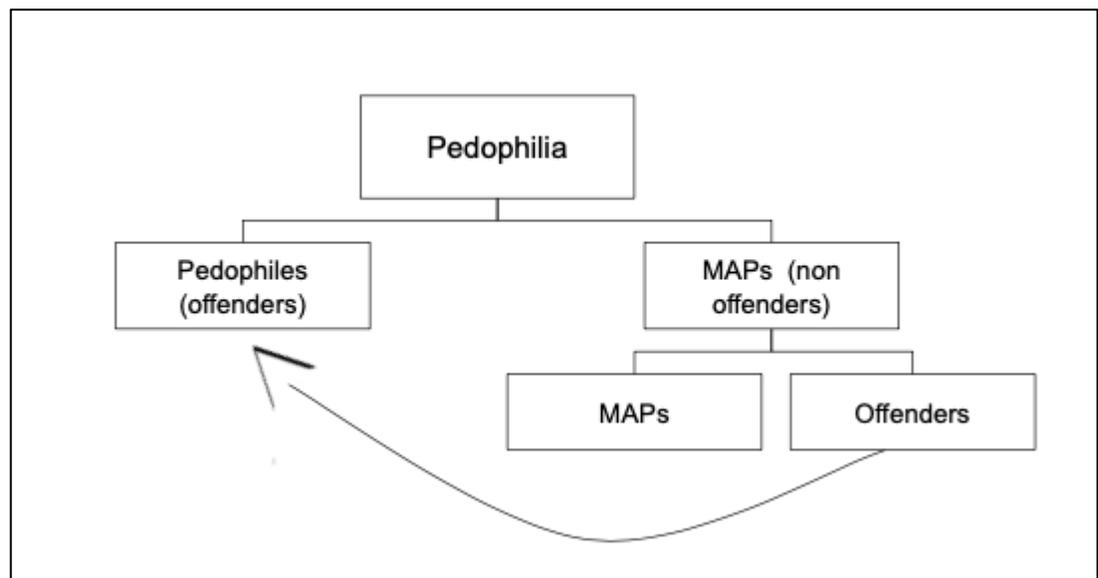


Figure 2: Trajectory chart of offending and non-offending individuals with pedophilia.

One Reddit user expressed their understanding by asking: “[...] Just like you don’t choose to be gay or have dementia, no one chooses to be a pedophile. We can’t accept pedophiles acting on their urges obviously, so why not try to help them not do that and keep them as functioning members of society?” This comment demonstrates the belief

that non-offenders who have pedophilia can be encouraged and treated to continue to not offend as opposed to becoming an offender without it.

Affect

Affect was the first category that became apparent in the dataset when assessing how Reddit users felt and reacted to the term minor-attracted person. According to Weedon, Foucault theorized that "sexuality is seen as the primary locus of power"; however, ultimate power derives from the discourse. (p. 118, 1997; Jagger, 2008). When personhood is emphasized, discourse holds power to reshape identity through decreasing stigma.

This category was coded either as negative or positive. Affects that were coded as positive expressed tolerance toward the term MAP. Affects that were coded as negative, as unfavourable, were comprised of sentiments of disgust and violence in response to the term MAP. Post-structuralism states that we must break down categories and binaries (Weedon, 1987). However, the data demonstrated polarizing reactions to the term minor-attracted person. While this may seem like a coding system based in binary and therefore defying the principles of post-structuralism, I note that I found no data that could be coded as neutral. Neutral data was understood as refraining from commenting and engaging in the conversation. Further, it is important to note while discussing the use of a post-structural lens to do post-structural work that that while this theory rejects binaries it is a post-structural lens that has allowed me while analyzing the data to interpret how the term minor-attracted person has broken the binary of what it is to be a sex offender or a non-sex offender. This continuum of what a pedophile is rejects the binary of offender vs.

non-offender, like pedophilia, like sexuality, is fluid and experienced differently by those with it.

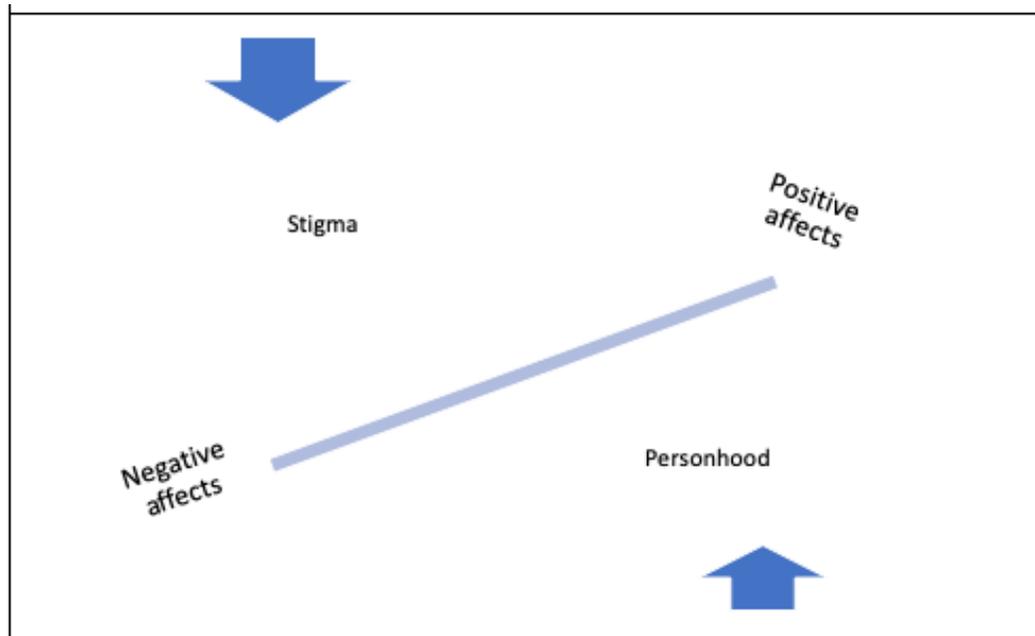


Figure 3: Positional map depicting the relationship between personhood, stigma, and affect to the term MAP.

The table demonstrates that increased levels of personhood are correlated to more positive effects of the term MAP. Negative or adverse effects toward the term minor-attracted person were found to be based on higher levels of stigma, and therefore do not include the consideration of personhood. Neutral affects were not included in this chart, as they were not apparent within the dataset but instead assumed by lack of engagement. Negative affects revolving around disgust and violence strips one of their humanity and reinforces their monster-like qualities and perceived behaviours associated as taboo.

Reddit users expressing negative affect toward the acronym minor-attracted person deemed these non-offenders as nothing more than their paraphilia (sexual deviation) they had not yet acted on. Thus, Reddit users who reacted to the term adversely struggled to see minor-attracted individuals as more than a monster. This emphasizes and (re)enforces the level of social and emotional precarity minor-attracted people face and therefore affect their presentation of their public self. Responses of disgust to the term MAP ranged from “I threw up in my mouth.” “I’m really grossed out by this,” and “That’s nasty.” Reddit commenters described the term as “Fucking perverted,” describing those who identify as MAPs as “Disgusting scum,” and “Fucking disgusting.” Another user went on to express that “There is no such thing as ‘the MAP community.’ They’re disgusting pedos, that’s what they are.”

The results demonstrate positive affects toward the term minor-attracted person are grounded in high levels of personhood and low levels of stigma (as illustrated by Figure 4). Positively coded affects were commonly expressed by language and perception of Reddit users expressing sympathy and tolerance to the efforts of introducing the term minor-attracted person and thus to the minor-attracted population. This is highlighted through the following examples of comments by Reddit users: “I think their case is special and needs to be treated as so. Not criminals, but they shouldn’t be allowed to work at day cares either”, and “I don’t want to demonize a person who is trying to get help and be good either. All I’m saying is maybe we should get them help without ruining they’re [their] lives and maybe keeping them away from sensitive jobs where they would be surrounded by kids. [...]” Additionally, Reddit users expressed the following in response to Reddit users’ comments that expressed disgust or violence toward MAPs:

“[...] You want someone to kill themselves because of intrusive thoughts, thoughts that a majority of the time give those same people severe anxiety and depression? Do you know how backwards that is? Therapy and medication have helped a lot of folks who struggle with these urges continue to NEVER OFFEND but instead live in fear that one day they'll act on their urges because society tells them that they're monsters regardless of lack of offence, despite actions that show these people are putting in every effort to lead normal lives.”, and “Is someone who is attracted to minors that never offends still despicable? What if they spend their whole life wishing they weren't attracted the way they are? Are they still deserving disdain? [...] If people [MAPs] can't choose their attractions (which personally, I generally see as true) how can we condemn them? And, furthermore, how can we help them? Because I certainly don't know.”

Positive perception of the term minor-attracted person was grounded in expressions of sympathy and tolerance. These Reddit users reacted positively to the term minor-attracted person in addition to the rights of this population. Reddit users expressed being in favour of the minor-attracted population being able to access treatment. Positively reacting to the term minor-attracted person may serve as a form of recognition of identity that has the power to transform that may positively impact the minor-attracted people experience and presentation of their public self. Comments included sympathy for the current treatment and attitudes toward non-offenders: “I think you're making a huge assumption that they think it's ‘right and good.’ Just because you have feelings about something doesn't mean you like those feelings.”, “It's a shame that in the US non-offending pedophiles are treated with the same scorn as child molesters,” “I have NO IDEA what I would do simply because I'm not in that situation. I can't imagine how

awful it would be to genuinely be a good person and struggle with this.” And “Being despised by everyone for what they are born with, in addition to the fact that they can never, under any circumstances, live their sexuality -- one of the problems can be fixed.” Additional comments included: “PSA: child molester and pedophile are not interchangeable,” “child molester \neq pedophile. Just like not all rectangles are squares but all squares are rectangle, not all pedophiles are child molesters. Why wouldn't we try and help that subset of people who have an attraction they cannot control but we cannot accept in society. Just like you don't choose to be gay or have dementia, no one chooses to be a pedophile. We can't accept pedophiles acting on their urges obviously, so why not try to help them not do that and keep them as functioning members of society?”, “Pedophile is not the same as child molester” and “Dehumanizing people never leads to good places.”

Here, I reiterate that the knowledge of one's attraction to minors and the stigma associated with the attraction is correlated to the development of mental health disorders, harmful levels of isolation and substance abuse (Cantor & McPhail, 2016). Concealment of one's true identity and negative psychopathy are correlated with adverse effects on one's well-being (Jackson and Mohr, 2015). Experienced monster-related stigma may increase the minor-attracted population's already vulnerable psychological well-being, possibly having detrimental repercussions to their mental health. Positive recognition based in personhood may promote tolerance for the minor-attracted population seeking treatment, enhancing their psychopathy and, therefore, potentially increasing the likelihood of minor-attracted people remaining non-offenders and choosing not to act on their urges. However, this is unfortunately overly optimistic as this research is one step

down a long and winding path of many steps that must be taken to address the precarity, stigma, legal ambiguities and injustices this population faces.

The results demonstrating adverse effects toward the term MAP are based on high levels of stigma (rooted in the association with monsters) and low levels of personhood. Redditors referred to non-offenders as “animals,” “evil,” “scum,” “nasty,” “sickos,” “perverted,” “pigs,” and “monsters.” The language commonly used by Reddit users to describe their perceptions of the term minor-attracted person often revolved around disgust and violence. Comments that expressed disdain included comments such as “MAP is a great name, they can put that on their toe tag as. Cause of death (murdered by Angry Parent)”, and “MAP ? As in pizza-related map? Sick humor by these freaks.” Reddit users that expressed negative affect regarding violence included the following comments: “They should all get a bullet, plain and simple,” “Death by stoning,” “I’d rather castrate them,” “Put em on a cross and they’ll just come back from the dead three days later. I say burn em”, “I hope [MAP’s] will accept a bullet to the brain,” and “Paper maps can be burnt. These MAPs should be burnt too.”

The comments by Reddit users coded as unfavourable fell under two main categories: disgust and violence. Disgust was found to be the most common reaction. Disgust was assessed by users expressing their disgust, using that term explicitly, or describing reactions the term evokes, which portray disgust, such as ‘throwing up.’ Comments that fell under the category of violence described the physical acts users would like to perform, what they would like to see done to them, or what they condone being done to the non-offending population. These acts included murder (specifically, murder by gunshot), castration, and torture through burning. Perceptions of the term

minor-attracted person yielded these reactions to the term minor-attracted person and to the individuals attempting to use the term MAP.

Reddit users most commonly expressed disgust as physical reactions of repulsion. Users described experiencing this disgust as an immediate response. Examples of physical reactions ranged from “I threw up in my mouth” and “I’m really grossed out by this.” Other users expressed disgust as emotions the term elicited from them: “I’m really grossed out by this,” “Fucking perverted,” “Disgusting scum,” “That’s nasty,” “There is no such thing as the minor-attracted person community. They’re disgusting pedos, that’s what they are.”, “They are sickos,” “Animals...evil”, “Fucking disgusting,” and “Fucking animals.” This data exemplifies the lack of personhood, referring to term minor-attracted people and those who attempt to identify as a non-offending minor-attracted person as either less than human or denoting someone less than human. Reddit users referred to those identifying as minor-attracted people like scum, animals and evil; monsters.

Reddit users commonly expressed violence as their primary reaction to the term minor-attracted person for non-offending pedophiles through describing the form of physical pain or form of death they deemed appropriate for this population. The primary forms of violence that were outwardly stated in the dataset were murder by stoning, murder by a firearm, and murder by fire (burning). Murder, in general, was referenced without the specification of which means users felt this should be achieved by. Other forms of violence that were included in the dataset was castration. The ease with which Reddit users descriptively expressed their desire or plans to murder these individuals demonstrates the negative affect and lack of personhood associated with the minor-attracted population. Reddit users did not express remorse or guilt in expressing these

sentiments, serving to reinforce the minor-attracted population being seen as monstrous and non-human.

Recognition of minor-attracted people as non-offenders occurs through positive affect in response to the term MAP. While this term may not solely hold power to transform their identity, it serves to disrupt the binary of offender-non-offender and reinforces a continuum of pedophilia. Negative affects of disgust and violence serve to reinforce minor-attracted people as precarious beings and as monsters, minimizing their personhood and stripping this population of non-offenders of the right to attempt to seek treatment to enable a change of their conditions (in relation to their public self, and as precarious beings). Minor-attracted people “cannot appear as ‘subjects’” as they are socially, legally and politically illegible, (Butler, p. iii, 2009). Individuals with pedophilia, offenders and non-offenders are largely seen and understood as monsters. Negative affects toward the term minor-attracted person could be interpreted as serving as a form of control, forcing them to alter their public selves.

Public Self

The second element this study set out to explore was the perception of the term minor-attracted person among Reddit users concerning the notion of the public self. The rationale and hopes that led to the creation of the term minor-attracted person were to de-stigmatize the non-offending pedophilic population. It became apparent through my analysis as detailed in the previous section that the term (MAP) is perceived negatively by the majority of Reddit users engaging in the selected Reddit threads. The term minor-attracted person was expressed by Reddit users to be commonly perceived as one that

serves to act as a disguise. If the term is perceived as masking oneself, it can be interpreted as an effort to conceal their private self and craft an inauthentic public self. Ultimately, the term minor-attracted person being perceived as having a masking effect, acting as a disguise or costume, indicates the term has the opposite effect to that initially intended, which was to de-stigmatize the population's authentic identity, or private self. The term minor-attracted person, therefore, as indicated by the dataset, is having stigmatizing effects as opposed to de-stigmatizing effects rendering this population even more precarious and monstrous. This increased stigma serves to reduce any level of personhood this population could have maintained or built upon.

16.67% of Reddit users appeared to perceive the term minor-attracted person positively. These expressions, coded as positive, were based on the premise of respect. One Reddit user explained, "I have a lot of respect for these men. Overcoming your fear of being stigmatized is no easy task." Other Reddit users' positive perceptions revolved around aspects of labelling and stigma. For example, some comments read: "Even just discussing their idea of treatment for paedophiles can be very stigmatizing, peoples knee jerk response to this whole subject has left this something that I wouldn't want to discuss at a table with friends, for fear of being labelled as sympathetic of the pedophile." These expressions acknowledge minor-attracted people are viewed with very low levels of personhood, and high levels of stigma (relating to the trope of monsters).

Contrary to this minority opinion—that the term minor-attracted person is positive and thus positively impacting the non-offending population's public selves —83.3% of Reddit users in my sample appeared to disagree. The majority of Reddit users appeared to interpret this term as an attempt to disguise the true (deviant) identities, thus rendering it

inauthentic to their private selves. The majority of Reddit users deemed minor-attracted people, stigmatized, and with low levels of personhood.

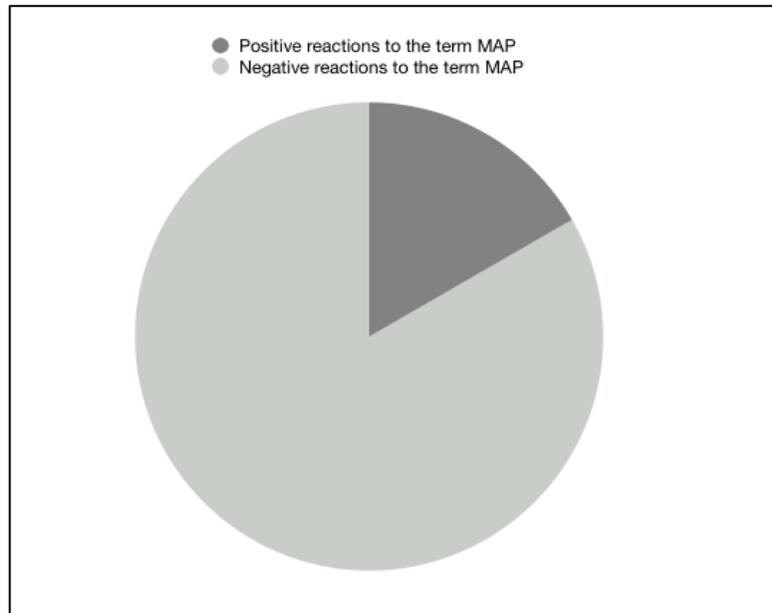


Figure 4: Pie chart depicting how the population of Reddit reacts to the term MAP.

Reddit users expressed the view that the term minor-attracted person is an attempt to hide and mask the true identities and pedophilic interests of minor-attracted people. Thus, I argue that the stigma held by society and perpetuated through the creation and use of the term minor-attracted person serves to alienate the non-offending population further. I assert that this may negatively impact the possibility of seeking and receiving treatment that would occur outside of their private selves (through selective disclosure to a clinician), which would reinforce their personhood (Schneider & Conrad, 1980). The stigma associated with the term minor-attracted person at large does not reinforce the non-offending population's personhood but rather diminishes it.

Damage inflicted on the minor-attracted population through the use of adverse affects, with little to no recognition of personhood, becomes transcribed through the denial of rights (in this case, serving to impact possible access to treatment negatively) (Mayers et al., 2003). Reddit users that expressed the view that the term minor-attracted person is a disguise and explained the term was serving as either a costume or form of deception, ultimately hiding who non-offenders really are and how monstrous this population is and potentially could become. In addition, these users stripped the aspect of personhood from the non-offending population, comparing them to animals and feces. Examples of this are exemplified through these two comments: "You can put lipstick on a pig. But it's still a pig. Or in this case, a pedophile." And "You can sell a bowl of frozen dog shit chocolate ice cream if you'd like, but it doesn't change the fact that it's still a bowl of cold dog feces." Other comments compared the acronym minor-attracted person to pedophiles merely wearing a nametag to conceal their identity, while others joked what the true identity of the minor-attracted person stood for. Reddit users suggested that the term minor-attracted person more accurately stood for "Majorly Awful People," or "Murdered by Angry Parent." One user put forth a new term: "Fucking Degenerate people." Further, Reddit users described the term is a form of hiding stating "It's what they call themselves now. They use an acronym to hide what they really are."

These non-human comparisons are based on stigma and connect the minor-attracted population to the trope of monsters. The assertion follows that this content analysis demonstrates the term minor-attracted person does not have the power to alter the non-offender's perceived level of personhood positively and decrease their perceived level of stigma among the majority of people (Barrett, p. 88, 2005).

This high level of stigma and low-to-little level of personhood prescribed to the non-offending population becomes complicated as the dehumanizing language used when referring to them may serve to damage their self-esteem and specifically their sexual self-esteem, which may lead to increased fear, shame and hesitation to attempt to seek treatment (Mayers et al., 2003). When the reason for one's inauthentic public self is rooted in one's illness (Pedophilia), there becomes heightened risks, including "shame and guilt" even when the presentation of their inauthentic public selves serves to protect their deviant identity (Myers, p. 225, 2004). Skylar Jackson and Jonathan Mohr (2015) suggest that stigma associated with concealment (in this case, concealment of one's private self) is connected with negative psychopathy and adverse affects on one's psyche. If disclosure, therefore, was made by non-offenders to clinical psychologists, it could be hypothesized that it may have positive effects on the psychological well-being of that non-offending individual (Jackson & Mohr, 2015).

The term minor-attracted person has been found to be negatively perceived among Reddit users. The results demonstrated the negative perception of the term minor-attracted person affects the levels of personhood among the non-offending minor-attracted population and therefore increases their levels of precarity. Therefore, non-offenders continue to experience high levels of stigma and perceived levels of monstrosity. This renders having an inauthentic public self a safer option as opposed to private selves. I, therefore, assert the attempt to de-stigmatize the non-offending pedophilic population through the introduction and implementation of the term minor-attracted person has been unsuccessful among Reddit users, demonstrating and eliciting opposite effects than intended.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and Future Directions

This thesis began with the intention to examine the legal and psychosocial barriers that may have been and continue to inhibit and restrict clinicians from treating non-offending pedophiles to aid them in controlling their actions, avoid criminal prosecution, and decrease potential harm to minors. I do not think there is a more relative or exciting turn this thesis could have taken. Due to time delays with the research ethics board in addition to a low number of responses yielded, I reframed my research question to conduct research; I should have realized the initial step that would have been more appropriate for me to take. My thesis aimed to investigate the perception of the term minor-attracted person(s) (MAP) on the internet forum Reddit. I specifically considered these perceptions concerning the concepts of personhood, stigma and monsters and the public self. The goal of this research was to pioneer the question of whether the efforts to de-stigmatize this stigmatized population through the use of alternative terminology was having an impact, either negative or positive, on those outside of academia, particularly outside the field of psychology, and specifically on people participating in an important online social news and discussion forum. This study synthesized, examined, analyzed and reported the perception of and attitudes surrounding the term minor-attracted people for non-offending pedophiles among Reddit users. The goal of this research was met.

By asking the question: 'How is the term minor-attracted person being perceived by users/commenters on Reddit?' this research makes known the answers to both of these questions. The results demonstrated negative perceptions of the term minor-attracted person. The majority of Reddit users perceived the term adversely expressing high levels of stigma and low levels of personhood toward attached to the term. Reddit users

perceived the term minor-attracted person to be more stigmatizing. Users expressed the view that the term minor-attracted person served as an attempt to hide and mask the true monstrous identities of the minor-attracted population. Damage inflicted on the minor-attracted population through the use of negative affects, with little to no recognition of personhood, becomes transcribed through the denial of rights (in this case, selective disclosure to a clinician), allowing the management of their public and private selves, to manage their safety.

Stigma, shame, and precarity are not exclusively attached to visible illnesses, but also to those that are invisible (Myers, 2004). Minor-attracted people fall into the invisible category, as they are safely hidden within their private selves, protected by the public selves; known, convicted offending pedophiles fall within the visible range as their private selves became exposed. The move toward preventative treatment (while hindered by more variables than simply stigma, such as ambiguities in mandatory reporting laws) needs to be made for non-offenders in a way that restores their personhood while maintaining the duality. The perception of the term minor-attracted person needs to be studied within the disciplines of psychology and legal studies.

Rhetoric and language surrounding sexual orientation, societal views and norms, and Canadian law can result in conflict, status change, and lack of power (Weedon, 1987). Through highlighting this gap in the research and conducting this research, I have highlighted the critical importance of the increased lack of not just power the minor-attracted population face but the exacerbated loss of personhood they experience. Further, this works serves as an additional reminder and opportunity to call for the re-examination of the Canadian legal ambiguities that render it unfeasible for clinicians to provide

treatment to the non-offending population, leaving non-offenders to manage their private selves by themselves, selectively disclosing their private selves, and thus their attractions, to clinicians out of fear.

While this work foregrounds the research surrounding perceptions and impacts of the term-minor attracted person, this work is far from finished. I call on researchers in the disciplines of Women and Gender Studies, Legal Studies, Political Science, and Psychology to examine the legal ambiguities and stigma surrounding the minor-attracted population further.

Future Directions

Throughout conducting my research and analyzing the data, it became apparent to me that there are four substantial directions future research can and should investigate. Should this study be replicated, there a few measures that should be taken by future researchers. Efforts should be taken to secure two coders if the replication involves conducting a content analysis to secure inter-rater reliability. This replicative study, however, could allow for a more representative sample in which demographic information could be collected and considered in the analysis by conducting a survey to assess the attitudes and perceptions regarding the term minor-attracted person.

Very early on in the research, it became apparent that the vast majority of Reddit users implicitly believe that pedophiles are male. This assumption that both non-offending minor-attracted people and offending pedophiles are male became apparent as users always used the pronouns, he/him when referring to individuals that comprised these populations. This bias is additionally apparent in news media. An examination of the notion of the female minor-attracted person and female pedophile could contribute to

societal stereotypes that are prescribed to women by society as inherently nurturing, maternal figures incapable of being any form of threat or monstrous figure that could sexually abuse children. This potential research would contribute theoretically and substantively to the fields of both Women and Gender Studies and Psychology.

It is important to do as Gannon and Davies encourage, to deconstruct and rethink what being a woman or a man, male or female means. I assert it is also important through the theory of feminist post-structuralism to question what it means to be a pedophile (someone with a specific age sexual attraction preference) versus a sex offender and a minor-attracted person. I firmly believe it is crucial to consider those terms independently from preconceived notions of what it means to be a man or a woman. It is feminist post-structuralist theory and perspective that has allowed for the deconstruction and facilitation resulting change (Barrett, 2005). Women and gender studies as a whole is a field that most adequately provides the space for this research as it allows the room for this feminist post-structuralist conversation that emphasizes personhood and allows for unique questions not welcome in other disciplines. Importantly, it is this field that is called upon to consider and make room for the non-offending population's voice and place within the research outside of a structuralist system. The conversation about the non-offending population should not be occurring without that population's input.

Thirdly, the media has the power to impact public opinion (Hart and Phillipson, 1999). Given the power media has, it would be of interest for future research to examine the two phenomena (media and perception) through content analysis. The examination of how news media is contributing to the stigma of both minor-attracted people and offenders would be worthwhile. A pattern developed throughout analyzing the data: the

Reddit users shared the same disgust for pedophiles and minor-attracted people as they held for those treating them and advocating for their treatment. A further element that would be critical to include regarding the influence media has would be a content analysis of male versus female pedophiles being depicted to contribute to the second direction for future research. Consideration and attention should further be merited to the aforementioned footnotes regarding the concept of the closet and the theoretical contributions disability theory may offer to this topic.

Lastly, the legal ambiguities surrounding mandatory reporting laws that leave both minor-attracted people at a crossroads for seeking treatment, as well as clinicians for providing it, merits attention for future research regarding potential policy change within legal studies. However, this would be a subject-sensitive and timely study as mandatory reporting laws vary provincially. Preliminary research on this topic has been conducted by clinicians Ian McPhail, Skye Stephens, and Ainslie Heasman and within the field of psychology. There is a growing need for this type of research as clinical and forensic psychologists are publishing on the legal ambiguities they encounter as clinicians working with the pedophilic population. This labour must not be a burden they are forced to face alone. I argue this is beyond even their scope and expertise and posit that their preliminary research on the topic is a call for help and attention by the field of legal studies.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Criminal Code Subject (R.S.C., 1985, c. C-46): 490.011

490.011 (1) The following definitions apply in this section and in sections 490.012 to 490.032.

crime of a sexual nature means a crime referred to in subsection 3(2) of the *Sex Offender Information Registration Act*. (*crimes de nature sexuelle*)

database has the same meaning as in subsection 3(1) of the *Sex Offender Information Registration Act*. (*banque de données*)

designated offence means

- **(a)** an offence under any of the following provisions:
 - **(i)** subsection 7(4.1) (offence in relation to sexual offences against children),
 - **(ii)** section 151 (sexual interference),
 - **(iii)** section 152 (invitation to sexual touching),
 - **(iv)** section 153 (sexual exploitation),
 - **(v)** section 153.1 (sexual exploitation of person with disability),
 - **(vi)** section 155 (incest),
 - **(vi.01)** subsection 160(1) (bestiality),
 - **(vi.1)** subsection 160(2) (compelling the commission of bestiality),
 - **(vii)** subsection 160(3) (bestiality in presence of or by a child),
 - **(viii)** section 163.1 (child pornography),
 - **(ix)** section 170 (parent or guardian procuring sexual activity),
 - **(ix.1)** section 171.1 (making sexually explicit material available to child),
 - **(x)** section 172.1 (luring a child),
 - **(x.1)** section 172.2 (agreement or arrangement — sexual offence against child),

- **(xi)** subsection 173(2) (exposure),
- **(xii) to (xv)** [Repealed, 2014, c. 25, s. 25]
- **(xvi)** section 271 (sexual assault),
- **(xvii)** section 272 (sexual assault with a weapon, threats to a third party or causing bodily harm),
- **(xviii)** paragraph 273(2)(a) (aggravated sexual assault — use of a restricted firearm or prohibited firearm or any firearm in connection with criminal organization),
- **(xviii.1)** paragraph 273(2)(a.1) (aggravated sexual assault — use of a firearm),
- **(xix)** paragraph 273(2)(b) (aggravated sexual assault),
- **(xx)** subsection 273.3(2) (removal of a child from Canada),
- **(xxi)** section 279.011 (trafficking — person under 18 years),
- **(xxii)** subsection 279.02(2) (material benefit — trafficking of person under 18 years),
- **(xxiii)** subsection 279.03(2) (withholding or destroying documents — trafficking of person under 18 years),
- **(xxiv)** subsection 286.1(2) (obtaining sexual services for consideration from person under 18 years),
- **(xxv)** subsection 286.2(2) (material benefit from sexual services provided by person under 18 years), and
- **(xxvi)** subsection 286.3(2) (procuring — person under 18 years);
- **(b)** an offence under any of the following provisions:
 - **(i)** section 162 (voyeurism),
 - **(i.1)** subsection 173(1) (indecent acts),
 - **(ii)** section 177 (trespassing at night),
 - **(iii)** [Repealed, 2019, c. 25, s. 202]
 - **(iii.1)** section 231 (murder),
 - **(iv)** section 234 (manslaughter),
 - **(v)** paragraph 246(b) (overcoming resistance to commission of offence),

- **(vi)** section 264 (criminal harassment),
 - **(vii)** section 279 (kidnapping),
 - **(vii.1)** section 279.01 (trafficking in persons),
 - **(vii.11)** subsection 279.02(1) (material benefit — trafficking),
 - **(vii.12)** subsection 279.03(1) (withholding or destroying documents — trafficking),
 - **(viii)** section 280 (abduction of a person under age of sixteen),
 - **(ix)** section 281 (abduction of a person under age of fourteen),
 - **(ix.1)** subsection 286.1(1) (obtaining sexual services for consideration),
 - **(ix.2)** subsection 286.2(1) (material benefit from sexual services),
 - **(ix.3)** subsection 286.3(1) (procuring),
 - **(x)** paragraph 348(1)(d) (breaking and entering a dwelling house with intent to commit an indictable offence),
 - **(xi)** paragraph 348(1)(d) (breaking and entering a dwelling house and committing an indictable offence),
 - **(xii)** paragraph 348(1)(e) (breaking and entering a place other than a dwelling house with intent to commit an indictable offence), and
 - **(xiii)** paragraph 348(1)(e) (breaking and entering a place other than a dwelling house and committing an indictable offence);
- **(c)** an offence under any of the following provisions of the *Criminal Code*, chapter C-34 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1970, as they read from time to time before January 4, 1983:
 - **(i)** section 144 (rape),
 - **(ii)** section 145 (attempt to commit rape),
 - **(iii)** section 149 (indecent assault on female),
 - **(iv)** section 156 (indecent assault on male), and

- (v) subsection 246(1) (assault with intent) if the intent is to commit an offence referred to in any of subparagraphs (i) to (iv);
- (c.1) an offence under any of the following provisions of the *Criminal Code*, chapter C-34 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1970, as enacted by section 19 of *An Act to amend the Criminal Code in relation to sexual offences and other offences against the person and to amend certain other Acts in relation thereto or in consequence thereof*, chapter 125 of the Statutes of Canada, 1980-81-82-83:
 - (i) section 246.1 (sexual assault),
 - (ii) section 246.2 (sexual assault with a weapon, threats to a third party or causing bodily harm), and
 - (iii) section 246.3 (aggravated sexual assault);
- (d) an offence under any of the following provisions of the *Criminal Code*, chapter C-34 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1970, as they read from time to time before January 1, 1988:
 - (i) subsection 146(1) (sexual intercourse with a female under age of fourteen),
 - (ii) subsection 146(2) (sexual intercourse with a female between ages of fourteen and sixteen),
 - (iii) section 153 (sexual intercourse with step-daughter),
 - (iv) section 157 (gross indecency),
 - (v) section 166 (parent or guardian procuring defilement), and
 - (vi) section 167 (householder permitting defilement);
- (d.1) an offence under any of the following provisions of this Act, as they read from time to time before the day on which this paragraph comes into force:
 - (i) paragraph 212(1)(i) (stupefying or overpowering for the purpose of sexual intercourse),
 - (ii) subsection 212(2) (living on the avails of prostitution of person under 18 years),
 - (iii) subsection 212(2.1) (aggravated offence in relation to living on the avails of prostitution of person under 18 years), and
 - (iv) subsection 212(4) (prostitution of person under 18 years);

- (e) an attempt or conspiracy to commit an offence referred to in any of paragraphs (a), (c), (c.1), (d) and (d.1); or
- (f) an attempt or conspiracy to commit an offence referred to in paragraph (b). (*infraction désignée*)

Ontario Act means *Christopher's Law (Sex Offender Registry), 2000*, S.O. 2000, c. 1. (*loi ontarienne*)

pardon means a conditional pardon granted under Her Majesty's royal prerogative of mercy or under section 748 that has not been revoked. (*pardon*)

record suspension means a record suspension, as defined in subsection 2(1) of the *Criminal Records Act*, that has not been revoked or ceased to have effect. (*suspension du casier*)

registration centre has the same meaning as in subsection 3(1) of the *Sex Offender Information Registration Act*. (*bureau d'inscription*)

Review Board means the Review Board established or designated for a province under subsection 672.38(1). (*commission d'examen*)

verdict of not criminally responsible on account of mental disorder means a verdict of not criminally responsible on account of mental disorder within the meaning of subsection 672.1(1) or a finding of not responsible on account of mental disorder within the meaning of subsection 2(1) of the *National Defence Act*, as the case may be. (*verdict de non-responsabilité*)

□ Marginal note: Interpretation

(2) For the purpose of this section and sections 490.012 to 490.032, a person who is convicted of, or found not criminally responsible on account of mental disorder for, a designated offence does not include a young person

- (a) within the meaning of subsection 2(1) of the *Youth Criminal Justice Act* unless they are given an adult sentence within the meaning of that subsection for the offence; or
- (b) within the meaning of subsection 2(1) of the *Young Offenders Act*, chapter Y-1 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1985, unless they are convicted of the offence in ordinary court within the meaning of that subsection.

Appendix B

Informed Consent Form**Clinical Psychologists on Preventative Treatment for Minor-Attracted People**

SMU REB File #20-004

Researcher: Caroline Chamandy, Syed Adnan Hussain (902) 412-6467 Department of Women and Gender Studies, Saint Mary's University

Halifax, NS B3H 3C3

Email: caroline.chamandy@smu.ca, syedadnan.hussain@smu.ca

Dear Participant,

We would like to invite you to participate in our research on clinician's experiences with the minor-attracted community, and prevention programs for those individuals.

Purpose of this research

Previous studies have focused on efficacy of treatment programs on sex-offenders after having committed a sexual offense against a minor. The research aims to explore the experience clinicians have encountered regarding the non-offending minor-attracted persons and prevention programs (treatment available to pedophiles before an offense is committed).

What will I have to do?

As a participant you will be asked to complete an online survey. It consists of a series of questions pertaining to your experiences, professional actions, and opinions. Specifically, you will be asked to answer questions pertaining to your practice as a clinician in relation to the minor-attracted community, specifically non-offenders. You will also be asked questions pertaining to prevention programs for these individuals. You are welcomed to answer the questions in the best way you feel fit. This study will require about twenty minutes for participation. Please note: if you share any personal anecdotes to redact any identifying information. In addition to protect confidentiality any identifying data will be verified for further redacted before publication.

What are the potential risks for participants?

As the survey is composed of various scales that measure personal attitudes and attributes it is possible that answering the questions may cause someone slight embarrassment or discomfort. If at any point a question makes you feel uncomfortable or you simply prefer not to answer please skip the question. If you are experiencing discomfort during or following your participation in this study, please visit the

<https://www.canada.ca/en/public-health/services/mental-health-services/mental-health-get-help.html> to locate a service centre or toll free number to seek help today.

What will be done with my information?

For the purposes of this study all data will be collected and stored on an encrypted external hard drive only accessible by the researchers. Subsequently, data will be retained for a minimum of five years on the password protected encrypted within the external hard drive. Participants will not be asked to supply their name or any other identifying information. Once all the data are collected and analyzed for this study, we may share the grouped findings with the research community through conference presentations or, if warranted, in academic journals.

What type of compensation is available for participation?

There will be no type of compensation available for the participation in this study.

How can I withdraw from this study?

You are welcome to discontinue participation at any point during the study without penalization or question. Further, for any questions that you do not wish to answer, you may skip. You are able to discontinue participation anytime by closing your browser. Once the interview is completed withdrawing participation discontinuation will no longer be possible.

How can I get more information?

If you would like to know more about the study feel free to contact one of the researchers at the email addresses provided. The Saint Mary's University Research Ethics Board has reviewed this research. If you have any questions or concerns about ethical matters or would like to discuss your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Chair of the Research Ethics Board at ethics@smu.ca or (902) 420-5728.

Clinical Psychologist on Preventative Treatment for Minor-Attracted People

I consent to take part in this research study and my participation does not waive my rights to legal recourse in the event of research-related harm.

I understand that my participation is voluntary.

By choosing "I accept" I consent to participate in this study and will allow my data to be collected. I consent to having been fully informed of the purpose of the study, my role, and the anonymity of my identity. I understand the above information and agree to participate in this study.

Appendix C

Feedback Form**Clinical Psychologists on Preventative Treatment for Minor-Attracted People**

SMU REB File # 20-004

Researchers: Caroline Chamandy, Syed Adnan Hussain (902) 412-6467 Department of Women and Gender Studies, Saint Mary's University

Halifax, NS B3H 3C3

Email: caroline.chamandy@smu.ca, syedadnan.hussain@smu.ca

Dear Participant,

We would like to thank you for your participation in this study.

The objective of this research is to explore the barriers clinicians face which render providing help to non-offender pedophiles an ambiguous, stressful, and at times impossible task. Offering more and better preventative treatment to these non-offending individuals may serve to decrease the number of sexually abused children. The purpose of this research is to identify what changes should be made to improve treatment options for this population and clinicians' execution of these options. Additionally, this research aims to present theoretical and systemic elements in need of improvement to implement treatment of non-offenders prior to committing an offense.

The raw data will be stored on a secure encrypted external database accessible only by the researchers, ensuring confidentiality. The researchers may share the grouped findings with the research community through conference presentations or, if warranted, in academic journals. If you are interested in receiving a copy of the position papers produced as result of the research conducted, please indicate so in an email to the researchers.

If you are interested in inquiring further as to the study or if you have any questions or concerns, please feel free to contact either of the researchers at the email addresses provided. If you experience an adverse event or high distress due to your participation, please feel free to contact: <https://www.crisistextline.ca>. or call 1-800-273-TALK (1-800-273-8255) at any time to reach the National Suicide Prevention Lifeline. For further, more specialized mental health resources please visit <https://www.mhfa.ca/en/general-resources>. Please visit <https://cpa.ca/sections/clinicalpsychology/resources/> if you are seeking resources for clinical psychologists.

As with all Saint Mary's University projects involving human participants, this project was reviewed by the Saint Mary's University Research Ethics Board. Should you have any comments or concerns about ethical matters or would like to discuss

your rights as a research participant, please contact the Chair of the Research Ethics Board at (902) 420-5728 or eth-ics@smu.ca.

Thank you again for your participation in this study.

Appendix D

Reddit Community Rules:

r/conspiracy:

1. Bigoted slurs are not tolerated.
2. Address the argument; not the user, the mods, or the sub.
3. No blog spam/malicious web sites.
4. No stalking or trolling. No threatening or abusive language.
5. No caps lock, excessive all caps, large/bold font, exaggerated punctuation.
6. No memes; use /r/ConspiracyMemes. Other image posts are subject to removal at moderators discretion.
7. Posting link in in other subs pointing here. Mocking or ridiculing this sub or its users on other subs.
8. Misleading, fabricated or sensationalist headlines are subject to removal.
9. Self-posts that lack context or content may be removed.
10. Submission Statements are required for link and image posts. Posts w/o SS are removed after 20 min.

Please visit this link for an in depth explanation of these rules:

<https://www.reddit.com/r/conspiracy/wiki/faq>

r/todayilearned:

1. Inaccurate/unverifiable/not supported by source
2. No personal opinion/anecdotes/subjective posts
3. No recent sources
4. No politics/agenda pushing
5. No misleading claims
6. Too general/cant stand on its own/how to
7. No submissions about software/websites
8. All NSFW links must be tagged

Please visit this link for an in depth explanation of these rules:

<https://www.reddit.com/r/todayilearned/>

r/nudism:

1. No overly sexual content
2. No image-only posts
3. No individual matchmaking
4. No genital-centric posts
5. No messaging others with sexual advances or content
6. No content unrelated to nudism or naturism
7. No new or throwaway accounts
8. No links to outside message boards, communities, or dating sites
9. No swinging or similar lifestyle discussion
10. No harassment

11. Mod discretion

Please visit this link for an in depth explanation of these rules:

<https://www.reddit.com/r/nudism/wiki/faq>

r/askreddit

1. Questions must be clear and direct and may not use the body of the textbox
2. No personal or professional advice requests
3. Open ended questions only
4. No personal info
5. No loaded questions
6. [Serious] tagged posts are off limits to jokes or irrelevant replies
7. No begging for goods or services, or Reddit rewards
8. Be respectful to other users at all times and conduct your behaviour in a civil manner
9. No image only replies or large ascii art

Please visit this link for an in depth explanation of these rules:

<https://www.reddit.com/r/AskReddit/wiki/index>

r/insanepeoplefacebook:

1. Don't link the source material
2. No hatespeech or personal attacks
3. Don't post personal information
4. Screenshots of social media only
5. Avoid reposting
6. No insanity in the comment section

Please visit this link for an in depth explanation of these rules:

<https://www.reddit.com/r/insanepeoplefacebook/>

r/cringetopia

1. Doxing / Revealing Personal Information
Doxing is revealing personal information about someone. Please make sure to remove or block out any personal information, including usernames, in your posts. If it's a celebrity or public figure then you are not required to block out the name.
2. Harassment
Harassment is the action of repeatedly messaging users on or off of Reddit, pinging them repeatedly, or following them around and commenting on everything that they say. Anyone who deliberately pings the subject of a post where the usernames are blocked out will be banned. We can laugh at people without directly harassing or bullying them.
3. Brigading
Brigading is when a group of users "invade" a specific subreddit and flood it with downvotes in order to damage karma dynamics on the targeted sub. Users can also

be targeted by a downvote brigade in certain situations. Anyone who is attempting to incite a brigade within this subreddit will be banned. Anyone participating in a brigade will be banned.

4. Witch Hunts

Do not attempt to seek out the subject of a post with the intent of persecution, regardless of the subject's unorthodox or unpopular actions or views. This applies to celebrities and public figures too. [Reddit has a sordid past when it comes to this type of thing.](#)

5. Inciting or Encouraging Violence

Do not say anything that could be interpreted as glorifying, inciting, or encouraging violence, suggestively or otherwise.

6. Explicit Racism or Bigotry

Refrain from making comments that are explicitly racist or bigoted. This is not a platform to proselytize race or gender politics. Intent matters here insofar as we are able to judge it, so try to keep your jokes and satire light and in moderately good humor.

7. No posts of political nature

This includes but is not limited to, politicians, political beliefs, political propaganda, anything of this nature. All it does is divisive arguments in the comments and accusations of bias, this is not the sub for discussing politics.

8. Agendaposting

If it becomes clear that your activity in this subreddit is dominated by fixating on a single issue, you will be confronted and you may be banned. It is okay to have strong opinions on an issue, but do not let them dominate your activity to the point where you are flooding the sub trying to push an agenda. This is an equal opportunity rule.

9. Spamming

No more than 5 posts at a time. Spread your posting out in 6 hour increments. Do not just dump 20 posts from an album all at once. This is spamming and your posts will be removed.

10. Mark All NSFW Content As Such

Marking your content NSFW should be done per the site-wide rules.

11. Manufactured Cringe

Please refrain from posting content that was created specifically to make it to cringetopia. We are not this hard up for content so spare us the shitty memes. This also applies to your own youtube videos. Do not make videos specifically for this sub and do not spam your youtube videos here no matter how relevant you think they are.

Please visit this link for information on moderator guidelines:

<https://www.redditinc.com/policies/moderator-guidelines>

Please visit this link for information how the Reddit Karma system functions:
<https://reddit.zendesk.com/hc/en-us/articles/204511829-What-is-karma->