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An emerging field?

Interventions in the UK targeted at individuals perceived to be at risk of causing sexual harm

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For Sputnik: it is because of your generous, ordered, thoughtful, inquisitive approach to the chaos that emerges from my psyche that I have made it through this PhD.

And for my mum: for everything.

Abstract

This study explores the field of interventions in the UK for people perceived to be at risk of causing sexual harm. It comes at a time when research is increasingly addressing the support needs of individuals with deviant sexual interests, particularly those who have not offended, and interventions are emerging to fill the gaps in support that exist. However, little is known about how this area of intervention is emerging in the way that it is, nor what this means for policy change. This thesis has addressed this gap through conceptualising this space as a 'field' (Bourdieu, 1985, 1996) and adopting a practice orientation to Interpretive Policy Analysis (IPA). First, drawing on findings from a desk-based study, it maps the field of interventions in the UK, and explores how institutional actors present themselves in line with the field logic. It then presents the findings from a grounded theory analysis of semi-structured interviews with 30 professionals with an interest in this area.

Two key findings help to make sense of why the field is taking its particular shape: first, there is nothing inherent that unites members of the group jointly targeted by interventions in this space. Rather, those seeking to intervene with these individuals reject the stigmatising label, 'paedophile', but recognise that those subject to it are subject to harm as a result of this labelling, and seek to work with them on this basis. Second, the field illusio – its 'rules' – holds that members of this 'target group' are deserving of support *in their own right*. At the same time, in order to justify adherence to this rule when speaking to those who do *not* accept it, field members must emphasise their interest in child protection, even if they do not believe that the people they work with present a risk to children. As a result, the field exists, in Bourdieu's terms, in a state of heteronomy, where those who operate within its bounds are required to pursue the priorities of others, who are not invested in its stakes.

These findings, and the exploration of the methodology deployed in arriving at them, represent several original contributions. First, the synthesis of field theory and IPA is original, addresses critiques of both traditions, and has been shown in this study to have a meaningful empirical application. Second, by illuminating an emerging field that has not been subject to academic study, this thesis has made sense of the issues faced by those who engage in practice in the field. Third, this thesis has identified a shared understanding within this field, that those who are perceived to be at risk of sexually harming have nothing inherent that unites them, but are all subject to the stigmatising label 'paedophile', and deserving of support on this basis. Fourth, these findings contribute to the literature on field emergence, showing how a field can emerge in a state of heteronomy and through the *rejection* of a unifying label. Finally, by exploring this issue from an IPA perspective, this study has demonstrated how, in an area of intervention where there exists very little written government policy, change may happen *genuinely* from the bottom-up.

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Contents

Figures and Tables 11
Acronyms 12
Chapter One: Introduction 14
The field under study 14
Perceived to be at risk of sexually harming 15
Interventions as policy 17
Interventions in the UK 18
Field theory and IPA 19
Research aims 20
Chapter Outline 23
Chapter Two: Literature Review 26
Introduction 26
People perceived to be at risk of sexually harming 27
Labelling perpetrators and paedophiles 27
Paedophilia 28
Dominant discourses 34
Legally defining CSA 34
Defining CSA in terms of harm 36
How common is CSA? 37
Heightened anxiety 39
Influencing forces 44
Marketisation 44
Public protection 47
Dominant frames 51
Child protection 51

Criminal justice 52
Public health 55
What is available? 57
The support needs of members of the TG 57
Evidence of effectiveness 60
Public attitudes to intervening can be positive 62
Conclusion 63
Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework 64
Introduction 64
Bourdieu's field theory 65
Field 66
Habitus 66
Capital 67
The analogy of the game 70
Applications of Bourdieu's Theories 73
Policy analysis 77
Mainstream policy analysis 77
Interpretive Policy Analysis 81
[(IPA)(Bourdieu)] + interpretivism = methodology 84
Practice 84
Conclusion 94
Chapter Four: Methods 95
Introduction 95
Research questions and methods 96
Semi-structured interviews 97
Study design 97

Ethical issues 105
Recruitment 108
Analysis 117
Mapping the field 121
Study design 122
Data collection 124
Analysis 126
Studying up 127
Nothing about us without us? 128
Power over whom? 131
Service user voice 135
Conclusion 136
Chapter Five: Mapping the field 137
Introduction 137
The field logic 137
Sketching the field 139
Core members 139
Peripheral members 144
Forces in/on the field 147
The field itself 150
The shape of the field 150
Interpreting the illusio 158
Conclusion 167
Chapter Six: Defining the problem 168
Introduction 168
Passive targets? 169

Preventing harm 171
'Child protection' as a rule 172
Supporting TG as a function of protecting children 174
Child protection as doxa 176
How do actors construct the TG? 179
TG as diverse 180
TG as vulnerable 187
Boundaries of the TG 192
At risk of causing sexual harm 192
Struggling with sexually harmful thoughts 195
People who have sexually offended 201
Child protection and the 'paedophile' 208
Child protection as all-encompassing 208
The image of the 'paedophile' 209
Conclusion 212
Chapter Seven: Operating in the field 214
Introduction 214
Three subject positions 214
Wardens 215
Marketers 218
Multitaskers 221
Symbolic capital 224
Symbolic capital in a tainted field 224
Internal recognition 225
External recognition 227
Accumulating capital 230

Labouring 230
Collaborating 236
Campaigning 241
Edges and irregularities 245
Difficult to categorise 245
Edges of the field 248
Conclusion 251
Chapter Eight: Discussion 253
Introduction 253
Contributions to knowledge 254
Enriching interpretive policy analysis and field theory 254
Illuminating an emerging field 255
Discerning shared understandings 257
Theoretical insights into field emergence 258
Identifying 'bottom-up' policymaking 259
TG support: a struggle for autonomy 260
Three narratives 262
Balancing the two rules 266
Wardens 268
Marketers 269
Multitaskers 272
A permanent state of heteronomy? 273
Bringing service users into the field 276
Policy change from the bottom up? 277
Translation or drift? 277
Changing field dynamics 280

Change on a wider scale? 284
Putting theory to work 285
Appendix A – Initial interview schedule 287
Appendix B – Revised interview schedule 289
Appendix C – Participant consent form 291
Reference List 292

Figures and Tables

Figures

Figure 1: Practices (Pantzar and Shove 2010)……88
Figure 2: Practice. A synthesis of Pantzar and Shove's (2008) characterisation of practice and Bourdieu's field theory…… 92
Figure 3: Written exercise…… 102
Figure 4: Steps taken for mapping the field……124
Figure 5: The shape of the field…… 151
Figure 6: StopSO display of pinwheels on London's Southbank…… 163
Figure 7: Boundaries of the TG (indicated by the solid lines)……192
Figure 8: Practice. See Chapter Three for a fill explanation of this diagram…… 209
Figure 9: Diagram of practice in this field…… 211
Figure 10: The dominance of the doxa of child protection……212
Figure 11: Field position, access to capital and susceptibility to external forces…… 268
Figure 12: Translating the message of TG support……281

Tables

Table 1: Participant pseudonyms, roles and organisational affiliations…115
Table 2: 'Dependencies of a specific actor' Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004, p. 147……122
Table 3: My adaptation of Koppenjan & Klijn (2004)…… 123
Table 4: Template for mapping the field (steps 5-7)……125
Table 5: Documents analysed for 'Mapping the Field'…… 127

Acronyms

COSA – Circles of Support and Accountability

CSA – child sexual abuse

CSE – child sexual exploitation

CSEM – child sexual exploitation material

DSM-5-TR – Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders. Fifth Edition, Text Revision

FBI – Federal Bureau of Investigations

GLM – Good Lives Model

GPS – Garbutt Psychological Services

IPA – Interpretive Policy Analysis

LFF – Lucy Faithfull Foundation

LGBTQ – Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer

MAP– minor-attracted person

MAPPA – multi-agency public protection arrangements

MFPS – Mersey Forensic Psychiatry Service

NCA – National Crime Agency

National action plan – National Action Plan to Prevent and Tackle Child Sexual Exploitation: Update

NIPB – Northern Ireland Policing Board

NOTA – National Organisation for the Treatment of Abuse

NPCC – National Police Chief's Council

NTU – Nottingham Trent University

NYPD – New York Police Department

PCC – Police and Crime Commissioner

PPD – Prevention Project Dunkelfeld

PWC – Person with convictions

PWSC – Person with sexual convictions

SOTP – Sex Offender Treatment Programme

SLF – Safer Living Foundation

Stop! – Stop it Now! UK & Ireland

SSSP – School of Sociology and Social Policy

SU – service user

Tackling CSA – Tackling Child Sexual Abuse Strategy

TAP – The Aurora Project

TG – Target group

VRU – Violence Reduction Unit

VSO – Voluntary sector organisation

WHO – World Health Organisation

Chapter One: Introduction

In the following thesis I sketch the boundaries of an emerging field of intervention in the UK and interrogate its inner workings. Doing so has involved deploying an original theoretical framework in an empirical setting that has not, to my knowledge, previously been the focus of academic study: interventions in the UK for people perceived to be at risk of sexually harming. This represents an original contribution to knowledge in five distinct ways. First, I have innovatively paired Bourdieu's field theory and a practice-based approach to interpretive policy analysis (IPA). Second, I have identified and made sense of an emerging field. Third, I have discerned shared understandings which operate in this field. Fourth, my analysis has allowed me to offer new insights into theory relating to field emergence. Fifth, I have identified an example of policymaking which appears to be happening from the 'bottom-up'.

This introduction serves to frame the foregoing chapters. First, I explore the object of study, and demonstrate why it is a relevant and important area to focus on academically. Second, I consider the traditions on which I have drawn for my theoretical framework: Bourdieu's field theory and IPA, and suggest that a synthesis of these approaches offers considerable potential for studying an empirical phenomenon.

The field under study

I have chosen to describe the field under study as 'interventions in the UK for people perceived to be at risk of sexually harming'. By way of introducing this area of study, it is helpful to break it into its component parts. I first consider what I mean by the term 'perceived to be at risk of sexually harming'. I then explore the value of exploring interventions in policy analysis. Finally, I explain why I have focused on a UK context.

Perceived to be at risk of sexually harming

I set out, at the start of the study, to explore interventions which target 'potential perpetrators of child sexual abuse', and discovered during analysis that this label is inadequate for two key reasons. First, the target group (TG) for the interventions is defined in terms of how they are perceived, not any shared characteristics such as offence-supportive beliefs. Second, although child sexual abuse (CSA) is important in terms of framing how actors in the field talk about sexual harm, the interventions themselves are not defined by an interest in preventing sexual harm towards *children* specifically.

There is then, a discursive divide between how interventions present themselves and the cohort they serve. In this thesis I unpick this disjunct, and explain how the practice of actors in the field can be understood in terms of attempts to navigate the contradiction. Although past studies have explored how people working and volunteering in 'tainted' professions legitimise their work, either to themselves or to others (Cahill, 1995; Thumala *et al.*, 2011; Ugelvik, 2016; Vega, 2018), little attention has been paid to understanding what this might look like for individuals working in the arena of sexual harm.

This study comes at a moment when pockets of academia are opening up which address the issue of working with people perceived to be at risk of sexually harming who are not already believed to have done so (Christiansen and Martinez-Dettamanti, 2018; Levenson and Grady, 2019b; Assini-Meytin *et al.*, 2020; Lievesley and Harper, 2022). Important questions are being posed, including: the extent to which these individuals should be considered to present a sexual risk to others (Muir, 2018); the treatment needs of people who seek support to avoid sexually offending, or cope with deviant sexual interest (Goodier and Lievesley, 2018; Levenson *et al.*, 2019; Parr and Pearson, 2019) and the ethics of working

confidentially with this cohort when potential or actual harm to children may be suspected or known (McCartan *et al.*, 2018; McPhail *et al.*, 2018).

The growth of interest in academia has taken place alongside an emergence of interventions in this space. One of the first high-profile interventions was Prevention Project Dunkelfeld (PPD) in Germany, which launched in 2005 and invites referrals from people with a sexual interest in minors, offering free therapy and pharmacological interventions (Beier, Ahlers, *et al.*, 2009; Beier, Neutze, *et al.*, 2009). Since then, interventions in the USA, UK, Canada and France have directly addressed the needs of adolescents and adults with a sexual interest in children (Christiansen and Martinez-Dettamanti, 2018), and online spaces have opened up in which these individuals offer peer-support (Malone, 2016; Christiansen and Martinez-Dettamanti, 2018).

In the UK, interventions for people perceived to be at risk of sexually harming often take the forms of psychosocial programmes. These include psychological or psychoanalytic therapy (Everett, 2018; Hocken, 2018; Yakeley, 2018), psycho-educational group programmes (Gillespie *et al.*, 2018) and an anonymous helpline (Van Horn *et al.*, 2015). As I explore in this thesis, the individual and institutional actors delivering these interventions work closely together, with organisations often sharing personnel and actors attending the same events. I map these relationships as part of the present study.

While there are attempts to make sense of these programmes and interventions internally (Brown *et al.*, 2014; Gillespie *et al.*, 2018; Knack *et al.*, 2019), and some research has focused on the challenges faced by those engaging in this space (McCartan *et al.*, 2018; Kewley *et al.*, 2021), little is known about this area as a *field of intervention*. Addressing this gap has the potential to make sense of why this emerging field is taking its particular shape, and for understanding how it is contributing to policy formation.

Interventions as policy

The field of interventions for people perceived to be at risk of causing sexual harm can, I contend in this thesis, be understood as contributing to policy development in this area. It cannot, however, be understood simply by taking into account the interventions themselves. This is because these programmes exist in concert with organisational and individual actors. On a basic level, the interventions only exist because of the embodied engagement in the world of individuals who make them their business, sometimes working according to their own priorities, sometimes carrying out the aims of an organisational actor, often a combination of the two.

Focusing in on the everyday practice of these actors can help make sense of a wider picture. If we consider one intervention in this field, the *Stop it Now! UK and Ireland* (hereafter *Stop!*) helpline, its continued existence depends on individual members of staff answering phones with the support of a line manager, whilst having their rights as employees met on a satisfactory basis. Each of these activities requires individuals (frontline staff, service managers, administrative staff) and institutions (*Stop!* and its parent organisation, Lucy Faithfull Foundation) to incorporate the needs of frontline staff into their own aims.

Many have studied the interactions that take place in organisations in their own right, adopting a case study approach (Nelson, 2003; Robinson, 2003; Schober *et al.*, 2012; Calabrese and Spadoni, 2013) or conceptualising organisations *as* fields (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008; Brenninkmeijer, 2018). It is another task, however, to unpick (a) the ways different interventions and those delivering them interact with one another and (b) how the practices of individual and organisational actors contribute to policy formation. These two related aims can be understood by drawing the net wider, to look beyond institutions themselves.

Turning to a macro-level of operation, interventions rely on others to facilitate them achieving their aims. Most require external funders to invest

in their services and shape their practice in response to lawmakers. Thinking again of *Stop!,* when England – where the helpline is physically based – experienced its first lockdown during the COVID-19 pandemic, the charity sought funding from the Home Office and the Oak Foundation to set up the helpline in the homes of members of staff (LFF, 2020). This activity drew in individual actors in the three organisations, as well as the charities and the Home Office itself, and we can assume had a tremendous impact on the everyday experiences of frontline staff.

It is this entanglement that I believe warrants further investigation: of individuals engaging in practice which incorporates the priorities of an organisational actor as well as their own personal priorities. This, I suggest, represents an important but under-explored arena of policy-making. Policy analysts have noted how the policymaking process takes place at all levels of operation. Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) were among the first to suggest that the implementation process can be thought of as another step in the policy cycle; when policies which appear honed and finalised are put to use and refracted through the understandings and practices of those who interact with them on a daily basis.

There has been little attention, however, to how people designing, managing and delivering services or interventions influence policy in such a way that their practice feeds back into that of policymakers. In this thesis, I explore how this emerging field of intervention – which operates with very little written policy guiding the practice of those within its bounds – is contributing to the formation of policy in the UK.

Interventions in the UK

As indicated above, it would be possible to conduct this exercise on an international level. Much of the work of core members of this field involves collaboration with international partners. In particular the *Moore Centre for the Prevention of Child Sexual Abuse* at Johns Hopkins University, and PPD,

hosted by the Charité-Universitätsmedizin Berlin, are well-known amongst field actors in the UK.

In order to understand how the field of interventions is contributing to policy change, however, it is necessary to limit the study to a UK context. Additionally, in order to meaningfully interrogate the question at hand within the limits of a PhD project, it is helpful to restrict the frame of reference in order that the project is feasible. I have therefore focused not only on actors based in the UK, but specifically on their interaction with other UK actors, as opposed to their work in international contexts.

Indeed, although I included all jurisdictions of the UK when recruiting participants and mapping the field, the interventions I identified all operate from England, some of which also operate in Scotland and Wales, and only one relevant organisation has an office (although not its headquarters) in Northern Ireland. As such, the discussion is skewed to the English context, although I have considered Northern Ireland, Wales and Scotland where the data and findings allow.

Field theory and IPA

Bourdieu's field theory has immense potential to help make sense of social worlds and human behaviour within them. As a methodological toolkit the theory – which encompasses multiple interactive concepts – has been used widely, including in the study of education (Ladwig, 1994; Grenfell, 2009; Bathmaker, 2015), social movement analysis (Crossley, 2003; Emirbayer and Goldberg, 2005; Ancelovici, 2021) and welfare (Peillon, 1998; Frederiksen, 2009). At its core, Bourdieu's theory posits that social behaviour – or *practice* – takes place in spaces which each operate according to particular rules (Bourdieu, 1985, 1996). Over his lifetime, Bourdieu adapted, refined and clarified elements of his theory, and a great deal of work has been done by others to do the same (Swartz, 1997; King, 2000; Everett, 2002; Reay, 2004; Warde, 2017; Farrall, 2021). The result is that, as I explore in Chapter Three, the toolkit is both versatile and

complex, and can facilitate detailed empirical study into social worlds about which little may have previously been known.

No one set of theories, however, is without capacity for improvement. Bourdieu (1977) insists that empirical questions should be answered by looking at *practice*. Separately, certain scholars in policy analysis who follow the interpretive tradition (IPA) have sketched out what exactly it means to study practice (Fischer, 2003; Behagel *et al.*, 2017; Wagenaar, 2018). The findings of IPA scholars, applied to Bourdieu's field theory, has the capacity to bring Bourdieu's practice-orientation to life.

By bringing these traditions together in an original pairing, I show how Bourdieu's core concepts of *field*, *habitus* and *capital*, and their operation in a specific setting, can be uncovered by adopting a practice orientation to IPA. This represents a promising approach with the potential for application beyond policy analysis. In this thesis, I show how my theoretical framework represents an original contribution in itself, and how its empirical application offers further valuable insights.

Research aims

My research was guided by the following question: *what are the barriers to and facilitators of preventative intervention work with people perceived to be at risk of sexually harming?*

My research questions were as follows:

1. What is the impact of dominant discourses relating to CSA and sex offending on decision-making in policy and service delivery?
2. How do stakeholders perceive the relationship between their own work and the wider policy/ practice context in regards to supporting the implementation of relevant interventions?
3. How do stakeholders balance competing priorities in supporting the development of relevant interventions?

4. How do stakeholders perceive their roles in supporting the implementation of relevant interventions?

As noted above, the language I was using changed over the course of my research. I highlight here my reasons for rejecting certain terms and adopting others.

Most significantly, I no longer refer to those targeted by interventions under study as 'potential perpetrators'. This in part reflects a finding noted above, that members of the TG have nothing inherent that unites them, so to characterise them as potential perpetrators is inaccurate. It also, however, reflects a move away from labelling language. Willis (2018) argues against the tendency in forensic psychology and other settings to label people based on criminal behaviour, noting that the problem is particularly salient in relation to sexual offending. Among the arguments that Willis makes in support of a 'de-labelling movement' (*ibid*., p. 735) are that terms such as 'sex offender' serve simply to assign a stigmatising label to an individual which gives little meaningful, descriptive information. Such terms can be harmful to the individual, and may inhibit their potential to build a pro-social identity in order to facilitate desistance from offending.

Similar arguments could be made for the term 'potential perpetrator'. Although the label is based on projected, not past, behaviour, it singles out an individual as *potentially* occupying a stigmatised identity, and the term 'perpetrator', as with 'sex offender', offers too little detail to make it useful for individuals, the public or professionals. In line with this, I have decided to replace 'potential perpetrator' with 'people at risk of causing sexual harm'. Although there is still a labelling element, this is now a more accurate description, and relates to an individual's possible *behaviour*.

This new descriptor, which includes the term 'sexual harm', reflects a finding, explored in Chapter Six, that actors in the field under study are in part motivated by a desire to prevent members of the TG from causing sexual harm, regardless of whether the harm results in a conviction.

Additionally, the TG comes into being not because they are *all* at risk of causing sexual harm, but because they are all subject to the pejorative label 'paedophile', and are therefore *likely to be regarded* (at least by some people) as at risk of causing sexual harm.

The term 'sexual harm' has a specific application in relation to work with young people. In pursuit of an approach to working with children who engage in sexually abusive behaviour which takes into account age-specific developmental needs, and places it in a wider safeguarding context, Hackett (2016) developed a 'Harmful Sexual Behaviour Framework'. This includes a toolkit for professionals which facilitates them to place sexual behaviour in young people on a continuum containing five categories: normal; inappropriate; problematic; abusive and violent. Although there is overlap between this work and work with adults, the latter of which is the focus of this PhD, my use of the term sexual harm is distinct from that used in relation to Hackett's framework.

Finally, I have noted that all members of the TG are subject to the label 'paedophile', and it is recognition of this that motivates actors in the field to work with them as a group. There is a complex, interactive relationship between the behaviour associated with sexual offending and the label 'paedophile'. As I explore in Chapter Two, the term has multiple meanings and functions, and is in different instances a medical diagnosis, an identity and a slur. When using it as a pejorative label, I retain the inverted commas to indicate it is not my chosen language, but refers to that of others.

In seeking a single term with which to express how the TG is collectively stigmatised, I chose this word because of its malleability on two levels. That is, it is malleable because it evokes a wide spectrum of responses, depending on an individual's own prejudices and priorities. Additionally, people may substitute other terms for their own purposes. For example, individuals referring to a sexual interest in pubescent children may use the term 'hebephile' (see p. 29), while someone might castigate members of the TG as 'perverts' or 'child abusers'. Nevertheless, anyone using these

terms would recognise, if not necessarily accept, the term 'paedophile' in their place.

Chapter Outline

In *Chapter Two* I review the extant literature pertaining to this topic, beginning with literature on the TG. The three subsequent sections are structured around the first three research questions. First, I explore the dominant discourses relating to CSA. Second, I review the literature on the two forces of marketisation and public protection, both of which influence policy and practice in the field. Third, I explore three dominant frames within which CSA and support for the TG is addressed, which can be understood in terms of actors' priorities. Finally, I review the few available interventions for the TG, evidence of their effectiveness, and research relating to public support for work with this group.

In *Chapter Three* I explore the theoretical framework with which I have framed my approach to this study. I first introduce the different elements of Bourdieu's conceptual toolkit, including the three core concepts of field, habitus and capital, and other Bourdieusian concepts that have helped me make sense of my findings. I then review literature that has drawn on these theories and applied them in empirical settings, to illustrate their practical utility as concepts. I next provide an overview of mainstream policy analysis before introducing IPA as an ontological orientation that most suits my own. After identifying a synchronicity between Bourdieu's field theory and IPA, I show how a practice orientation to each can be combined in an original synthesis to provide a strong theoretical foundation for empirical study.

In *Chapter Four* I explore and interrogate my methods, and the decision-making behind these. I offer a detailed breakdown of the study design, ethical issues, recruitment and analysis for my semi-structured interviews, reflecting throughout on my experience of carrying out these steps. I then discuss the study design, data collection and analysis for my mapping of the field I have identified. The final, reflexive section, considers my choice

of research subject, and the extent to which my study participants can be considered 'elite'.

In *Chapter Five*, the first of three findings chapters, I present the findings from my systematic mapping of the field. I introduce the organisational actors, and examine what is known about the professional orientations which intersect in this space: mental health; academia; 'offender rehabilitation'; policing; policy and the voluntary sector. I then present the findings from my document analysis, which drew on publicly available information emerging from the field, such as press releases and annual reviews. I explore how actors adapt their message depending on their audience, and in line with their own interpretation of the illusio.

In *Chapter Six* I turn to the findings from my semi-structured interviews. Here, I explore how individual actors in the field define the problem that they are seeking to resolve. I suggest that all in the field feel compelled to frame their work in terms of child protection, even if they think the people they are working with do not present a risk to children, and all believe that members of the TG are deserving of support in their own right. I then consider how actors construct the TG, suggesting that there is no agreement as to what inherent characteristics members of the TG share. Rather, they are united because they are all subject to the pejorative label 'paedophile', and are deserving of support because of the harm caused by the label. Finally, I suggest that actors in the field are unable to act autonomously because of an interplay between the macro-cultural discourses surrounding child protection and the 'paedophile'.

In *Chapter Seven* I explore how actors engage in practice in the field under study. I show how participants can be understood according to a typology of three actors. Wardens operate at a micro-level, marketers work on a meso-level, and multitaskers work on a macro-level. Each of these sets of actors interprets the illusio slightly differently, and occupies a different field position. I then distinguish between actors working on the micro-, meso- and macro-levels, and show how at each of these levels a slightly different

type of practice takes place. At the micro level, *labouring* is most important; at the meso-level, actors are likely to engage in *collaborating* and at the macro level, *campaigning* is most likely to take place. I close this chapter by examining cases which were harder to categorise or fell outside the field, by way of illuminating the field boundaries.

In *Chapter Eight* I discuss my findings and conclude the thesis. I open by highlighting my distinct contributions to knowledge. First, my innovative synthesis of field theory and a practice-based approach to IPA has addressed critiques of both sets of theories, and has tangible empirical application. Second, by shining a light on this field of intervention I have been able to offer insights which have implications for those operating within its boundaries. Third, I have identified shared understandings which – in the absence of shared language – unite field members in their acceptance of the field illusio. Fourth, this endeavour has contributed new insights to theoretical literature on field emergence. Fifth, through looking at the practice of intervening in this space from an IPA perspective, I have shown how – even in the absence of meaningful governmental policy – policymaking can happen from the 'bottom-up'.

In the remainder of Chapter Eight I interrogate my findings. I show how, in attempting to balance the macro-cultural discourses surrounding child protection and the 'paedophile' and be heard by others, actors draw on a combination of three narratives: rights-based; child protection and public health. In addition, all engage in some measure of secrecy. I close this thesis by reviewing how the present exercise has enabled me to explore policy change and make sense of an emerging area of interventions using an innovative theoretical and methodological framework.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Introduction

Few labels evoke as visceral a response in contemporary Western society as the term 'paedophile' (Kitzinger, 2002; McDonald, 2012; Imhoff and Jahnke, 2018). Nevertheless, in recent years there has been an upsurge in expressions of sympathy for paedophilic people who seek support to avoid sexually offending (Eidman, 2014; Malone, 2014; Elmhirst, 2016), and a focus in academia on preventing CSA through intervening with paedophilic individuals (Beier, 2016; Hocken, 2018; Assini-Meytin *et al.*, 2020). In this chapter I review the extant literature on topics which speak to this issue. In so doing, I review the issues associated with intervening to prevent child sexual abuse (CSA), and the complexities surrounding work which seeks to engage those perceived to be at risk of causing sexual harm. I focus primarily on a UK context, although evidence and theory often has an international focus; I highlight the differences between jurisdictions of the UK where relevant.

The overarching research aim guiding this thesis was: *What are the barriers to and facilitators of intervention work with people perceived to be at risk of sexually harming?* I begin this chapter by reviewing the literature relating to this loosely defined group of people, who I refer to collectively as the Target Group (TG). The remainder of the chapter is structured around the first three research questions[1]. First, I review the literature on dominant discourses relating to CSA and sex offending. Second, I explore two forces which influence practice in the field and the wider policy and practice context, as well as the relationship between the two. Third, I review the different aims and priorities with which actors come to this work, and which

[1] The fourth research question, 'How do stakeholders perceive their roles in supporting the implementation of relevant interventions?' is answered through application of the model of practice, introduced when exploring my theoretical framework. As such, the literature providing context for this research question is addressed in Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework.

manifest as three dominant frames which guide practice in sexual harm prevention as well as work with members of the TG. Finally, I explore what is known about intervening to support members of the TG.

People perceived to be at risk of sexually harming

In this section, I explore what is known about the TG. I focus on literature which addresses the label 'paedophile', and explore how members of the TG are subject to this label in different ways. First, I introduce labelling theory and note how it has been found to operate in relation to sexual offending. I then explore the different meanings attached to the term 'paedophile' before reviewing literature relating to the experiences of those who are subject to the label.

Labelling perpetrators and paedophiles

In *Outsiders*, Becker (1963) suggests that certain behaviour is highlighted by particular societies as 'deviant', and that individuals engaging in such behaviour can be regarded *as* deviants accordingly. A pronounced social reaction to this deviance can result in long-lasting impacts on the identity of those labelled as such. People who sexually offend are regarded by many as the ultimate monstrous other (Garland, 2001). In line with this, Hudson (2005) found that men convicted of sexually offences were deeply concerned with their own identity management, in response to the 'sex offender' label taking on a 'master status' (Becker, 1963). That is, when a deviant label comes to be the primary defining characteristic of an individual. Furthermore, participants in Hudson's study felt that the 'sex offender' was always interpreted as a predatory paedophile, regardless of the crime itself.

Heightened anxiety surrounding CSA, discussed in detail below, can contribute to a climate in which anyone associated with CSA perpetration is subject to stigma associated with labelling. For example, Burnett *et al.* (2017) have explored how people who have been falsely accused of having

sexually harmed a child experience castigation and considerable harm themselves. Accordingly, stigma associated with the label 'paedophile' has implications for anybody who is perceived to be at risk of sexually harming, whether the label is accurate or not (Harper *et al.*, 2017).

At the same time, it is not only labelling by others that can influence a person's wellbeing or ability to access support (Blagden et al., 2018). Research into experiences of people with mental illnesses which they are able to hide has shown how people who are subject to a negative label internalise stigma, having a detrimental impact on their sense of self and willingness to speak openly or seek appropriate support (Corrigan et al., 2010; Pattyn et al., 2014). As I explore below, this is an acute issue for those who find themselves associated with the label 'paedophile'.

Paedophilia

The term 'paedophilia' has both clinical and popular meanings which interact. Harrison *et al.* (2010) explore how definitions of childhood, which change over time, place and context, and do not necessarily correlate with evidence about child development, complicate conceptions of paedophilia. They note that there is not only disagreement as to how to define the term, but what the term is expected to do. Here, I first explore the use of the term in a clinical setting, before turning to its significance in popular parlance.

Paedophilia as a medical diagnosis

Clinical usage of the term 'paedophilia' dates to the nineteenth century, when the German medic Krafft-Ebbing listed it in his classification of mental illnesses (Goode, 2009). Today, 'pedophilic[2] disorder' is recognised in one of the most comprehensive manuals of psychiatric conditions in the world, the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM[3]) (American

[2] The US spelling here reflects the listing in the DSM. When quoting other sources I use the spellings preferred by the authors; this is reflected by the use of quotation marks.
[3] The current edition with text revisions is referred to as DSM-5-TR.

Psychiatric Association, 2022). The DSM-5-TR states that paedophilic disorder can be diagnosed when:

> *The individual experiences intense sexually arousing fantasies or urges involving sexual activity*
>
> - *with prepubescent children, over a period of at least 6 months.*
> - *The individual has acted on these sexual urges, or the urges have caused serious distress.*
> - *He or she is at least 16 years of age and at least 5 years older than his or her victim. Note: This does not pertain to individuals in late adolescence who are involved in ongoing sexual relationships with, say, 12 or 13-year-olds.* (American Psychiatric Association, 2022)

Although some distinguish between paedophilia and other similar labels, most notably hebephilia – a sexual interest in pubescent children (Seto, 2009) – I focus here on literature which addresses paedophilia specifically. I do this with an awareness that the extant issue is not how individuals experience sexual attraction, but the consequences of being associated with CSA. Before exploring literature which suggests that this experience centres on the label 'paedophile', I first note some resistance within and beyond psychiatry to the medicalisation of sexual interest in children.

The difference between 'paedophilia' and 'paedophilic disorder' is significant for understanding the debates surrounding the medicalisation of the experience. Certain scholars have argued that paedophilia should be considered a sexual age orientation (Seto, 2012; Bailey *et al.*, 2016; Grundmann *et al.*, 2016). This argument has been partly bolstered by growing evidence that many paedophilic individuals experience the onset of their desires – or at least awareness of them – in adolescence (Shields *et al.*, 2020). The change in label from 'Pedophilia' in the DSM-IV-TR to 'Pedophilic Disorder' in the first iteration of the current edition, the DSM-5,

reflects an awareness that individuals can live with paedophilic interests without a negative impact on their own or others' wellbeing (Merrick, 2016).

Although those who adopt this view in mainstream academia or advocacy do not usually suggest that this legitimises sexual relationships between adults or older teenagers and children (see Green, 2002; Goode, 2009; Blagden *et al.*, 2018; Walker, 2019), this interpretation does lend to arguments which borrow from the experience of sexual minorities. Green (2002) highlights the similarities between the listing for paedophilia in the DSM and that of homosexuality, which had been debated and removed in the 1970s. Both were listed as 'paraphilias', and Green suggests that they could be thought of in similar terms from a psychological perspective.

Whilst some gay rights activists in the United States have campaigned for the abolition of *all* legal restrictions on consensual sexual activity, including in relation to age, others distanced themselves from these arguments (Levine, 2017). Indeed, an association between paedophilia and homosexuality has long been found in homophobic rhetoric deployed in attempts to quash lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (LGBTQ) rights (*ibid*.).

Among arguments which challenge the listing of paedophilia in the DSM, an enduring thread is that commentators repeatedly do so on the grounds that inclusion is either not coherently justified (O'Donohue *et al.*, 2000; Green, 2002; Studer and Scott Aylwin, 2006; Ross, 2015), or that justifications centre around illegality, making the issue a forensic, not a psychological, question (Green, 2002; Malón, 2012). Indeed, some argue that the designation of any psychological disorder is a political one (Silverstein, 2009; Harrison *et al.*, 2010), while others suggest that it ought *not* to be, but has historically been when defining paraphilias (Malón, 2012; De Block and Adriaens, 2013).

Nevertheless, what the aforementioned proponents and critics of the medical definition share is a belief that paedophilia can refer to an experience which is entirely personal, and that use of the term does not *necessarily* imply that children are at risk. The popular usage, on the other hand, threatens to overshadow this understanding.

Paedophilia in popular parlance

For many, paedophilia is synonymous with sexual offending, often used interchangeably with the term 'child sexual abuse' (Feelgood and Hoyer, 2008). Although it was originally popularised in Britain by the *pro*-paedophile pressure group, the Paedophile Information Exchange in the 1970s (Basannavar, 2018), popular usage invariably invokes the negative attitudes associated with sexual harm towards children (McCartan, 2010; Meyer, 2010).

These negative associations persist even when a person is regarded as 'non-offending'. Conducting a discourse analysis of responses to a story about 'Adam', a young paedophilic man's search for support to avoid offending, Theaker (2015) found that although a high proportion of online comments were positive or sympathetic, most still used stigmatising language to talk about Adam based on his identifying as a paedophile.

In the last decade, a gap in research into the stigmatisation experiences of paedophilic individuals has been addressed. Jahnke and Hoyer (2013), who identified this 'blind spot', suggest that the common conflation of CSA and paedophilia could contribute to the stigmatisation of paedophilic individuals. Noting that paedophilia can result in a 'hidden stigma', the authors suggest that those who do hide their paedophilia may experience negative consequences such as fear that others may find out, or isolation as they cannot speak to others in a similar situation.

Since then, empirical research has confirmed this supposition (Imhoff and Jahnke, 2018; Lievesley *et al.*, 2020; Lawrence and Willis, 2021; Schmidt and Niehaus, 2022), with one study finding that stigmatisation of

paedophilic individuals was heightened compared to other traditionally stigmatised groups, and in unexpected ways. For example, perceptions that a stigma is uncontrollable usually correlate with lesser feelings of anger towards an individual, but this was not found to be the case in surveys relating to paedophilia (Jahnke, Imhoff, *et al.*, 2015).

Internalisation of stigma can have damaging consequences. Lievesley *et al.* (2020) found that internalisation of stigma among individuals who were sexually attracted to minors was associated with suppression of minor attraction, which in turn has negative implications for the individual's wellbeing and support seeking behaviour. Because of these implications, the authors further argue that internalised stigma and the thought suppression that can present as a response could increase a person's risk of sexually offending, and that therapy to encourage acceptance of minor attraction could improve mental health outcomes for the individual as well as helping to prevent offending.

The conundrum for paedophilic people in need of support is compounded as the stigma is a considerable barrier to accessing support (Grady *et al.*, 2019), but it can be the stigma itself – not sexual attraction to children – that is the source of harm (Lievesley *et al.*, 2020). Although, as noted above, a significant number of paedophilic people are distressed by their sexual attraction, there is increasing evidence to suggest that many feel in control of their desires and do not regard themselves as posing a sexual risk to children (Cohen *et al.*, 2018).

Nevertheless, because of the conflation between paedophilia and CSA, many minor attracted individuals who do not feel at risk of offending experience distress due to isolation and stigma related to the label 'paedophile', which can lead to poor wellbeing (Muir, 2018). It is noteworthy that people arrested for child sexual abuse images are at a greatly elevated risk of suicide compared to the general population, as for some it is the exposure, and awareness of what can follow that, that feels hopeless (Key *et al.*, 2017).

Consequently, while some have tried to educate the public about non-offending paedophiles, most notably the USA-based online support group *Virtuous Pedophiles* (2022), others have distanced themselves from the term. Many people who may be identified as paedophilic or hebephilic have begun in the last two decades to refer to themselves as 'minor attracted persons' (MAP), in an attempt to move away from the stigma associated with the term 'paedophile' (Walker, 2021). Proponents of the term argue that it is not only less stigmatising than 'paedophile', but more accurate (for example, as it encompasses hebephilia) and less laden with misunderstandings (*ibid*.).

This approach has drawn controversy from those who fear that destigmatising attraction to minors equates with legitimising adult-child sexual relations (Letourneau and Malone, 2021). Its proponents, on the other hand, often emphasise that the term is intended to facilitate a conversation which *separates* these phenomena, that is, to talk about minor attraction without assuming that MAPs are inherently at risk of sexually abusing children (Letourneau and Malone, 2021; Walker, 2021; Sheldon, 2022).

As noted above, for many MAPs who attempt to distance themselves from the negative associations with the label 'paedophile', their experiences remain bound up with the popular understanding of the term (Levenson and Grady, 2019b; Walker, 2019). MAPs who are not at risk of sexually harming, but seek help to address their own needs, are often labelled 'potential offenders' (Muir, 2018), and are subject to mandatory reporting legislation in the USA, where each state has a law requiring that treatment providers notify the authorities about known cases of sexual abuse (Tenbergen *et al.*, 2021). This often includes in cases where behaviour may not have met the legal threshold for reporting, but clinicians are being extra cautious (Levenson and Grady, 2019b). Although there is no such legislation in the jurisdictions of the UK, NHS guidelines require clinicians

to report if they suspect a child is at risk (NHS England and NHS Improvement, 2019).

As explored, the term 'paedophile' has multiple uses, and there is a great variety in how different groups of people relate to it. Some adopt it as a descriptive, medical term, sometimes rejecting labelling language and referring, instead, to 'people with paedophilia' (for example, Jahnke and Hoyer, 2013; Lawrence and Willis, 2021). Others reject it in part because of its negative connotations, suggesting that its power to condemn those subject to the label requires a new term, such as MAP.

Dominant discourses

In this section, I explore literature which helps to contextualise the first research question: *What is the impact of dominant discourses relating to CSA and sex offending on decision-making in policy and service delivery?* The preceding section addressed the discourse surrounding the label 'paedophile'. Here, I focus on CSA. First, I present two ways of defining CSA and review literature relating to its prevalence. I then explore the wider discourse surrounding the phenomenon of CSA.

There is no international consensus as to what defines CSA. In the UK it is defined in law, and as such reflects changing cultural norms over different times and jurisdictions (Feelgood and Hoyer, 2008). Goode (2009) argues that a reliance on arbitrary cultural and historical values, which take little account of actual harm done to victims, is inadequate for meaningfully addressing the issue, and proposes instead a definition based on harm. In this section I explore the legal and the harm-based definitions of CSA.

Legally defining CSA

The definition offered by the World Health Organisation (WHO) refers to how the child experiences the activity, and the power relations between those involved which may define it as abusive:

> *"…the involvement of a child in sexual activity that he or she does not fully comprehend, is unable to give informed consent to, or for which the child is not developmentally prepared, or else that violates the laws or social taboos of society."* (World Health Organisation (WHO), 2016, p. 45)

In the UK, although each jurisdiction has slight differences, the definitions of CSA use similar language, and sexually abusive behaviour is defined as sexual activity with anybody under 16 years old, or 18 in certain circumstances (Harrison *et al.*, 2010; NSPCC, 2022).

For the purposes of criminalising CSA, the Sexual Offences Act (2003), which applies to England and Wales, set out five new acts to directly address CSA for the first time. In the Act, distinctions are made between victims under 13, who are considered never able to consent to sex, children between 13 and 15, who may be able to consent but it is unlawful for them to do so, and children between 16 and 17, for whom it is unlawful to be involved in certain sexual acts, or with people in a position of trust.

Although the above legislation is able to delineate what defines a child for the purposes of prosecuting those who offend and creating a line that should not be crossed, some have suggested – not without controversy – that alternative means of defining CSA are identified. A study by Rind *et al.* (1998) concluded that the definition of CSA as used in prevalence studies is often too wide, based on the finding that harm caused by CSA is not universal or uniform. Although the findings encountered a strong backlash – in particular the suggestion that some forms of CSA are less harmful than others (Civic Impulse, 1999; Tavris, 2000) – Lange *et al.* (2020) suggest that legal definitions are by necessity vague, in order to allow for interpretation, and this means that research requires more specific definitions which enable comparisons. Accordingly, it is worth exploring the definition of CSA based on harm.

Defining CSA in terms of harm

There is considerable evidence that sexual victimisation of children can have damaging consequences for survivors (Hailes *et al.*, 2019). Children who have been sexually abused are at increased risk of revictimization in later childhood and in adulthood (Bebbington *et al.*, 2011), and abuse involving contact is more strongly linked to depression and long-term psychological problems (Easton, 2014; Ventus *et al.*, 2017). As well as the impact on mental health, a history of severe CSA has been linked to a range of other negative outcomes in adulthood, including risky sexual behaviour and substance misuse (Maniglio, 2009). Furthermore, research has identified a stronger link from childhood sexual trauma to negative outcomes in adulthood than from other forms of trauma in childhood (Grasso *et al.*, 2016).

Defining CSA in these terms can help to focus attention on the experience of abuse, rather than on contested notions of 'crime' (Pemberton, 2008). However, the harm that can emanate from the experience of CSA is dependent on wider forces, for example re-traumatisation by the criminal justice system (Hillyard and Tombs, 2008) or the presence or absence of parental support (Bick *et al.*, 2014). Indeed, in spite of the evidence of a link between CSA and long-term harm, reviewed above, the trends identified do not apply universally to survivors. Negative outcomes following CSA are strongly associated with other adverse childhood experiences (Ports *et al.*, 2016), and any individual's experience of victimisation is a complex interplay of a range of contextual factors beyond the incident(s) of abuse (Scott-Storey, 2011). Smith and Woodiwiss (2016) argue that an insistence that CSA be defined in terms of harm can mean that instances where adults have behaved abusively, but where children do not perceive themselves to have been harmed, may not be identified as abusive.

How common is CSA?

Ambiguity relating to the definition of CSA – alongside issues such as underreporting, discussed below – contributes to a paucity of evidence relating to prevalence. In terms of counting acts of CSA as defined by law, in the UK there is no comprehensive, national source of data on the number of victims within the criminal justice system, and the quality of recording data on victims who are known to the authorities varies geographically (Karsna, 2022). Furthermore, although the *Crime Survey of England and Wales* asks about CSA, asking adults about their experiences of abuse means that data on current prevalence is missing. There has been no national survey of children or young people's experiences of CSA since 2009 (Karsna and Kelly, 2021).

Difficulties with collecting data on CSA mean that accurate measures of its prevalence are difficult to achieve. Indeed, reviewing studies from North America in the 1980s, Finkelhor *et al.* (1986) found that estimates ranged from 6 to 62% for girls, and 3 to 31% for boys. Another review, two decades later, identified prevalence studies from 21 countries whose results ranged from 0 to 53% for females and 0 to 60% for males (Pereda *et al.*, 2009a). Reviewing the evidence in the UK, Ferguson (1997) related variations in prevalence found by Finkelhor *et al.* (1986) to the differences between research studies as to how they defined CSA, and the upper age limit for it occurring, which ranged from 15 to 17 years. As discussed above, this is likely to be a contributing element, but a significant limitation of prevalence studies – as Ferguson acknowledges in the same article – is the well-documented issue of underreporting (Barr *et al.*, 2017; Katzenstein and Fontes, 2017; Chandran *et al.*, 2018).

Research that has asked adults or teenagers about their experiences of sexual victimisation in childhood has persistently demonstrated that reporting is inconsistent. Fergusson *et al.* (2000) found that approximately 50% of people who were abused as children gave inconsistent answers

when questioned about their history of victimisation twice over a 3-year interval. This could be related to personal factors as well as survey methods. Colman *et al.* (2016) found that mental health had a significant impact on the reporting of all forms of childhood maltreatment. Bebbington *et al.* (2011), meanwhile, used two methods for measuring CSA in the same interview, and found that over 20% of those who said on an electronically administered survey that they had experienced non-consensual sexual intercourse as a child then reported – when asked by the interviewer – that they had not experienced sexual abuse.

One issue that contributes to underreporting is the ubiquity of inaccurate portrayals of people who sexually harm children and the discourse surrounding the 'paedophile', discussed above. While CSA perpetrators are usually known to the victim, narratives of 'paedophiles' as outsiders who randomly target victims in public places (McAlinden, 2014) can make it difficult for victims to make sense of abuse when the offence does not fit this description. Some people who have offended exploited assumptions about the stereotypical 'paedophile', reporting tactics such as non-sexual rough play to desensitise children to their touch (Canter *et al.*, 1998), whilst gifts and displays of affection can lead children to question whether the attention is abusive or loving (Sanderson, 2009; Erooga *et al.*, 2020).

Misleading assumptions about victims also influence disclosure of CSA. The expectation that children are damaged by abuse can feed feelings of shame which prevent children from coming forward, and if a child is led to feel they have encouraged the abuse, they may fear that they will be blamed (Lemaigre *et al.*, 2017). As noted above, victims may not conceptualise their experiences as harmful, and this may contribute to non-disclosure (Chandran *et al.*, 2018). Additionally, some individuals capitalise on expectations on children to be submissive to adults, causing them to fear that they will be punished or disbelieved if they disclose, particularly if the abuser is well-respected (Goodman-Brown *et al.*, 2003).

Finally, children report non-disclosure of abuse because of very real fears that it will lead to the break-up of the family or community (Canter *et al.*, 1998). One of the foremost organisations in the UK which aims to tackle CSA, *Stop It Now! UK and Ireland*, is based on a model pioneered in the USA by Fran Henry. Henry founded Stop It Now! because of her own experiences of sexual abuse perpetrated by her father (Henry, 2002). Henry has spoken about how she remains glad she did not disclose at the time, deciding to endure the abuse rather than precipitate the removal of her father from the home (*ibid*.).

In spite of these limitations, even cautious estimates indicate that CSA is a significant problem. Although reviews have previously identified a wide range of estimates for prevalence of CSA (Finkelhor *et al.*, 1986; Pereda *et al.*, 2009a), a number of meta-analyses in the last two decades have closed in on a narrower range, indicating that prevalence can be estimated with robust data collection (Pereda *et al.*, 2009b; Stoltenborgh *et al.*, 2011; Barth *et al.*, 2013). In their meta-analysis, Barth *et al.* (2013) estimate the prevalence of CSA at 15% for girls and 8% for boys, while Stoltenborgh *et al.* (2011) estimate the prevalence of CSA as between 16 and 20% for girls, and 6 and 9% for boys. In a literature review, Karsna and Kelly (2021) suggest that at least 15% of girls and 5% of boys experience sexual abuse in England and Wales.

Heightened anxiety

As explored above, the problem of CSA is real and severe. However, the issue and how it is governed exist in a highly emotive and contested space (Ashenden, 2004; Basannavar, 2018). It is not possible to fully address CSA without taking account of the wider cultural discourses which compound and complicate the problem itself (Ashenden, 2004; Parton, 2020). Here, I note how societal constructions of children influence how we talk about CSA. I then look at how trends in penal policy are refracted and amplified when addressing CSA.

Children as particularly vulnerable

The way CSA has been conceptualised as a social problem has a particular history, and is complicated by attitudes towards the state intervening in the private sphere (Parton, 2020). I address the literature on this topic below, but here focus on literature that explores how children are conceptualised as particularly vulnerable and in need of protection (McAlinden, 2014), based on a fear, Hacking suggests, that they will be 'defiled' (2003, p. 44).

The ideal victim is defined by Christie as 'a person or category of individuals who – when hit by crime – most readily are given the complete and legitimate status of being a victim' (1986, p. 17). In order to fulfil this archetype and command maximum sympathy from the general public, victims should be, amongst other things, weak, blameless and unconnected to the perpetrator (Green, 2007). A common portrayal of children is as 'endowed with dependence, innocence and potential' (Ashenden, 2004, p. 28), with their innocence intrinsically tied to a supposed asexuality (Weeks, 1985). As a result, not only does the archetypal child victim embody the 'ideal victim', but the victim of CSA is perceived to have suffered a unique violation because of the 'despoliation' of their innocence (Scott *et al.*, 1998, p. 702).

Scott *et al.* (1998) argue that prevailing attitudes towards CSA encompass a pervasive 'risk anxiety', where the fear of CSA perpetrators exists as a continual sense of unease. This anxiety only partly reflects a concern about children's safety, also being a proxy for adults' fears about social breakdown and the loss of childhood innocence in general. This combines with a protectiveness over children to result in a 'preoccupation with prevention' (Scott and Freedman 1995, cited in Scott *et al.*, 1998). This preoccupation helps to explain the centrality of the issue of child protection to the area of sexual offending, and the significance of discourse surrounding the label 'paedophile', even where children are not directly involved, for example in the case of adult sexual assault.

CSA in contemporary crime control

The heightened anxiety in relation to CSA means that occurrences are often met with strong responses, and the risk of CSA is often seen as a particularly unacceptable one. Trends that have been identified in the wider penal system are often particularly acute when sexual harm against children is involved. McAlinden (2012b) explores how penal policy in England and Wales surrounding sexual offending echoes penal ideology emerging from the USA, unlike the comparatively more inclusionary, therapeutic (although not necessarily less punitive) approaches taken in other Western European countries. For example, while England and Wales have relied on restrictive measures such as registration and vetting of people working with 'vulnerable' populations, there is a greater emphasis on psychiatric treatment of those who have sexually harmed in other Western European countries such as Germany, Belgium and Switzerland.

A phenomenon that is particularly salient when considering CSA is the 'criminology of the other' (Garland, 2001). This and 'criminology of the self' are terms used by Garland to describe a seemingly contradictory approach to dealing with crime that emerged in the late twentieth century in the USA and Britain. This era, Garland argues, saw fears about an increasingly permissive society, family breakdown and challenges to authority manifest in attempts to control crime as a proxy for all perceived societal ills.

The consequence of these attempts was that crime was seen as an issue relevant to all – as crime is endemic and perpetrated by people who are 'just like us' (Garland, 2001, p. 137) and thus predictable and avoidable – whilst simultaneously, for certain categories of crime, being regarded as something only perpetrated by monstrous outsiders. This led to a polarisation of criminal justice approaches where individuals were expected to take responsibility to avoid the 'crimes of everyday life', while crimes of a violent and sexual nature were responded to with increasingly punitive, exclusionary policies.

Within this dynamic of crime control, people who have sexually offended are represented as 'barely human' (Garland, 2001), whilst anxieties engendered by neoliberalism are focused on 'those guilty of child abuse, illegal drug use, or sexual violence' (*ibid*., p. 195). Other authors, as I discuss here, have explored how divergent approaches to crime control manifest in the issue of sexual offending to construct those who perpetrate sexual crimes as inhuman and irredeemable.

One influential theory about contemporary crime control is Feeley and Simon's (1992) 'new penology'. Commenting on developments in the United States, they argue that penal policy in the latter part of the Twentieth Century saw a shift from treating crime as a problem of individuals to attempting to deal with populations or categories of law breaker. This, they suggest, is related to the increasing use of technocratic actuarial tools to measure and attempt to manage the risk of crime, where emphasis is laid on aggregates, not individual cases.

Alongside this, Bottoms (1995) identifies a rise in 'populist punitiveness', wherein politicians claim to be responding to public demands in designing increasingly punitive penal policy. Although these approaches to crime control may appear incompatible, Simon (1998) argues that sex offending laws illustrate how the two work together to inform policy. The former highlights a concern for managerialism and population-wide policies, while the latter contains implicit claims to be able to root out evil. In responding to sexual offending, Simon argues, laws must be implementable on a practical level in a bureaucratic system, whilst simultaneously responding to demands to exclude and punish perpetrators.

Indeed, a focus on risk and 'fixing the future' (Zedner, 2009) has influenced laws relating to sexual harm in recent decades. Hebenton and Seddon (2009) argue that a preoccupation with preventing unknowable harm in the USA and Britain has led to a 'precautionary logic', where politicians and policymakers are *obliged* to take action in order to mitigate future possible harm. Under this model, those deemed most dangerous – those who may

commit sexual and violent crime – are regarded as acceptable collateral in a system guided by probability, which errs on the side of protecting potential victims over those who may be wrongly judged to pose a danger to others. Although, then, sexual offending is associated with low rates of recidivism compared to other forms of offending (Harris and Hanson, 2004; Hanson *et al.*, 2014), criminal justice responses to those who offend often involve long-term, punitive restrictions in the name of public protection (as typified by the 'community protection' model of crime prevention, discussed below).

An imperative towards prevention in a context of punitive attitudes towards those who cause sexual harm to children contributes to a 'muddied' (Williams and Nash, 2014, p. 2) approach to addressing CSA perpetration. On the one hand, there is a strong impetus to protect children from the risk of harm posed by predatory sexual offenders. On the other hand, limited knowledge about CSA perpetration due to underreporting makes it difficult to take informed steps to prevent first time or repeat offending. McAlinden (2016) argues that one problem with the precautionary approach is that prevention invariably focuses on known instances of offending, and this can displace the risk to more hidden and insidious forms of harm which are unlikely to come to the attention of the authorities.

Focusing on known instances of abuse – either by using them as a basis from which to design wider prevention strategies or by monitoring those convicted of offending to reduce the chance that they will commit further offences – is a limited approach. Larcombe (2012) highlights how work to prevent further offending after a conviction for a sexual offence is frequently based on research on known instances of sexual offending. Bearing in mind the issue of underreporting, most sexual assaults do not enter the criminal justice system in the first place. Larcombe shows how the high rate of attrition for those being charged with a sexual offence in Australia (high compared to other crimes, not necessarily other countries) is 'patterned', leading to a biased 'pool' of individuals who form the basis

of much evidence on recidivism. As a consequence, prevention programmes target people who are most likely to be convicted of sexually offending, not people who are likely to commit sexual offences with or without detection.

This conflagration of the new penology, populist punitiveness and precautionary logic has implications for individuals being released into the community following a custodial sentence for sexual assault, a process which represents in part a response to the fears engendered following high-profile cases of CSA (McSherry and Keyzer, 2009). I return to this below when exploring the dominant frames within which CSA is generally dealt with, but first explore the literature relating the context within which much work in the field under study takes place.

Influencing forces

Attempts to deal with the problem of CSA and sexual offending do not take place in a vacuum, but within a wider economic and political system which reflects and refracts the issues explored so far. Of particular relevance to this area of study are two trends of marketisation and public protection. I introduce these each in turn, and explore how they influence the forms of CSA prevention discussed above. This discussion provides context for the second research question: *How do stakeholders perceive the relationship between their own work and the wider policy/ practice context in regards to supporting the implementation of relevant interventions?*

Marketisation

Since the 1980s, successive UK governments have introduced neoliberal principles into the delivery of public services, with the justification that pursuit of profit and measurable goals will deliver more efficient services (Clarke *et al.*, 2000). One element of this drive has involved outsourcing of public services to private and voluntary sector providers (Sasse *et al.*, 2019). The recent experience of the voluntary sector in the UK is instructive for demonstrating how marketisation has influenced both voluntary and

statutory provision. Whilst much recent research in this area is focused on England, the trends identified have echoes across the jurisdictions of the UK (Egdell and Dutton, 2017).

The 2010 Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition government, arguing that the State was taking too much of a role in the lives of private individuals, proposed a move from 'big government' to the 'Big Society', encouraging civil society actors to take control of local services (Alcock, 2016). In policy terms, however, the State has remained closely involved with shaping public services, fostering an 'interdependent' relationship between the sectors. At the same time, funding for public services was slashed under austerity, and voluntary sector organisations (VSOs) saw reduced income from grants and donations (Guerin *et al.*, 2018).

Although VSOs in the UK have always been involved in public services, and have historically had a close relationship with the State, moves to commission VSOs to deliver services made these organisations *responsible* for these functions, effectively relinquishing the state's ownership of delivery of public services (Corcoran *et al.*, 2018). I explore here how these changes have impacted service delivery and advocacy for VSOs.

Service delivery under marketisation

Increasing VSO involvement in the delivery of public services has contributed to what Poole (2007) describes as 'mission drift', where VSOs adapt their services to match the priorities of their funders. This is particularly likely where VSOs are bidding for contracts, rather than applying for grants, as the tight requirements of the former make organisations more likely to shape their services to match what the funder is willing to purchase (Halfpenny and Reid, 2002).

Although the issue of mission drift was identified before the Coalition government implemented its austerity policies, continued moves from funding VSOs through grants towards competitive tendering of contracts, alongside diminishing funding sources, has accelerated it (Milbourne and

Cushman, 2015). As such, since 2010, voluntary sector engagement in state functions has been tied up with the expectation that VSOs adhere to market principles (Corcoran *et al.*, 2018).

Egdell & Dutton (2017) found that, whilst being aware of the risks associated with seeking government contracts, VSOs in Scotland limited their services in response to contract tendering, and tended to be more cautious and less willing to collaborate with similar organisations. Similarly, Sepulveda *et al.* (2013) found evidence of VSOs adapting their offer in response to pressure from government funders to adopt market values.

Advocacy under marketisation

Some of the above changes have worked in the favour of larger charities, as they are equipped to bid for large contracts, and are regarded as presenting less of an economic risk to governmental funders (Seddon, 2007). However, Corcoran *et al.* (2018) note how the relationship between the government and VSOs since austerity has become 'frostier', with the resurgence of the traditional conservative notion of charity as private and philanthropic, whilst refraining from critiquing or lobbying the government. This attitude appears to have impacted on the practice of these VSOs, who are increasingly likely to self-censor in response to perceived hostility from government actors (Hemmings, 2017).

Indeed, government rhetoric and policy in the past decade has moved to curtail the ability of VSOs to engage in advocacy work (Milbourne and Cushman, 2015). The 2014 'Lobbying Act' placed greater administrative burdens on organisations who engaged in campaigning in the run up to a general election, and many in the voluntary sector felt that it significantly hampered their ability to critique the government (Slocock, 2016). Elsewhere, government actors have voiced concerns that charities using public funds might engage in lobbying (for example, DCLG, 2012).

At the same time, large VSOs which deliver public services find themselves in a similar position to smaller VSOs when it comes to criticising the

government. Although larger VSOs may be able to absorb the losses if they were to lose government contracts, and may have some measure of protection if commissioners have come to rely on them to fulfil contracts at low cost, Hemmings (2017) found that senior managers were reluctant to openly criticise government policy out of fear that they would be punished through losing contracts, regardless of the reality.

Both large and small VSOs, then, in a period of restricted funding and increased censorship are compelled to concentrate on survival. This is certainly not the universal response of voluntary sector actors, many of whom engage in resistance (Milbourne and Cushman, 2015), but these forces have a tangible impact on the voluntary sector.

Public protection

I explored above how policies relating to individuals who are perceived to pose a sexual threat to children are saturated with the discourse of risk. Although particularly acute in this topic area, commentators have argued that all public policy reflects an expectation that risks should always be measured and mitigated (Simon, 2007). In tandem with this, Rodger (2008) identifies how policy in western societies has increasingly adopted the discourse of public protection, and social problems have been reconfigured as criminogenic issues.

I also noted how Garland's (2001) criminologies of the 'self' and 'other' have particular salience when it comes to people with sexual convictions (PWSC), and the associated demise of welfare-oriented interventions. Hannah-Moffat (2005), however, argues that rehabilitative approaches which centre the needs of people with convictions (PWC) have been reinvented as they have become entwined with assessments of risk that PWC are perceived to present to the general public. As such, rehabilitative work is increasingly about mitigating these risks to protect potential victims (McNeill *et al.*, 2009). In practice, those working with PWC are expected to target issues that are treatable and measurable, and that become

individualised and reconfigured as 'criminogenic needs' (Feeley and Simon, 1992; Hannah-Moffat, 2005).

An important approach to treatment for PWSC that echoes this trend is the 'Good Lives Model' (GLM). The GLM holds that PWSC need to be supported to satisfy their needs in ways that are fulfilling and minimise harm to others (Willis and Ward, 2011). The approach is valued for humanising those subject to it, rather than simply treating them as carriers of risk. Much of its strength, however, comes from the argument that a person-centred approach is seen to 'work' to reduce the risk they pose to others (Ward and Maruna, 2007).

The preoccupation with measuring and mitigating the risks that PWC pose to others is particularly acute for individuals known to mental health services. Rose (2002) suggests that the applicability of risk assessments to *all* individuals receiving mental health care has led to the governance of mental health in terms of public protection. Here, Garland's (2001) criminologies of the 'self' and 'other' have echoes: everyone accessing mental health services must be screened for risk of dangerousness (primarily to themselves, but also to others), whilst those who are regarded as particularly high-risk should be cordoned off and incapacitated. In England and Wales, this can be identified in an amendment in 2007 to the requirement in the *Mental Health Act 1983* that those detained under the Act be 'treatable'; a key justification was that this clause prevented detention of some individuals diagnosed with personality disorders who were regarded as a danger to others (Hebenton and Seddon, 2009). In the remainder of this section I explore the impact of the force of public protection for those in forensic mental health and offender rehabilitation.

Forensic psychologists and the dual relationship

For forensic mental health practitioners, the requirement to serve the interests of public protection can come into direct conflict with their own professional orientation. Therapists are trained to invest in developing a trusting bond in pursuit of a 'therapeutic alliance' that is regarded as central

to successful therapy (Youssef, 2017). This patient-focused approach can be identified in the notion that intervention should be led by patient – not societal – benefit (McDonald *et al.*, 2016). However, forensic psychologists also work as expert witnesses or consultants where the client is an actor seeking to make a decision, for example with regards to care proceedings. Although there are ethical guidelines in most jurisdictions which state that a practitioner should not fulfil both roles for one patient (Greenberg and Shuman, 1997), for practitioners working with forensic clients, this may be unavoidable (Neal, 2017).

Gannon and Ward (2014) argue that the widespread adoption of the 'Risk-Needs-Responsivity' model (Bonta and Andrews, 2007) in UK prison and probation policy has led to forensic psychologists treating 'risk reduction' as a proxy for successful therapy. The authors identify this as stemming from the 'dual relationship' problem, where prison psychologists have an allegiance to their patients, but are constrained by expectations that they mitigate risks posed by those same patients (Gannon and Ward, 2014).

In settings where the dual relationship is less stark, practitioners indicate a resistance to the imperative to equate treatment success with risk reduction. This resistance underpins the argument made by Gannon and Ward (2014), and McDonald *et al.* (2016) argue that the notion that some patients require care, as opposed to treatment, is central to the practice of forensic psychiatry. However, the amendment to the 'treatability test' (see p. 48) has challenged this. Although a move towards 'treatment for all' can be traced to a range of influences, some have interpreted it as a move towards social control, rather than a singular focus on patient benefit (McDonald *et al.*, 2016).

Penal drift

Similarly to mission drift (see p. 45), VSOs in offender rehabilitation increasingly adopt the language of risk in order to secure government contracts. Furthermore, VSOs that secure government contracts to deliver penal services become required by law to perform a punitive role; whereas

previously VSOs may have provided services to state agencies, now they perform functions in place of the state, in what has been described as 'penal drift' (Corcoran *et al.*, 2018; Maguire *et al.*, 2019).

Literature on probation services in England and Wales, and criminal justice social workers in Scotland, illuminates the impact of penal drift on those working in offender rehabilitation. Until the late 1990s, all practitioners in probation and criminal justice social work came from a social work background. In Scotland and Northern Ireland, the link persists, whilst in England and Wales probation training was separated from social work in 1998, and a standalone Diploma in Probation Studies was introduced (Grant, 2016). Although research has found that allegiance to social work principles appeared to endure for some time (Grant and McNeill, 2014; Worrall and Mawby, 2014), fundamental changes since 2014 – most notably the part-privatisation of the probation system in England and Wales under *Transforming Rehabilitation*, followed by a reversal of this drive in 2020 (Robinson, 2021) – may have disrupted this historical influence of social work on probation (Walker *et al.*, 2019; Tidmarsh, 2022).

Research has identified a distinction between those working frontline with service users and senior managers. Corcoran *et al.* (2018) found that frontline staff were uncomfortable with requirements to impose punishments or report to statutory authorities about the behaviour of their service users, while managers were more likely to see it as a function of their role. Conversely, Maguire *et al.* (2019) found that frontline staff felt they were able to avoid being regarded as penal agents through open communication with service users. However, attempts to resist the negative impact of penal drift were found to place a strain on the energy and time of staff, and the authors questioned whether staff could continue to do so in the long term.

Dominant frames

I reviewed above how attitudes regarding harm towards children and sexual offending interact to complicate conceptions of CSA. The governance of the issue reflects this, as actors in the field are influenced by different forces depending on their own priorities. Although different approaches to addressing CSA cannot be neatly delineated, three dominant frames guide how it is addressed. These are: child protection; criminal justice and public health. This section provides context for the third research question: How do stakeholders balance competing priorities in supporting the development of relevant interventions?

Child protection

A common policy response in the UK to perceived failings in protecting children from CSA is to implement measures which take a reactive, child-oriented approach to dealing with the issue within a wider child protection system (Nelson, 2016). Within this system, CSA has historically been treated separately from other forms of child abuse, with the labelling of CSA *as* abuse coming later than the labelling of other forms of child abuse (Ashenden, 2004). At the same time, in instances of child abuse where CSA is not listed by social workers as the primary category of harm, CSA is often present (Sidebotham *et al.*, 2016).

Parton (1991) explores how, in the 1980s, advocates in the UK pushed to bring CSA into the purview of the child protection system because of the inadequacies of dealing with it as a criminal justice issue (discussed below). Although similar developments took place a decade earlier in the USA, Parton shows that the arguments took longer to take hold in Britain because of a culture of denial. In a recent evidence review, Lovett *et al.* found that these responses to CSA persist, summarising the dominant discourses surrounding the topic in England and Wales as 'deflection, denial and disbelief' (Lovett *et al.*, 2018).

Crucially, in the child protection system the burden for preventing CSA is placed overwhelmingly on children (Whitaker *et al.*, 2008; Brown and Saied-Tessier, 2015). The majority of programmes which aim to prevent CSA occurring in the first place focus on coaching children and families to avoid victimisation (Brown and Saied-Tessier, 2015). Schools in England are required to teach children about abuse under Relationships and Sex Education (Department for Education, 2019), and in 2015/16 the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC) delivered training to children in approximately a third of schools in the UK in how to avoid victimisation (NSPCC, 2016). Although these programmes can be worthwhile (Walsh *et al.*, 2015), they are limited in the extent to which they can prepare children for every possible abusive encounter (Bolen, 2002), and there is a risk that they may make children feel anxious about potentially being victimised, or responsible for preventing their own victimisation (Rudolph and Zimmer-Gembeck, 2018).

Some argue that resources should aim to change the attitudes of entire populations. This in part reflects a desire to remove the responsibility for preventing abuse from children (Brown *et al.*, 2014), and in part a feminist approach to understanding CSA and other forms of sexual offending as inextricably linked with power and male domination (Nelson, 1987; Kelly, 1988; Bell, 1993; Ahmed, 1996; Snider, 1998; hooks, 2004). This is most forcefully demonstrated in relation to responses to sexual violence against women. Annual Reclaim the Night walks involve women marching across towns protesting gendered violence and calling for cultural change (Mackay, 2015). In 2021, following the kidnapping and murder of Sarah Everard in south London, Reclaim These Streets – name in homage to the original campaign (Dearden, 2022) – emerged, making similar demands.

Criminal justice

As a corollary to the child protection system, the criminal justice approach to dealing with CSA is overwhelmingly focused on known or suspected

instances of perpetration (Assini-Meytin *et al.*, 2020). Where criminal justice institutions turn their attention to prevention of CSA where a specific offender has not been identified, the focus tends to be on population-wide approaches such as situational crime prevention, which involves removing opportunities for offending, for example, through increasing the visibility of the police (Smallbone *et al.*, 2008).

Much of the criminal justice response to *known* instances of perpetration of CSA, or other forms of sexual violence, focuses on punishment (Snider, 1998; Pratt, 2000; McGlynn and Westmarland, 2019) or containment and management of criminality (Connelly and Williamson, 2000; Kemshall, 2003; Hebenton, 2008), with an increasing focus on the priorities and experiences of victims (Greenberg and Messner, 2014; Armstrong *et al.*, 2018; Annison, 2020). However, a considerable proportion of the functions of the criminal justice system in this space are focused on rehabilitation, with the intention of preventing future offending. Hence, while the criminal justice response serves to punish the individual's past behaviour, its forward-looking preventative function means that it also operates in the realm of 'pre-crime' (Williams and Nash, 2014).

Prison-based programmes, which target PWSC in order to prevent reoffending, draw on Bonta and Andrews' 'Risk-Needs-Responsivity' model (2007). The effectiveness of these interventions has been questioned, with an evaluation of the main prison-based intervention in England and Wales, the Core sex offender treatment programme (SOTP) (Mews *et al.*, 2017) producing such equivocal results that the programme was withdrawn (Casciani, 2017). The programmes which replaced the SOTP – Horizon and Kaizen – have been described as evidence-informed, rather than evidence-based (McCartan *et al.*, 2018), and there has not yet been a robust evaluation of their effectiveness (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Probation, 2021).

This focus on reactive mechanisms for responding to CSA does not appear to be from a want of trying to intervene earlier. Steiker (1998) argues that

the state has a considerable preventative role which, at the time of writing, was generally assumed to be less restrictive than elements of the criminal justice system focused on detainment, such as prisons. Since Steiker first made this argument, this 'preventive state' has been scrutinised, with an increased focus in the literature on preventative justice as a function of the state, as opposed to a minor role for different, loosely connected parts of the state (Zedner and Ashworth, 2019). This focus has led to scholars pointing out the danger that the preventative state – which remains less scrutinised than the more overtly punitive arms of the state – may contribute to the erosion of civil liberties (Zedner, 2009; Janus, 2010; Peeters, 2013; Ashworth and Zedner, 2014).

Recalling the discussion of 'precautionary logic' (Hebenton and Seddon, 2009), as well as the limited knowledge about CSA and therefore intervening before a child is harmed, the last decade or so has seen a rise in mechanisms which represent attempts to criminalise the small spaces that can – in theory – be monitored before abuse occurs. McAlinden (2012a) examines how England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales all have laws which aim to outlaw certain grooming behaviour in attempts to criminalise the intention to carry out a sexual offence. Whilst these laws acknowledge that much CSA takes place after an adult has gained the confidence of a child, they are generally targeted at people who meet children online with the stated purpose, and are difficult to apply. McAlinden suggests that this area of legislation represents 'the pinnacle of a general trend of regulating initiatives on sex offending' in the preventative space (2012a, p. 51), noting that it is regarded as acceptable to treat those guilty of (planned or executed) sexual offences with excessive punitiveness because the crime is regarded as particularly heinous and damaging (McAlinden, 2012a).

Kemshall and Wood (2007), following Connelly and Williamson (2000), describe the prevailing criminal justice approach as a 'community protection' model, where prevention is sought via the containment of

criminality, and the public are excluded from taking an active role in responding to risk. This model, argue Birgden and Cucolo (2011), lends in the USA to a 'treatment-as-management' approach to dealing with people with sexual convictions, where the primary aim is to manage the ongoing risks posed by individuals following a conviction. As a result, the individual's needs are not recognised, only their capacity for harming others, and their rights are routinely violated in the name of risk reduction.

Measures such as community notification and registration that adopt this approach – although supposedly in the service of community protection – may not reduce offending (Tewksbury *et al.*, 2012; Zgoba *et al.*, 2018; Zgoba and Mitchell, 2021). In some cases decisions relating to registration may reflect institutional concerns such as resourcing requirements, rather than being based solely on considerations of risk (Hudson and Henley, 2015). This has led to some criticising such approaches for being embedded in a bureaucracy which 'provides a ritual of security rather than effective protection' (Furedi and Bristow, 2008, p. vii).

Public health

Many in the field of CSA prevention advocate for the adoption of a public health lens (McMahon and Puett, 1999; Kemshall and Wood, 2007; Smallbone *et al.*, 2008; McAlinden, 2012a; Levine and Dandamudi, 2016; Letourneau *et al.*, 2017; McCartan *et al.*, 2018), and interventions have been developed using this model (Van Horn *et al.*, 2015; Shields *et al.*, 2020). Compared to a criminal justice approach, which is largely reactive, some advocate a public health approach on the grounds that it is concerned with prevention, and aims to be guided by empirical – not theoretical – concerns (Shepherd and Lisles, 1998). Thus, in the public health approach to disease prevention (its original focus), the emphasis is on outcomes. Recalling the discussion at the start of this chapter relating to the legal versus harm based definitions of CSA, a public health approach prioritises

harm reduction (Kemshall and Wood, 2007), rather than proxy measures of prevalence such as (in the case of CSA) offending.

Public health approaches categorise interventions as primary, secondary or tertiary prevention. Some scholars also incorporate quaternary prevention (Martins *et al.*, 2018; McCartan and Kemshall, 2021), but this is not consistently included across public health approaches. There is no consensus on the exact boundaries between the levels of prevention, with some academics preferring the terms 'universal', 'selected' and 'indicated' as more accurate descriptors (Holden and Black, 1999; Arango *et al.*, 2018). Nevertheless, a common interpretation, in line with Last (1992), is that primary prevention is about minimising the scale of a problem occurring in the first place, whilst secondary prevention aims to treat people who have contracted a disease and tertiary prevention mitigates the impact of disease for people who have contracted it and cannot be cured (Paskell *et al.*, 2014; Lasher and Stinson, 2017; Public Health England, 2017; McCartan and Kemshall, 2021).

The move to integrate the fields of public health and criminology originally came from public health practitioners who highlighted the health implications of violence as a priority for the medical profession. Since then it has been taken up from both directions in academia and in policy. In 1979 the US Surgeon General's report, *Healthy People*, identified violence prevention as a health priority (Mercy and DeGue, 2019). Rosenberg and Fenley's *Violence in America* (1991) applied an epidemiological approach to understanding different categories of interpersonal violence (Keithley and Robinson, 2000), public health textbooks have incorporated sections on violence (for example, Ports and Fortson, 2021) and the WHO adopted a resolution which identified healthcare as an important element in dealing with violence (WHO 2016).

From a medical perspective, violence is a serious health concern (Bell, 1993; Mercy, 1999; Mercy and DeGue, 2019). For some in criminology, a focus on harm reduction and empirically tested means of prevention cuts

through the moralistic elements of the criminal justice response (Moore, 1995). However, although the public health approach is first and foremost pragmatic, it is built on certain theoretical assumptions which mean it is not completely value-free (Evans, 2010; Riemann and Rossi, 2020). O'Malley (2004) points out that assumptions about risk and harm themselves involve moral judgements, and the seemingly cool headed approach to deviant – usually criminalised – behaviour is only accepted because it is perceived to 'work'.

Nevertheless, a public health approach to CSA prevention can help to address some of the shortcomings of the child protection or criminal justice frames, discussed above. Notably, an emphasis on the issue and on harm reduction, rather than victims or perpetrators, means that prevention can remove the responsibility currently placed on children to avoid (or respond to) their own victimisation, and moves the focus from punishment towards health promotion (Kemshall and Wood, 2007).

What is available?

Research into work with members of the TG in the UK and internationally focuses on (potential) service users' support needs, the effectiveness of interventions and public attitudes towards intervening in this space. I focus here on the literature relating to support for people who have not been convicted of a sexual offence and are not suspected by the authorities of having sexually harmed.

The support needs of members of the TG

The past two decades has seen the support needs of members of the TG take ever greater prominence in academia and advocacy, in particular in regard to MAPs who are not part of the criminal justice system, or who self-describe as 'non-offending minor attracted persons'. As I explore below, literature in this domain frequently draws on the possibility of preventing sexual harm by supporting MAPs to avoid offending, but there is also a

growing emphasis on the needs of MAPs in their own right. Indeed, research has identified the needs of MAPs for support which emphasises their humanity over their propensity to offend (Muir, 2018; Shields *et al.*, 2020).

One source of evidence relating to the support needs of members of the TG has been from MAPs forming alliances in order to self-advocate and to offer peer support. One of the earliest, B4U-ACT, was established in 2003 in the USA, as a collaboration between mental health professionals, MAPs and researchers (B4U-ACT, 2022). B4U-ACT did not, however, take a stance against adult-child sexual contact and, in response, Virtuous Pedophiles was established in 2012 (Walker, 2017), offering an online support group to adult, self-identified paedophiles committed to avoiding unlawful sexual contact (online or offline) with children (Virtuous Pedophiles, 2022).

These and other forms of self-advocacy have received mainstream media attention, with programmes such as the podcast *This American Life* (Malone, 2014) in the USA, CBC's *I, Pedophile* (Campea, 2016) in Canada and Channel 4's *The Paedophile Next Door* (Humphries and Herzog, 2014) in the UK elevating the voices of those who advocate for MAPs to access non-stigmatising support. Alongside this, two USA-based initiatives, *Stop It Now!* and *The Prevention Project* in Utah have been spearheaded by survivors of CSA who were seeking to intervene with MAPs in order to more effectively prevent sexual abuse (Henry, 2002; Christiansen and Martinez-Dettamanti, 2018).

Meanwhile, academic literature evidencing the needs of MAPs has burgeoned in recent years. Repeated studies have found that there are MAPs who are interested in accessing non-judgemental support for their own wellbeing and to avoid offending (Malone, 2016; Muir, 2018; Piché *et al.*, 2018; Shields *et al.*, 2020). Research examining the experiences of MAPs has found that stigma relating to their sexual attraction has a considerable impact on their wellbeing (Stevens and Wood, 2019), as well as representing a significant barrier to accessing support (Houtepen *et al.*, 2016). This not only relates to internalised stigma, making MAPs less likely

to seek support in the first place (Grady *et al.*, 2019; Levenson and Grady, 2019b), but also to stigmatising attitudes held by professionals, who often state that they would not work with MAPs (Levenson and Grady, 2019a; Lievesley *et al.*, 2022; Schmidt and Niehaus, 2022).

Innovation in Germany has demonstrated that people will, in certain contexts, seek support if it is offered. *Prevention Project Dunkelfeld* (PPD) based in Berlin offers interventions to people with sexual attraction towards children with the message, 'You are not guilty because of your sexual desire, but you are responsible for your sexual behaviour' (Beier, Ahlers, *et al.*, 2009, p. 856). PPD received 319 eligible applicants between 2005 and 2011 (Beier *et al.*, 2015), and found that people approached the project often having sought help in the past, and sometimes travelling long distances, indicating a need for a project of its kind. Although the reporting of CSA in the UK tends to be more sensationalist than in other European countries (Höing *et al.*, 2016), PPD has received positive publicity in the UK press (Connolly, 2015; McGuinness, 2015).

Such success at attracting service users, however, has not been widely reported from face-to-face interventions outside of Germany. Interventions do exist, and have engaged in high profile advocacy campaigns. Notably, The Moore Centre for the Prevention of Child Sexual Abuse (2020) in the USA adopts a public health approach to preventing CSA, and their *Help Wanted* (2020) study is developing an online course for young people sexually attracted to children. Similarly, *The Aurora Project* (TAP) (Hocken, 2018), run by the Safer Living Foundation (SLF) in the UK, targets people with sexually harmful thoughts and behaviour who have not offended.

Numbers of referrals to TAP since it was first piloted in 2017 have remained low: in 2020, the SLF (2020) reported that 19 service users had either completed the programme, were currently being supported, or were awaiting support. At the same time, use of anonymous helplines in the USA and the UK and Ireland indicate that there is demand for support services in these countries. The USA helpline, Stop It Now! (2022) reported 474

contacts from people seeking help for their own problematic thoughts or behaviour in 2021, while *Stop it Now! UK & Ireland* (hereafter *Stop!*) received calls from 468 people who felt they were at risk of committing a sexual offence in the year 2020/21.

Some have suggested that difficulties attracting services users in certain national contexts – particularly the USA and UK – may be down to cultural barriers (Van Horn *et al.*, 2015; Lasher and Stinson, 2017). Others have pointed to legal safeguards in client-therapist relationships in Germany, which prevent therapists breaking confidentiality agreements except in cases of imminent danger to life (Beier, Ahlers, *et al.*, 2009; Grady *et al.*, 2015; McCartan *et al.*, 2018; Assini-Meytin *et al.*, 2020). A toolkit for setting up an anonymous helpline, produced by the Lucy Faithfull Foundation, the parent organisation of *Stop!*, suggests that confidentiality safeguards in Germany and the Netherlands facilitate the possibility of offering early face-to-face services with callers (Paskell *et al.*, 2014).

Evidence of effectiveness

Framed as preventative interventions, the problems that researchers have encountered with evaluating their success can be understood in terms of the issues with reporting CSA and attrition in the criminal justice system. Friendship *et al.* (2005) highlight the problems with traditional measures of effectiveness for crime reduction programmes, which focus on reconviction rates. The authors note that already low reconviction rates for sexual offending mean that any study will need a large sample size, something that is impractical considering the small numbers of people convicted of sexual offending, to identify statistically significant changes in reconviction. Furthermore, Robinson and Crow (2009) note that recidivism data alone cannot speak to the effectiveness of an intervention because offending is not synonymous with convictions – the latter being determined by the criminal justice response to detected cases of abuse – and that sexual harm

usually requires a follow-up period of several years in order to capture potential future offending.

Alongside seeking a reduction in detected offending to evaluate their impact, then, interventions in this space tend to use proxy measures such as reduction in known risk factors for offending (Beier *et al.*, 2015), perceived helpfulness of the service (Van Horn *et al.*, 2015) or improvements in service user wellbeing (Clayton *et al.*, 2018). Studies and evaluations using these measures have produced mixed results.

Research emerging from PPD has offered mixed findings. Measuring risk factors associated with offending among incarcerated populations, participants have shown a decrease in some risk factors across multiple studies, including offense-supportive attitudes and self-efficacy deficits (Amelung *et al.*, 2012; Beier *et al.*, 2015; Engel *et al.*, 2018). These have been accompanied, however, by a drop in self-esteem alongside continued self-reported CSA offending, including for some a commencement of accessing child sexual exploitation material (CSEM) (Amelung *et al.*, 2012; Beier *et al.*, 2015). Furthermore, a re-assessment of the PPD data found that identified treatment effects were weak, and the results not statistically significant (Mokros and Banse, 2019).

The extent to which the above measures represent success or failure of the programme is uncertain. There is very little evidence as to what constitutes a risk factor for first-time offending, so development of evaluation tools is based on clinical judgement and prior knowledge about people who have offended (Jackson *et al.*, 2022). On the other hand, a drop in self-esteem, which may put non-offending MAPs at risk of sexually harming (Jahnke, Schmidt, *et al.*, 2015; Hocken, 2018) or suicide (Cohen *et al.*, 2019) – may be related to participants engaging in effective, but challenging, therapeutic work (Beier *et al.*, 2015; Cash, 2016).

Aside from large-scale studies emerging from PPD, there is some evidence that the *Stop!* helpline, and group psychoeducational programmes have

some positive impacts. Van Horn *et al.* (2015) found that callers to *Stop!* and *Stop it Now! Netherlands* who were concerned about their own behaviour took measures to address their risk factors for offending following their interaction with the helplines. Gillespie *et al*., (2018) meanwhile, found improvements on a range of variables linked to risk of offending among users of CSEM who attended the Lucy Faithfull Foundation's psychoeducational *Inform Plus* group programme.

Public attitudes to intervening can be positive

It is common to find references to lurid headlines used when reporting cases of CSA (see Meyer, 2007; McCartan, 2010). Media perceptions of CSA and 'paedophiles', furthermore, appear to impact on the extent to which members of the public are willing to support intervening with people perceived to be at risk of sexually harming (Harper *et al.*, 2017). However, attitudes towards sexual harm are complex (King and Roberts, 2017), and negative perceptions of the TG are not ubiquitous. For example, responses on the *Daily Mail* website to a *Channel 4* documentary about a non-offending man who identified as paedophilic were notably sympathetic (Glennie, 2014), and a regular contributor to Radio 4's *Thought for the Day* discussed the painful silence of men with sexual interest in children who cannot access support (Bell, 2018). Theaker's (2015) study, described above, into online responses to a story of a young support-seeking paedophilic man, indicates that people's reactions to help-seeking individuals in this group are nuanced.

These stories challenge assumptions that the public is universally opposed to supporting potential CSA perpetrators. However, it may be that the dominant discourse makes it difficult to voice sympathetic attitudes. This is illuminated by looking at the experience of volunteers for the programme, Circles of Support and Accountability (COSA). COSA are a community-based programme which involve a 'circle' of volunteers supporting one PWSC (a 'core member') to rehabilitate following release from prison. The

circle meets as frequently as once a week, with volunteers being available at all times to the core member for support, for 12 months to a year (Höing *et al.*, 2013). They provide practical and emotional support to facilitate rehabilitation, encourage desistance, and report concerns to the authorities where relevant. Research into volunteer experience has found that they hold optimistic perceptions of PWSC, but some only tell close friends or family about their volunteering (Höing, Bogaerts, *et al.*, 2016).

The extant literature, therefore, indicates that there is not only a need for interventions for members of the TG, alongside existing interventions for PWSC, but that there are moves to provide this support in the UK and overseas. It is unclear, however, whether these emerging interventions are effective, and there is limited research on the acceptability of these interventions in the public sphere.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have reviewed the literature pertaining to field of interventions for people perceived to be at risk of causing sexual harm (the TG). I began by exploring existing literature on the TG, all of whom are subject to the label 'paedophile'. I next reviewed the literature on dominant discourses surrounding CSA, why it is regarded as a problem, and how attitudes towards children and crime control shape the ways that people who sexually harm are treated. I then explored the forces of marketisation and public protection, and identified how they influence practice of actors in the voluntary sector and those working with PWC, before exploring dominant frames within which CSA and sexual harm are dealt with. Finally, I reviewed the literature on available interventions for the TG, the evidence – or lack thereof – of their effectiveness in reducing sexual harm, and public attitudes towards intervening with this group. In the following chapter I introduce the theoretical framework with which I have brought to the surface the practice of the actors involved in this emerging field, and made sense of its boundaries and inner workings.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

Introduction

In this chapter I introduce the theoretical framework which has guided how I have approached this study. The analysis was informed by the theoretical insights of Bourdieu, having approached the fieldwork with the lens of interpretive policy analysis (IPA). At first glance, Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit could be seen as relevant to this project for two key reasons. First, his later work (in particular *Distinction* (1984) and *The Rules of Art* (1996)) developed his *field theory*, which speaks to the notion that social behaviour can be understood through interrogating the fields within which actors are operating. If we are to consider the network under investigation a 'field' in the Bourdieusian sense – and I demonstrate in this thesis how this is legitimate – then field theory has significant analytic potential. Second, Bourdieu insisted that his work be used in engagement with social phenomena. He advocated for a focus on how reality is constructed through actors' practical engagement with the world (Bourdieu, 1990b). As I demonstrate in this chapter, this orientation is epistemologically and methodologically coherent with a practice-orientation in IPA.

This study crosses disciplinary boundaries, reflecting both the lack of a clear home in policy for the dual issues of CSA and sexually harmful behaviour, and my own research orientation. With this in mind, I begin this chapter by introducing field theory, and reviewing how the theory has been 'put to work' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 96) in settings with resonance for my own. I then introduce IPA as a suitable lens through which to understand the field of interest. Finally, I explore practice-based studies in IPA and demonstrate how a practice-orientation can be used in conjunction with field theory in a way in which each enriches the other. This final section addresses the question of how actors engage in practice in a policy field, and thus serves to situate the fourth research question: *How do*

stakeholders perceive their roles in supporting the implementation of relevant interventions? in the relevant theoretical literature.

Bourdieu's field theory

Bourdieu was critical of esoteric arguments which took the form of 'grand theory'; theory which is intended to account for how the social world works on a large scale (Bourdieu, 1998). Instead, he offered a 'toolkit' for explaining social life on a structural level whilst also taking account of individual agency. Before turning to the concepts with which Bourdieu suggested sociologists achieve this, it is worth noting what he highlighted to be two 'fundamental characteristics' (Bourdieu, 1998, p. vii) of his work.

These are that his work is firstly *relational*, and secondly *dispositional*. The first point emphasises that the most important place to look, in order to understand social life, is not what positions people occupy in a social field, but the 'objective relations' between actors. The second point directs attention to the argument that we construct the world through our embodied engagement with it; this process is elucidated through the complementary concepts of *habitus*, *capital* and *field* (Bourdieu, 1998).

Thus, although Bourdieu suggested that his theories be used as a 'toolkit', where the researcher draws on those elements that are best suited to the job at hand, application of these tools without fully understanding the context in which they are intended to operate severely limits their potential to be applied insightfully (Wacquant, in Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Without familiarising ourselves with the entire toolkit before embarking on our research project, we may find ourselves using a screwdriver to drive in a nail, because we never took time to examine the hammer.

With this in mind, I look in turn at each of the above-mentioned core concepts which compose field theory, in order to prepare the ground for the theoretical work to come.

Field

There are numerous examples of the different types of 'field' that may act as a suitable metaphor for the concept of – in the original French – a *champ* (see, for example, Bourdieu, 1996, p. 232; Thomson, 2008). The central takeaway from these attempts is that there is no single proxy in everyday language. Rather, a field is best understood as a space in which a particular social 'game' is played.

At face value, the analogy of the game may come across as jarring when referring to the practice of working with people at risk of sexually harming children. However, the analogy need not be reductive. Rather, it is a helpful means of conceptualising how actors both co-operate and compete to achieve a certain objective. By 'actors' – in line with Bourdieu's own use (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) – I mean both individuals *and* institutions, in recognition of the potential for both to operate in the field with agency. The concept of field and its analytic potential requires further explication. First, however, I introduce the concepts of habitus and capital.

Habitus

In terms of explaining human behaviour, habitus is a concept which is intended to be all-encompassing (when, of course, used in conjunction with the related concepts). That is, habitus is at once determined by previous experiences and predictive of how individuals will behave in a given setting. In Bourdieu's terms, it is both a 'structured' and 'structuring' disposition, durable over time and transposable between contexts (1990b, p. 41). Habitus is an understanding of the game(s) being played and its rules, along with an investment in its stakes (Bourdieu, 1998). If it were only that habitus is *structured*, then we might see it as something that could be endlessly expanded and refined. However, habitus is also *structuring*, and therefore limits the possible options available to the bearer.

Habitus inculcates the bearer with an awareness of that which is legitimate practice not only in the field within which they operate, but for that

individual in any social sphere (Bourdieu, 1984). It also means that the bearer of a particular habitus will feel at home in a familiar situation, like a 'fish in water' (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 28). This analogy is useful because, unlike a person unthinkingly playing a game at which they are skilled, a fish in water does not notice the context, rather it feels entirely natural.

It is important to note that habitus is unique for each individual, at the same time as it reflects the field(s) within which it has been developed (Bourdieu, 1984). I note below how actors have membership of multiple fields simultaneously, and move in and out of fields during their lifetime. Each experience is determined by the limits set by habitus, and modifies the habitus so that the subsequent range of possible actions is slightly different (Bourdieu, 1977). I return below to the iterative relationship between embodied engagement in the world and knowledge of how the world works.

It is tricky to express the extent to which habitus is supposed to guide action without implying that actors are little more than thoughtless automata, and the charge that habitus is too deterministic has been raised repeatedly (DiMaggio, 1979; Jenkins, 1982; King, 2000). If the preceding explanation comes across as deterministic, the discussion below of how field theory has been applied to empirical questions will demonstrate that, in use, the concept need not erase individual agency.

Capital

The notion of capital is instructive for understanding fields for two reasons. First, it helps identify how actors are accepted as legitimate players in a field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Second, it helps to identify the *objective relations* between actors referred to above. I will explain each of these in turn by way of illuminating the concept.

First, in terms of acceptance in the field, I noted above that Bourdieu likened capital to points that individuals seek to accumulate in order to adopt favourable positions. There are different types of capital in a field –

Bourdieu spoke of economic, social and cultural capital – but all capital that is recognised as such in a particular field can be thought of as *symbolic* capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

Economic capital is the most self-evident of the different forms. Bourdieu (1986) argued that all other forms of capital are at their core a proxy for (although not entirely reducible to) economic capital, and that they draw power from the 'misrecognition' that they are pursued as ends in themselves. Social capital refers to groups or networks of which an individual can claim membership; the greater the extent to which an individual can influence others in these social groups, the more social capital they can be said to possess (Bourdieu, 1986). Cultural capital is accumulated *over time* by an individual; it cannot be simply passed over to another, but must be inculcated in the bearer, for example, in the form of a particular accent or educational background (Bourdieu, 1984).

As noted above, Bourdieu held that all capital can be understood as different forms of symbolic capital. This refers to any form of capital which is recognised as valuable in a given field. The notion of symbolic capital draws attention to the argument that capital is *always* field-specific. It is only given power and meaning through its tacit legitimation in the particular game being played in a field (Bourdieu, 1990a). Furthermore, different types of capital carry different weight, and the struggles over what counts as valuable symbolic capital tell us a great deal about the shape of a field.

Meaningful engagement in the field, then, is contingent on the possession of some form of capital which is regarded as having symbolic value. Once in the field, the distribution of capital illuminates the relations between field members. At its simplest, Bourdieu (1989) argued that actors can be mapped in a field based on the volume and form of capital they possess. Capital, then, is linked directly to the ability to wield power within a field.

Furthermore, in the same way that symbolic capital is misrecognised as being for its own sake, as opposed to being a means to gain ascendancy in

a field, a similar charge is made of the *holders* of symbolic capital. Bourdieu describes the dominance of those with large volumes of symbolic capital as 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 9), and explains it as follows:

> *'Symbolic capital is a credit; it is the power granted to those who have obtained sufficient recognition to be in a position to impose recognition' (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 23)*

That is, actors with the most symbolic capital – the dominant – are granted the right to set the terms of the field, but this is misrecognised as being the *natural order of things*. This misrecognition is what Bourdieu (1998) describes as *symbolic violence*.

Considering its analytic potential, symbolic violence can be thought of as both instructive and insulting. In an example of how the concept can be usefully deployed, Peillon (1998) argues that symbolic violence operates in the field of welfare. He highlights that the administration of benefits is, for the State, an exercise in control, but that the relationship between administrative staff and welfare recipients is misrecognised as caring. Similarly, Grenfell and James (2004) examine the use of neo-liberal economic measures in the field of education, such as assessing teachers according to standardised competency measures. They argue that this practice, misrecognised as an uncontroversial means of identifying good teaching practice, amounts to symbolic violence.

Bathmaker argues that concepts such as capital and symbolic violence are helpful for exploring how actors engage in a field competitively, for personal gain, but less useful for considering the 'internal content' (2015, p. 73); how practice may offer individual, private gains for actors. Shammas and Sandberg focus on how field theory presumes that actors are self-interested, describing the theory, for example, as 'agonistic' (2016, p. 196), as they argue that Bourdieu assumes social relations are inherently combative. It is certainly understandable that a theory which posits that all behaviour can be understood in terms of a struggle over capital may be

regarded as reductive by people who may have made personal sacrifices to pursue a cause they believe to be worthwhile. I return to this critique in Chapter Eight.

The analogy of the game

Thus far I have sketched how the boundaries of the 'game' can be delimited, and how players are inculcated with a 'feel for the game' which guides their practice. In order to fully incorporate the metaphor I consider three questions. First, what unites actors within a field? Second, what determines what is legitimate within the bounds of a given field? Third, how do we understand the ways in which fields interrelate? I answer the first two questions with reference to Bourdieu's concepts of *illusio* and *doxa* respectively, and the third by introducing the concepts of *autonomy* and *heteronomy*.

What unites actors?

If actors enter a field without explicitly acknowledging they are doing so, it is not immediately apparent what unites them. Rather than being united by a decision to play the game, actors in a field are united by their illusio: the recognition of the game and its stakes (Bourdieu, 1998). The concept does not suggest that all actors agree that the game is being played as it *should*, nor that all play for similar reasons. Rather, it holds that anyone who engages in practice within the field – even if their practice involves attempts to disrupt commonly held norms – is acknowledging that the game is worth playing (Bourdieu, 1990b).

Furthermore, the concept of illusio explains how struggles for the stakes of a game become taken for granted by those inculcated in the field. Outsiders might question the practices of a given field because they do not possess the habitus which teaches the bearer that those practices are meaningful. With appropriate induction to the field, however, comes an appreciation for the game, and acknowledgement that its stakes are, in Bourdieu's terms, 'worth the candle' (1998, p. 77).

How is legitimacy determined in the field?

I noted above that adopting the field illusio does not mean that actors necessarily agree on what this looks like. Fields are arenas of struggle not only over the stakes of the game, but over what those stakes look like. At the same time, in order that the field can be said to exist in the first place, there must be at least some consensus as to what game is being played. This consensus, and the associated struggle, is best understood with reference to the concept of doxa and the companion concepts of *orthodoxy* and *heresy*.

For Bourdieu, each field has a set of unarticulated assumptions which form the basis of all action within its bounds (Bourdieu, 1977). This doxa is at once pervasive and tacit and is accepted by virtue of actors adopting the field illusio. The power of doxa is summarised as 'a normalcy in which realization of the norm is so complete that the norm itself, as coercion, simply ceases to exist as such' (Bourdieu, 1987, p. 848).

Whilst the doxa is unarticulated, each field also contains a 'field of opinion' (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 168) where norms are explicitly enforced or contested. The orthodoxy refers to the rules of engagement which are articulated by the dominant members of the field, but which it is possible to challenge while adhering to the field illusio. Over time, as the orthodoxy remains unchallenged by the introduction of alternative rules, as heresy, it passes to the status of doxa and becomes implicit (Bourdieu, 1987). The dividing line between the doxa and the field of opinion is an area of contention: one that dominant members of the field wish to strengthen, as it legitimises their dominance, and the dominated wish to challenge, to 'expose the arbitrariness of the taken for granted' (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 169).

How do we understand how fields interrelate?

The concepts of illusio and doxa help to make sense of the internal logic of a field, but fields do not operate in isolation (Bourdieu, 2000). To fully understand a social field, it is vital to take account of how it relates to the

rest of the social world. We need to identify its boundaries and understand how it is influenced by its relation to other fields.

In terms of the field boundaries, it is helpful to first draw on a point made by Swartz (2008). This is that when seeking to identify a specific field, we should avoid the temptation to focus on those actors which converge around a specific interest, and look instead at spaces of struggle over similar forms of capital. As noted above, a field is not determined by the object of study, but by the struggle over the stakes of the game. The boundaries of a field, then, can be illuminated through empirical study which seeks to determine how far the effects of the field influence that which passes through it (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). If we think about this in terms of illusio, members of a particular field may be identified through their acceptance that the game is worth playing.

Turning to the issue of how fields are influenced by each other, Bourdieu suggests that one which is 'capable of generating its own problems, instead of receiving them ready-made from outside' (Bourdieu, 2000) should be considered autonomous. Heteronomy, on the other hand, occurs when a field is required to take on board the requirements or priorities of those outside its bounds (*ibid*.).

Understanding the functioning of a particular field relies on taking into account the extent to which it is characterised by autonomy or heteronomy. Bourdieu argues that all fields are subject to a greater or lesser extent to the forces of the state, which maintains the (not unchallenged) monopoly over determining legitimacy in the social world, through imposition of its own interpretations of reality (1989, p. 22). Heteronomy occurs, however, when enough of the dominated members of a field – who struggle to accumulate symbolic capital – attempt to gain ascendency by drawing on capital accumulated in external fields (Bourdieu, 1996).

Thus far, I have outlined the meaning of the term 'field' and shown the analytic potential of the concept to help explain how social spaces can be

understood as sites of struggle over meaning of a particular issue. I have also shown how field theory can only be fully understood alongside the concepts of habitus and capital, concepts which help to explain how actors negotiate the social world through an interplay of their own personal histories and their field position(s), and how they engage in practice within the field in pursuit of the objectives of the game at play. I turn now to the ways Bourdieu's theories have been applied in studies that are instructive for my own.

Applications of Bourdieu's Theories

As explored later in this thesis, the policy response in the UK to individuals perceived to be at risk of sexually harming children predominantly frames it as a criminal justice issue. As such, I begin by exploring how field theory has been shown to be relevant to issues relating to criminal justice, and turn next to its application in diverse settings which echo characteristics of the field I am interested in.

Field theory in criminal justice

Noting that the term 'field' has been generally deployed loosely and descriptively when talking of the criminal justice system, Page (2013) argues that taking on Bourdieu's application of the concept to explore the 'penal field' can enable us to not only describe, but *explain* penal change. Of particular interest to my study, considering the interest outlined in Chapter Two in the issue of preventative justice and risk, is the increasing range of literature addressing the 'security field'.

Diphoorn and Grassiani (2016) review the different theoretical approaches that have been applied in attempts to make sense of the how security is delivered. They note that others have used the concepts of 'nodal framework', 'security networks' and 'security assemblages', but that 'field' has more analytic potential. Drawing on field theory and work by Dupont (2004), Diphorn and Grassiani (2016) explore how actors mobilise different forms of capital to gain ascendency in the security field, showing how the

concept of capital can be usefully deployed in investigating social relations in this setting.

Similarly, Whelan and Dupont (2017) review the different ways security networks have been conceptualised, and note that much work on networks is limited due to its lack of attention to the relationships between nodes. Based on their review, they offer three ways in which the concept of 'networks' has been used: as a metaphor; in terms of the method of social network analysis and as a way of understanding governance. Although, considering Bourdieu's (1998) insistence (noted above) that his theory is *relational*, and Whelan and Dupont do draw on his concept of capital, they stop at applying field theory to address the identified issue. Nevertheless, for those familiar with Bourdieu's theories, their study is insightful because of the congruence between their own and his ideas.

Picking up on Dupont's earlier work, Bowden (2019) notes that Bourdieu's influence can be identified in his exploration of security networks (Dupont, 2004), and engages in a full analysis by way of demonstrating how field theory can help to make sense of security fields. These he characterises as 'tangles of policy networks, and relays of government and industry actors, communities, political groups and social movements' (Bowden, 2019, p. 15). He suggests that conceptualising these spaces as fields can help to make sense of how diverse agents compete for favourable positions and to accumulate capital through their practice, particularly in light of the changing security landscape associated with late modernity.

The above examples go some way towards explaining why some scholars are turning to Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit to address problems that are inadequately addressed elsewhere. Although the authors have applied the ideas proposed to examples from their own research, to fully understand the potential benefits of adopting field theory as a lens through which to answer the research questions at hand, it is worth turning to the ways in which the toolkit has been used to answer empirical questions. In this

exploration, I pay particular attention to studies of fields which share characteristics of the field under study in this project.

Field theory in use

One of the most influential ways in which Bourdieu's ideas have been applied in the study of criminal justice is by Chan (1996, 2004), in her longitudinal study of police recruits in Australia, whose training her research team followed for two years. Chan demonstrates that although narratives of police culture usually portray the police as a monolithic entity, with recruits being inculcated into an unchanging system, Bourdieu's theories could help uncover the agency that policing recruits enact. In particular, Chan deploys the concept of habitus to make sense of how recruits bring their own dispositions to their training, and at the time of data collection were varyingly introduced to a policing habitus in a context of structural changes such as rapidly increasing globalisation of financial markets and developing technologies. In so doing, Chan shows how field theory can help explain both continuity and change in a field.

Quinlan (2019) also examines policing habitus, in this case exploring how a field specific habitus can influence dynamics in a wider, dominant field. She focuses on the counterterrorism field in the United States after 9/11, conducting documentary analysis to examine how the New York City Police Department (NYPD) displaced the powerful FBI. Quinlan argues, building on Chan (1996, 2004), that the aggressive habitus of the NYPD enabled it to challenge the dominance of the FBI, and to pursue aggressive policing tactics in the field of counterterrorism.

These two studies, then, demonstrate the importance of understanding both the habitus that individuals bring to their practice and that which operates in a given field. This has particular resonance for my own study, as I am interested in an *emerging field* which sits at an intersection between several more established fields. As a result, it is important to acknowledge how actors in the field come with a habitus, already formed in part – but not entirely – by the larger field(s) with which they are aligned. At the same

time, it is valuable to identify the extent to which there can be said to be a habitus that is specific to the field of interest. Retaining this awareness facilitates an understanding of how and why actors engage in practice in the field under study.

One study with particular relevance to my own project is Brenninkmeijer's (2018) exploration of the field of responses to honour-related violence in the Netherlands. Drawing on organisational analysis, Brenninkmeijer argues that the concept of 'field' is regularly deployed, but that Bourdieu's theory has not been adequately incorporated into these studies. The field Brenninkmeijer is studying has numerous similarities with my own. First, it may be described as 'emerging', as its roots can be traced within the last two or three decades. Second, it is what Hoffman refers to as 'issue-based' (1999, p. 7), in that actors congregate around a particular issue. Third, the field consists of governmental, third sector and civil society actors. Finally, the 'issue' is both highly emotive and highly contested; the question of how the key terms are defined is central to how the field is configured.

In offering an exploration of how actors are at once bound by the circumstances in which they find themselves and capable of enacting agency, Brenninkmeijer's study (2018) shows promise for a nuanced understanding of a policy field. Among her findings, she suggests that issue-based field emergence contains three stages: 1) issue emergence; 2) officialization of the problem and 3) field emergence. She argues that although they are not entirely discrete, they are possible to disentangle, and follow consecutively from each other. I respond to this finding in Chapter Eight.

Although, as noted above, Bourdieu distanced his work from 'grand theory' (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 2), the toolkit *can* come across like a general theory of social life, and it would be easy to apply as one. The question that remains, then, is how the toolkit can be used to answer empirical questions that are not self-referential. That is, rather than describe a field and demonstrate that the concepts of habitus and capital 'work', how can these findings help

to make sense of what we are seeing? In order to address this question, I turn to policy analysis. In the following section I explore how IPA can address shortcomings with mainstream approaches and demonstrate how it can be deployed alongside field theory.

Policy analysis

Mainstream policy analysis

In the foregoing chapters I have explored the context for interventions for people perceived to be at risk of causing sexual harm in the UK, and have indicated that the policy landscape is relatively underdeveloped for these interventions. In the government's most overt commitment to addressing the issue, the *Tackling Child Sexual Exploitation Progress Report* (HM Government, 2017) identified a need to engage potential offenders to prevent them perpetrating abuse for the first time. However, it also identified uncertainty about how to do this, and as such, rather than outline policy which relates directly to intervening, stated an intention to request the CSA Centre of Expertise[4] to conduct further research.

Considering that written government policy in this area is limited, it might be natural to ask how policy analysis can help explore the landscape? *Inaction and current practice*, however, are recognised as amounting to policy alongside 'the formal expression of activities undertaken by government to achieve outcomes' (Civil Service Learning, 2013, p. 5). Based on this definition, the recognition of a problem that needs addressing, and commitment to fund research, constitutes policy as much as the lack of commitment to outline services to be made available to this group. Meanwhile, interventions are being implemented and evaluated, and these developments are likely to be feeding into policy formation.

[4] The CSA Centre of Expertise is a multi-disciplinary research centre hosted by Barnardo's which advises on evidence-based responses to CSA. Its establishment and promise of funding until 2020 was announced in the original *Tackling Child Sexual Exploitation* report (HM Government, 2015).

In this section I explore how an IPA approach can offer a lens through which to understand the landscape. I begin by exploring approaches in mainstream policy analysis, and then discuss how IPA has attempted to offer a means to effectively describe and explain policy change.

Policymaking as a staged process

When discussing 'policy studies' and 'policy analysis', rather than tease out the meanings of the wide range of terminology relating to the research arena (Nakamura, 1987; Hawkesworth, 1988), I use the terms to refer simply to the study of policy processes, as outlined above, which captures what I am doing. The field is dominated by a positivist ontology which aims to describe the world of policymaking 'as it really is' (Guba and Lincoln, 1989). The assumption that there is an objective version of reality, that researchers should aim to describe as accurately as possible, is evident in the number of explanatory models which claim to distil the policymaking process. This attitude typified early approaches to policy analysis, and despite strong critiques (see Hawkesworth, 1988; and Colebatch *et al.*, 2010), it remains the predominant foundation of mainstream policy analysis. It is worth briefly exploring the evolution of this field before turning to IPA.

Early policy studies scholars carved out a distinct space for the field in the 1960s and 1970s (DeLeon, 2006), by arguing that policymaking can be conceived of as a staged process. Although staged models are still widely used, this notion has been challenged. Nakamura (1987) describes the staged model as a 'textbook' approach, which bears little relation to reality, while Jenkins-Smith and Sabatier (1993) argue that the model does not explain how policymaking proceeds from one stage to the next, and is too top-down, erasing the agency of policy actors on the front line.

Crucially, as indicated in Nakamura's (1987) critique, the general consensus is that the staged model does not accurately reflect the experience of individuals who engage in the policymaking process (Hallsworth *et al.*, 2011; Colebatch, 2018). Rather, the image it depicts of

central government deciding to tackle an issue, and then instructing policymakers to act on it (labelled 'authoritative choice' by Colebatch (2010)), is far off from the everyday, messy experience of policymaking.

Whilst the above criticisms have been widely accepted, responses have diverged, with some theorists retaining the model as a heuristic (Dorey, 2014), some reconceptualising the approach (Howlett, 2018), and others discarding it altogether (see below). Generally, positivist approaches have tended to retain, adapt, or offer alternatives to the model, whilst interpretive researchers are more likely to discard attempts at building models in favour of a wholly different approach to policy analysis.

Although I align myself with the latter orientation, it is worth touching on the work of some researchers who have attempted to offer improved models of the policymaking process. Whilst I remain sceptical of attempts to distil complexity in order that the researcher may generalise the process, distilling elements of a tangled system is a necessary first step to understand complexity, without erasing it. Furthermore, the models are built on vast amounts of experience in policymaking, and it is worth taking account of what they have to offer as certain elements are useful. Before turning to IPA, therefore, I introduce multiple streams theory (Kingdon, 1984) and street-level bureaucracy (Lipsky, 1980), and explore their relevance for the topic at hand.

Alternative models of policymaking

Multiple streams theory

Kingdon's (1984) multiple streams theory has at its core an assumption that policymaking proceeds through a series of stages, albeit in a messy and iterative manner. However, the focus is not on the process, but on how items get on the agenda in the first place. To understand this, Kingdon suggests that three 'process streams' move along and, together, determine which issues are addressed. The first stream, 'problems', encompasses those issues which arise because a particular problem makes itself suddenly known, for example due to an accident or a sudden change in indicators,

such as a more accessible reporting system leading to an increase in recorded sexual offences. The second stream, 'policies', relates to issues that are brought to attention due to policymakers being made aware of issues over time, due to accumulated research or opportunities for tackling issues arising from academia and industry. The third stream, 'politics', covers changes which impact the leverage of political actors, the national mood, and political priorities.

For Kingdon (1984), policy change occurs when the three streams come together in a 'critical juncture', opening up a 'policy window' in which actors can push their favoured policy proposals. Although the image that this generates is relatively neat, the model that Kingdon proposes, and the way he explores how the streams interact with one another, takes into account the complex interplay of factors which this encompasses.

For the present analysis, this has utility for understanding why engaging people at risk of sexually harming is regarded as being on the agenda by a range of policy actors. In particular, it highlights the importance of drawing on the experience of 'policy entrepreneurs'; invested actors who devote their own resources to facilitate change (Kingdon, 1984). These actors use windows to push their particular proposals, while institutional factors determine how successfully they are able to push. The concept of multiples streams, then, is useful for understanding how change can happen, and I return to the concept below.

Street-level bureaucracy

As implied by the term, 'authoritative choice' (Colebatch, 2018), the above models of policymaking imply that power is contained in the hands of elite decision-makers. In contrast, an area of policy analysis which takes into account the policymaking potential of those not traditionally thought to hold power is Lipsky's (1980) work on 'street-level bureaucracy'. Lispky argues that, whilst official policy actors ostensibly decide how government will intervene, those individuals who are tasked with implementing policies on the ground, who he termed 'street-level bureaucrats', have a considerable

amount of power to determine how a policy will operate. This echoes Pressman and Wildavsky's (1973) argument that implementation should be regarded as another stage in the policymaking process. However, while Pressman and Wildavsky characterised the influence of those on the front line as essentially thwarting the aims of policymakers (who may contribute to the disjuncture due to flawed theorising), Lipsky identifies street-level bureaucrats as policymakers themselves, with expertise and an interest in ensuring the policies work from their own perspective.

As interventions for people at risk of causing sexual harm are being designed, implemented, and evaluated with apparently little guidance from government, a model of policymaking which presumes authoritative choice will be unable to explain how policy is developed when driven from street level actors, and Lipsky's model is therefore appealing. However, although his approach is labelled 'bottom-up', this is misleading. Rather than taking an interest in how street-level bureaucrats influence policy further up the hierarchy, his model focuses on how street-level bureaucrats influence the policies they are implementing for those on the receiving end (Sabatier, 1986); there is little concern for how policymaking influences 'up'.

In this section I have shown how a focus in mainstream policy analysis on reducing the policymaking process to explanatory models means that the applicability of those models to real life is limited. However, I have also argued that it can be useful to distil the process *to an extent*, to be able to then confront the complex reality. I have shown how multiple streams theory and street-level bureaucracy can contribute to understanding the patterns that can be found in the policymaking process. For the messy substance of the policy landscape, I turn to IPA and its focus on meaning.

Interpretive Policy Analysis

Proponents of IPA positioned the approach as an interpretive methodology for social inquiry, evolving from critiques of policy analysis and the adherence of mainstream scholars to a positive science approach to making

sense of the world (Yanow and Schwartz-Shea, 2014b). Interpretivism in social sciences may be seen as an alternative to the 'clean, calculating and homogenizing' (Dryzek, 1993, p. 213) modernist project[5], with those adopting an interpretivist approach taking the position that reality is constructed in our engagements with it (Yanow, 2000). For policy analysis, this angle has offered a means of understanding government intervention in day-to-day life without an assumption that it is possible to do so on a purely rationalistic level.

In defining the term, IPA is understood best as a methodological orientation from which a range of approaches radiate. Indeed, although they draw on interpretivism, IPA practitioners hold a range of different philosophical presuppositions which determine their particular approach to policy analysis (Wagenaar, 2011). The common feature of IPA approaches, and that which is usually evoked when defining the orientation, is the centrality of *meaning* (Yanow, 1997). In the following subsection I argue that elevating the meaning behind the issues at stake is particularly salient for the topic at hand. I then explore how IPA and Bourdieu's field theory can be used alongside – and enrich – each other.

Centrality of meaning

The importance of taking account how meaning can lead to different interpretations is illustrated by considering reactions to the media campaign of the Prevention Project Dunkelfeld (PPD) in Germany (Beier, Ahlers, *et al.*, 2009). This example is built partly from the literature, and partly from my own experience.

PPD offers psychotherapeutic and pharmacological interventions for people who they diagnose as paedophilic, feel at risk of abusing a child, and would like to be supported to not abuse. The project was launched through a large-scale, upfront media campaign developed to advertise the service.

[5] Certain philosophical texts refer to 'post-positivism' as the ontological approach which counters the positivist arguments. Although not synonymous with interpretivism, I use the terms interchangeably in the current section, depending on the author being cited.

The media campaign was targeted at individuals troubled by paedophilic fantasies, and contained the message, "*You are not guilty because of your sexual desire, but you are responsible for your behaviour. There is help! Don't become an offender!*". Publications from PPD and presentations by the founder have focused on its reach, how accurately it describes the experience of men accessing their project, and the humanising narrative of the campaign (Beier, Ahlers, *et al.*, 2009; Beier, 2019).

At a conference hosted by a feminist research centre, I was speaking to a CSA survivor-activist about my research, and she brought up the advert. She told me how she had been eating her lunch when it came on the television, and she was shocked that it could be aired at such a time. Her main concern was for people who have had traumatising experiences and may be made uncomfortable or triggered by seeing something about sexual abuse at a time when television is usually child-friendly. Furthermore, she was angered by the language, which she told me referred to 'love'[6]. From her perspective, the idea that CSA is about love is particularly abhorrent because this is a narrative that perpetrators often present to victims to minimise their own behaviour, and the victims' experiences.

Clearly, the media campaign had different meanings to people viewing the advertisements, and these meanings are central to understanding not only the impact on members of the public, but the priorities of those putting out the campaign. For example, the decision to consult paedophilic men without reference to similar work with survivors (see, for example, Beier, Neutze, *et al.*, 2009) chimes with the orientation of PPD towards first and foremost meeting the needs of service users. Some organisations that target people at risk of causing sexual harm, on the other hand, such as the Lucy Faithfull Foundation, situate themselves as explicitly child protection focused, and this has been noted by people who have experienced engaging with the

[6] PPD translate the tagline, '*lieben sie kinder mehr, als ihnen lieb ist?*' as 'do you like children more than you/they like?' (Beier, Ahlers, *et al.*, 2009), whereas '*lieben'* is more accurately translated as 'love' (Cambridge, 2019).

service[7] ('Andrew', 2019). In order to tease out these orientations – in reality as well as in rhetoric – it is necessary to interrogate the meanings that lie behind the policy decisions being taken by actors.

In terms of how I have identified the meaning behind key concepts, I have adopted a practice orientation in my application of IPA. I use the remainder of this chapter to justify this decision, and to demonstrate how the practice approach to policy analysis is not only compatible with Bourdieu's field theory, but how it is possible to synthesise these approaches in a way that enriches each.

[(IPA)(Bourdieu)] + interpretivism = methodology

I am not the first to identify synchronicity between Bourdieu's theories and IPA (for example, see Fligstein and McAdam, 2012; Behagel *et al.*, 2017; Brenninkmeijer, 2018), but there has not – as far as I am aware – been a sustained engagement on how they can be deployed together. I draw particularly on the work of Pantzar and Shove (2010), and Wagenaar and Cook (2003), and argue that their approaches are enhanced through being woven together with field theory. This exploration, and the resultant model of practice that I offer below, offers context for the fourth research question: *How do stakeholders perceive their roles in supporting the implementation of relevant interventions?* First, I explore the notion of practice, highlighting its debt to Bourdieu and exploring what it means for a researcher to take a practice-based approach.

Practice

The concept of practice has a substantial history in social research (Lave and Wenger, 1991), often traced back to Bourdieu's *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977). There is no unifying theory of practice, being characterised as an orientation, rather than a self-contained methodology. Nevertheless,

[7] This was touched upon by a 'case cameo' speaker at a conference, who had contacted the Stop it Now! helpline for support after he had offended online, and wanted to stop.

certain applications, in particular by Wagenaar (Cook and Wagenaar, 2012; Wagenaar, 2018), Pantzar and Shove (2010), and Nicolini (Nicolini, 2012), can offer a guide to forming an analytical framework for the present project. In relation to the discussion above, a practice-based approach has been identified as a guiding principle in much IPA research (in addition to the authors drawn upon here, see Fischer and Forester, 1993; Yanow, 2000; Colebatch *et al.*, 2010).

In relation to Bourdieu's own work, he regularly urges researchers to take a practice orientation (Bourdieu, 1990b, 1998). He accuses those positing theoretical accounts of sociological phenomena – accounts that typified French philosophy in the late twentieth century – of 'intellectualism'. That is, a focus on ideas and language removed from an inquiry into the world as it is, which elevate the researcher to the status of an all-seeing, and therefore all-knowing, arbiter of truth (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Rather, he argues, explorations of the social world must take into account the extent to which reality is constructed through our embodied engagement with it.

Much of Bourdieu's writing on practice is focused on how it is central to a sociological understanding of the world. His regularly cited 'formula', *[(habitus)(capital)] + field = practice* (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 101), helps to represent visually (if not mathematically) how the three core concepts discussed above are interrelated, but does not tell us how practice can be studied. At best, it perhaps indicates that by working out the relationship between habitus and capital, and plotting these on the field, it should be possible to understand what practices individuals are likely to engage in. This seems like quite an involved way of studying a field, especially if we can apply the formula the other way round. I draw on theoretical and methodological literature from practice-based studies to explore how, by beginning with a focus on practice, we can edge towards an understanding of the relationship between habitus, capital and field.

Practice put to work

Although there are no agreed boundaries as to what a practice is, I take as a starting point Cook and Wagenaar's definition, as 'any activity, the meaning of which (including the purpose) is derived from a specific context' (2012, p. 4). This definition encompasses practices that are made up of only a few movements or actions, and thus may be considered 'small', such as shaking hands (Nicolini, 2012) to those which are made up of a wide range of behaviours, and may be considered 'large', such as public policy (Wagenaar, 2018).

In terms of practice as an orientation, the approach integrates ontology and methodology. Writers often list several characteristics which unify practice-based approaches, and these usually echo this integration. Of these writers (I draw here on Nicolini (2012), Behagel (2017), Bartels (2018) and Wagenaar (2018)), the most convincing characterisation is of these approaches having a 'family resemblance' (Wittgenstein, 1958). This idea holds that the elements which identify a particular approach as 'practice-based' are not shared by all approaches labelled as such, but that all those approaches share some of those elements, in the same way that genetic traits are found across families. My aim here is not to present an exhaustive list, but to offer some characteristics which illuminate the ontological and methodological orientation of a practice-based approach, and to introduce concepts which I will draw upon below.

One of the most common themes found among practice based approaches is that reality is held to be constructed through humans interacting with the world: practice is *embodied* (Bartels, 2018). This ontological argument contains two related claims which draw us closer to the methods that one might use to examine practice. The first claim centres on the notion of *interaction*, which implies that reality is not simply out there, even when being observed or considered by individuals. Rather, reality comes into being when individuals engage in practice which give it meaning. I may think that the sunset is beautiful, but this is meaningless outside my own

experience of the world unless I communicate my thoughts in some way. The second claim centres on the notion of the *world*. For interaction to take place, there must be a world with which to interact, and this implies materiality. As such, the material world both enables practice and constrains it, as we can only interact with the tools, instruments, artefacts and bodies – what I refer to collectively as resources – at our disposal (Behagel *et al.*, 2017).

A second common theme in practice-based approaches is the idea of practices existing in a web or network (Schatzki, 2005; Nicolini, 2012; Wagenaar, 2018). Different practices may be linked tangibly: managing a network of child psychotherapists is related to running a conference on child psychotherapy, for example in terms of the actors involved, while the two practices are also distinct. Alternatively, similar practices can be translated into other contexts: a therapy manual, distributed amongst a global network of child psychotherapists, may guide similar practices which have only a loose connection over space and time.

A third relevant theme is that practices are carried out by individuals who operate in a system of social relations. That is, practices are given meaning because of the social context in which they operate, which also shapes their form. This ties in with the centrality in IPA of meaning, as it is the social (in interaction with the individual) which shapes the meaning attached to a particular phenomenon. It also sits well with the notion of the field, as fields – and the games played within their bounds – determine the legitimacy of practices; whether they have meaning for those adopting the field illusio.

Taken together, the above three themes – practice as embodied engagement with the world, practices existing in a web, and practice as tied to a system of social relations – begin to highlight how practice can be operationalised as a central unit of analysis when researching a policy network. In terms of a methodological framework, I take as a starting point Pantzar and Shove's "three constituent elements" of practice (2010), which

I will argue can be enhanced through reference to field theory and Cook and Wagenaar's notion of the epistemic dimension of practice (2012).

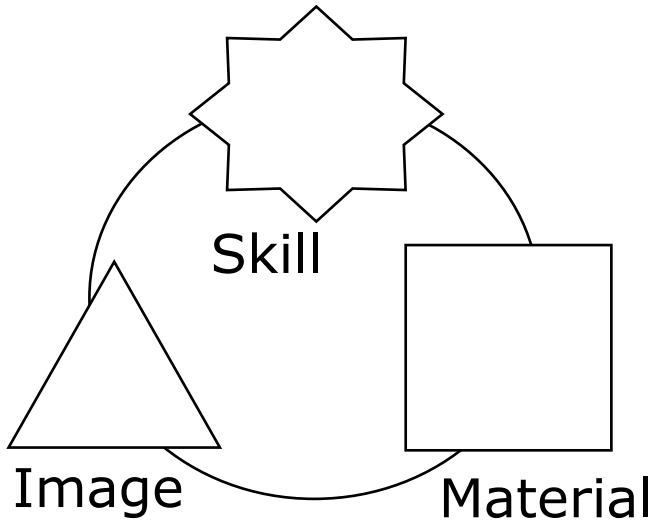


Figure 1: Practices (Pantzar and Shove 2010)

Pantzar and Shove (2010) hold that the three elements of 'material', 'skill' and 'image' come together to determine some actions as a practice (see their visual representation of this reproduced in Figure 1). The centrality of material and image, in particular, sits well with the discussion of practice so far. We have seen that practice necessarily involves the interaction of an individual with the material world, and that the material world exists in a dialectical relationship with practice. For example, in choosing an agency to design PPD's media campaign, the resulting product will have both shaped and been shaped by the material resources available.

Regarding image, this refers to the meaning attached to a practice; as explored above, this is not only central to IPA, but is a key component of Cook and Wagenaar's (2012) definition, quoted on p. 86, and 'meaning' is echoed again in the discussions relating to the social importance of practice. Again, considering the PPD example, I explored above the different meanings of the media campaign for different groups of people. I return below to how the three elements work together and can be understood in the context of field theory, but first address 'skill'.

The notion that individuals bring skills to embodied practices has not so far been introduced. Rather, the individual in the practice-based research I have described has been little more than a conduit for the practices they enact. This is not an oversight, but rather serves to foreground the importance of practice as the means through which the landscape of interventions is created. However, it is important to recognise the importance of the individual, and the societal structures in which they operate. This will be addressed in the following section, in which I bring in Wagenaar's (2018) application of the concept of *background* and explain my decision to replace it, in this study, with habitus.

Background or habitus

Wagenaar developed the idea that background is entwined with practice in his exploration of prostitution policy in Europe (Wagenaar, 2018). I will briefly outline what is meant by the term 'background', before exploring how a focus on habitus can perform a similar function, whilst taking account of how actors engage in practice in the context of the field(s).

The concept of background is taken from Taylor (1995), and refers to those thoughts and ideas that individuals draw upon to make decisions, but are not usually articulated. Taylor takes as a starting point the philosophy of Wittgenstein and Heidegger to explore the 'disengaged' view of the world, which portrays individuals as rational beings who simply process information in order to make decisions. In contrast, in line with the first theme of practice-based approaches outlined above, Taylor argues that individuals perceive and make sense of the world from a position of embodiment, which brings in an element of subjectivity.

From here, Taylor (1995) presents the concept of 'background' as those assumptions which presuppose action that exist out of view, but within reach. Although we can draw on select assumptions and bring them out into the open, where they can be examined and adapted, we are always doing so in a given context, which itself implies background. As such, as background 'arises with engaged agency' (Taylor, 1995, p. 69), examining

it is not a matter of simply bringing it to the fore. Rather, it requires an acknowledgement that we can only understand background in the context of doing the understanding (Taylor, 1995).

Wagenaar (2018) argues, in line with this, that background exists in a dialectical relationship with practice. As such, when people engage in a practice they are doing so in the context of a rich fabric of background with which they make sense of a given situation. However, in his comparative study of prostitution policy in different European countries (*ibid*.), his analysis focuses on a factor that, he argues, is present in all prostitution policy practice: a negative background disposition towards sex work. While his argument is convincing, this level of analysis is of limited use for my purposes. Wagenaar was attempting to explain a trend that he identified in prostitution policy on an international level. While the issue I am exploring certainly has international dimensions, I am interested how policy change can take place in localised contexts within a network. As such, an understanding of why people go against trends, as well as what informs when they go along with them, is important. In order to make the concept useful for understanding practice on a day-to-day level, further work is required to elevate the importance of individual agency in policy work.

There are clear links between background and habitus which are worth taking into account. First, both guide behaviour, and are only examined when the actor comes up against some kind of obstacle. Second, both presuppose *embodied* engagement with the world. Third, both influence how individuals behave, and are modified by their experiences. Indeed, Taylor (1993) acknowledges a synchronicity between the two concepts, and both theorists have much in common with the American pragmatist tradition (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Emirbayer and Goldberg, 2005). In a similar vein, Cook and Wagenaar note that the pragmatist philosopher Dewey aimed 'to develop a unified account of doing and knowing in which inquiry is ongoing action in and on a situation that has become indeterminate by some sort of blockage or opportunity' (2012, p. 16).

I would suggest that habitus, when applied as a component of field theory, goes further in explicating the nuanced relationship between agency and structure. Background is at once made up of those assumptions that individuals deploy to inform practice, *and* the societal norms, rules and institutions which constrain individual agency. Whilst Wagenaar (2018) successfully addresses the *constraints* on policy practice, identifying those influences which guide individual agency requires a more detailed analysis. It is through understanding how individuals are guided by a habitus which has been moulded by experiences in this and other fields that it becomes possible to obtain an understanding of this interplay. I return now to the three components of practice to demonstrate how habitus can be incorporated within these.

Material, image and skill

Having argued for the analytic potential of habitus in place of background, I return to Pantzar and Shove's three elements of practice: material, image and skill. I identified above the centrality of *materiality* to practice and argued that in order to analyse practice it is necessary to explore how the actor engages with material resources. I then argued that studying the individual and field-specific habitus which guides behaviour can help make sense of how actors engage in practice in particular fields. Although the categories are not interchangeable, I would suggest that this maps roughly onto Pantzar and Shove's categories of skills and image as elements of practice (2010).

When introducing the term 'skill', Pantzar and Shove refer to it as 'bodily knowledge' (2010, p. 452). The implication is that engaging in practice involves enacting some element of knowledge, either explicit or tacit. Cook and Wagenaar (2012), similarly, suggest that practice has an 'epistemic dimension'. Echoing Taylor (1995), they refute what they term the 'Received View' (Cook and Wagenaar, 2012, p. 4), which holds that knowledge is aggregated by actors who apply it in practice. Rather, they suggest, knowledge is evoked within practice, with which it exists in a

dialectical relationship. As such, 'skill' offers a promising concept with which to interrogate the individual habitus that actors bring to their practices.

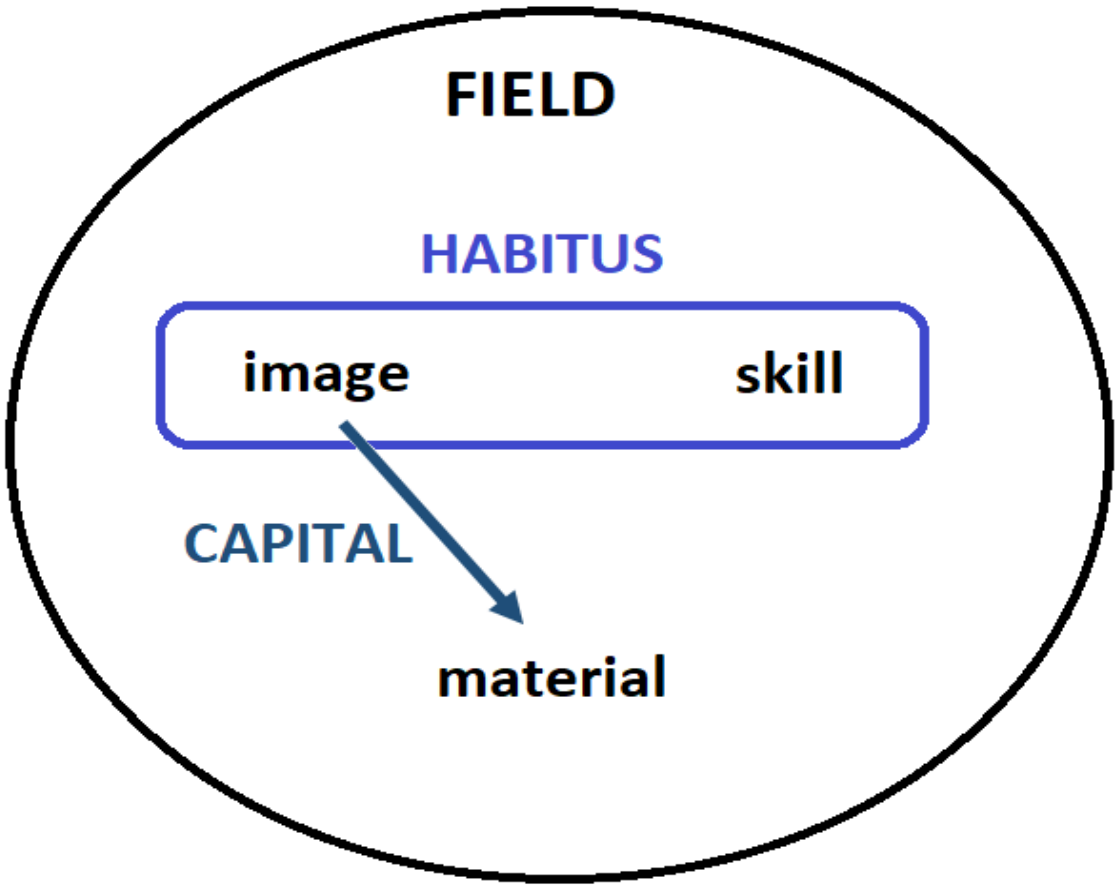


Figure 2: Practice. A synthesis of Pantzar and Shove's (2008) characterisation of practice and Bourdieu's field theory

So far, then, I have suggested that it is possible to identify the skills invoked in practice, and the physical resources that actors draw on in their doing through the concept of 'material'. I will suggest, finally, that the concept of 'image' works on both these elements to inform our understanding of both habitus and capital. I noted in this section that image can be understood to refer to meaning, and that meaning is central to IPA. I also explored, in the first half of this chapter, how fields are sites in which particular practices and achievements are invested with power through being given meaning. As such, the way practices and resources are interpreted is central for understanding any social field and the practices within it.

Above, I explored how skill can be used to identify how habitus operates for an individual. Image, then, can help make sense of how it determines

legitimate behaviour on a field level. To adapt an example from Bourdieu (1998), we might think about the meaning of taking off one's hat. Many people would think little of taking off a hat, but in a Church taking off your hat is synonymous with respect; doing so signals an acknowledgement of the 'rule' that it is disrespectful to wear a hat, whilst not doing so signifies non-allegiance, and can result in refusal of entry to the field. It is not the hat, or the action of removing the hat, that signifies this rule, but the meaning – the image – attached to its removal.

As well as working to give meaning to practices within a field, I suggest that image also works to transform material into capital. Whilst we may accept that practice involves embodied engagement with the world, implying that there is a material world with which to engage, in any field it is only possible to turn the fruits of this engagement into capital if it is recognised as capital in the field.

Taking these two together, then, and with reference to Figure 2, where I have represented this visually, we can see how habitus and capital are both elements of practice which can be illuminated through empirical study. Furthermore, we can see how both habitus and capital – which respectively structure behaviour and determine an individual's position in the field – are contingent on the meanings that operate in the context of a particular field.

My adaptation of Pantzar and Shove's model of practice (Figure 2) helps to enrich both the practice approach and field theory in two ways. First, through explicating the role of *image* in relation to skill and material, it elevates the importance of a focus on meaning. That is, image is not simply a component alongside the other two. It exists in an iterative relationship with skill, understood together through the lens of habitus, and acts on material to legitimate certain objects (and I use the term 'object' in the most general sense) as capital.

Second, the model is the result of theorising – based on the work of Pantzar and Shove (2010) and Wagenaar and Cook (2003) – how we might

understand practice in order that we can research it. As such, it offers some insights as to how Bourdieu's formula (see p. 85) can be broken down in a way that maintains the complex relationship between the key concepts of habitus, capital and field.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented the theoretical framework by way of framing the remainder of the PhD. This framework was developed in two stages which straddled the fieldwork and analysis. As such, it is based in part on the presuppositions with which I approached the fieldwork, and in part on the theoretical pursuits I was led to after conducting the initial analysis. Presented in a way that is intended to make it comprehensible, it reflects a train of thought which was, in reality, highly iterative.

In situating myself theoretically, I began this chapter by introducing Bourdieu's field theory, and exploring his key concepts of field, habitus and capital, pointing to ways in which the theory is suitable for my present purposes. I then drew this out by briefly exploring how Bourdieu's theories have been used in studies with resonance for my own.

In the second half of the chapter, I situated my own study in the field of policy analysis. I indicated an allegiance to IPA and its focus on the importance of *meaning*, and argued that field theory can be used alongside the practice orientation found in IPA. I adapted the model of practice proposed by Pantzar and Shove (2010), and showed how my version can be understood using field theory, whilst offering a more comprehensive understanding of what Bourdieu's 'practice approach' might look like. I turn in the next chapter to the methods that I employed in order to achieve this.

Chapter Four: Methods

Introduction

Having explored in the previous chapter how my data collection and analysis were shaped by bringing together field theory (Bourdieu, 1996) and interpretive policy analysis (IPA), I turn in this chapter to the methods I employed in order to carry out the study. It is no ground-breaking observation that social research is a messy and iterative process, which appears more fluid and linear in the writing-up than in reality. In order to represent my methods intelligibly, I explore them in the order in which I carried them out, rather than the order in which they appear in the thesis. As such, I discuss the methods which informed the findings presented in Chapters Six and Seven *before* turning to those deployed for the research presented in Chapter Five, *Mapping the Field*.

At the same time, with a view to retaining a sense of the iterative nature of social research, this chapter weaves together my plan for the research with my experience carrying it out. I include extracts from my research diary, as well as extracts from interviews. These are presented as quotes, with the former labelled 'Research diary' along with the date of entry, and the latter simply labelled 'Participant' and a number, depending on the order in which they appear[8].

I begin with a brief overview of my methods, before examining certain methodological decisions more closely. I explore how I conducted semi-structure interviews to uncover the field logic, addressing the study design, ethical issues, recruitment and analysis. I then follow a similar structure in showing how I used desk-based research to map the contours of the field, reviewing the study design, data collection an analysis, including a brief statement on ethical issues rather than a standalone section. I end with

[8] This simple numbering system was possible as it transpired that no participant has been quoted twice in this chapter.

some observations on my object of study, and the extent to which my participants could be considered 'elite'.

In some documents associated with this chapter (appendices A, B and C) – I refer to 'field' and 'landscape' interchangeably. This reflects the fact that I did not apply Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit until I was well into the analysis of my qualitative data. Rather than using the term 'field' as an analytical concept, then, until that point I had used it descriptively. In line with this, the methods that follow were not chosen in order to explain or predict the shape of the landscape, but to provide a structure within which I could systematically explore it.

Research questions and methods

As outlined in the introduction, the overarching research question that framed this study was: *what are the barriers to and facilitators of intervention work with people perceived to be at risk of sexually harming?*

I set out to address this question with four research questions:

1. What is the impact of dominant discourses relating to CSA and sex offending on decision-making in policy and service delivery?
2. How do stakeholders perceive the relationship between their own work and the wider policy/ practice context in regards to supporting the implementation of relevant interventions?
3. How do stakeholders balance competing priorities in supporting the development of relevant interventions?
4. How do stakeholders perceive their roles in supporting the implementation of relevant interventions?

At the time of data collection I had not conceptualised the space I was looking at as a *field*. I had, however, chosen to adopt a practice orientation to the research, and had developed a rudimentary version of the diagram of practice introduced in Chapter Three (see p. 92). With this in mind, I set out to conduct semi-structured interviews with people who were in some

way involved with the work I was describing as 'preventative interventions for potential perpetrators of CSA'. Wanting to remain open to speaking to people who I may not have regarded as falling under this category, and aware that I was addressing myself to an already small cohort of individuals, I remained open to recruitment, using snowball sampling to widen the recruitment pool. I conducted 29 interviews with a total of 30 participants, and I analysed these using constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2014).

Following the qualitative interviews and analysis, and having begun to draw on Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit to make sense of the data, I mapped what I was now referring to as the 'field' in the UK. I drew on my findings from the first phase of the study to conduct a document analysis of publicly available information (for example, websites or press releases) emerging from the organisational actors I mapped. In the remainder of this chapter I explore these decisions and steps taken in further detail. I first describe and justify the study design, data collection and analysis for the semi-structured interviews and mapping in turn. Finally, I consider the object of my study, exploring how it can be a form of 'studying up'.

Semi-structured interviews

Study design

I explore in this section how semi-structured interviews can be a useful vehicle for exposing the elements of practice discussed in Chapter Three, and thus bringing practice to the surface. I address this from two directions, both of which serve as a response to a claim by Nicolini that it is 'unacceptable' (2012, p. 217) to study practice in this way. First, I argue that the very nature of my application of interpretive policy analysis means that the interviews I conducted have advantages over those that Nicolini was seemingly evoking when he spoke about '*post-hoc* verbal accounts' (2012, p. 218). Second, by deploying a tool offered by Nicolini, I shaped

my interviews in order to bring practice to the surface. I close this section by describing the interview schedule and how it evolved.

Studying practice through interviews

In order to highlight the utility of the semi-structured interview as a primary method in practice-based research I elevate the focus on practice as an *orientation* rather than a *target*. The way that this shaped my research is best illustrated through exploring the role of my own practice orientation.

I first came to think about my topic of interest in terms of practice shortly after familiarising myself with IPA, and coming across Wagenaar (2018), in which the author suggests that seemingly widely divergent prostitution policies in different European states are all informed by a negative background disposition towards sex work. In this article, Wagenaar deploys a practice approach in order to make sense of policy, but rather than offering a meticulous reconstruction of the practices which make up policy, his analysis focuses primarily on background dispositions outside of which 'practice is neither possible nor intelligible' (*ibid*., p. 386), and how these help make sense of 'policy as practice'. At this stage, my own interest was piqued because of the parallels that could be drawn with my own topic. In particular, I was interested in Wagenaar's exploration of how the contradictions inherent in our policing of sexuality influence policymaking.

I then familiarised myself with other practice approaches referenced here (among others, Wagenaar and Cook, 2003; Pantzar and Shove, 2010; Nicolini, 2012; Shove *et al.*, 2012; Behagel *et al.*, 2017), and became interested in how I could bring the practices of actors to the surface through my research. I interrogated the work of Wagenaar and Cook (Wagenaar and Cook, 2003; Wagenaar, 2011; Cook and Wagenaar, 2012), and was struck by Pantzar and Shove (2010), about which I wrote the following:

> *'Their discussion of how the innovation of Nordic Walking was created through the practices of consumers of walking poles is very thoughtful, and although they use a very simple model they*

are not at all reductive… their theory may have relevance for me thinking about how practitioners I'm speaking to create policy through their practices.' (Research diary 04/06/2019)

This set of readings led me to develop an early version of the model of practice presented in the preceding chapter (see p. 92). Researchers commonly state that ethnography is the best (or only) way to go about a practice-based study (Nicolini, 2012; Bartels, 2018; Wagenaar, 2018). However, this would not have been appropriate for my current project, as I am studying a dispersed field. Although I could study the elements of the network that exist in the open, such as conferences, these spaces are – by virtue of their being moments at which actors come together in public – far from the reality of actors' everyday engagement in the field.

I thus began preparation for my fieldwork with the intention to study the practice of intervening with those I was referring to at the time as 'potential perpetrators', and a tool offered by Nicolini (2009) to counter the perceived limitations of the semi-structured interview, to which I now turn.

Interview to the double

The issue, according to Nicolini (2012), with using semi-structured interviews to uncover practice, is that they will never amount to an adequate representation of the practice itself. Rather, they offer a refraction of the practice, removed from the original practice in both time and space, through the perspective of the talker. In order to address this, he devised a method called 'interview to the double' (Nicolini, 2009), which is intended to facilitate interviewees reconstructing events in a way that feels closer to 'real time'. This method takes the form of a thought experiment, where the participant must imagine that they are going to be replaced by a double, and nobody must know the difference. They are then invited to imagine that the double will need to undertake a certain activity (for example, turn up at work), and needs to be briefed about how to behave in order that nobody suspects anything is amiss.

Due to time constraints, I did not use the interview to the double in all interviews, but for those in which I did, it is possible to identify the utility of the method for uncovering *how* actors engage in practices. It is worth briefly offering an insight into my findings in order to demonstrate this. In Chapter Seven I offer a typology of actors, including 'multitaskers' and 'wardens'. The former attempt to achieve the goal of harm prevention through tackling the issue of sexual abuse in as many ways as possible, while the latter focus on one-on-one work with individuals to help with their personal issues. Participants in both of these groups struggled with the interview-to-the-double in ways that reflect their orientation. For example, someone whose practice was in line with multitaskers (although for other reasons did not fit within the category) hesitated when I described the task:

> *'I don't want to deflect from answering it, I'm just trying to work out… is there a way of answering that? Because I think the problem with my job is that I flit between lots and lots of different things.' (Participant 1)*

In contrast, a participant I labelled a 'warden', after giving some detail about their practice, paused before saying:

> *'It's really hard Zoë, because I don't think… I can't really without the client there responding.' (Participant 2)*

Thus, the interview to the double challenged these two participants in ways that uncover their practice. The former offered a visual description of their engagement in the field which captures the dynamic practice of multitaskers. The latter, meanwhile, spoke elsewhere in the interview about having given up on trying to engage in other work in the field, instead focusing on clients; and their difficulty with the thought experiment demonstrates how their practice is more focused and oriented to individuals, as is characteristic of wardens.

I explore these orientations in detail in Chapter Seven, but for now this brief account is sufficient to demonstrate that the interview-to-the-double has merit in overcoming some of the issues identified by Nicolini.

Interpretivist methods and the interview

A second motivation for using semi-structured interviews in order to study practice is that the method I adopted, along with the theoretical framework offered in the previous chapter, is richer than those that Nicolini characterises as '*post hoc* verbal accounts' (2012, p. 218). The previous chapter explored the focus in IPA on meaning, and how policy is best understood through uncovering the meanings that actors attach to policies and concepts. I suggest that this focus also helps to bring practice to the surface, in ways that asking questions about action cannot.

This relates to the suggestion above that practice is an *orientation* to studying empirical phenomena. That is, if we take the 'practice orientation' to indicate an interest in exploring the world through *the lens of practice*, rather than through *documenting practices*, then our primary aim is not to reconstruct practices as they happen(ed), but to understand embodied engagement in the world as a set of practices. Then, our task is to understand its constituent parts (as far as these can be disaggregated).

This is where the model of practice (see p. 92) comes into use as an analytical tool. Looking to study the practice of intervening with 'potential perpetrators', and being guided by the tenets of IPA, semi-structured interviews firstly helped me to understand that I had mischaracterised this practice, and secondly allowed me to identify the image, skill and resources which come together to represent practice in the field I identified. The focus being on how the practice is constructed, rather than documenting the practice itself, means that I am able to understand how those engaging in it contribute to sustaining the field *as* a field.

Interview schedule

The original interview schedule (see appendix A) was designed to reflect the four research questions and take into account the analytical components of meaning and practice. The questions were grouped under subheadings which corresponded to each research question (RQ), as indicated in parentheses at the end of each subheading:

- Impact of dominant discourses (RQ 1)
- How do stakeholders perceive their own roles? (RQ 4)
- How do stakeholders understand their work in context? (RQ 2)
- Competing priorities (RQ 3)

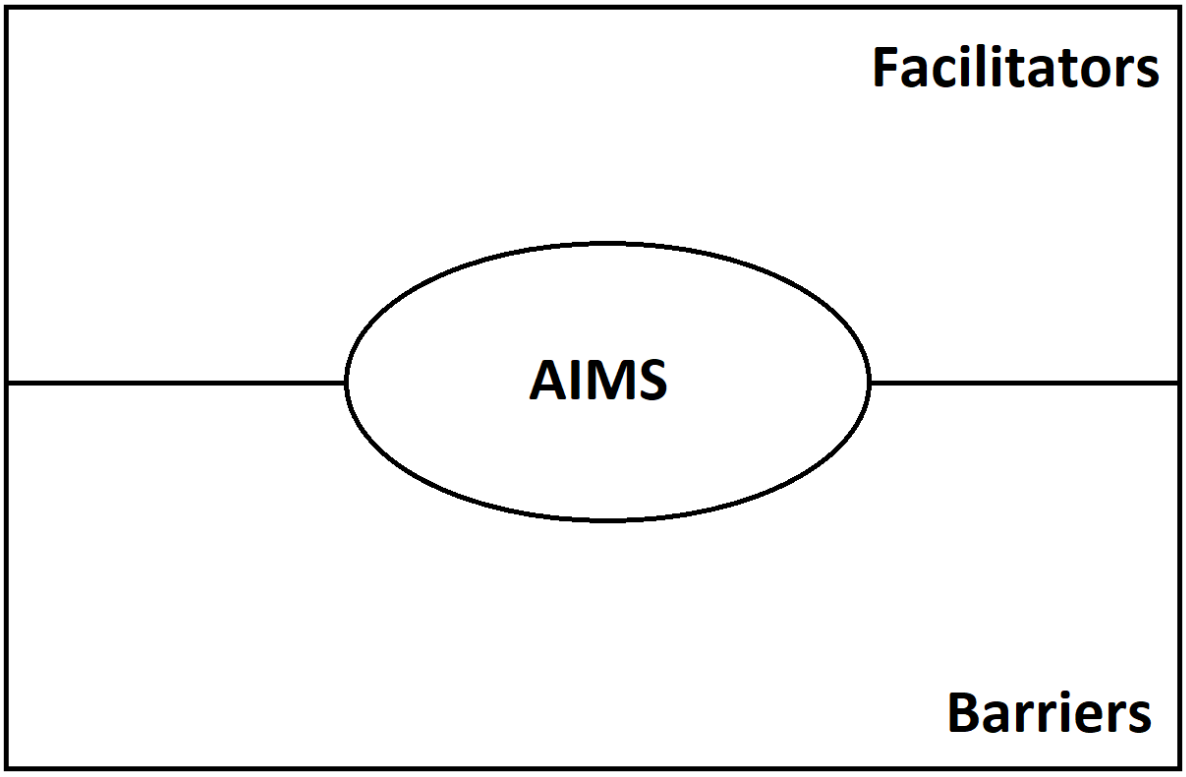


Figure 3: Written exercise

As well as the interview to the double, I introduced a written element as a means of eliciting responses in a way that direct questioning can fall short (Bravington and King, 2019). I brought pens and A3 paper to the interview, wrote participants' declared aim(s) in the centre, and asked them to write down what or who they need in order to achieve the aim(s) (see Figure 3). Initially, I asked participants to distinguish between what they could control

(writing these elements inside the circle) and what they could not (written outside the circle). However, this extra instruction caused some confusion, and so I omitted it from subsequent interviews.

Having this visual tool was helpful for two reasons. First, it provided a 'hook' which could be returned to in order to prompt further answers. For example, asking participants verbally about the barriers, and then facilitators, to achieving their aims, might have elicited initial responses, but if participants had several in mind they might only offer one or two before moving from one element to the next. Although some participants did not write their thoughts (I made it clear that writing – as with all elements of the interview – was optional), having a large, empty sheet of paper seemed to be an invitation to some to fill the space, and this activity offered opportunities for follow-up questions. One interview was conducted over the phone, and afterwards I noted the following:

> *'Not having the written exercise I think held it back a little bit… because there's not that visual reminder of what she's said already.' (Research diary 17/01/20)*

Similarly, several participants took some time to think about different barriers and facilitators, and having the paper to look at gave them something to focus on whilst doing so. Although I left space for participants to think about answers to questions, periods of silence can be awkward in interviews (Adams, 2010). The paper gave a natural means to break eye contact without seeming rude or evasive, and facilitated these silences.

As noted, the original interview schedule was built around the four research questions, and contained questions which drew on my initial literature review, and my familiarity with the topic. However, following the first interview I identified a need to '*to take account of the risk that the interviewee will run away with earlier questions*' (Research diary 28/08/19), and adapted the interview schedule to elevate the most central elements of the interview whilst relegating more detailed questions to 'prompts' (see

Appendix B). In making this change, whilst keeping the written element and the interview to the double, the participant was centred in the interview – as opposed to their expertise or their opinions – and this enhanced my practice orientation to the research.

The simplified version of the interview schedule felt more natural, and facilitated conversations which focused on the meaning that participants attach to the issues we were talking about. As a result, I had an interview schedule that focused less on what I expected to find (that is, informed by my early literature reviews) and more on how I wanted to investigate it (elevating the focus on meaning and practice). I was very quickly familiar with it, and sometimes did not bring it out at all during interviews, as it felt like I was able to simulate a more natural conversation without it. I noted at one point:

> *'I've stopped bringing [the interview schedule], as I have most of the key questions in my head… Also, I'm allowing interviews to be more open-ended than originally planned.' (Research diary 05/11/19)*

Other researchers have suggested that qualitative research can be more fruitful if steps are taken to make it feel more natural (Miles and Gilbert, 2005). I suggest that this was particularly the case because I was studying professionals, asking them about their own expertise. At the end of one interview, a participant questioned whether the interview had been helpful, explaining:

> *'I never really think about 'what's my overall aim?' You just do it. And so that was interesting for me… because I thought you'd basically just ask 'what interventions are there?' and I'd tell you, you know?' (Participant 3)*

The focus on aims disrupted this professional outlook, and gave participants the opportunity to examine what they bring as individuals to their practice.

Ethical issues

The fieldwork received ethical approval from the School of Sociology and Social Policy (SSSP) research ethics committee at the University of Nottingham. Additionally, three organisations for whom participants worked or volunteered had their own internal ethics procedures. For the SSSP ethics application, I submitted a form which demonstrated how I intended to deal with possible ethical issues with the research, alongside the following documents:

1. Interview schedule (Appendix A)
2. Participant consent form (Appendix C)
3. Participant information sheet
4. GDPR privacy notice
5. An example email inviting participation in the study
6. Risk assessment form

Among the three organisations with internal ethics procedures, one required a form to be completed detailing the research design and stating how I intended to address ethical issues. Two requested a 'light touch' ethics process, requiring an email explanation of my research aims, design, and example interview questions.

Although the procedures for addressing ethical issues with the research were robust, ethical considerations do not simply materialise during fieldwork and dissipate once the researcher returns to her desk (Rohleder and Smith, 2015). Rather, the issue of ethical conduct permeates every stage of the research, and continues to be relevant whilst writing up. For example, I return at the close of this chapter to the question of service user involvement, which is one I continue to contend with. Here, I focus on two ethical issues that arose in relation to the semi-structured interviews: anonymity and confidentiality, and participant expectations.

Anonymity and confidentiality

Interviews were conducted anonymously and confidentially. Although I acknowledged that I may not be able to completely disguise participants' identities (for example, some people reading quotes may recognise a turn of phrase that they have heard a colleague use before) and reflected this in the consent form (see Appendix C), I went to lengths to disguise participants' identities as far as possible. I maintained confidentiality of participants by not telling others who I had interviewed and keeping physical and electronic data locked and password-protected respectively. When writing up, I made a list of gendered pseudonyms and assigned them at random, so that participants' gender could not be presumed based on their assigned pseudonym.

Offering confidentiality and anonymity opened up and limited my research in different ways. On the one hand, I found that participants were more forthcoming than I had anticipated. I noted above that by changing the interview schedule and adopting a more conversational style I was able to elicit increasingly thoughtful responses. I felt this was enhanced because interviews were anonymous and confidential. For example, several participants shared information with me that they said would be harmful to their organisation if it were known to come from them. In these instances, participants asked me to either disguise the organisation when reporting the results, or to not quote them at all. This gave me the impression that participants were keen to engage with the interview as openly as possible, to the extent that they divulged some information that I could not openly admit to knowing. On the other hand, this protection for participants limited my ability to map the field. I return to this below when discussing the mapping process.

Responsibility towards participants

I became aware early on in the research process that many participants were interested in taking part because they hoped that my findings could

contribute to their work in the field. Indeed, I anticipated the same, including the following in the participant information sheet:

> *'… I hope that through this research I will be in a position to make meaningful policy recommendations that are applicable to your field.'*

I was grateful throughout my fieldwork that participants were forthcoming and generous with their time, and felt beholden to them to offer something that they felt made their investment worthwhile. I wrote the following, after noting a concern that I would not have something insightful to say:

> *'I would feel like I've let down my interviewees, all of whom are interested to see what I come up with, and what I can tell them about the network that they're immersed in.' (Research diary 29/10/19)*

Related to this, I discuss below how I consider my participants elite in relation to members of the TG and to myself as a researcher, but in many ways they occupy vulnerable positions in relation to others. Some have gone so far as to risk taking on the stigma attached to service users, making it worth asking to what extent my intervention may risk making their situation more difficult, not easier as they may have hoped? For example, I explore in Chapter Eight how actors in this field engage in 'translating' their message to make themselves heard by people who do not necessarily agree with them. It is possible that by laying bare what holds the field together – agreement that people perceived to be at risk of sexually harming others are deserving of support – I may make this work more difficult for some.

Although these concerns are to some extent valid, they are also somewhat allayed because I have been speaking to people who are familiar with social research. Indeed, I noted above that I required ethical approval from three organisations whose members of staff I wished to interview. This gave the organisations the opportunity to have more detail than is given on the

participant information sheet. In particular, having sight of my intention to use grounded theory means that those reviewing the request (who will have been versed in research methods) will have known that I could not determine what my findings would look like. Evidence, perhaps, that this step 'worked', was that one organisation did refuse me access, although as I did not have enough communication with the organisation in question to fully understand their reasoning.

Ultimately, the nature of social research is that those embarking on it cannot control what they find, nor the repercussions of having found something new. Moreover, as a researcher it is expected that I will engage in my task with integrity and honesty. I note in Chapter Eight that there is an opportunity to use my findings to engage in further work with those in this field. Whether or not this happens, I anticipate that the value of having made sense of an emerging field – for those within it, for those outside it, and for those with an interest in the theory that I have enriched through my study – will be appreciated as a contribution worth making.

Recruitment

As I explore in Chapter Five, the number of interventions in this area of practice in the UK is small, and it is possible to list those individuals whose names appear most frequently. However, although I intended to speak to people whose work relates to 'interventions for potential perpetrators of CSA', I was aware that this was not a clearly delineated category. Although I came later – as discussed below – to think of the area of intervention as a 'field' (Bourdieu, 1996), at this stage I was interested simply in the practice of intervening with 'potential perpetrators'. As such, I hoped to speak to people who engage in this practice, as well as some who could but choose not to. Taken generously, this could apply to anybody.

It was therefore necessary to choose a systematic method of identifying potential participants that opened up rather than closed down the possibility of finding something unexpected, whilst also generating data

that spoke to my research questions. To this end, I categorised potential participants according to three tiers, which I differentiated as follows:

1. *First tier* referred to those who took an active role in this area of practice, either through advocacy or service delivery. These individuals not only worked in organisations that target the TG, but either occupied senior roles in these organisations or engaged in advocacy in this issue beyond their day jobs.
2. *Second tier* referred to individuals who worked in relevant organisations, but did not appear to engage in relevant practice beyond their roles, and in turn their roles were either junior or not directly related to the area of practice I was interested in.
3. *Third tier* referred to individuals for whom there was no evidence that they take a professional or personal interest in this area of work, but whose names came up as potentially relevant, or who worked alongside others listed as first or second tier.

As 'second tier' included people whose work touches upon this area even if they may not engage in relevant practice, by contacting first and second, but not third, tier, potential participants, I was able to build a cohort of relevant individuals. That is, most of the people I contacted engage in practice in this area of intervention, while some do not, although their work enables them to speak to the issues explored here.

In order to organise my access to the field, I began by writing a list of relevant organisations that I was aware of. I then wrote to some contacts within these organisations to ask if they felt there was anyone missing who I should include. Alongside this, I reviewed policy documents from the UK nations which addressed sexual violence or 'violence against women and girls' and noted down contributors to documents which addressed the needs of 'potential perpetrators'.

For those individuals for whom I had contact details (usually an email address), I wrote directly asking if they would be interested in taking part

in the research, and with their consent sent them a personalised Participant Information Sheet containing further information. For those for whom I did not have contact details, or where my interest was in an organisation rather than a specific individual, I wrote to a generic email address, found online, explaining my interest and request. As noted above, at this stage my understanding of the landscape of relevant interventions was limited, and inclusion criteria was necessarily broad. The participant information sheet articulated my intentions for the research in such a way as to allow potential participants to self-select, and to thus further narrow the sample. In interviews I asked participants to suggest further participants, widening my sample by snowballing.

In total, I interviewed 18 out of 47 individuals I labelled 'first tier', and 11 out of 47 'second tier'. I was put in touch with and interviewed one participant who, it transpired during the interview, was not interested in contributing to this area of work. Although our mutual acquaintance (who also participated) did not explicitly state this, I sensed the contact was made because of this individual's vocal antagonism towards much work that goes on in this field, that our contact felt I should take into account.

The above methods ensured that I captured people who are involved in the network I had identified in the early stages of my PhD. Through detailed mapping and triangulating my findings with people in the network, I managed to build a list of individuals which felt comprehensive. Indeed, I found that the same names came up repeatedly, and by the last interviews there were few new names being mentioned as relevant for me to contact.

I know, however, that there are people outside of the network I identified talking about the issue at hand. For example, in Chapter Two I discussed the communities of Minor Attracted Persons (MAPs) who are asserting their rights, most commonly in online spaces. I did not seek out representatives of these communities because I did not find evidence that they are contributing to policy in this area of intervention, nor to the landscape itself. It is possible that my decision was self-fulfilling. That is, by not identifying

potential service users who are acting as self-advocates, I was unable to in turn identify how these groups are contributing to the changing landscape. I return to this issue when I discuss 'studying up', below.

When faced with contacts who were uncertain or slow to respond, I was persistent in following up emails, whilst respecting decisions by individuals to not take part. I discuss here two common responses to my requests for participants: enthusiasm and ambivalence.

Enthusiasm

Something that greatly facilitated my access to participants was the enthusiasm by many to take part in the project. As noted above, this landscape of intervention is in a state of flux, and there are several projects emerging and being spearheaded by people with considerable personal investment in the issue. My sense that I could make a contribution to knowledge by trying to work out why it is emerging in the particular way that it has been was echoed by several people I got in touch with.

Furthermore, I explore in the following chapters how actors in this field are tainted by association with sexual offending and the image of the 'paedophile'. For some, this involves a degree of self-sacrifice, as they are potentially subject to stigmatisation as a consequence of allying themselves with members of the TG who, as discussed in Chapter Two, are stigmatised as the deviant 'other'. I was aware that by asking people to contribute to my research I was giving them an opportunity to air their feelings – in an anonymous setting – about this intensely emotional issue.

Ntienjom Mbohou and Tomkinson (2022) described the first author's experience of interviewing government officials in Cameroon about diaspora policy. The 'eagerness' of some contacts to participate in the research threatened to draw the study away from the research aims, as participants had a keen interest in a different area of the policy to that of the researcher. Unlike Ntienjom Mbohu, however, I have never worked in the field I was studying, and my knowledge at the outset was limited to the

research I had done in preparation for the fieldwork. It is possible that this allowed me to be guided by my participants, and their enthusiasm helped to shape, rather than derail, the research.

In line with this, many participants were happy to be contacted to contribute to the research and enthusiastic about the questions I was asking. This was further reflected in interviews, where participants were frequently keen to give me ideas of who else I should speak to, and to hear about my plans for disseminating findings. Similarly, some gatekeepers were enthusiastic and facilitated access to participants by forwarding my request or writing to people directly to introduce me and my research. This was particularly the case where gatekeepers were closely connected to the area of practice I was studying, and even more so where they had some investment in the field of intervention.

Ambivalence

Not all my appeals, however, were met with unbridled positivity. Apart from the outright rejection mentioned above, some contacts obfuscated. That is, responses were non-committal, or indicated a willingness to take part but individuals were difficult to pin down. This is not an unusual experience for a researcher attempting to access guarded institutions (the Home Office, for example, is known for being highly secretive (Mayblin, 2019)), as organisations may not want to appear obstructive with an outright refusal. However, the personal and situational nature of many research encounters means that codes of practice or research ethics committees are unable to dictate in advance how access should be negotiated by the researcher, and how problems such as ambivalence should be addressed (Bengry-Howell and Griffin, 2012). Spacey et al. (2020) document the experiences of postgraduate researchers' attempts to recruit study participants, and found that successful recruitment often depended on the skills and resources of the individual researcher which came from outside formal frameworks.

In my case, instances where contacts were difficult to pin down were relatively straightforward, if frustrating, to deal with, but some encounters

required a little more negotiation, a process that is rarely dealt with in the literature. Gyure et al. (2014) suggest that the research recruitment process is guided by 'etiquette' which enhances the quality of data collection and adherence to research ethics, offering guidelines which include ensuring potential participants are fully informed and have the opportunity to ask questions or withhold their consent to participate. However, these guidelines assume that there is clear communication between the researcher and potential participants, that questions are explicitly put to the researcher and that it is clear when an individual is declining the opportunity to participate. For several of my encounters, it was not easy to discern when these things may have been happening.

Some individuals I approached were unacquainted with the field and did not see value in their organisation contributing to the research, leading to a rejection of my request *before* they were adequately informed about the research. For example, I had identified potential participants in one organisation whose involvement in this area of work is not publicised. When I contacted the research ethics team for this organisation, I was told that they do not do work in this area.

In this case, as I had names of people I wanted to speak to, I was able to explain this to the research ethics team, and access was arranged. In other situations, however, I had to rely on chance in order to gain access to relevant participants. For example, I managed to recruit one participant because I wrote to the office of a Police and Crime Commissioner that was accidentally listed on a relevant website. Although not relevant for the reasons I had originally anticipated, after my original contact accepted that – in spite of the mistake – I may benefit from speaking to somebody in the office, I recruited an interested commissioner who was keen to think about this area of intervention.

Sometimes, access was facilitated because contacts did *not* fully engage with my request until it came to seeking formal consent. Being aware of growing demands to address the issue of sexual harm through adopting a

public health approach (as discussed in Chapter Two, see also McCartan *et al.* (2018)) I wanted to understand how actors in public health perceived of the problem. I contacted public health organisations that had violence reduction units, and recruited one participant through their personal assistant. Whilst the participant had no doubt approved the appointment, when we met it became clear that they had not fully understood my research, and were uncertain about the relevance of their work to my topic.

This encounter has echoes of what Roitenberg (2022) describes as 'surprise' interviews, where a gatekeeper arranges the interview without fully communicating the relevant information. While Roitenberg's participants, however, were in junior positions to the people organising the interview, and seemed under pressure to participate, this individual was in a senior position to the person I had been in contact with, and it was within their power to decline to continue with the interview. Once I had explained the purpose of the research, I felt confident that their consent was freely given and fully informed. I wrote the following note after our interview:

> *'At first [participant] was a bit unsure, saying 'maybe we could just have a chat and then see how that goes and see if it will be worth me helping you'… I think what I'm realising happens with people who aren't really in the field is that they start off saying 'this isn't my thing', and then by the time they're talking about what they think about the area it's time to finish.' (Research diary 17/02/20)*

This issue – that participants from outside the network tended to need more time before they were able to speak to the issues I was exploring – could have been addressed through seeking further interviews and following up themes that had come up initially. However, this interview had taken place fewer than three weeks after the World Health Organisation (WHO) had declared a 'public health emergency of international concern' in response to the novel coronavirus which caused COVID-19 (World Health Organisation (WHO), 2022). The participant had very little time to give, and when I suggested we speak further down the line, they told me they

would only get busier. In light of the emerging situation, I did not attempt to contact further individuals in public health organisations.

Interviewees

I began recruitment in July 2019, and conducted interviews between August 2019 and February 2020. The interviews lasted 1 hour 2 minutes on average, ranging between 23 minutes (this and another interview under half an hour was cut short due to the participant's busy schedule) and 1 hour 48 minutes.

Pseudonym	**Role**	**Organisation**
Edward	Practitioner-researcher	TG support/ all
Jill	Manager	TG support
Sebastien	Manager	TG support
Dora	Practitioner	TG support
Patrick	Practitioner	TG support
Tom	Practitioner	TG support
Ursula	Practitioner	TG support
Fred	Practitioner-advocate	TG support
Abigail	Practitioner-manager	TG support
Dorothy	Practitioner-manager	TG support
Gary	Practitioner-manager	TG support
Libby	Practitioner-manager	TG support
Serena	Practitioner-manager	TG support
Oscar	Researcher	Child protection/ all
Abdullah	Manager	Child protection
Bruce	Manager	Child protection
Ray	Manager	Child protection
Wendy	Manager	Child protection
Kylie	Policy	Child protection
Rona	Policy	Child protection
Trevor	Policy	Child protection
Daphne	Policy	All
Lily	Policy	All
Jack	Researcher	All
Tilly	Researcher	All
William	Researcher	All
Ted	Advocate for CSA victims	
Angie	Local authority manager	
Marilyn	Local authority manager	
Penina	Violence Reduction Unit manager	

Table 1: Participant pseudonyms, roles and organisational affiliations

I sorted participants according to five roles: practitioner; manager; policy; researcher and advocate. Of 30 participants, I interviewed four practitioners, 11 service managers (five of whom were also practitioners), five policymakers, five researchers (one of whom was also a practitioner), one advocate/practitioner and four non-members of the field. I also distinguished whether participants were in organisations that were broadly oriented towards child protection or TG support, or to the wider population. A list of participants' pseudonyms alongside their role classification and organisational affiliation is given in Table 1.

For the four participants for whom neither their own nor their organisational affiliation meant that they could be considered field members, I have described their roles rather than fit them within the role/organisational orientation framework described here. Although analysing transcripts of interviews with these four participants was challenging at the early stages, as the shape and boundaries of the field crystallised I found that these transcripts helped to firm up the edges of the field, and demonstrate that a distinction could be made between field members and non-members. These interviews therefore chiefly informed the section in Chapter Seven entitled, 'Edges of the field'.

Participants were recruited from all jurisdictions of the UK, with the greater proportion being based in England. In order to protect their anonymity, I have not listed the location of specific participants, however, at the time of data collection 26 participants were based in England, two in Wales, one in Northern Ireland and one in Scotland. This is broadly in line with the shape of the field, as discussed in Chapter Five, as the majority of interventions which I categorise as 'dedicated critical' operate from England.

When drawing on data from the interviews, I describe participants the first time I introduce them (using their pseudonym) in the text, and thereafter attach a label to their pseudonym. The label reflects their role(s) and, separated by a forward stroke (/), their *broad organisational* orientation. The roles are: practitioner; manager; policy; researcher or advocate. The

organisational orientations are: child protection (CP); target group support (TG), and 'all' (e.g. universities, Police and Crime Commissioners). For example, someone who manages a therapeutic organisation for members of the TG, and also takes on service users will be labelled: (manager-practitioner/TG).

Analysis

I used grounded theory in order to analyse my data. The central tenet of grounded theory is that findings should emerge from the data rather than the data being drawn upon to evidence or challenge existing expectations (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). In order to achieve this, early grounded theorists advocate approaching the data without first researching the issue (Glaser and Holton, 2004). However, apart from the practicalities of accessing funding and organising the early stages of research without conducting a literature review, this approach assumes that a lack of knowledge about a topic equates to a lack of presuppositions.

For this research, I have applied Charmaz's 'constructivist' grounded theory (2014), which challenges the positivist assumptions that early grounded theory approaches were based on. Instead, Charmaz encourages the research to enter a relationship with the data and to draw on tools – such as coding and memo-writing – in order to generate theoretical insights. Her most comprehensive text, *Constructing Grounded Theory* (2014), draws together a great deal of detail on how to deploy these tools. My experience of carrying out grounded theory was itself iterative, as I initially found the instructions overwhelming, noting the following:

> '*This account of how to do grounded theory is very comprehensive but it's also massive… I worry that following her suggestions is basically impractical.' (Research diary: 12/09/2019)*

I offer some insight, in the remainder of this section, into my own application of grounded theory by way of reviewing my methods of analysis.

Grounded theory in practice

The process of analysing qualitative data is iterative, and to some extent organic (Holton, 2007). Although I had analysed qualitative data before, and had had training in coding thematically, I was unsure how this would look with a large volume of data. Furthermore, for the first time in my experience of research I struggled to identify emerging themes at an early stage. I noted, after my fifteenth and sixteenth interviews, which were conducted consecutively, the following:

> *'For the first time in a long time I felt during the interviews that I was getting useful data. I don't know exactly what the data was saying, but I did feel like I was seeing distinct themes.' (Research diary 12/11/19)*

Not only did I not know what the data was saying, I struggled to pin down themes until well into analysis. I did not struggle to proceed with analysis, which I succeeded in carrying out systematically, and in line with Charmaz's methods. It was by no means, however, a neat process. I note here how I overcame some of the difficulties I faced with identifying themes.

One element of grounded theory I found inaccessible was early and deliberative engagement in analysis (Charmaz, 2014). I wrote the following note after my eighth interview:

> *'My main observation at the moment is that I should be doing analysis, looking over transcripts, immersing myself in it, identifying emerging themes etc., but instead I spend all my time doing admin.' (Research diary 21/10/19)*

In spite of this, I did begin to code around halfway through interviews, but found it a painful, fruitless process. I had been attempting to code generally, with the intention to get increasingly specific and analytical. When I returned to Charmaz (2014) after the twenty third interview, and started coding afresh, using her advice to code closely and liberally, I observed that '*it came much more naturally*' (Research diary 30/01/20).

This process generated 213 codes out of two interviews, which I consolidated under 130 'focused codes'. I then returned to a third interview, coding generously, and consolidated again. I continued to do this iteratively, and continued to be nervous about not finding themes.

My research diary is detailed, and provides an account of codes that I latched onto early (some of which were then discarded) and codes that I deleted, only to reinstate a few days later. It also recounts the many ways I managed to achieve essentially the same task, or reinvent instructions given by others. For example, I struggled with how to go about the task of 'focused coding' (Charmaz, 2014, p. 140), which involves refining and re-analysing early codes. However, when trying out different ways of consolidating my coding framework I imported it as a document into NVivo, and then attached themes to those codes, before realising that I was doing as Charmaz suggests.

After coding nineteen interviews – generally those I had designated 'first tier' – I began to conceptualise the landscape I was describing as a field in the Bourdieusian sense, although I did not apply his conceptual toolkit to my emerging findings at this stage. Instead, I returned to the codes in the latest framework, in order to identify patterns within and between codes. I used freewriting, talking and visualising in order to work through difficulties, as well as returning to the transcripts to re-immerse myself in the data. This combination of stepping away from the data (for example, by building visual tools outside NVivo, which I was using to conduct the analysis) and returning to the data in its original form, allowed me to generate useful insights.

It is clear to me, in hindsight, that my interviews were rich in fascinating insights from the start. However, as a novice researcher who has come to both IPA and criminology relatively late in my academic life, it took me longer than it might have done otherwise to see this. Although this may have held the analysis back in some respects, I believe that it made my findings more robust. In some ways, my experience came close to what

some suggest grounded research should strive for – ignorance of the field and a lack of expectations of what the researcher might find (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Although achieving this positionality is unfeasible in reality, my experience is testament to the potential benefits that an inexperienced researcher can offer to a grounded analysis.

Applying the model of practice

Following the above process, I returned to my theoretical framework in order to make sense of my emerging findings. As with the early analysis, this process was highly iterative and involved experimentation with different conceptual tools to identify which best 'fit' what I had identified in the data. The crystallisation of my findings and the development of the theoretical framework thus continued alongside each other. With this in mind, I highlight here how three concepts in particular helped to shape this process: image; illusio and symbolic capital.

First, the focus of IPA on meaning was significant for helping to shape my analysis. I noted in Chapter Three how 'image' can be understood as a stand-in for meaning in Pantzar and Shove's (2010) model of practice, so in line with this I use the term 'image' in this discussion. As noted above, the interview schedule included questions relating to how participants understood the terms I was using to describe the field. Answers to this set of questions, as well as responses to questions about participants' aims, allowed me to identify the image that actors hold about the TG.

As noted in Chapter One, there are competing images of the TG which actors invoke: one that they bring to their work, and one that they believe those outside the field carry. This tension is key to understanding how the field operates, and by plotting it on the model of practice, as I do in Chapter Six, I have been able to show how the field exists in a state of heteronomy.

Second, the concept of illusio helped elucidate the boundaries of the field. Analysis of the semi-structured interviews enabled me to identify two rules that operate in the field, and careful reviewing of transcripts confirmed their

status as rules, to the extent that they were widely acknowledged by participants. Recalling Swartz's (2008) observation that field members are actors whose practice is influenced by their acceptance of the illusio, I examined transcripts with this in mind. This exercise allowed me to clearly identify, based on the available data, which participants may be regarded as field members. I could then make sense of how the adoption of the illusio varies among field members, and found a distinct pattern within this.

Third, the concept of symbolic capital further helped me craft my analysis. An understanding that success in the field is determined in part by an actor's accumulation of symbolic capital, alongside the finding that the field is in a state of heteronomy, enabled me to make sense of how different actors seek to accumulate different configurations of symbolic capital. Moreover, considering this in light of my other findings allowed me to understand how this pursuit of symbolic capital mirrors the pattern identified above relating to actors' interpretation of the illusio.

The above three concepts formed the building blocks of the analysis presented in the following thesis. By exploring them in relation to the model of practice introduced in Chapter Three, I was able to identify patterns in the data which could be explained in relation to this theory, and to engage in further theorising relating to policy analysis and the field under question.

Mapping the field

As noted above, the work described in the present section took place after I had made sense of the network *as* a field (Bourdieu, 1996). This emerged from the analysis of the semi-structured interviews, described above, which allowed me to identify two key 'rules' which operate in the field. I explain below how I was able to identify organisational field members in light of this finding.

Thinking back to my research questions, this element of the study directly addressed the first question: *What is the impact of dominant discourses*

relating to CSA and sex offending on decision-making in policy and service delivery? It also provided valuable context to allow me to address the second question: *How do stakeholders perceive the relationship between their own work and the wider policy/ practice context in regards to supporting the implementation of relevant interventions?* In this section, I explore the steps taken to map the field, looking in turn at the study design, the data collection and the analysis.

Study design

I intended to map the field of interventions in the UK for members of the 'target group' (TG), as I had come to refer to those I had previously characterised as potential perpetrators of CSA. I planned to delineate field membership according to Koppenjan and Klijn's (2004) categorisation of actors. The eight types of actors are determined based on three binaries: 1) dedicated and non-dedicated; 2) critical and non-critical; and 3) perceptions, interests or goals comparable or contradictory to the aims of the network. This categorisation is visually represented by the authors in a table, reproduced below (Table 2).

'Dependencies of a specific actor' Koppenjan & Klijn 2004, p. 147	**Dedicated actors**		**Non-dedicated actors**	
	Critical actors	**Non-critical actors**	**Critical actors**	**Non-critical actors**
Comparable perceptions, interests and goals	Actors who are likely to participate and be potential allies	Actors who are likely to participate and be potential allies	Necessary actors who are hard to activate	Actors who will not have to be involved at first
Contradictory perceptions, interests and goals	Potential blockers of (certain) changes (biting dogs)	Potential critics of (certain) changes (barking dogs)	Potential blockers who will not necessarily act (sleeping dogs)	Actors who do not require attention at first

Table 2: 'Dependencies of a specific actor' Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004, p. 147

Recalling the discussion in Chapter Three of Bourdieu's theories, fields operate according to certain 'rules of the game' (Bourdieu, 1998),

adherence to which amounts to acceptance of the illusio. Additionally, field membership applies to actors whose *practice is influenced* by their acceptance of the illusio (Swartz, 1997). As such, by identifying the rules of the game, and by differentiating those who engage in practice which reflects those rules, I was able to identify members of the field under study.

I applied the binaries offered by Koppenjan and Klijn (2004) to Bourdieu's theories of field membership, and suggested the following (represented visually in Table 3):

1. Dedicated actors take an active interest in members of the TG;
2. Critical actors address themselves to *all* members of the TG (as opposed to one sub-category);
3. Those with comparable perceptions accept the 'rules'.

For the purposes of mapping the field, the actors of interest are those who can be considered 'dedicated critical' and accept the rules.

	Dedicated actors		**Non-dedicated actors**	
	Critical actors	**Non-critical actors**	**Critical actors**	**Non-critical actors**
Accept the rules	Address the needs of all members of TG	Address the needs of only one sub-category of TG	Have access to key resources (govt. funding, media etc.)	Not interested, not able to offer/ block resources
Do not accept both rules	Take a special interest in all members of TG	Take a special interest in only one sub-category of TG	Involved in sexual harm prevention but not interested in TG	Do not require attention

Table 3: My adaptation of Koppenjan & Klijn (2004)

Because the data being collected in this stage of research was all available in the public domain, I was not required to seek ethical approval from the SSSP research ethics committee. This does not mean, however, that ethical considerations were irrelevant. I noted above that my commitment to keeping interviews anonymous and confidential limited my ability to map the field. This is because participants frequently referenced their work with colleagues or other contacts in the field in ways that made the network

which spans the field more intelligible. However, I found that there were some connections which, if I spoke openly about them, would compromise the anonymity of my participants. I decided, therefore, to keep the mapping separate from the interview data. This decision meant that I was unable to use some fruitful insights from my data, in ways that participants may have been willing to consent to if I had given them the option. For example, multiple participants spoke about lobbying the same influential policymaker. Although there was no reason to believe that the fact of their lobbying was sensitive information, nor did I find this information in the public domain, and including it in my findings would have risked revealing the identities of these participants, as well as the content of our interviews.

Data collection

Research for this element took two distinct stages. For the first stage, I systematically mapped the network using desk-based research, starting with a provisional map of the network I had drawn up to organise

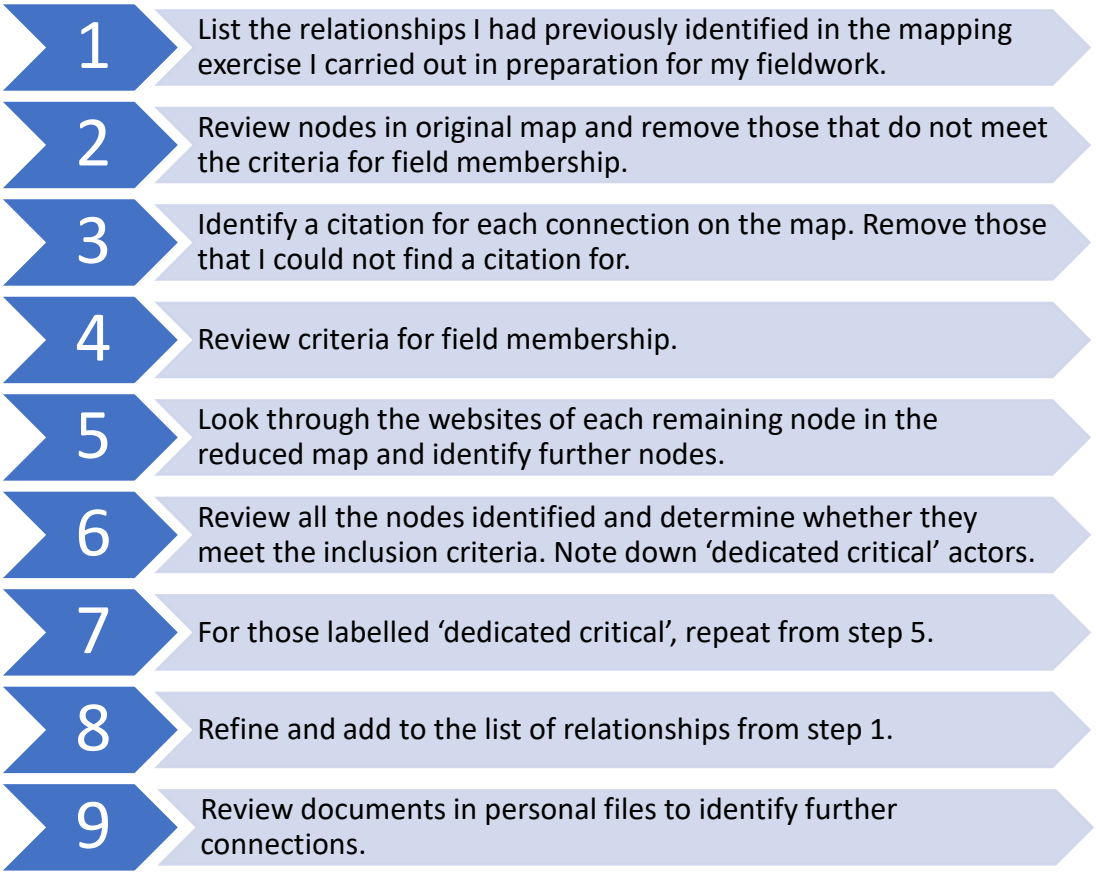


Figure 4: Steps taken for mapping the field

recruitment for my interviews. Between November and December 2020, I followed a systematic process – represented sequentially in Figure 4 – which allowed me to iteratively map the network under study.

Beginning with my provisional map, I first listed the relationships between actors, and reviewed which actors did and did not meet the criteria for field membership discussed above. I then cross-referenced against publicly available information. This was an important step that helped to safeguard the anonymity of my participants. By checking that I had a citation for each connection drawn or assessment made regarding field membership, I have ensured that I am not sharing information that is not in the public domain, and moreover that I am not attaching this information to a particular individual or organisation.

I then reviewed and refined the criteria for field membership before turning to identify further field members. For this step, I searched the websites of organisations listed in the map and noted the details of individuals or organisations who could be considered 'dedicated critical'. I then repeated these two steps (steps five and six in Figure 4, although they were often carried out simultaneously) with newly identified field members. Once I had reached data saturation, I updated the list of relationships I had originally identified before checking through documents in my personal files to find any further connections. As with above, for any new actors or connections that warranted inclusion in the map, I cross-referenced to make sure the information was in the public domain. I saved the information I was gathering in a series of tables (a template of which is presented in Table 4), each table relating to a specific actor whose connections I was mapping.

Name of nodal actor				
Description or relevant information relating to nodal actor			Citation/link	
Name	**Type of actor**	**Relationship to nodal actor**	**Citation/ link**	**Notes**

Table 4: Template for mapping the field (steps 5-7)

While following the above process, I saved documents I identified for the dual purposes of providing citations for the map and data analysis, discussed in the following section.

I noted three limitations to this process. First, some important connections on the map operate in private. Second, some connections are not private, but are not publicised and therefore it would be unethical of me to include them. Third, I classified field members based on my own interpretation, but they may not classify themselves in this way, or see themselves as part of the network. These limitations mean that the resulting map is a sketch of the field, rather than an accurate representation. This sketch, however, provides sufficient sense of the network in order to meaningfully apply findings from my analysis of the qualitative interviews, in order to draw useful insights.

Analysis

Following mapping, I engaged in a deductive analysis of the documents gathered in the mapping stage. I imported documents saved during mapping into NVivo; a breakdown of the types of documents I collected is presented in Table 5, and the specific details of relevant documents are offered as citations in the discussion of my findings, in Chapter Five. The publication dates of the documents ranged from 2012 to 2021[9], although 48 out of 52 (92%) were published from 2017 onwards. Once I had imported the documents, I drew on the findings from my semi-structured interviews to apply a deductive analysis to this data. Bowen (2009) notes how document analysis can be used to *supplement* data gained through interviewing. Here, the document analysis has *complemented* the findings from interviews to build a picture of the field under study.

[9] Some web pages are listed as having been published in 2021, reflecting the fact that although they were accessed and the details saved during the data collection period in 2020, they were downloaded in 2021, when I began analysis.

My interviews allowed me to conceptualise how individual actors within the field make sense of their own practice. By applying the themes identified to the document analysis, I could make observations relating to how organisational actors in the field present themselves in relation to the field illusio. This allowed me to make sense of how the meanings (Yanow and Schwartz-Shea, 2014a) that had emerged during the qualitative data analysis were deployed in the publicly available information coming out of the field, and to examine the discourses deployed when actors communicate their message in different public-facing contexts.

Type of document	Number included
Web pages	12
Governance documents (e.g. annual reports)	10
Strategic documents (e.g. police and crime plans, government policy)	9
Press releases	8
Articles/ blogs/ newsletters/ presentations	7
Reports (e.g. published evaluations)	4
Publications (e.g. leaflets; academic publications)	2

Table 5: Documents analysed for 'Mapping the Field'

Studying up

Choosing an object of study is as much a political decision for many social researchers as it is a methodological one. In this final section, I reflect on my decision to focus on professionals, my characterisation of them as 'elite' and the implications this has for my findings.

For many, to speak of interviewing elites conjures up images of a meek researcher confronting power-wielding interviewees where the researcher is required to deploy artful choreographic techniques in order to compensate for the power imbalance (McDowell, 1998; Conti and O'Neil, 2007). It may follow that if elite interviewing is a form of 'studying up' (Nader, 1972), then the researcher should expect to be 'talked down' by the participant. Some methodological explorations of elite interviewing certainly work on this premise (Berry, 2002; Harvey, 2011; Mikecz, 2012), however, Smith's (2006) application of poststructuralist conceptions of power approaches the topic from a more nuanced perspective.

Smith (2006) notes that the term 'elite' is often used to refer to a specific category of individuals, implying that some people hold power while others do not. Smith advocates a poststructuralist understanding of power as fluid, rather than being possessed by an individual or tied to a particular role. As such, researchers may find that they are in a position of power at some points but not others. Additionally, many of the characteristics that are referred to as making elite interviewing distinct from other forms of interviewing also do not stand up to scrutiny. For example, the question of access is often floated as a particular concern for researchers wishing to conduct elite interviews (Harvey, 2011; Maramwidze-Merrison, 2016; Breeze, 2021), but Smith demonstrates this may be equally, or more acutely, pertinent when studying marginalised groups.

Whilst Smith (2006) chooses to refer to the 'genres' in which her interviewees work, she acknowledges that the term 'elite' could have useful application in other studies. Indeed, there are certain characteristics that make elites distinct, and the term *can* be applied usefully. I recognise two ways in which my participants could be considered 'elite'. First, they occupy positions of relative power over the subjects of the interventions under study. Second, they *generally* occupy positions of power relative to me. I consider these two applications of the term 'elite' in turn.

Nothing about us without us?

I have borrowed from the Disability Rights Movement for the title of this subsection because much of my work (academic and other) has been informed by Disability Theory (in particular, see Oliver, 1990; Morris, 1991; Shakespeare, 2006; Garland-Thomson, 2011). This area of work has, in recent decades, seen disabled people increasingly take ownership of research and services which claim to improve their lives. A key element of this has involved questioning the legitimacy of work targeted at disabled people where control is maintained by non-disabled people (Oliver, 1992).

The demand capturing this sentiment, 'nothing about us without us' (Charlton, 1998), has been transposed into other areas of policymaking which seek to influence the lives of marginalised groups (for example, Buck *et al.*, 2021). At the start of my study, this ethos appeared relatively simple to apply to my own research. I began the PhD with an interest in designing an intervention for people at risk of perpetrating CSA, and it seemed natural to actively involve would-be service users in the process.

However, as I became more familiar with work in this area, I began to realise that there were several interventions being designed and piloted for people at risk of causing sexual harm. Furthermore, they were being spearheaded by people with far more relevant expertise and experience than me. I also observed that there was a network forming; that these people were coming together to address a seemingly emerging issue, but little was known about this issue on a policy level. I decided that a more interesting and unexplored question was why the network was forming in the particular way that it was, and what this means for policy change? Shortly after committing to this new direction, I wrote the following note:

> *'With my new change of direction towards looking at barriers to implementing interventions, how can I tie this in with my interest in how service users experience services? … it could be very easy to have service providers and policy makers saying one thing about what they are doing, but people on the ground think it is something different.' (Research diary 29/10/18)*

As I progressed, however, it became increasingly clear that the question of service user *experience* appears different to the questions at hand. That is, the area of intervention is emerging in a particular manner, for a particular set of reasons. I did not identify service users influencing this beyond the extent to which actors involve them in service design. I articulated this during fieldwork, when reflecting on a meeting with a potential participant:

> *We spoke about whether I would engage 'potential offenders', and I said that after much deliberation I'd decided not to … I summed up by saying that I would speak to 'service user advocates', for want of a better term, if they were engaging in the field in such a way as to make a difference to the services (Research diary 11/12/19)*

Although, then, I justified my decision to not involve people who are targeted by these interventions, focusing instead on those controlling services that are being deployed for their benefit, the *perceived* lack of service user voice may be in part a consequence of this decision and my recruitment strategy. This decision has practical and ethical dimensions, which I discuss here.

On a practical level, the nature of a PhD project means that questions of feasibility can override other considerations. I discussed in Chapter Two the considerable stigma associated with individuals perceived to be at risk of sexually harming children. This means that this group is particularly difficult to access, and that ethical issues such as confidentiality are heightened, as the risks of negative repercussions for participants are acute. Although these issues are surmountable in certain circumstances (see, for example, Hudson, 2005; Van Horn *et al.*, 2015; Levenson and Grady, 2019b), to attempt to address them alongside the existing requirements of the research would have been infeasible.

On an ethical level, my decision to *not* recruit the targets of the interventions under scrutiny highlights how my participants can be considered elite in this context. Literature researching elite actors in relation to crime or crime prevention commonly focuses on individuals who wield significant amounts of power. For example, senior policymakers (Loader, 2006; Annison, 2015) or, conversely, those who commit 'white collar' crimes, who tend to have large amounts of wealth, education and power (Oleson, 2018). Bearing in mind the fluid conception of power proposed by Smith (2006), however, I conceptualise my participants as

elite in order to highlight the difference between them and would-be service users of these interventions. This can be sustained, I suggest, for three reasons. First, there is always an imbalance of power between those who are providing voluntary or statutory services (which make up the majority of the interventions under scrutiny) and those who are accessing those services (McLaughlin, 2009).

Second, this imbalance is heightened because of the stigma attached to people perceived to be at risk of sexually harming others, particularly children. Whilst recognising that my participants may also fall under this category without my knowledge, their function in the research was as people working or volunteering in this sector. As explored in Chapter Two, the stigma associated with possible service users – those subject to the label 'paedophile' – puts them in an incredibly vulnerable position, which heightens the power differential between them and those who might seek to work with them.

Third, Bochel *et al.* (2016) differentiate between policymakers, activists and everyday makers in policy, suggesting that policymakers hold the most power, which should be redistributed to the other groups. Within these categories, they identify professionals and senior policy actors as policymakers, with significant amounts of power, and those occupying junior roles in policy settings as everyday makers, with limited amounts of power. As noted above, my sample included actors from both these categories. While they occupy different hierarchical positions, however, they share an ability to shape the experience of those who may access services, and by virtue of *not* being services users (in those specific interactions, at least) they share the experience of being somewhat distanced from the stigma that makes possible service users so vulnerable.

Power over whom?

The following extract relates an incident that occurred after I had begun conducting interviews. In the course of my fieldwork, I had made a contact

who was interested in helping me with my recruitment, and invited me to an event that they were running as they felt that it would be of value to me. In this sense, it could be considered an 'entanglement' (Caine *et al.*, 2009) which required an investment of time and resources in the anticipation that this might help me reach more potential recruits.

Ultimately, the event did not yield any further participants, all of whom I recruited via email. It did, however, encourage me to consider my place in the network, and the extent to which I could consider myself an 'insider', and how this status is not fixed, but changed over time. I focus here on these reflections.

A (true) story about research

In the course of my research, a contact I had made invited me to an event that they thought might be helpful for recruiting participants. After admitting that I hate networking I agreed, in the hope that a particular organisation may be represented there.

On the day, I turned up and saw my contact – let's call them Sam – by the buffet table. Something I had not admitted to Sam is that I also hate buffets, so when they invited me to take some food I decided to act as if it was no big deal. Immediately after I picked up a friendly-looking cabbage leaf with houmous in it, someone else came up and took a stick of carrot, dipped it in one of the remaining cabbage-houmous constructions on the table, and walked away. Another person did the same. I realised that I had not taken one portion of houmous delicately presented on a cabbage leaf. I had taken a serving dish of houmous, which I had already bitten into.

I was alone at a networking event, trying to eat too much houmous while looking like I was comfortable in my isolation. I approached a pinboard with some posters on it, trying to position myself between the board and the room in order to hide the boat. I was unsure whether it was more shameful to be so clearly lonely or to have people to talk to and need to confront the houmous situation.

For better or worse, the decision was taken from me when Sam saw me floundering and, with the best intentions, introduced me to some people. I found myself engaging in civil conversation whilst holding a dripping houmous boat casually[10] *behind my back. After a Herculean effort to eat the whole thing, I admitted defeat and sequestered the cabbage leaf – along with my pride – in a napkin on the table.*

The second way in which my participants could be considered 'elite' is in terms of their position of relative power over me. As Smith (2006) points out, this power is not linear, and in my experience it not only changed from person to person, but with each person the power dynamics changed over the course of my research and acquaintance with them.

I feel the above story illustrates the balancing act I was attempting as a researcher in the field. I was an insider in some respects, and an outsider in others, and my fieldwork saw my position in the field change. Throughout my studies, I have attempted to behave in such a way as to build people's confidence in me. Some of the barriers I have encountered are run of the mill (discomfort at networking events is experienced universally) while others are unique to my situation, and less easily shared (I disclosed my issue with the houmous boat to a few other attendees; some were supportive, others bemused).

Having come to this field without prior experience in the sector, I made an effort to contact relevant organisations and to seek their support from the start. This involved casual conversations over the phone, as well as sometimes seeking input into the work I was doing. These contacts were made at the start of my research, before I had come up with research questions, and tended to be academics whose names came up frequently in my literature searches, or managers in services which worked with 'potential perpetrators'. Even at this stage, reactions to my study were

[10] In truth, there was nothing casual about the situation.

mixed. Most were open and keen to share ideas. One or two were guarded, understandably uncertain of my intentions.

The ambivalence around my engagement in the field persisted while I was conducting fieldwork. Through recruiting people in the field, attending conferences and speaking to people who agreed to participate, I felt increasingly like an 'insider', being invited to events such as the one described above. Furthermore, the interview process meant that for some people with whom I was acquainted, I entered what felt like a relatively intimate relationship, where I not only had a recorded an hour or more of their thoughts and opinions, but was then immersing myself in and unpicking what they had said. At the same time, I retained power over the product of this relationship – that is, the research outputs (Funder, 2005).

I also grew to know more about the network than many of my participants, and several asked to maintain a working relationship in order that we could benefit from each other's work in future. At the same time, others in the network were unwilling to place enough confidence in me to agree to take part in the research. One organisation with which I had informal connections refused me access after some initial positive engagement. The freedom for an organisation or individual to decline to take part in the research at any stage of the process (as long as it remains feasible) is an important ethical safeguard. Nevertheless, my interactions with this particular organisation, and the way the decision to withdraw from the research was communicated, highlighted my outsider status.

I began this section discussing the issue of power, and the extent to which my participants could be considered 'elite'. Although some incidents made me feel like an insider, others affirmed that although allowed access by a significant number of actors, I hold no power in the network. It is here that the concept of 'elite' comes in use. Most of my participants were in senior professional roles and were familiar with postgraduate research. At least one participant went to some effort to meet me explicitly because they make a point of helping PhD students.

As a result, most participants were not only comfortable talking to me about their work, but often took a pedagogical approach, or used the interview as an opportunity to share their well-formed views on the issues we were discussing. For example, when I asked one participant whether I should have asked anything else, rather than elaborating on previous points as most participants did in response to this question, they gave me suggestions of questions to ask in subsequent interviews. I noted early on in the fieldwork:

> *People say you're meant to say things like 'data generation' instead of 'data collection', but I don't feel like I'm generating much data with my participants. Rather, I feel like most of what they say are thoughts they have all the time, or opinions they air regularly (Research diary 29/09/19)*

If 'to be studied… is to be vulnerable' (Gusterson, 1995, p. 193), I got the impression that most of my participants were not aware of being studied. When it came to analysing the data, I discovered that responses were often much more thoughtful and contained much more depth than I had originally thought. It is likely that my awareness of the power dynamic, combined with participants' orientation towards me, contributed to the impression that conversations were surface level.

Service user voice

I have discussed above my justifications for not setting out to recruit would-be targets of the interventions that I am exploring in this study, and noted the practical issues that informed this decision. In terms of ethics, once I had determined that the landscape I was observing appears not to be shaped directly by service users, I felt I could not justify recruiting 'potential perpetrators' for the sake of including them. As much as it is problematic to exclude the subjects of research from the research process, it is unethical to recruit people proximal to the research – in this case an incredibly sensitive topic which can attract vitriol through simply talking about it – if

doing so does not help answer the research questions. In this study, by recruiting members of the TG I would have risked putting participants through a potentially difficult experience without adequate justification.

Nevertheless, this decision has meant that my findings do not take into account the extent to which the practice of service users influences the way the field is taking shape. Since services can only survive if there are people who take up their offering, this is undoubtedly an important area of inquiry. Although, then, I have mapped and interrogated the field which encompasses actors in service delivery and policy, it is important to bear in mind the roles of service users *as* field members, whose field positions and contributions to policy change would merit further exploration. I return to this issue in Chapter Six when introducing the term 'target group', and Chapter Eight, where I discuss how service users could be understood as members of the field under study.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have illustrated how I used the theoretical framework introduced in Chapter Three in order to inform how I went about the task of addressing my research questions. I began by exploring the steps I took in pursuit of this research: first, I discussed how I conducted semi-structured interviews with people working in policy or practice in this area, and used grounded theory to analyse the qualitative data. I next described how I mapped the field of interventions in the UK which seek to support people who are perceived to be at risk of sexually harming. Finally, I reflected on my choice of research subject.

In the following chapter I present the findings from my desk-based research, through which I mapped the field under study, and present my analysis of publicly available documents emerging from actors involved in supporting or delivering interventions for people perceived to be at risk of causing sexual harm.

Chapter Five: Mapping the field

Introduction

In this chapter, the first of three findings chapters, I sketch the shape of a tangible space that can be understood as an emergent field. Later in the thesis I demonstrate how this field is contained within a discursive space in which two rules operate as *doxa*. I also explore the habitus of actors operating in this space, arguing that their practice can be understood as an interplay between the professional cultures from which actors emerge and their orientation to the doxa*,* as well as their access to and ability to mobilise capital.

Here, after explaining the two rules, and how they relate to the illusio, I describe this field in the United Kingdom, referring to key organisations and providing contextual information to illuminate the professional orientations with which each is aligned. I then draw on existing research to explore how both individual and institutional actors are subject to external forces which are pervasive, but which impact each in different ways. Finally, I bring these findings together to illuminate the contours of the field under study.

The field logic

To better illuminate the field that I describe in this chapter, and to make sense of the analysis presented in the second section, I begin by explaining two key findings presented in the following chapter. The first relates to who can be considered a member of the TG, the second relates to the rules which govern the field, and by implication the field illusio.

First, in the analysis of semi-structured interviews, I found that the TG does not have any single defining characteristic, except that all members are potential targets of the interventions under study. This contrasted with my understanding of the landscape at the early stages of my research, which I thought was characterised by an interest in people at risk of sexually

harming children. Instead, the TG consists of a wide range of people who fall within one of two groups:

1. People who are known to have sexually harmed others (including, but not limited to, children);
2. People who struggle with sexually harmful thoughts (including, but not limited to, thoughts about children).

What makes field actors stand out, and means that the field does not include, for example, people who only work in forensic settings, is that they are interested in working with people from *both* these subsets of the TG, as all are subject to the stigmatising label 'paedophile', as discussed in Chapter Two.

Second, I found that the field is governed by two rules. The first is that all work in the field is in the service of child protection (CP), and the second is that members of the TG are deserving of support in their own right. A key paradox in the field, which means it exists in a state of heteronomy (Bourdieu, 2000), is that the first rule, the rule of CP, is dominant *even when actors do not believe children to be at risk in their work*.

Adoption of the field illusio signals an acknowledgement of these two rules, but actors differ in the extent to which they accept them, and in how they communicate their allegiance to them. The paradox noted above is central to understanding the struggle that actors face in their adoption of the illusio, and the way they communicate this. That is, although the field exists because actors construct the TG as deserving of support, and bring the TG into being through their practice, those within its bounds can only thrive if they invoke the rule of CP, regardless of whether it is relevant. These issues are discussed in greater detail in the following chapters, but for now it is sufficient to highlight this paradox in order to contextualise the following exploration and analysis.

Sketching the field

For this stage of the study, I systematically searched for actors in the UK who operate in the discursive space outlined in Chapter Six, between November and December 2020. Following mapping, it became clear that the 'dedicated critical' (Koppenjan and Klijn, 2004, p. 147) actors are concentrated in England and Scotland. Although some actors also operate in Northern Ireland and Wales, only one operates *from* each of these nations, and none that offer direct intervention. With this in mind, in my discussion of the forces operating on the various actors, I focus on the specific contexts of England and Scotland. When discussing the policy context, however, I discuss three jurisdictions, bearing in mind *lack of action* is a policy decision (Civil Service Learning, 2013).

Core members

In this section I introduce those dedicated critical actors who address the needs of members of the TG through direct intervention.

Lucy Faithfull Foundation (LFF)

LFF describes itself as 'the only UK-wide child protection (CP) charity dedicated solely to preventing child sexual abuse' (Bailey *et al.*, 2018, p. 57). Established in 1992, it is the oldest of the voluntary organisations in the field, and is the charity with the clearest direct links to government.

The central organisation of LFF is based in various offices in England, with functions which cover England, Scotland and Wales. A helpline run by the campaign, *Stop it Now! UK & Ireland* is available to residents across the UK and internationally, but LFF do not have operations based in Northern Ireland (LFF, 2020).

LFF performs a range of services in the name of preventing child sexual abuse (CSA). These include an outreach *Parents Protect*, which seeks to equip parents with the skills needed to safeguard their children from abuse, and the provision of clinical experts in forensic psychology to stakeholders

such as local authorities in need of consultancy (LFF, 2020). These services provide an important function beyond helping LFF to achieve its charitable objectives, as they help to situate the charity as a child protection focused organisation.

LFF also runs several programmes for people with sexual convictions (PWSC) relating to children. These programmes represent the most direct link to the present-day charity from its origins as a provider of residential treatment to men who had sexually abused children, in the Wolvercote Clinic in Epsom (Bailey *et al.*, 2018).

Much of the work of LFF is carried out under the name *Stop it Now!* The name is based on the US charity, *Stop It Now!*, which promotes a public health approach to preventing CSA (Stop It Now!, 2020), and the LFF project echoes this intention (Denis and Whitehead, 2012). In practice, three different projects that use this name operate within LFF. The first two, *Stop it Now! Wales* (see Hudson, 2018) and *Stop it Now! Scotland* deliver LFF functions described above within their respective jurisdictions. The third, *Stop it Now! UK & Ireland* (hereafter *Stop!*) has the most direct relevance to the field of interest.

At its core, *Stop!* aims to raise awareness about CSA among those able to contribute towards its prevention. This goal is pursued through advertising campaigns which direct to an anonymous helpline targeted particularly at adults concerned about their own or another adult's thoughts, feelings or behaviour, and parents or carers with concerns about the sexual behaviour of a young person (Denis and Whitehead, 2012). Alongside this, *Stop!* launched two websites between 2015 and 2016: *Get Support*, and *Get Help*, which offer visitors the opportunity to engage in an anonymous, online programme to help understand and address their problematic thoughts, feelings or behaviour (LFF, 2017).

Safer Living Foundation (SLF)

Compared to LFF, the SLF is relatively new, having been established in 2014. The charity was established jointly between HMP Whatton (a prison in England reserved for people convicted of sexual offences), academics at Nottingham Trent University (NTU), Nottinghamshire Police and the National Probation Service (Saunders *et al.*, 2017). The strong link between the first two organisations endures through the high volume of staff who work in both settings (see Figure 5 below).

The SLF was originally set up in order to deliver Circles of Support and Accountability (COSA), a voluntary service for PWSC described in Chapter Two (see p. 62). The national charity, Circles UK, operates as an umbrella organisation which governs the delivery of the intervention in communities by regional partners (Bates *et al.*, 2012). The SLF were the first in the UK to deliver COSA which began in prison, with a view to supporting the core member through the transition from prison to the community (Hocken, 2018). Since then, the SLF has expanded to deliver a range of programmes to PWSC, as well as The Aurora Project (TAP) – originally called The Prevention Project – which is targeted at adults with sexually harmful thoughts who have not offended (Hocken, 2018).

In recent years, the SLF has become increasingly prominent nationally. The charity and its staff have received an award from Third Sector (2019) and a commendation from the Howard League for Penal Reform for TAP (The Howard League, 2019). The SLF hosted a conference on the theme of preventing sexual offending, and it was featured in a BBC Three documentary entitled, *Can Sex Offenders Change?* (Harrison, 2020). The sense of the SLF as a source of national expertise on the issue of sexual offending is further enhanced through the launch in 2018 of a series of academic volumes entitled *Sexual Crime*, edited by members of the SLF and published by Palgrave Macmillan.

StopSO

StopSO was set up in 2012 by a group of psychotherapists with an interest in offering therapy to people with sexually harmful thoughts or behaviour (Sexually Inappropriate Behaviour, 2020). The core function of StopSO involves referring potential clients to appropriate therapists. It runs an accreditation programme for therapists who wish to be on its database, and invites potential clients to contact StopSO if they would like help to find a therapist who is comfortable working with issues relating to sexual offending (Sharon, 2017). Although it has received funding in the past to subsidise therapy for particular groups of clients, the therapy is usually privately funded.

Unlike LFF and the SLF, StopSO does not have a physical base, and does not receive any statutory funding. It has, however, made efforts to assert itself in the field, including through recruiting Norfolk Constabulary Chief Constable Simon Bailey as a patron (StopSO, 2021a). Bailey was appointed child protection lead for the National Police Chief's Council (NPCC) in 2014 (*ibid*.), and received negative publicity in 2017 for suggesting in an interview that some individuals identified accessing child sexual exploitation material (CSEM) might be diverted from the criminal justice system, towards 'confidential helplines' such as *Stop!* (Sharman, 2017).

Since then, Bailey has continued to speak on the issue, and has been frequently attributed with the quote, 'we can't arrest our way out of this' (Dearden, 2020; Taylor and Hickey, 2020; Police Professional, 2021), as evidence that criminal justice responses are inadequate in addressing CSA. This refrain is not used uniquely in reference to CSA, nor is it likely that Bailey was the first to say it (see, for example, Hammond, 2008; Botticelli, 2014). Nevertheless, the use of the phrase by a senior police officer in relation to CSA continues to be seen as controversial by some (IICSA, 2018), whilst giving credibility to those who wish to promote approaches to engaging with members of the TG which lie outside the criminal justice system (Taylor and Hickey, 2020).

As well as StopSO enlisting Bailey as a patron, the organisation has engaged in other activities in ways that have raised its profile. In 2018, StopSO collaborated with the magazine, *New Psychotherapist* on a special section about sexual offending, commissioning articles from members of the field (Everett, 2018). Its annual conference in 2019 featured further high profile speakers from Prevention Project Dunkelfeld (PPD) and the CBC Television documentary, *I, Paedophile* (Campea, 2016).

NHS Services

I have identified only two NHS services in the UK which cater to members of the TG who have not necessarily offended. One is the Portman Clinic in London, and the other is Mersey Forensic Psychology Service (MFPS), based in Liverpool.

Although both are NHS services, the governance of the two units is very different. The Portman, attached since 1994 to the Tavistock Clinic, was set up in the 1930s to offer psychoanalysis to patients with a range of problematic behaviours, and training to forensic mental health professionals. Until recently, the Portman Clinic would accept patients with problematic sexual thoughts, but resource constraints mean it now only accepts patients with problematic sexual behaviours, although these do not need to be illegal in order to meet the eligibility criteria (The Tavistock and Portman, 2021).

In contrast to the Portman, MFPS is a primarily forensic service, and Perry *et al*. have noted that the aims of the service are twofold: to be 'responsive to clients' needs whilst aiming to reduce risk' (2018, p. 111). In line with this, the therapy offered is chosen because of its potential to not only address problems as they are perceived by the patient, but to address issues which may have led to offending behaviour in the first place.

Although most of the work of MFPS is with forensic patients in institutional or community settings, in 2018 it was funded by Merseyside Police to pilot a prevention programme targeted at men with problematic sexual thoughts

who had not offended, recruited through the police and NHS services. The service was developed based on the treatment programmes offered to patients who had offended, and on research conducted with existing patients (Perry *et al.*, 2018).

Private services

As well as the above actors, some small private organisations offer therapeutic services to members of the TG. These include: Freedom Psychology in Nottingham, which is run by the clinical lead of the SLF; Garbutt Psychological Services (GPS) in Wakefield; and S.T.A.R. Therapy in Grantham, whose website describes itself as a 'partner' of Freedom Psychology and GPS (*S.T.A.R Therapy*, 2021). It is likely that there are more private firms that operate across the country, as they function relatively autonomously, and the connections between them and other actors are often informal. Indeed, one motivation for StopSO to create a network of therapists was because potential clients often struggle to identify therapists who are willing to work with the TG, who in turn are sometimes reluctant to publicise their work with the TG (Sharon, 2017).

Unlike the actors discussed so far, private services are funded directly by their clients, and are unlikely to receive funding from charities or statutory services. Furthermore, the directors of the organisation are usually also practitioners meaning that they oversee the governance as well as engaging in one-on-one work with clients. Although there are links between the services, I identified little evidence that these actors take part as active members in the field, as I discuss below.

Peripheral members

In this section I turn to those actors labelled 'dedicated critical' (see p. 123), who acknowledge the needs of the TG but do not address them directly through their work. The term 'peripheral' refers to the proximity of the actors to the TG, rather than their proximity to other actors.

Policy

As discussed in Chapter Three, policy that references the needs of the TG in the UK tends to fall within a crime prevention frame. Responsibility for crime prevention in England and Wales is held by the Home Office, while the Scottish Government and Department of Justice in Northern Ireland govern crime prevention in their respective jurisdictions. Additionally, the National Crime Agency (NCA) has a remit to a) reduce and b) gather intelligence on 'organised and serious' crime across the UK (*Crime and Courts Act 2013*). Although national in scope, the NCA's strategic direction is determined by the Home Secretary (Home Office, 2015), whilst its functions in Northern Ireland are carried out by the Northern Ireland Policing Board (NIPB) (NCA and NIPB, 2019).

The NCA incorporated the Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre, and identified child sexual exploitation and abuse as a growing threat in its first strategic assessment (NCA, 2014). Its remit to reduce crime means it has a preventative as well as an enforcement function, and the NCA Director of Threat Leadership has identified the work of LFF to prevent first-time offending as 'fundamental' to addressing CSA (LFF, 2020).

The Home Office itself also has a crime prevention function, and policy moves in the past decade have increasingly referenced the needs of the TG, with recent documents identifying a need to support people with sexually harmful thoughts to avoid offending. The *Tackling Child Sexual Abuse Strategy* (hereafter *Tackling CSA*) laid out action points relating to deterring people from offending, highlighting the advice and support available through *Stop!*, and an intention to continue funding LFF (HM Government, 2021).

The Scottish Government, Welsh Assembly and Northern Ireland Executive each have devolved responsibility for child protection. All three jurisdictions have a strategy or action plan for addressing CSA, child sexual exploitation (CSE) or sexual violence (Scottish Government, 2016; Department of Health and Department of Justice, 2019; Welsh Government, 2019).

Although all refer to prevention, only the Scottish strategy makes reference to members of the TG, in highlighting the government's ongoing support for *Stop it Now! Scotland*.

Police services

Governance of the police services in the UK follows the pattern outlined above. The Home Office is responsible for the 43 regional police forces in England and Wales, while the Scottish Government has oversight over Police Scotland and the NIPB over the Police Service of Northern Ireland. In England and Wales, police forces are overseen by a publicly elected official, usually a Police and Crime Commissioner (PCC)[11]. The PCC or equivalent has the power to set local policing budgets, and to hold the chief constable to account (Caless and Owens, 2016).

Through mapping the field, I identified two regional police forces that met the criteria for being labelled 'dedicated critical': Merseyside Police and Police Scotland. This was based on these forces demonstrating an explicit interest in supporting members of the TG who are struggling with sexually harmful thoughts. Merseyside Police approached MFPS with an offer to fund the pilot prevention service for people at risk of causing sexual harm (Perry *et al.*, 2018). Police Scotland, meanwhile, enlisted *Stop it Now! Scotland* as a strategic partner in their campaign to tackle online sexual offending (Police Scotland, 2019), and both forces link to *Stop!* on their websites.

National Organisation for the Treatment of Abuse (NOTA)

NOTA is a membership charity established in 1991, for professionals working with members of the TG across the UK and Ireland (NOTA, 2021b). Registered in Nottingham, NOTA is the only actor described here with a branch in Northern Ireland. NOTA hosts an annual three-day conference, a peer-review journal, *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, and a monthly blog. Additionally, it offers training to members, engages in outreach activities

[11] Three regions – Greater Manchester, London and West Yorkshire – have directly elected mayors, whose offices incorporate the responsibilities that are elsewhere held by PCCs (Shuttleworth, 2022)

to educate the public about sexual offending, and hosts several sub-committees; including one on prevention (*ibid*.).

Taken together, these activities position NOTA as much more than a networking organisation for professionals, although this is an important function. Through publishing position statements, and involving a large cohort of the membership in active roles in the organisation, NOTA contributes and responds to the shaping of the professional narrative on sexual offending. Previously called *The National Organisation for the Treatment of Abusers*, the name was changed to *The National Organisation for the Treatment of Abuse* in 2019, which was seen to 'better [reflect] the focus of activity and core values of NOTA' (NOTA, 2019). The focus on the issue of sexual abuse rather than perpetrators reflects calls in this sector to adopt a public health approach to sexual harm (see Chapter Two).

Loudoun Trust

Loudoun Trust is a voluntary sector organisation (VSO) whose stated mission is 'to advance education for public benefit about paedo-sexual offending and sexual crimes against children' (Loudoun Trust, 2017). Details about the Trust are difficult to find beyond its relatively rudimentary website. From this, however, it is clear that whilst its stated aims relate to educating the public about CSA, this is focused on education which centres the needs of the TG, particularly those with a sexual interest in children.

Members of Loudoun Trust include professionals and experts from prison governance, psychoanalysis and forensic psychiatry (Loudoun Trust, 2017). Established in the House of Lords in 2012, by the friends and family of the former Observer editor, David Astor, the Trust has access to politicians, and its advocacy activities appear to be centred around attempting to influence policy, as opposed to campaigning to change public opinion.

Forces in/on the field

Having introduced the core organisational actors in the field, in this section I highlight how each actor's approach to the issue of harm prevention is

shaped by the forces they are subject to, depending on their professional orientation. As explored in Chapter Three, in order to make sense of a particular field it is vital to understand how it is related to the rest of the social world.

It is beyond the scope of this study to sketch the various intersecting fields that bring this field into being. Although I hope to demonstrate through this study that it is possible to delineate the boundaries of an emergent field through sustained empirical inquiry (see Chapter Three), most of the fields which intersect in the field under question have not been studied by others in such a way as to make their edges apparent. It is possible, however, to talk of *professional orientations* (Davidson *et al.*, 2001; Harris and Lyon, 2013). This captures the notion that actors from similar professional or training backgrounds share meanings and approaches to practice. It is also possible to identify how influencing forces of marketisation and public protection, discussed in Chapter Two, impact on the practice of actors emerging from different professional orientations.

Professional orientations

Actors in this field emerge from a range of professional orientations, with identifiable groupings within this. The broadest apparent grouping, and that from which the majority of those providing direct intervention emerge, is mental health. Two professional orientations intersect with this. The first is academia, as some in the field (for example those at NTU) have forensic mental health expertise but are primarily academics, whilst others divide their time between practice and research or teaching. Second is 'offender rehabilitation'[12], as the provisions offered by the services discussed are often community-based, targeted at individuals leaving prison.

[12] Although person-first language is being increasingly adopted in the area of criminal justice (Winder, 2021; Harney *et al.*, 2022), official bodies still routinely use the term 'offender' (for example, HM Prison & Probation Service, 2022; Ministry of Justice, 2022) and the adoption of the term here reflects the term in use.

On a governance level in the field, mental health, academia and offender rehabilitation remain prominent, but we can also identify three further professional groupings. First, security: although Bowden (2019) notes a move to talk about security not in terms of the 'police', but in terms of 'policing', which manifests as an emerging 'security field', the institution of the police remains central to the security field, and the only actors explicitly aligned with security in the field under study are police forces.

The second grouping encompasses actors in policy. Being in a position to determine, to a greater or lesser extent, how money is spent on security, policy actors are generally in a dominant position to those in policing, although operating in different cultural and political contexts across the UK. Finally, significant actors in this field are situated in the voluntary sector. I follow Corcoran *et al.* (2018) in referring to VSOs as those that operate in the sector, bearing in mind that this may include organisations that engage in profit-making activities.

External forces

As explored in Chapter Three, actors engage in practice in line with their habitus, constrained by the field within which they are operating and their access to capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). It is instructive to briefly recall one interpretation of Bourdieu's concept of field, that of a force field in physics (Thomson, 2008). This metaphor conceptualises each field as a space within which actors operate, whilst being subject to a range of forces which interact to influence their movement. Forces are external and internal to the field, and impact on actors to varying degrees.

It is important to take account of how practice in this field may be determined by the field(s) with which actors are primarily aligned. I explored in Chapter Two how the forces of marketisation and public protection influence practice in this space, and this exploration highlighted how those emerging from the different professional cultures identified above resist and submit to external forces. These forces are of particular importance in this study, as they are not only important drivers in the

professional settings explored here, but can be seen moreover to influence practice in the field. The remainder of this chapter explores the shape of the field described so far, taking into account the impact of the forces of marketisation and public protection.

The field itself

So far, I have sketched the field of intervention for members of the TG in the UK, and explored two forces that all actors within this field are to varying degrees subject to. In the final section I bring these discussions together. I draw on publicly available information which helps to explain how different actors orientate themselves to the issue of harm prevention. As this section considers information – such as website, annual reports and articles – in the public domain, the analysis is of the *discourses* that institutional actors deploy. The findings will then be given further context with analysis from the interviews in the following two chapters, which explore how individual actors engage in practice in the field. I begin here by sketching the connections between actors which help to demonstrate the way that the field operates as a network, and then turn to how the actors interpret the field doxa.

The shape of the field

In this section I sketch how different actors collaborate and compete in order to achieve the goal of harm prevention. I identify enduring and bidirectional links between three core actors: LFF; the SLF and MFPS, and note that StopSO is slightly more marginal, while the patient-facing therapeutic services (the Portman and private practices) are relatively isolated. I then explore the relationships with the peripheral actors, identifying the significant involvement with NOTA of the three most

interconnected actors, and the diverse relationships with policing and policy.

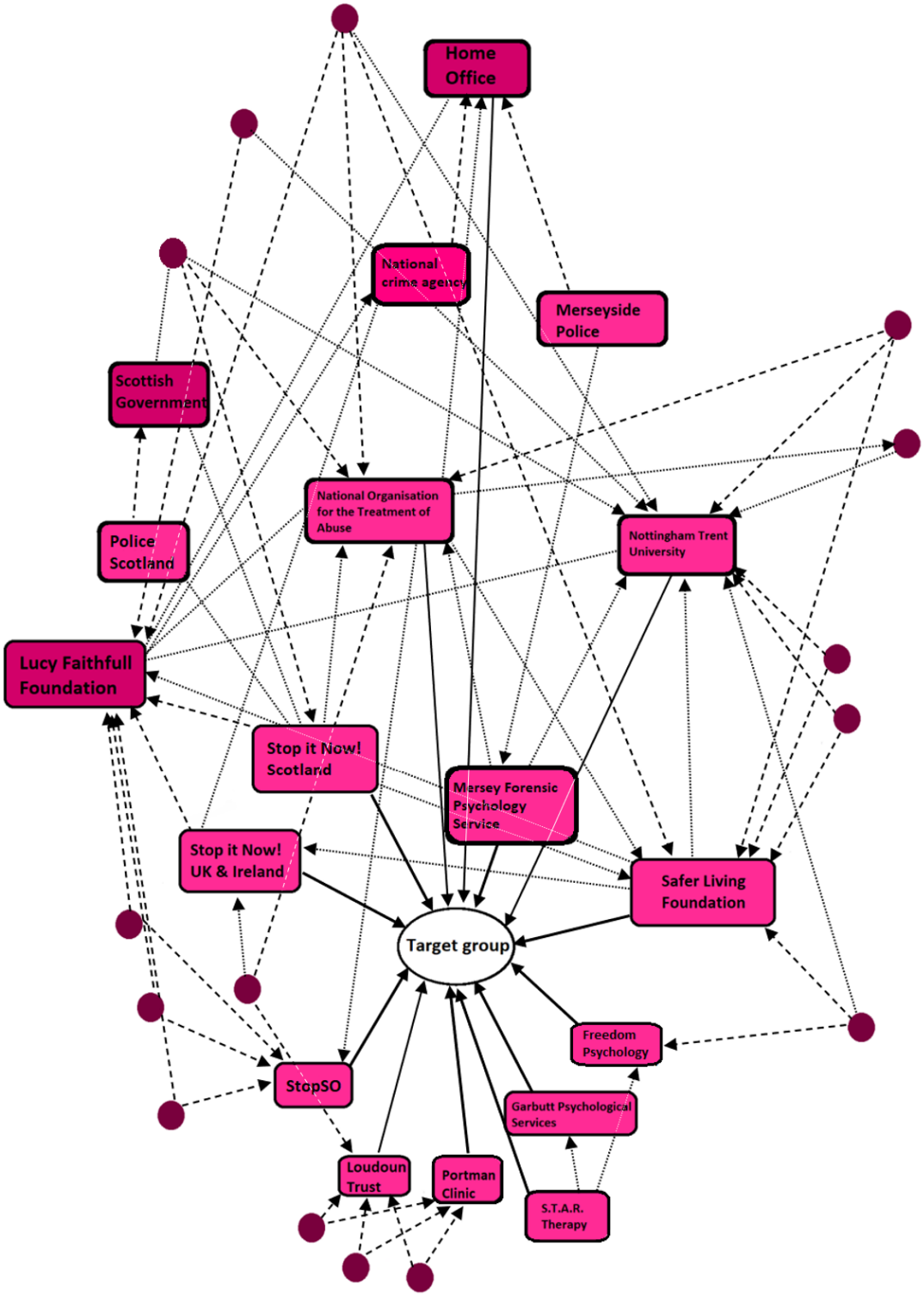


Figure 5: The shape of the field

Collaboration

Collaboration between the core actors is most clearly evident in their contributions to each other's activities. As noted above, the SLF hosted a conference in 2018, and its staff have published a series of academic volumes, including *Sexual Crime and Prevention* (Lievesley *et al.*, 2018). As well as staff from the SLF, representatives from LFF and MFPS presented at the conference and contributed chapters to the book, describing their respective services.

StopSO, meanwhile, did not actively contribute to the above activities, although a chapter in the SLF book included StopSO in its overview of international prevention activities (Christiansen and Martinez-Dettamanti, 2018). Additionally, StopSO edited a section in an issue of *New Psychotherapist* (Everett, 2018) exploring therapeutic work with PWSC, which included contributions from LFF and the SLF. In contrast, the 2019 StopSO conference, *Insights into sexual offending: facing the reality*, featured talks predominantly from actors outside the network described above.

Aside from one-off engagements such as the above, individuals often have enduring relationships with multiple actors. For example, LFF and the SLF share a trustee (LFF, 2020; SLF, 2020), and all three trainers listed on the StopSO website also work for LFF (StopSO, 2021c). The extent of these connections can be seen in Figure 5.

Private practices, meanwhile, appear to operate in relative isolation from the other field members. Apart from connections between personnel which indicate an alignment in their allegiances (see Figure 5), at the time of mapping these actors did not appear to take part in the above-described activities. The Portman also appears to operate autonomously from the rest of the network. However, several Portman practitioners are also members of Loudoun Trust. One Loudoun Trust member is also chair of the NOTA prevention committee; aside from this, the Trust itself is relatively isolated

from others in the network. I discuss below the relationship between the Portman and Loudoun Trust.

Inhabiting similar spaces

As well as collaborating on projects, actors also work together – or in competition – when inhabiting similar spaces. Having noted that patient-facing services and Loudoun Trust do not appear to openly engage in the network, I focus here on how the 'active' core members – LFF; MFPS; the SLF and StopSO – engage with peripheral actors.

NOTA

A site of convergence for many in this field is NOTA. Most prominent is the annual conference, which is targeted widely, with smaller networks, such as committees, and online spaces such as the blog. As noted above, a membership body such as NOTA is an important place for actors to accumulate social capital.

Convergence in these spaces is worth considering when determining whether actors may be thought of as members of a single field. In spite of the name change (see p. 147), NOTA remains primarily concerned with combatting sexual abuse through addressing the needs of the TG. Being seen in a NOTA space – or even better being seen to *oversee* a NOTA space, through presenting at a conference or writing a blog piece – could indicate an allegiance to the field illusio and acceptance within its ranks.

NOTA's relevance as a space in which active field members come together is highlighted by the way in which the contributions to its activities appear to mirror the dynamic described above. Staff from the SLF, LFF and MFPS have all engaged actively with NOTA, contributing to the blog (Wright, 2019) and newsletter (Saunders, 2018), and as board members (NOTA, 2021a). Meanwhile, StopSO is identifiable in NOTA outputs, but does not appear to take an active role. For example, the NOTA blog lists StopSO as a service available to people who feel at risk of sexually harming others

(McCartan *et al.*, 2019), but I have not identified any contributions from StopSO to NOTA activities.

Security: policy and frontline practice

All of the active field members engage with policing policy and practice to a greater or lesser extent, and highlight this in their communications. In contrast, it is difficult to find actors in policy openly discussing engagement with field actors. Those that do almost unanimously refer to collaboration with LFF and its functions.

The link between LFF and policy is enduring, and seemingly strengthening. LFF publications highlight this, for example with a substantial quote from the Home Secretary in its annual report (LFF, 2020). Although overt commitments in policy to work in this field are less easy to find, they are becoming more common. The Home Office *Tackling CSE Strategy Progress Report* (2017) introduced three strategic aims, including an intention to look into addressing the needs of the TG, but gave no detail on how this would be achieved. *Tackling CSA* (HM Government, 2021) devoted several points to the issue, including a commitment to continue to fund *Stop!*

In Scottish policy, meanwhile, the *National Action Plan to Prevent and Tackle Child Sexual Exploitation: Update* (hereafter *National Action Plan*) (Scottish Government, 2016) highlighted funding that the government was providing to *Stop it Now! Scotland* to offer support for the TG, but did not include action points that committed to continuing this. However, the delivery report (Scottish Government, 2020) pointed to ongoing work between Police Scotland and *Stop it Now! Scotland* which addresses the TG, indicating that this work continues even in the absence of overt commitments to it.

On a more local level, the vast majority of references to PCCs or police forces engaging with the TG identified through this mapping exercises related to forces either publicising a collaboration with LFF (Lancashire Constabulary, 2018) or providing a link to *Stop!* on their website (Cheshire

Constabulary, 2021). I identified one instance of a police force signposting to both StopSO and LFF (Avon and Somerset Police, 2021). Most of these announcements are relatively uniform, often with identical wording, indicating they may have been offered to police forces by LFF.

Despite this near absence of endorsements of the active field members beyond LFF, other links do exist. For example, the SLF was only able to pilot TAP after securing the support of the Nottinghamshire PCC in 2017 (Saunders, 2018), who spoke at the 2018 conference (NTU, 2018), but there is no mention of the TG in the PCC's subsequent Police and Crime Plan (Nottinghamshire OPCC, 2018). Similarly, the MFPS prevention pilot was initiated by Merseyside Police (Perry *et al.*, 2018), but despite Merseyside Police having a link to *Stop!* on their website under 'Advice for potential offenders', there is no mention of MFPS (Merseyside Police, 2021).

The contrast is particularly stark when considering that StopSO have signalled a desire to play a role in harm prevention on a national level. Whilst MFPS and the SLF may be able to achieve their aims with the hushed support of funders, StopSO has lobbied the government in its attempts to attract public funding (StopSO, 2018), and its choice of high-profile speakers from beyond the core network (on a national level) at the 2019 conference indicates an outward-looking orientation. The engagement of Bailey as patron indicates some success, but there have not been further updates which indicate that this has materialised in funding.

Competing for space

As noted above, policy in England, Wales and Scotland highlights a reliance on LFF for engaging members of the TG in preventing sexual harm. This delegation of responsibility is expected from policy and many statutory providers, as explored above. As such, an intention to engage with the TG *without* drawing on voluntary or frontline statutory services would be more controversial. There can, however, be a struggle when actors are competing to inhabit a similar space, whilst attempting to demonstrate that their own service is distinct, and therefore worth funding. One way actors

could safeguard their own offer would be by being seen as the go-to intervention for members of the TG. Thus, it is instructive to look briefly at the extent to which actors signpost to others in the field, for example in publications or on their websites.

LFF's access to political capital indicates that they inhabit a powerful position in the field, and may therefore be more comfortable signposting to other actors who presumably present little competition. However, I found no evidence of this happening. Conversely, the SLF website links to *Stop!*, whilst *Sexual Crime and Prevention* (Lievesley *et al.*, 2018) highlights the work of others doing similar work in the UK and internationally. StopSO, meanwhile, not only mirrors LFF in not signposting to other services, but used the *New Psychotherapist* section to promote its own offer, rather than those of the SLF and LFF, who both contributed articles (Everett, 2018).

The SLF's readiness to elevate the work of other actors may be explained in part by its access to cultural capital. SLF members hold senior positions in prison governance and, as noted above, the charity has received multiple awards. Furthermore, through its link with NTU, the SLF is able to mobilise the cultural capital of the university. Being a form of capital that is only accumulable over time, cultural capital is difficult to dislodge (Bourdieu, 1986), meaning that the SLF can remain relatively secure in its position. The SLF chair secured funding for TAP from the PCC at a chance encounter at an event (Saunders, 2018). It is possible that this interaction only occurred because her position, and the cultural capital wielded by the SLF, allowed her access to the event and the attention of the PCC.

Whilst LFF also has access to cultural capital (not least because the above-mentioned chair of the SLF is also an LFF trustee), its strength appears to come from its endorsement by the Home Office and Scottish Government. The duration of these links over several decades, and the different political climates in the two jurisdictions, indicates that this connection is not likely to change in line with the incumbent government. Nevertheless, political

endorsement can change quickly, and it is likely that LFF is required to work continually to retain political support.

Conversely, it is worth considering why the smaller, patient-facing practices do not appear to engage in partnership working. It may not be financially viable to network or publicise their service nationally when they could focus on maintaining their services on a local level, where clients are more likely to be recruited. Alternatively, they may not engage actively in the field because they do not see themselves as *needing* a network. They do not profess their aims as preventing sexual harm, nor creating societal change, and they do not seek external funding.

This possibility is reinforced when considering the Portman, which as an institution wields cultural capital relating to the profession of psychoanalysis and its association with the long-established Tavistock Clinic. Although reliant on public funding, as a therapeutic service within an established NHS institution, the Portman is not compelled to engage in outward-facing work, but the involvement of Portman practitioners with Loudoun Trust indicates that individual actors within the clinic may be interested in wider work in the field.

Although Loudoun Trust's own isolation may indicate that the organisation has limited capacity to effect societal change, there is evidence that they draw on various forms of capital in order to achieve their aims. Through their association with the Portman, Loudoun Trust have access to its cultural capital. At the same time, as noted above, the trust is close to the field of power, with political capital which can be mobilised in attempts to influence decision-making. For example, Loudoun Trust held a symposium at Westminster in 2015 to discuss proposed mandatory reporting of historical child sex offences, and credits this as well as related 'conversations with leading figures' with changes to legislation that was at the time before the House of Lords (Loudoun Trust, 2017).

The Portman's engagement with a low-profile but potentially influential advocacy organisation indicates that their members may be interested in influencing societal change, but are free to engage in this practice as an end in itself. Unlike VSOs, as an NHS service they are to an extent[13] shielded from the force of marketisation. Accordingly, evidence of the engagement of Portman staff in the field is not required in order to contribute to capital accumulation for the Portman as an organisation. This may further explain why information on small patient-facing services who adopt the field illusio is difficult to find in the public domain.

Interpreting the illusio

I have argued that this field is shaped by adherence to two rules: first that all work is in the service of protecting children, and second that members of the TG are deserving of support in their own right. In this section I trace how the various actors interpret these two rules, drawing on findings from my deductive analysis of documents, discussed in Chapter Four (see p. 126). Noting that some of the interventions are targeted at *anyone* with sexually harmful thoughts, as opposed to those relating to harm against children, I refer to public protection – as opposed to child protection specifically – where relevant (see Chapter Six for an expanded discussion of this distinction). In this section I focus on LFF, the SLF, StopSO, policy and the police. This is primarily because publications and communications from the other field actors are limited, but also reflects the observation that these actors appear the most active in the network.

Whilst, as doxa, all actors accept the rules, and the doxa of child protection (CP) remains dominant, their interpretation of the illusio mediates how each is expressed. Some discourse is more clearly public-protection focused, where expressions of intention are always framed in terms of protecting potential victims, whilst references to the TG tend to be in terms of deterrence. At the other extreme, actors present their priority as offering

[13] Although not necessarily entirely (Calovski and Calnan, 2019)

support to the TG who they refer to in humanising language, whilst public protection is presented as an inevitable by-product. Most actors do not fall at one place on the continuum, but draw on different discourses depending on their audience.

Policy

The actors that most firmly adopt the language of public protection are those involved in policy. It is worth noting that information coming from these actors is likely to be highly controlled, and to be addressing the wider public. Although policymakers inevitably speak differently to different stakeholders, any government communication that is not intended for the public domain is treated confidentially (Scottish Government, 2017; Cabinet Office, 2018).

Among the documents analysed, almost all references to engaging the TG are framed in terms of the need to protect children through deterring members of the TG from offending. There are occasional references to the needs of members of the TG in their own right. For example, *Tackling CSA* (HM Government, 2021) notes that offending is often linked to life experiences and personal circumstances. However, more frequently the TG are referred to as a threat to others. The ministerial forward to the same strategy, for example, concludes with a direct message to the TG:

> *'[I]f you think you can access child abuse imagery with impunity, groom children, abuse positions of trust – think again, you will pay for your crimes'* (Patel, 2021, p. 4)

The *National Action Plan*, meanwhile, had four outcomes around which the plan was structured, one of which referred to the TG in combative terms:

> *'Perpetrators are stopped, brought to justice and are less likely to re-offend'* (Scottish Government, 2016, p. 5)

These statements, each of which comes early on and in a prominent position in the documents, serve to frame the respective policies in line

with this discourse. The detail, however, indicates an allegiance to the rule of TG support, particularly in regards to individuals who have not offended. For example, a case study in *Tackling CSA* illustrating the work of *Stop!* discusses a caller who was concerned about his problematic sexual thoughts, and drew on the support of the helpline to avoid offending (HM Government, 2021). In contrast, the action points and case studies relating to individuals who have offended focus on control and supervision.

Policing

Whilst policing actors also draw on the narrative of public protection, there are also more overt references to the TG as deserving of support. A press release by Avon and Somerset Police, for example, headlined *'48 devices seized in day of action targeting offenders*' (2021), described an operation which targeted PWSC to search for potentially incriminating material. Whereas the headline implied that the 48 individuals were suspected of new offences, the article does not give the number of people targeted, but notes that six people had material that warranted further investigation.

Furthermore, the reference to 'targeting offenders' could suggest that it is legitimate to target PWSC for this type of 'action' because they have offended, although these specific individuals may have been targeted because of additional suspicions relating to their behaviour. The impression given by the headline, then, is in line with the 'othering' discourse often used to talk about people who commit sexual offences (Spencer, 2009). In contrast, the statement given by a force representative focused on the work that the force does to help and understand Registered Sex Offenders on their system. The representative states that '[t]here is usually a reason behind their offending such as trauma, abuse or mental health problems' (*ibid*.), explaining that many 'don't fit the stereotype', before suggesting people seek help before they offend. This message, then, contrasts with the othering language used in the headline, speaking instead to the support needs of members of the TG and suggesting that this could include readers of the press release.

Additionally, there are indicators that policing actors involved in the management of PWC do address the needs of the TG in their own right. There have been moves recently to address the high rates of suicide among men charged with CSEM offences (Key *et al.*, 2017). For example, the Suicide Prevention Working Group, set up by the NPCC, investigated the experiences of men in this group and made recommendations for practice to address the suicide risk (Farnham *et al.*, 2018).

Voluntary sector organisations

Of the three VSOs, the language deployed by LFF aligns most closely with that of policy. All references to the need to support the TG are expressed in the context of protecting children. However, the needs of the TG are spoken more than that found in policy documents, and those who have offended are not vilified. Instead, there is an entwinement of messages which recognise the needs of members of the TG and the aims of child protection. For example, a case study of an attendee at an LFF intervention concludes:

> *'Chris now feels that he is worth much more… and he can see that he has a future. Chris feels he is able to identify the triggers that made him 'self-destruct', and that this will help prevent him reoffending in the future'* (LFF, 2020, p. 20)

The language of 'positive lifestyles' is deployed to indicate that if members of the TG are supported to develop ways of living that are healthy to themselves, this will make them less dangerous to others (Bailey *et al.*, 2018, p. 69; LFF, 2020, p. 8). Nevertheless, the limited discussion of the TG as deserving of support as separate from the aim of child protection indicates that support for service users to lead positive lives is primarily a function of protecting children.

On the other hand, there is evidence that those working with service users do treat their needs as important. Echoing the discussion above in relation to policing, LFF frames its work as being about child protection but has

become a source of support for people under investigation for CSEM offences. Indeed, the above-mentioned article describing the NPCC suicide intervention was written in collaboration with an LFF representative (Farnham *et al.*, 2018). LFF support is usually provided on an emergency basis, and considering the already low re-offending rates among this group, this is a clear indication that LFF does engage in practice which centres the needs of the TG.

As the name suggests, the Safer Living Foundation (SLF) draws on a similar entwinement of the aim to improve the lives of members of the TG and prevent sexual harm. In its annual reports, which tend to be targeted at funders and others outside the core network, expressions of support for the TG are coupled with a commitment to public protection. However, rather than adopting combative language, the TG are spoken of with compassion:

> *'... we have the opportunity to improve the lives of men, women and children, through preventing further victims of sexual harm as well as the lives of these individuals who have offended sexually'* (SLF, 2017a)

This approach is identifiable across SLF official documentation, indicating that they not only accept the rule that the TG are deserving in their own right, but that their work is motivated by this. Further, in documents addressing others within the field, the emphasis on public protection is minimised (although still present) and compassion for the TG is elevated. Presentation slides from the 2019 conference, for example, focus primarily on SU wellbeing (Taylor and Hocken, 2018).

One extract from the chapter describing TAP in *Sexual Crime and Prevention* illustrates the tension between an interest in TG support and preventing sexual harm. Explaining the choice of name for the project, Hocken (2018) notes that people struggling with a sexual interest in children often seek support, but do not regard themselves as presenting a sexual risk to others, thus references to 'prevention' may be off-putting.

However, even in this extract, TAP is referred to as a 'prevention initiative' (*ibid*. p. 93), and the TAP referral criteria include 'individuals who find their sexual thoughts, feelings & behaviours distressing *and are concerned that they may act upon them*' (SLF, 2017b, emphasis added). Although demonstrating an interest, then, in elevating the needs of the TG, the SLF also draws on the narrative of public protection.

StopSO also frames its work in terms of public protection, with a greater or lesser emphasis depending on the audience. In its addresses to the public, in particular its website and press releases, the goal of preventing sexual harm is centred, and expressions of support for the TG are presented in terms of the benefits of preventing sexual harm. The home page of the StopSO website (see Figure 6) showed pinwheels that the charity placed on London's Southbank in the Millbank area – close to the political centre of Whitehall – representing victims of sexual violence.

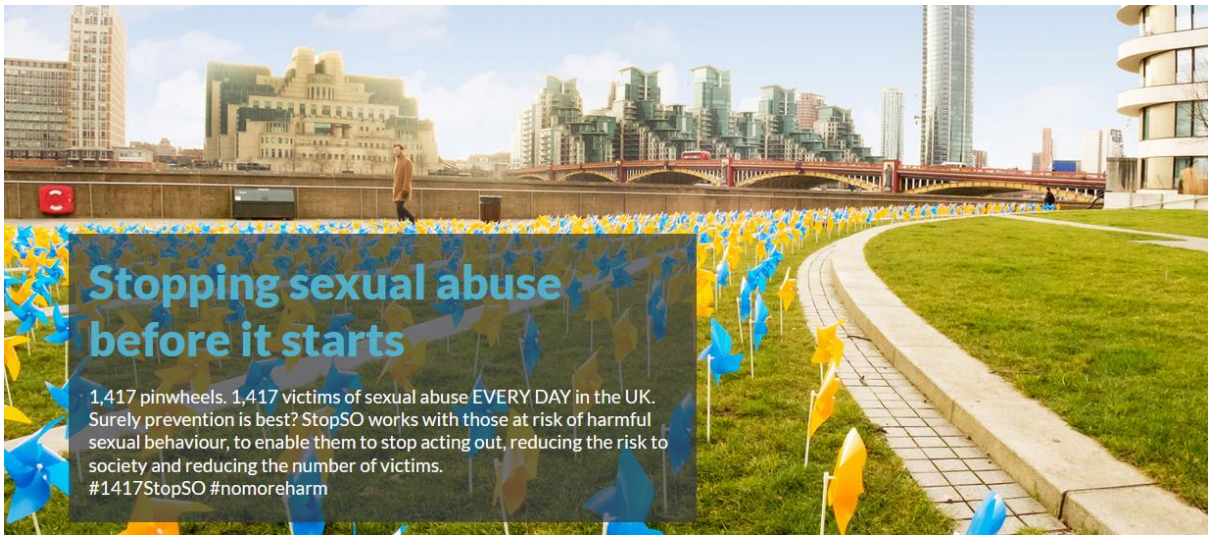


Figure 6: StopSO display of pinwheels on London's Southbank

Although a therapy organisation, StopSO adopts language associated with 'offender' management. For example, at the 2019 conference StopSO referred to clients as 'core members' (Grayson, 2019) and it promotes the hashtag 'no more harm' (StopSO, 2021b). Both of these echo the language used by COSA, which refers to its service users as 'core members', and whose tagline is 'no more victims' (Taylor and Hickey, 2020).

In contrast, StopSO activities directed at other professionals focus on the needs of the TG. For example, although the articles in the section of *New Psychotherapist* edited by StopSO acknowledge the potential for therapeutic work to prevent sexual harm, the focus is more on the experience of working with the TG (Everett, 2018). Similarly, an article by the chair of StopSO on the *British Association of Counselling and Psychotherapy* website uses an argument which highlights the needs of members of the TG in their own right:

> *'I hope that StopSO will get funding to offer subsidised therapy to anyone at risk of committing a sexual offence who needs help, but can't afford to pay for therapy. When someone is caught or arrested for a sexual offence, their whole life is thrown upside down. It's precisely the time when therapy can do a lot of good'* (Grayson, 2015)

In a StopSO press release, on the other hand, the chair made the same appeal but without fronting a concern for the TG, instead focusing on the role that therapy can play in contributing to public protection:

> *'We believe that therapy should be provided free-of-charge to all perpetrators asking for help who cannot afford to pay for themselves, as a cost-effective way of reducing sexual offending in the UK'* (StopSO, 2018)

The actors described so far, then, each demonstrate adherence to the two rules governing the field, and elevate one over the other in different contexts. I discuss in the next section how these discourses can be understood in light of the forces discussed above.

Field dynamics

It is to be expected that publications from policy echo the language of public protection, in which members of the TG are considered almost exclusively in terms of their threat to others. By focusing on those members of the TG who have offended, and making it clear that the priority is not only

protecting the public from harm but also delivering justice, these statements draw at once on the discourse of public protection and the 'criminology of the other' (Garland, 2001). It is noteworthy that Patel's above address to PWC is followed by a message to 'victims, survivors and those at-risk' (2021, p. 4), creating a clear discursive divide between the two groups.

As discussed, policing actors use similarly punitive language in regards to the TG, but also demonstrate acceptance that they are deserving of support. The polarised narrative discussed above may reflect the fact that they are closer to the frontline, and engage with members of the TG on a more individual, and therefore potentially more humanising, level. Equally, they may feel more able to depart from the populist discourse of public protection. It is noteworthy that I was unable to find PCCs, some of whom do take action to address the needs of the TG, speaking about this publicly. PCCs (and some mayors) are the only policing actors who are directly accountable to the public, and therefore controversial pronouncements are likely to be seen as risky. It is possible that although Bailey drew controversy from speaking about the TG in humanising terms, in his position he may have been somewhat shielded from public outrage through bureaucratic structures.

LFF also frames its work primarily in terms of public protection. Considering the degree to which LFF relies on funding from central government, it is worth recalling the discussion above on 'mission drift'. It is not possible to determine whether LFF frames its work in line with a public protection narrative in order to secure government funding, as theory on mission drift would suggest. It is equally possible that LFF has access to funding because its founding principles match those of the government. Nevertheless, it is striking that LFF consistently adopts a public protection angle which downplays the needs of the TG in their own right, whilst working in ways which recognise their needs as valid, indicating a degree of self-censorship when it comes to championing the needs of the TG.

A similar contrast is evident in publications from StopSO. Although StopSO therapists may not encounter the dual relationship problem (see p. 48), the organisation seemingly faces this dynamic as it is at once a crime prevention VSO and a therapeutic service. Accordingly, communications which seek to raise its profile among policymakers, security actors and the general public focus on the risk reduction element of its work, whilst communications with others in the field of mental health focus on patient benefit. One further indication that StopSO adopts the principles of its (would-be) funders is the use of market principles to justify the provision of free therapy to members of the TG (see p. 164).

The SLF, whose stated aims are the prevention of sexual crime and the rehabilitation of PWSC (SLF, 2020), also appear to have a dual relationship. However, although they adopt the narrative of public protection, they do so whilst continuing to elevate the needs of the TG, indicating some resistance to the othering discourse of public protection. Whilst the other field actors do not engage in othering language in regards to the TG, neither do they challenge it by asserting openly that members of the TG are deserving in their own right.

This challenge to the dominant discourse may be possible for two reasons. First, the SLF does not receive funding from central government, nor does it openly campaign or lobby on a national level, thus potentially making the issue of mission drift less acute. Second, I discussed above the considerable cultural capital wielded by the SLF. Based in a prison, with a focus on service users in the community and a close link with academic research, the SLF can situate itself as a hub of expertise which is committed to public protection; the prison being the solution-of-choice to the problem of people who have committed violent and sexual offences (Garland, 2001). As an actor which is well-respected in the field and which regularly curates spaces where core actors come together, the SLF is in a better position than other field members to challenge the dominance of the doxa of child protection. In Chapter Eight, I explore how this challenge can be understood as an

attempt to make the field more autonomous, and the barriers faced by those who do seek to do this.

Conclusion

In this chapter I introduced the field under study and explored its contours. I began by describing the different actors who accept the doxa, and take an active interest in supporting members of the TG. I note that the most represented professional orientations are: mental health; academia; 'offender rehabilitation'; policing; policy and the voluntary sector, and suggest that the practice of these actors is varyingly influenced by the forces of marketisation and public protection, discussed in Chapter Two.

I then presented the findings from my desk-based research during which I mapped the field under study. I discussed the connections between field members, and drew on findings from my deductive analysis of documents emerging from the key actors. In so doing I explored how institutional actors represent themselves in different settings, and what this can tell us about how they respond to the forces of marketisation and public protection, as well as their (public) interpretation of the field illusio.

Taken together, in this chapter I have sketched the shape of an emergent field. In the following chapter I turn to the findings from semi-structured interviews in order to demonstrate that the field I have identified is defined by two rules which operate as doxa. I argue that the doxa of CP is dominant to that of TG support, before exploring how actors construct the TG through their practice.

Chapter Six: Defining the problem

Introduction

In the previous chapter I argued that the network under study can be considered a field to the extent that it is possible to identify the 'objective relations between positions' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 97) in which actors struggle for dominance. I also explored how it is the site of convergence of several professional orientations, with their own particular histories and cultures. In this chapter, I turn to how actors construct a shared understanding of the problem that they are seeking to address.

I draw here on the findings from analysis of interviews with people who are involved in this area of intervention in the UK. Although, as I explore, the majority would be considered members of the field mapped in the previous chapter, this was not the case for all participants. In order to protect the anonymity of participants and keep their contributions confidential as far as possible, I have not drawn out potential links between the findings in this or the following chapter and the data presented in Chapter Five. I have also only provided minimal information on the organisations that participants are affiliated with, aiming to give the minimum needed to contextualise the data and findings presented.

In the first half of the chapter I argue that the field is unified in a concern to prevent harm, and that the meaning of harm prevention can be understood in terms of abidance to two 'rules'. The first is that all work in the field must be in the service of child protection (CP). The second is that members of the target group (the boundaries of which I turn to in the second half) are deserving of protection from harm in their own right. I then explore how actors' practice is structured in terms of their engagement with these two rules.

In the second half of this chapter I explore how actors converge around and subsequently construct the common targets of interventions within the

network, before exploring three categories of individuals who actors consider to fall within the boundaries of the target group (TG). I conclude by demonstrating how the field I have identified is struggling to assert itself as autonomous. I suggest that the interplay between two macro-cultural discourses, relating to child protection and the 'paedophile' respectively, causes the field to exist in a state of *heteronomy* (Bourdieu, 1996).

Passive targets?

Before exploring how the TG is constructed as such, it is worth considering how members of the TG are situated as *targets* of the interventions being studied. In choosing a term to describe potential service users in the field, I settled on 'target group' because – as I explore below – the only factor that unites these individuals is that they are commonly targeted by actors in the field under study. At the same time, the term is directional, potentially conjuring an image of these individuals as passive, while the actors described and mapped in this thesis actively construct the field around them (see Figure 5 on p. 151).

This perceived directionality may be a function of the methods chosen, as I have not focused on the practice of members of the TG as field members. One participant spoke about how engagement with service users or potential service users helps to shape the service they deliver:

> *'My emphasis or focus is always, 'Well, what does the client think?' So, policy change, to me, the person to be asked is the person who's affected by the policy. So, the person with the attraction to children or the person who is trying to stay away from offending.' (Dorothy: practitioner-manager/TG)*

For one participant, however, their practice was guided by their aims to provide for a specific type of service user, and this led to problems when they could not attract service users who fit the correct profile. Gary, the manager of a service which was seeking to intervene with members of the

TG who had not offended, explained that he struggled to attract the 'ideal' service user (as described by him in a quote on p. 200). When I asked whether the service had changed in response to this issue he described attempts to attract more appropriate referrals:

> *'It's changed the focus I suppose. So, thinking about how we can pre-empt some of these issues and deal with them sooner. We had made it clear to people what the service was about, but… how can we make that even clearer to people so they understand these issues before they refer somebody? So, not getting inappropriate referrals, people who don't really want to be referred.' (Gary: practitioner-manager/TG)*

This response gives the sense that the service described was designed in order to fit organisational priorities, rather than being shaped by those who do attempt to access its offer. Another indication that the TG are *targeted* rather than taking an active part in constructing services is in the responses to the written exercise (described on p. 102). For this, I asked participants to tell me who or what they depend on in order to achieve their aims. In response to this question, only one participant mentioned members of the TG. After speaking about the role that government could play in funding prevention, Tom, a frontline practitioner working with members of the TG, told me that he also needs people to speak openly about having harmful sexual thoughts about children:

> *'If people could have strength to come forward and talk about it. So, you know, people that are experiencing child sexual thoughts or beliefs. If they could just find a way, I don't know, to talk.' (Tom: practitioner/TG)*

For Tom, then, he felt that the practice of members of the TG could have an impact on his ability to achieve his own aims. Even this, however, would not necessarily lead to members of the TG taking part in shaping services. Indeed, apart from these quotes, it was striking that – although some

mentioned service users elsewhere in the interview – no other participants explicitly stated that service users, or potential service users, play a part in shaping their own professional practice. Instead, responses tended to focus on how actors require other professionals, funders, policy and public attitudes to be onside in order to achieve their aims. It is important to note that this observation is not intended to imply that participants do not value the contribution of service users or members of the TG as field members. However, it does contribute to the notion that the *targeting* of this group of individuals for intervention seems to be relatively unidirectional.

Preventing harm

In order to understand how the field converges over an interest in preventing harm, I examine the extent to which two 'rules' influence how actors engage in the field, and how they represent the field doxa. Although, by definition, the rules are accepted by those who engage in the field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992), the nature of adherence to the rules is dependent on two factors. First, the relative status of the two rules, and second, the habitus which structures an individual's practice. This chapter will focus on the former factor; I turn to the latter in the following chapter.

The first rule of 'child protection' (CP) draws on macro-cultural discourses which situate children as particularly deserving of protection from harm. The second rule, of 'TG support', meanwhile, draws (although not exclusively) on practice knowledge from client-focused professions such as psychotherapy and, historically, probation (Burnett and Mcneill, 2005) which elevate the importance of the individual. This states that members of the TG are vulnerable by virtue of their being in the TG, and thus deserving of support in their own right.

In this chapter I focus on bringing these rules to the surface by drawing on findings from my semi-structured interviews to explore how they shape participants' engagement in the field. For some actors, the ways in which they abide by the two rules is relatively consistent, while others re-orientate

their discourse depending on the context. For the purpose of elucidating the rules, I will speak simply of the extent to which participants elevate either as dominant in their practice. While this was straightforward in relation to some participants, others were difficult to categorise for reasons I will explore in the following chapter.

I argue that the rule of protecting children from harm can be considered to carry greater weight in the way in which it underpins the practice of all actors. In contrast, although all actors accept the rule that the TG is deserving of support, those for whom it is dominant also indicate abidance to the rule of 'child protection', whilst those for whom the rule of 'child protection' is dominant engage in the field on the basis that the TG – who are nevertheless deserving of support – present a sexual risk to children.

'Child protection' as a rule

The assertion of avoiding harm to children as not only a universal interest but as paramount to other goals was alluded to in most interviews. For those actors for whom the rule of child protection was dominant, there was a sense that, while notions of harm reduction are drawn upon to make decisions elsewhere, where there is potential risk to a child then mitigating that specific risk is unquestionable. Abdullah, a service manager in a child protection organisation, describes certain situations as:

> *'Difficult and not difficult in the sense that if we've got a [service user]… and it's all going really well, and then they disclose something to you that indicates harm… of course we'll pass that information on, because we want to protect children, but it's a difficult decision in the fact that you've built that relationship with that person, you recognise that actually doing that could impact that relationship, and… we run the risk of not being able to ensure that they're continuing with their good behaviour.' (Abdullah: manager/CP)*

Bruce, another manager whose organisation engages both the public and members of the TG, echoed this when talking about balancing the protection of children with the prevention of harm to members of the TG, acknowledging that addressing the risk of harm to a child might elevate risk elsewhere. He talks in this extract of 'distress', but before and after spoke explicitly about the high risk of suicide amongst the TG:

> *'We would always prioritise the protection of children… in a situation where somebody may be in a significant level of psychological distress themselves but they're telling us that there's a likelihood that they would harm a child within all of that. Now actually our acting to prevent the harm to the child might increase the distress for that individual, but our priority would be the protection of harm to the child.' (Bruce: manager/CP)*

Some participants referred to their interest in protecting children as a lead-in to expressing an interest in preventing harm to members of the TG. Lily, a policymaker in a criminal justice setting who has a particular interest in working with perpetrators of domestic violence, spoke about the work of the public protection unit to keep people who have sexually offended safe, and when I asked her to expand, responded as follows:

> *'They could be kept safe from temptation of going on the internet, looking at child sex images… you are keeping the public safe by, if they are committing any further criminal offences then you can manage that. They're being kept from members of the public writing 'child pervert', 'adult sex offender' on their doors et cetera.' (Lily: policy/all)*

Bruce (manager/CP) used a similar construct to express sympathy for the TG:

> *'The protection of children from harm is absolutely axiomatic that's why we do the work that we do, but also trying to bring some humanity and empathy and understanding and compassion to why*

abuse happens. Compassion that we bring to the victim but also to the person who's caused harm as well.' (Bruce: manager/CP)

Daphne, a commissioner, highlighted this tension explicitly:

'First of all [my goal is] protecting the victims, so reducing the incidence. That's quite important. But secondly, and this isn't very populist, actually protecting the perpetrator, and that's the bit that's, in political terms, a bit difficult.' (Daphne: policy/all)

These extracts invoke the force of the influencing force of public protection, discussed in Chapter Two. The rule of CP, however, was not only called upon as a way of prefacing an expression of support for the TG, as Lily and Daphne did in the above quotes. Rather, an interest in TG support was invariably *justified* through invoking the rule of CP, as I explain next.

Supporting TG as a function of protecting children

'TG as deserving of support' can be considered doxa in that it was unquestioned by those I spoke to within the field. This implicit acceptance of the rule was evident, for example, in Ray's (manager/CP) description of the general attitude towards the TG. In the following extract, he implies that the attitude of lots of 'the general public' is misguided in a way that assumed a shared understanding between us:

'What a lot of the general public will do… is to demonise sexual offenders as being something different from ordinary people and therefore not deserving of services or compassion or support' (Ray: manager/CP)

Nevertheless, entwined with this rule is the expectation that offering support to the TG is *in the service of* protecting children. For those viewing the rule of TG support as dominant, this manifested itself in assertions that although they are motivated to avoid harm towards members of the TG, doing so means they can more effectively protect children:

> *'I believe that if you're client focused you're probably more effective at child protection than the child protection agencies.' (Abigail: practitioner-manager/TG)*

Fred, a practitioner working with members of the TG who also engaged in advocacy to raise awareness about paedophilia, made a similar claim when explaining his advocacy work:

> *'We think the best way to lessen the incidence of child sexual abuse is to be able to openly access people who are having unwanted sexual fantasies of children who can then come for help openly come for help.' (Fred: practitioner-advocate/TG)*

Edward was an academic who had practiced in therapeutic settings with members of the TG, and at the time of our interview was taking steps to return to practice. For him the rule of TG support was dominant, and he did not immediately volunteer this 'child protection' focused explanation for his work. Nevertheless, when I asked whether he would regard improving the mental health of clients without necessarily reducing their likelihood of offending as success, he echoed the belief that the two aims are intertwined:

> *'Yes. Because I think if a person with a deviant interest has problems with their mental health, that constitutes a risk… if they get the message, 'you're a paedophile, you're going to abuse a child, you're going to end up in prison, there's no chance for you', this could result in a self-fulfilling prophecy and make them offend.' (Edward: practitioner-researcher/TG-all)*

Among participants for whom the rule of child protection was dominant, they voiced a concern not only *for*, but also *about* the TG. That is, that they have a capacity to sexually harm others, and support was therefore framed in terms of preventing offending. Serena, who mostly works with adults who have sexually offended, emphasised that her work is:

> *'…about preventing child abuse, rather than the pro-paedophile type of attitude that some people might think you might have if you work with that client group.' (Serena: practitioner-manager/TG).*

This quote by Serena highlights a tension between her own dedication to services users and need to foster a trusting therapeutic alliance (Youssef, 2017), and her unwillingness to be seen as 'pro-paedophile'. Shortly after the above statement, she explained that she had previously not wanted to work with people who had sexually offended, but after a client disclosed a prior sexual conviction she had asked herself, *'Why are we treating him any different than we would be anybody else?'* This tension between wanting members of the TG to be treated like 'anybody else', whilst also wanting to avoid being seen as 'pro-paedophile', speaks to the difficulty field members face talking openly about their work.

This interplay was particularly evident for those participants who attempted to balance the two rules. Ray, a manager of a child protection charity which engages the general public, including members of the TG, had difficulty articulating this balancing act:

> *'We want to help people, you know, but we want- we want to help people without minimising their risk without- without creating vulnerability for themselves or for other people, but allowing them the opportunity to ge- but somehow allowing them the opportunity to get…help.' (Ray: manager/CP)*

I explore this difficulty further in Chapter Eight. For now, I suggest that it emerges from the dominance of the doxa of child protection which prevents the doxa of TG support from standing alone.

Child protection as doxa

I will use the remainder of this section to suggest that the dominance of the rule of child protection indicates that it operates as doxa. I explore how

it is regarded as such by actors, and how this dominance can sometimes lead to actors feeling they are unable to pursue their goal of preventing harm towards members of the TG, or that in order to do so they must emphasise how their work responds to the rule of 'child protection'.

One indication that the rule of CP is doxic, in that its universality is taken for granted (Bourdieu, 1987), is the attitude expressed by several participants that everyone is working towards the same goal:

> *'I think it's really important to [recognise] that we're all working towards the same goal. That you know whether we are working with survivors or we are working with perpetrators the goal is the same, which is to prevent sexual harm.' Jack (researcher/all)*

Oscar was an academic with a background as a psychologist working with members of the TG, who had found himself moving towards other forms of child sexual abuse (CSA) prevention in recent years. Whilst his own interests were changing he remained active in the field under study and, in explaining the purpose of a peer support network that captures a range of approaches within the field, felt similarly to Jack:

> *'I think it's an attempt to recognise that… they are all broadly trying to achieve the same objective but in different geographical locations and using different methods.' (Oscar: researcher/CP-all).*

This was not a feeling shared among all participants, however. The quotes from Jack and Oscar can be contrasted with the perspective of Abigail, a practitioner who ran an organisation supporting members of the TG. For her the rule of 'TG support' was dominant, and she felt that her organisation had different priorities to others in the network:

> *'Some… really reputable and good agencies will say that they're in it for child protection. I think we'd equally say that we're there for the men, and we're there to help them as much as we are for the people that they might hurt.' (Abigail: practitioner-manager/TG)*

This contradiction can be understood in terms of actors' interpretation of the illusio, something I explore in more depth in Chapter Seven.

Among those participants for whom the rule of 'TG support' was dominant, some voiced frustration at the difficulty of working in a system that elevates child protection over other professional concerns. At its most explicit was the suggestion that systems are counterintuitively structured in ways that are meant to safeguard children at the expense of creating a safe space for people at risk of harming children to receive support:

> *'...every Royal Commission on child protection since the seventies have all said that everyone needs to talk to everyone else. It's all about communication... Then that makes it very difficult to work with offenders because they're aware whatever they say will never be kept confidential' (Fred: practitioner-advocate/TG)*

Dorothy spoke about how responses to sexual offending, such as community notification and registration, discussed in Chapter Two, can make it harder to help people to safely rehabilitate after serving a sentence for sexual offending:

> *'If you're talking about people that have already committed an offence and are talking about stopping re-offending, then I see huge things that need changing in terms of barriers to employment and to families, and to housing, and to all the things that actually make you want to live a good life, and a safe life.' (Dorothy: practitioner-manager/TG)*

Ursula, a retired therapist who used to work with members of the TG, explained that she perceives the two rules as complimentary, but it is unpopular to talk about the 'TG support' side, and as a result more prominent organisations in the field focus on protecting children. In exploring why an organisation in the network had widened its focus beyond members of the TG, Ursula bluntly defended the move:

> *'[If you're] willing to help victims you're more likely to get funding. If you stay purely with the perpetrator you're less likely to get funding because people think you're the armpit of everything' (Ursula: practitioner/TG)*

In all, of the 23 participants who spoke directly about their aims, 17 stated that these included preventing sexual harm, and the remaining six noted that their work to support members of the TG contributes to preventing sexual harm. Additionally, 14 of the 23 expressed their interest in harm prevention with specific reference to children. As explored, actors generally explain their work in terms of protecting children, even when they are motivated primarily to offer support to the TG. This tension can be understood in the context of the literature reviewed in Chapter Two, which on the one hand indicates that people known to have sexually offended are at a low risk of reoffending, and on the other that the TG are regarded as monstrous, and unworthy of support. Participants accept that the TG need support in their own right, and child protection issues may not be present. At the same time, they are aware that this is not widely accepted as a motivation for doing the work they do, and the rule of CP makes it easier to justify their work to those outside the field. I have suggested, however, that the notion that the TG are deserving of support represents the field doxa. In the following section I aim to demonstrate that this is the case.

How do actors construct the TG?

In this section, I address the boundaries of the TG. I show that while the TG have nothing inherent that unites them, they do exist as a specific subset of the population. I begin by exploring what actors perceived to be the characteristics of the TG: they are a diverse set of people, but they are all vulnerable to harm due to being subject to the label 'paedophile'. I then identify who can be considered a member of the TG, identifying three overlapping categories which actors *speak about* as constituting the TG, whilst in *practice* only two of these categories make up the TG.

In Chapter Three I explored how *meaning* is a central issue for interpretive policy analysis, and noted that it is possible to uncover it through examining the 'image' that actors bring to make sense of and inform their practical engagement with the world (see p. 92). In this section I suggest that two shared understandings contribute to how actors collectively construct the TG. The first of these is that those who fall within the TG have, in reality, nothing intrinsic that unites them. The second of these is that all of the TG is vulnerable to harm due to being labelled 'paedophiles'.

These two shared understandings indicate that on a *discursive* level, to talk about the TG under one heading is misleading. One finding that emerged early on in the interviewing process was that although there was relative congruity in how participants drew the boundaries of the network, they found it difficult to articulate who falls within the target group. Grodal (2007) argues that a field's emergence depends on the *adoption* of a label (in her case 'nanotechnology'). I argue here that the field under study has emerged through actors' *recognition and rejection* of the label 'paedophile'. Reflecting a process identified by Lawrence and Phillips (2004), where macro-cultural discourses shape the emergence of a field even when explicitly rejected by actors within the field, actors reconstruct the TG as a single group in their response to the TG being labelled 'paedophiles'.

TG as diverse

At the start of data collection, I had been using the term 'potential perpetrators of CSA' to refer to those people I understood to be common targets of actors in the network. In interviews I offered my chosen term, and encouraged participants to form their own definitions. It was largely in the responses to this set of questions that I was able to identify the two shared understandings noted above.

Participants overwhelmingly rejected the notion that the TG can be referred to under one heading. Sixteen stated explicitly that they find the term unhelpful or that it does not describe the TG, while only five used the term

in reference to the TG. Some preferred language that speaks about specific groups of people at risk of causing sexual harm, and this often meant focusing on individuals. As a corollary to this, others accepted the term 'potential perpetrator' because of its lack of specificity, or used 'at risk' to refer to a wide subset of the population. At the same time, some participants challenged the idea that CSA should be considered separately from other forms of sexual harm. With all of these approaches, as I explore in this section, participants struggled to articulate the boundaries of the TG because few perceived there to be anything inherent that unites its members.

Opening up

For many participants, my questions about how they may categorise the TG ran counter to their own, or their profession's (Willis, 2018), desire to avoid labelling language. For Ursula, this was a personal preference:

> *'I don't like categories I don't like labels… it's quite a hard one because it's not something I would do. I don't go round with a label on my head saying I see sex offenders' (Ursula: practitioner/TG)*

Tilly indicated that her choice of language was about her own professional affiliation in the field:

> *'I'm part of [org] and what they like using is the language that emphasises the individual as separate from the offending behaviour. So, we would say it's a person who has committed whatever they have committed.' (Tilly: researcher/all)*

For Ursula (practitioner/TG) although she reacted to any attempts to label her service users, she also objected to the term 'potential perpetrators' because of its inaccuracy:

> *'There's lots of paedophiles who would never ever touch a child… They keep that contained within themselves, and their support*

networks, amongst themselves, about that. So… they're paedophiles, but they're not potential perpetrators' (Ursula: practitioner/TG)

For some, this reluctance to label members of the TG chimed with the sense that the TG could encompass a large proportion of the population. Abigail (practitioner-manager/TG) resisted my attempts to encourage her to label her clients entirely for this reason:

Zoë: How would you describe your clients?

Abigail (practitioner-manger/TG): … they present as highly suicidal… but removing that… I guess they're a fairly common cross-section of the adult male population…

Zoë: So what unifies them?

Abigail (practitioner-manager/TG): Inabilities to cope internally with issues maybe… there's no one clear pattern is what I'm saying really.

In contrast, this impetus to recognise that sexual harm can be perpetrated by anyone led some participants to find the term 'potential perpetrators of CSA' useful precisely *because* of its lack of specificity.

'Potential perpetrators, yeah. Yeah, I think anyone who could be identified as at risk of perpetrating… sexual abuse or sexual violence against a child or an adult. And that includes most of the population or a lot of the population so that speaks to quite helpfully really, the public health approach to taking population-wide initiatives.' (Trevor: policy/CP)

While Trevor (policy/CP) felt that 'potential perpetrators' could refer to a large subset of the population, Wendy (manager/CP) accepted the term because it could refer to *anyone*:

> *'If we were to look at all of human nature, potentially we are capable of all sorts of things. So, potential offender is a realistic term.' (Wendy: manager/CP)*

Similarly, an interest in describing members of the target group in a way that recognises their diversity was reflected among those who preferred the term 'at-risk' of committing a sexual offence. Participants felt that this term allows engagement with the target group that does not assume individuals are risky because of any shared inherent characteristics:

> *'I have an interest in men who perhaps might be considered at risk in some way for committing sexual harm but haven't done so. And looking particularly at sexual thoughts and fantasies… Although I think we do need to be careful assuming that they are necessarily an inherently at-risk population.' (Jack: researcher/All)*

William, an academic with an interest in CSA prevention, explained that he thinks of perpetration in terms of risk factors because 'there is no typology'. He expanded:

> *'It's about risk factors and protective factors. And understanding the different factors that come together to help us identify people at risk of committing a sexual offence, so we can intervene more appropriately with them." (William: researcher/all)*

This desire to move away from labelling towards acknowledging the large sector of the population who may be considered 'at risk' of committing CSA, as these quotes indicate, led to a re-focusing on individuals.

<u>Focusing on individuals</u>

For Lily, speaking about working with perpetrators in a domestic violence setting, the diversity of service users motivated her to focus on individuals:

> *'The research was trying to homogenise all the perpetrators together, but they're all very different and one size doesn't fit all.*

And I think however you're gonna engage with the perpetrator it has to be with the needs of that perpetrator.' (Lily: policy/all)

Dora, a consultant with expertise in working with young people with sexually harmful behaviour, felt that the term 'potential perpetrator of CSA' was not accurate enough:

I feel strongly that we need to funnel down and stop using wide descriptions, because these can lead to inaccurate responses. For example, if we describe anyone that's sexually offended as a potential perpetrator, but they've only ever perpetrated against adults, then things like preventing them from seeing anyone under eighteen would be a disproportionate response. (Notes taken from interview with Dora: practitioner/TG)

William explained that he was ultimately interested in individuals:

'I always think about sexual abuse as about the individual, and so that means that prevention is about the individual.' (William: researcher/all)

Wendy (manager/CP) echoed this sentiment:

'Zoë: If we're all potential offenders how do we then narrow it down to a group we want to focus on?

Wendy (manager/CP): You narrow it down by your investigation, by your forensic work, and by your risk assessments… if we could all potentially do anything which basically we can, but a lot of us don't, how are you going to assess that that person isn't doing it, yeah? And how are you going to assess that another person is? So, it's about good tools, good risk assessments.'

<u>Not only children</u>

Another challenge to my conceptualisation of the TG came from participants who felt sexual harm to a child could not – or should not – be separated

out from sexual harm in general. For some participants, my framing led them to focus on children, whereas they might not have done otherwise. Before answering my question about his opinion on my chosen terminology, for example, Jack (researcher/all) asked if it, '*would include people who are potential perpetrators of* child *sexual abuse specifically?*'.

Similarly, Dorothy (practitioner-manager/TG) asked at one point, '*are we just talking about child sexual abuse…*' and then added, '*and at what age does that stop?*'. Although she continued on her train of thought rather than wait for a response, it indicated a challenge to the notion that it is possible to draw a line between CSA and other types of sexual harm.

A significant portion of the field, then, is orientated towards work with individuals with any harmful sexual thoughts or behaviour. However, participants recognised that child protection concerns are of a heightened importance in their work. Dorothy contrasted attitudes towards sexual harm involving adults with that involving children:

> *'If anyone commits a sexual offence against a child then they're the worst person in the world. If… it's an adult rape, suddenly it's not quite as serious or as important.' (Dorothy: practitioner-manager/TG)*

Dora pointed out that concerns about sexual offending of any sort are often assumed to relate to children:

> *When the public hear that somebody has sexually offended they call everyone a paedophile, even when someone may have been targeting adults. (Notes taken from interview with Dora: practitioner/TG)*

Dora went on to emphasise the importance of accurate labelling so that professionals can intervene appropriately. However, bearing in mind the way the TG are collectively stigmatised as 'paedophiles', this means that all

actors are required to invoke the doxa of CP, whether or not they personally believe that there are child protection concerns in relation to their work.

Articulating the target group

These complementary approaches to conceptualising the TG described above contribute to the sense that there is nothing inherent that unites them. Certainly, some participants who did see the TG as a specific subset of the population struggled to articulate who the label might apply to. Sebastien, a service manager whose organisation works with PWSC, and who has explored moving further into the preventative sphere, explained his difficulty identifying the beneficiaries of a new intervention:

> *'We were calling it low risk to begin, so then defining what low risk means. So does it mean people that have yet to be convicted for something?… And also [people] that have caused sexual harm but are considered to be of lower risk of… further harm by the people that manage them.' (Sebastien: manager/TG)*

Tom worked in an organisation which has separate services for people who have and have not been convicted of sexual offences. During the interview he used the term 'people' to refer to various actors in the field, and addressed this ambiguity towards the end, when talking about service users who have not been convicted of a sexual offence:

> *'I'm referring to them as people but not always able to distinguish, and I was trying to think well who are these people… what is the best way to describe them? And I can't find the words for that... This is a group of very different people who have beliefs, thoughts, experiences, interest for lots of different reasons… and they've not done anything with that they hold them, they come from different places, so it's hard to group them in that way.' (Tom: practitioner/TG)*

Taken together, the arguments so far cast doubt on whether it is possible to talk about 'the target group' at all. The previous chapter, however,

demonstrated that there *is* a network that has formed itself around supporting the TG and, in this chapter, I have argued that actors within the network accept the notion that the TG are deserving of support. I suggest, paradoxically, that the TG exists because actors in the network on the one hand reject the macro-cultural depiction of the 'paedophile' which is used to label those who fall within the TG, and on the other hand identify those labelled 'paedophiles' as in need of protection.

TG as vulnerable

I have explored elsewhere (see Chapter Two) the popular use of the term 'paedophile' as distinct from its use in clinical settings. Although some participants identified this term as a stigmatising label, others echoed the problem with labelling but did not trace it to the term 'paedophile'. For brevity, I use the term 'paedophile' in inverted commas when referring to the participants' exploration of others' labelling of the TG. In this section I explore how participants felt that popular constructions of the TG as 'monstrous' contrasted with their own sense of the TG as a diverse range of individuals. At the same time, participants understood stigmatisation of the TG as leading them to be vulnerable to a particular category of harm, which in turn justifies their construction under a single heading.

Disjunct between public and professional discourses

I spoke above of how the rule of CP can be traced to macro-cultural discourses which identify children as particularly deserving of protection from harm. As explored in Chapter Two, this discourse also constructs CSA as a particularly heinous crime, and those who perpetrate CSA as monstrous 'other' (Spencer, 2009; McAlinden, 2014). Participants identified this attitude among others outside the field:

> *'When you mention child sexual abuse, not just to police officers but to any professional that's working in this world, it's abhorrent. The people that commit this they're monsters, they're not real people.' (Kylie: policy/CP)*

A preference for terms such as 'at-risk' which recognise the diversity of the TG was echoed among those who found the term 'potential perpetrator' problematic because it carries connotations associated with those who have offended:

> *'When you talk about potential perpetrators, I think the general public might feel that there's an inevitability, that an offence is going to take place.' (Abdullah: manager/CP)*

Others wanted to avoid labels which carried these connotations for all members of the target group:

> *'Even to begin to use that term perpetrator, when we're often talking about people who have caused harm to others but they have their own vulnerabilities… has issues.' (Bruce: manager/CP)*

This difficulty with language was identified by participants who felt that otherwise helpful terms have negative meanings in the public domain. As noted above, Dora (practitioner/TG) preferred language that offers more specific descriptions, and suggested that 'paedophile' is more useful than 'potential perpetrators of CSA'. Others echoed that it is helpful in a clinical setting, but some noted that it is problematic because of its popular usage:

> *'Paedophile is a quicker shorthand… because everybody knows what you mean. Except of course they don't because they then mean a monster and I'm not talking about a monster.' (Libby: practitioner-manager/TG)*

> *'[Members of the public] consider paedophiles child sex offenders, and if you inform the public that most child sex offences are not committed by paedophiles they're usually quite surprised… So yeah I think they mostly consider paedophiles as at-risk people.' (Edward: practitioner-researcher/TG-all)*

As the extracts above indicate, participants found language associated with sexually offending against children problematic because they believe that

most people do not distinguish between someone who is considered at risk of sexually offending and someone who has sexually offended, and that the latter are regarded as 'monstrous'. As a result, members of the TG are *all* subject to the harm of being labelled 'paedophiles'.

TG as subject to harm

The harm of a stigmatising label is impossible to entirely separate from the harm that results as a response to that labelling (Mingus and Burchfield, 2012). The extracts above hint at this, particularly those that speak to members of the target group being perceived as less than human. I explore here how actors perceived other professionals or members of the public as responding to people labelled 'paedophiles' in ways that threaten their safety.

Responding to a question I posed about what may make her job easier, Abigail (practitioner-manager/TG) spoke about cultural attitudes which make it difficult for members of the TG to seek support:

> *Abigail (practitioner-manager/TG): I suppose it's a cultural climate really which is slightly problematic*
>
> *Zoe: How would you describe it?*
>
> *Abigail (practitioner-manager/TG): Hatred*
>
> *Zoe: Towards?*
>
> *Abigail (practitioner-manager/TG): Towards people who commit any offence towards children, especially of a sexual nature*

The link between this attitude and the vulnerability to harm of those labelled 'paedophiles' was evident when participants spoke of members of the public articulating their hatred with violent language:

> *Zoë: So how does the public see this group then?*

Ursula (practitioner/TG): They vilify it don't they? There isn't anyone lower than this. And you'll often hear comments like 'bring back hanging' and 'prison is too good for them'.

As Oscar (researcher/CP-all) pointed out, *'that particular topic generates such a visceral response that it's difficult to carry it through in the public arena*'. Serena (practitioner-manager/TG) made a similar link between the threat of violence towards 'paedophiles' and the difficulty justifying work with members of the TG:

'There's paedophile hunters isn't there? And all sorts of different vigilantes… So I think they might understand what the words are, but it's I think for some people, in ignorance really and fear, as well, is that they're beyond help maybe, or you're trying to make an excuse for them.' (Serena: practitioner-manager/TG)

Apart from direct threats to their safety, some participants noted that negative attitudes towards 'paedophiles' inhibit other professionals from working effectively with them:

'The reoffending rate of sex offences are very low, relatively, but suicide rate is ridiculous… but I think you say that and people go 'oh well'. We've heard police officers say 'well one less off my case load'.' (Dorothy: practitioner-manager/TG)

Alternatively, Patrick (practitioner/TG) noted that systemic responses to members of the TG indicate that they are less worthy than others. He felt that mental health services for people who have offended are of a lower quality to those for other service users:

'I think some of these kind of manualised approaches that kind of cherry pick… so that more individualised approach is missing. And you wouldn't do that in another setting… you try and understand that problem and where it's come from and… historically we haven't done that with offending.' (Patrick: practitioner/TG)

This awareness that members of the TG are stigmatised as 'paedophiles', and that this impacts on their safety, meets with the sense of the TG as a diverse range of individuals. This helps to explain how the notion that members of the TG are deserving of support in their own right operates as doxa within the field; to talk about the TG as *not* deserving of protection from harm is not an option (Bourdieu, 1977). Moreover, those participants who were more overtly concerned about the TG as subject to harm were also more likely to elevate the rule of TG support.

Accordingly, several participants explained their involvement on the basis that nobody else will do the work. When I asked Ursula (practitioner/TG) whether she felt differently about service users who are not genuinely interested in changing their behaviour, she said no, and explained:

> *'At the end of the day people who have these thoughts and feelings would produce such loathing in the community. They will lose their marriages, they will lose their children, they often lose their homes, they lose their jobs. There isn't much left, and where do they go?' (Ursula: practitioner/TG)*

Libby (practitioner-manager/TG) started engaging in this field after working with clients in general therapeutic practice who fall within the TG:

> *'I realised that they were finding it very difficult to get a therapist who was helpful and wasn't judgemental and rejecting.' (Libby: practitioner-manager/TG)*

I have so far argued that participants noted that members of the target group have nothing intrinsic that connects them, but at the same time they are all subject to being labelled 'paedophiles', and by extension the harm that stems from this. Although, then, field members differ in terms of the extent to which they are guided by the *doxa* of CP and that of TG support, they coalesce around a wish to mitigate the harm that emanates from the labelling of 'paedophiles', as I have shown. For some, the labelling obscures the need that the TG have for support to stop or resist offending, and this

puts others at risk of sexual harm. For others, the label harms the person who is subject to it, who therefore needs support to deal with the consequences of the label. In the final section of this chapter I turn to who can be considered to fall within the TG.

Boundaries of the TG

Considering the field is constructed on the basis that a target group exists with which to intervene, the question remains as to who this encompasses, and where the boundaries lie. In this section I suggest that three categories are spoken about when talking about the target group, two of which constitute its boundaries, as illustrated in Figure 7: 1) individuals perceived to be at risk of perpetrating sexual harm; 2) individuals who experience sexually harmful thoughts; and 3) individuals who have sexually offended. In this section I explore each of these categories and how they interrelate.

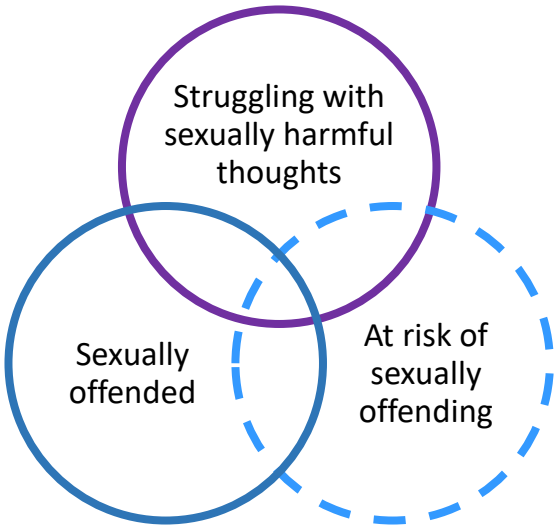


Figure 7: Boundaries of the TG (indicated by the solid lines)

At risk of causing sexual harm

I have explored above how participants described members of the TG as 'at risk' of causing sexual harm as a means to emphasise the heterogeneity of the TG. Although, then, participants used it in preference to my offered category of 'potential perpetrators of child sexual abuse', on a practical level it was difficult to operationalise as a meaningful subset of the

population. Rather, most participants recognised that those 'at risk' of causing sexual harm are inaccessible unless they also fall under one of the other two categories. Penina, a policymaker in a public health setting, felt that there are few opportunities for identifying people who are at risk of perpetrating sexual harm once they enter adulthood:

> *'If we haven't worked out there's something wrong with them before they became an adult, it's actually quite difficult to find them before they do something and come to the attention of the authorities.' (Penina: VRU manager)*

Along similar lines, Edward (practitioner-researcher/TG-all) had an interest in working with people struggling with harmful sexual thoughts about children, but acknowledged that many people who cause sexual harm do not fall under this category. As a result, he felt that those at risk who do not have sexually harmful thoughts, and have not offended, do not fall within the target group:

> *'I think it would be difficult to target other at-risk people because they wouldn't expect to become offenders, so I don't think that they would seek preventative treatment.' (Edward: practitioner-researcher/TG-all)*

I explore in the following chapter how participants align themselves to the issue, and part of this involves identifying the targets of their own work. Those who have a primary 'child protection' orientation were more likely to engage with people beyond the TG outlined here. Talking through his reaction to the term 'potential perpetrator', Jack (researcher/all) indicated an alliance to this approach, as did William (researcher/all):

> *'I think it is useful to be able to say 'this group'… are more likely to sexually offend, and therefore are potential perpetrators as opposed to people who are very unlikely ever to do so… But I wonder if it also perhaps encourages us to categorise in a binary way, as someone who is or is not a potential perpetrator. And I*

think these things are on a continuum. So, I guess I would see it more in terms of the degree of likelihood that someone might engage in sexual harm.' (Jack: researcher/all)

'It is complicated but if we… think about it in terms of risk then actually the more educated people are about potential risk factors the more likely they are to be able to identify them and to get help for people who need help. Rather than thinking 'oh it's this type of person' or 'it's that type of person', because sexual abuse can be committed by anyone.' (William: researcher/all)

I noted above that Trevor (policy/CP) found the term 'potential perpetrator' useful because it lacks specificity, and in his exploration of this echoed a public health interest in addressing problems on a population-level (Keithley and Robinson, 2000):

'…that would be my understanding of a potential perpetrator I suppose really. A very wide definition, I think. Because of the prevalence of CSA and sexual violence, because of what we've learnt over the decades about what the factors are that can lead to it. Because of its interrelationship with other forms of abuse particularly domestic abuse… we're talking about quite a large cohort of the population.' (Trevor: policy/CP)

Other participants drew explicitly on a public health model to orientate themselves to the issue. Oscar (researcher/CP-all), for example, spoke about how he is increasingly interested in primary prevention, and contrasted this with the difficulties of other prevention efforts:

'Oscar (researcher/CP-all): So tertiary prevention as in arresting people or finding offenders and then offering them some therapy to prevent reoffending is relevant, but it's the tip of the iceberg. Secondary prevention has all kinds of practical and ethical difficulties about it-

Zoë: There's some disagreement about what secondary prevention is in this area. What do you think it is?

Oscar (researcher/CP-all): People who are at risk of offending… who have not done it but carry risk factors and so on'

Accordingly, although participants spoke of members of the TG as individuals 'at risk' of causing sexual harm, the boundaries of this category are not clear (indicated in Figure 7 by a broken line). This echoes issues discussed in Chapter Two with identifying individuals at risk of harming in responding to 'precautionary logic' in the governance of CSA (Hebenton and Seddon, 2009). For some, the difficulty identifying who in the wider population is 'at risk' of causing sexual harm means that they do not represent members of the TG unless they *also* fall under one of the other categories. For others, a huge number of people may be 'at risk' of causing sexual harm, and as such these actors engage in population-wide work rather than targeted interventions. Although the latter group share a conception of the TG as described here, they are more likely to be motivated primarily by sexual harm prevention or child protection than be by the goal of TG support.

Struggling with sexually harmful thoughts

Echoing developments overseas, discourses surrounding individuals with sexually harmful thoughts tend to focus on people who have a sexual interest in children, often referred to as paedophilic or hebephilic in its clinical usage (Beier, Ahlers, *et al.*, 2009; Elmhirst, 2016). As discussed in Chapter Five, interventions in the UK have also targeted people with other harmful sexual thoughts, for example in relation to coercion, although discussions around these are often framed in terms of sexual interest in children (see, for example, Hocken, 2018).

Some participants who spoke about members of the TG with harmful sexual thoughts echoed arguments proposed by Seto (2012) that paedophilia can be considered a sexual age orientation (see Chapter Two for an exploration

of this argument). Dorothy (practitioner-manager/TG) indicated that she would like to be able to communicate this message to young people:

> *'It's certainly not possible now I don't think, to say to schoolchildren there are different sexual attractions and there's a spectrum and this is one that is really troubling for a lot of people, and if you ever feel that way there are people that are good to talk to.' (Dorothy: practitioner-manager/TG)*

Recognising the stigma associated with the term 'paedophile', Libby (practitioner-manager/TG) explained her preference for the term 'paedosexual':

> *'I think is more realistic that you're homosexual, heterosexual or paedosexual. It puts it in a balance of sexual orientation more and takes away a bit I think from the stigma.' (Libby: practitioner-manager/TG)*

Some, on the other hand, were cautious about applying ideas about sexual orientation to people struggling with sexually harmful thoughts. Jack (researcher/all) took issue with minor attracted persons (see Chapter Two) seeking recognition under the LGBTQ umbrella:

> *'People who are sexually attracted to children are a stigmatised group, there's absolutely no doubt about that, but ultimately the attraction that they experience is never going to be okay acted upon… and so I think therefore aligning that with sexual minorities is problematic.' (Jack: researcher/all)*

Participants emphasised that people with sexually harmful thoughts may not be at risk of perpetrating CSA. For those who believe that sexually harmful thoughts are widespread, its prevalence was offered as evidence that such thoughts do not mean someone falls within the TG:

> *'Every human being has fantasies all the time including sexual fantasies, violent fantasies, perverse fantasies all the rest of it*

and… probably ninety per cent of the population who have unwanted fantasies never ever act them out, ever. They're just fantasies.' (Fred: practitioner-advocate/TG)

Nevertheless, several participants were interested in working with this subset of the TG regardless of whether they represent a sexual risk to others, in recognition of the difficulties that living with sexually harmful thoughts can present:

'We often come at it from: you tell me you're not gonna commit an offence, that's not even on the radar. What you're saying to me is that your mental health is horrendous because of these thoughts that you have, and we will work with you to manage the thoughts and to live as content a life as you can.' (Dorothy: practitioner-manager/TG)

Similarly, although she elsewhere framed her interest in the field in terms of preventing sexual harm, Jill (manager/TG) emphasised her motivation to help people with sexual interest in children separately from her interest in reducing sexual offending:

'The research that I've seen from Michael Seto[14] is that between one and five percent of the population will have an enduring sexual orientation to children. And so that's not an insignificant number, and don't those people deserve some support? You know if it's completely messing up their heads, their lives, their ability to have relationships, their ability to work.' (Jill: manager/TG)

So far, I have demonstrated that although the TG includes people who have sexually harmful thoughts, not all of these people will be included in the TG. I have also demonstrated that those included are not necessarily regarded as representing a sexual risk to others. What makes a person with sexually harmful thoughts a member of the target group, then, is the extent

[14] See above (p. 192)

to which they *struggle* with those thoughts. This is hinted at in the above extracts from Dorothy (practitioner-manager/TG) and Jill (manager/TG), both of whom expressed concern about the impact of sexually harmful thoughts on those who have to live with them.

Echoing Edward's (practitioner-researcher/TG-all) suggestion that people who are not interested in accessing support would not be considered members of the TG, Dorothy (practitioner-manager/TG) limits her work to those who are, by virtue of seeking her services, struggling. She indicated that there are others who represent a sexual risk to others but that she would be unlikely to work with. Here, she describes how she and her colleagues have 'got it easy' because people who are at risk of sexually harming, but for whom this does not cause distress, will not seek their support:

> *'Some people with attraction to children do think children are capable of making those decisions about sex and relationships… We've kind of got it easy in that people who come to us agree that sex and children are two completely different things that… don't go together at all' (Dorothy: practitioner-manager/TG)*

For some, struggling with sexually harmful thoughts is interpreted in terms of struggling to not act on them:

> *'I would take the term potential perpetrator to mean somebody who has not committed a sexual offence… but somebody who may be struggling with sexual thoughts or sexual feelings towards children… That they feel they're beginning to move towards something that could lead to a child being harmed.' (Bruce: manager/CP)*

Sebastien (manager/TG) pinpointed this as a means of defining the targets of a new intervention he had been looking into:

'I think we would have had to have taken it right back to people who were self-identifying as needing help, worried about their perhaps potential to cause sexual harm.' (Sebastien: manager/TG)

For many participants, these two types of struggling were entwined. Edward (practitioner-researcher/TG-all) pointed out that paedophilia is only considered a 'disorder' according to the DSM-5-TR (American Psychiatric Association, 2022) if the individual is *either* significantly distressed by their sexual thoughts *or* they have acted out harmful sexual desires:

'I think it's helpful to educate [the public] about the distinction between paedophilia and a paedophilic disorder as it is in the DSM-5. Because there are people with this interest who don't suffer themselves and who don't pose a risk to children, whereas if they suffer themselves or have acted on that interest that can constitute a disorder.' (Edward: practitioner-researcher/TG)

For Edward, suffering was an indicator that a person might be at higher risk of causing sexual harm:

'I think if a person with a deviant interest has problems with their mental health, that constitutes a risk… So, if we help them integrate their sexual interest and their self-image… and let them know that there definitely is hope they can lead an offence free life this reduces the risk even further even though it is already very low.' (Edward: practitioner-researcher/TG-all)

Patrick (practitioner/TG) expressed frustration at the medical framework within which he works, which requires service users to have a mental health diagnosis in order to receive support. He noted that people struggling to not offend are often excluded from the service, whilst this struggling constitutes a health problem:

'Patrick (practitioner/TG): It's people who are meeting criteria for mental health problems… and then everybody else who doesn't

meet that criteria isn't getting the service. So, I think that way of viewing human difficulties and distress is really problematic on lots of levels but for people who need help to reduce their risk it excludes lots of people as well… I don't know if that means it doesn't belong in the NHS-

Zoë: Could you see where it might belong?

Patrick (practitioner/TG): Well, I would hope it could be provided by the NHS because it's people struggling isn't it?'

Although, as explored above, the field is not unified by a desire to intervene with any single group, the few participants that invoked an 'ideal' service user indicated that this would be somebody struggling with sexually harmful thoughts:

'The ideal client would be somebody who thinks to themselves, 'I've got these sexual feelings and thoughts and I'm worried about them. I don't think they're healthy, I think they might end up with me committing some sexual offence, so I want help to change these feelings before I get to the point of doing that because I don't want to hurt anybody.'' (Gary: practitioner-manager/TG)

'What I wanted to do was… set up some kind of programme for people who had a self-identified sexual attraction to children, but who weren't within the criminal justice system. Because it was quite clear that people who are born with that sexual orientation have to manage it throughout their lives.' (Jill: manager/TG)

As I explored above (see p. 186), participants struggled to sustain this category either in practice or in their description of the targets of their specific interventions. In the following chapter, I examine how this 'ideal service user' is deployed in order to carve out a space for the field as separate from the other work that participants are engaged in. Now, I turn

to the third category of individuals who actors regard as constituting the TG.

People who have sexually offended

The third category that actors include within the boundaries of the TG is individuals who have sexually offended. I explore here how participants saw this as a distinct category, but included in this people who are only suspected of having offended. I then explore how participants perceived of this group as in need of support.

From a legal perspective, the difference between someone who has and has not sexually offended is a sexual conviction (Roberts, 2019). However, bearing in mind the issues with under-reporting and attrition for sexual offences explored in Chapter Two (May-Chahal and Cawson, 2005; Bunting, 2008; Smith *et al.*, 2015), many within the field acknowledge that there are likely to be large numbers of people who have perpetrated sexual crimes but are not officially designated 'offenders'. This is the explanation behind the name 'Prevention Project Dunkelfeld' (PPD). *Dunkelfeld*, German for 'dark field', refers to the sexual crimes that never come to light (Beier *et al.*, 2015).

With this in mind, I had expected participants to differentiate between those members of the TG who have been convicted of sexual offending, and those who are suspected of having sexually offended. This was generally not the case; rather, most participants differentiated between people who had and had not committed a sexual offence, regardless of whether they were convicted or not. Lily (policy/all) addressed this explicitly:

> *'The individuals who are through the criminal justice system have just been identified. And the ones who are not in the criminal justice system have not been identified. And it doesn't make anyone in the non-criminal justice system less of an offender because they haven't been recognised' (Lily: policy/all)*

As the quote above indicates, participants did not assume that any sexual offence will lead eventually to a conviction, but detection and conviction were collapsed into what it meant to have sexually offended. Tom (practitioner/TG) spoke about people who are referred to his service as having never offended but then disclose an offence during treatment. I asked whether those individuals see themselves as different to people who have never offended:

> *'I suppose the involvement from multi-agencies… places them into a different group because of the potential risk of them doing it again… I think they would perhaps see themselves differently, because of the level of involvement that happens where someone goes on to commit an offence.' (Tom: practitioner/TG)*

From the perspective of participants that work in frontline services for members of the TG, they are required to respond to the alleged behaviour of their service users, not only their legal status. As I explored in Chapter Two, although there is currently no legal mandatory reporting duty for disclosures of sexual offences in the jurisdictions of the UK, most professionals in therapeutic services, for example in NHS England services, are required to report internally, if not externally, if they become aware that a service user may have committed a sexual offence (NHS England and NHS Improvement, 2019). This may explain Tom's (practitioner/TG) assumption, above, that offending behaviour is automatically associated with increased involvement from the authorities.

As a result, for those working with members of the TG, service users who are believed to have sexually offended are difficult to treat alongside those who have never done so:

> *'This is why Dunkelfeld can't work here, because at Dunkelfeld… you can go to your psychologist or your GP and say I've committed an offence and they're under no legal requirement to report you, which is not the same here. Like if you went and did that you'd be*

reported, especially if you did it in an NHS context.' (William: researcher/all)

This was a problem encountered by the service that Gary (practitioner-manager/TG) manages, which found that most people referred to the service as being at risk of offending had actually engaged in illegal behaviour, and staff were bound by the terms of the service to break confidentiality:

> *'We make it quite clear that when somebody's referred if they tell us that they have sexually offended we've got a duty to pass that on. And then people have told us that they have sexually offended and we've had to deal with that, pass it on, so that causes issues.' (Gary: practitioner-manager/TG)*

Ray (manager/CP) also encountered this problem, and explained how his organisation's dual commitment to supporting members of the TG as well as reporting certain harmful behaviour can have unintended consequences:

> *'We want to help people without minimising their risk without creating vulnerability for themselves or for other people, but allowing them the opportunity to get… help and that's often a conflict because they overlap because sometimes if they get expose themselves and get help, then they get arrested, and then they get taken away from their family… and then you have this ripple effect.' (Ray: manager/CP)*

I noted above (see p. 186) that Sebastien (manager/TG) struggled to articulate who would fall within the boundaries of a preventative intervention, and he anticipated similar issues to those Gary (practitioner-manager/TG) encountered:

> *'If we start working with somebody that hasn't been convicted, yet we know that they've done something, how do we deal with that? We'd have a duty of care to them, to the victim, to the law. We*

wouldn't be able to keep that, in terms of confidentiality, so it would be a very tricky delineation of how do we work with this group?' (Sebastien: manager/TG)

Considering participants generally did not differentiate between those *convicted* and those *suspected* of offending, it follows that most participants did not believe that a conviction is what differentiates people who have sexually offended from those who have not. Indeed, participants varied in the extent to which they regarded members of the TG who had sexually harmed as different to those who had not.

Some participants differentiated between those who have and have not sexually harmed in terms of their treatment potential, but did not regard the latter group as manifestly different to those who have not offended:

'Tom (practitioner/TG): I suppose it's a bigger risk issue in terms of managing some of that risk if we know that someone then has then the potential to go and act on them thoughts or ideas…

Zoë: Do you see it as distinct groups, those who haven't perpetrated and those who have?

Tom (practitioner/TG): I think I only see it as distinct in how we work with them.'

This was a similar distinction made by Fred (practitioner-advocate/TG). While his attitudes towards clients who had and had not offended were similar, he felt that the two groups were different based on their treatment potential:

'People get into repetitive… pathological behaviour so once they're into it it's very, very hard to get them back out. Whereas if you intervene where they're saying 'I'm afraid I might', it's much easier to help them.' (Fred: practitioner-advocate/TG)

Although several participants indicated that they differentiate between the two groups only in terms of the support they, as practitioners, offer, many also indicated an awareness of how those who have sexually harmed are treated differently by others. Bearing in mind the collapsing together of perpetrating sexual harm with being detected for having done so, offending was conceptualised by some as a 'moment' that, in William's (researcher/all) words, 'you can't walk back from'.

For some, this was because – as the extract from Tom (practitioner/TG) above speaks to – statutory responses to allegations of sexual offending have significant consequences for those accused. In discussing the heightened risk of suicide by people charged with online offending, Bruce (manager/CP) described a study which examined suicide risk following the detection of online offending, explaining:

> *'… most of the offenders who had been interviewed in studies seemed to be saying that actually the way they had been treated by the police seemed to be quite fair, so it wasn't brutish behaviour on the part of the police at point of charge that had led to suicidal ideation it was the fact that the person was realising their whole world was collapsing.' (Bruce: manager/CP)*

Ursula (practitioner/TG) had been explaining why she finds it easier to work with people who had not done anything illegal, and described what she observes after people offend:

> *'Social services rush in, and tell the wife or partner, very often they've been told quite harshly, either separate from this person or we take the children away. So families blown apart… the man loses his job, can't pay his mortgage, the wife stays in the house, he's got to find somewhere else to live, he's not allowed access to the children until they're over eighteen. Huge ramifications.' (Ursula: practitioner/TG)*

Others felt people who had and had not sexually harmed could be distinguished in terms of whether or not they are *labelled* an offender. For Jack, this was something he articulated in terms of his own attitude towards members of the TG:

> *'I think we're in a precarious position if we start to tar people who could be a perpetrator with the same brush as someone who has perpetrated.' (Jack: researcher/all)*

For other participants, they differentiated between those who had and had not offended because of an awareness that the former are subject to labelling by others:

> *We should intervene when sexually harmful behaviour is 'problematic', if you're familiar with Simon Hackett's continuum[15]. If we do this it can stop it escalating and they won't be labelled as sex offenders. (Notes taken from interview with Dora: practitioner/TG)*

Ray (manager/CP) spoke about the particular issues working with young people who sexually harm, and the work he does to try to prevent them entering the criminal justice system, and becoming labelled as offenders:

> *'We don't want to underestimate the risk, but you don't want to be equally demonising and criminalising young people for behaviours that may not manifest themselves into anything more serious as time goes on.' (Ray: manager/CP)*

Participants, then, regarded people who had sexually offended as distinct from other members of the TG for three reasons. First, the statutory response to offending was perceived to mark out this group as different to those who had never sexually offended by imposing restrictions on their behaviour. Second, practitioners felt that the treatment needs of those who

[15] Referring to Hackett *et al.*'s (2016) continuum of sexual behaviour in young people, discussed on p. 22

have offended are different to those who have not, and third, those who have committed a sexual offence were regarded as different because they are liable to being assigned the label 'sex offender' and consequently facing stigmatisation. As a result, although some within this category were regarded as being at high-risk of sexually offending, participants also noted that many are not:

> *'I use that term potential risk even when I'm talking about people who've already committed offences because there's that acknowledgement… we don't know for sure that they're gonna be a risk to those children they're around.' (Patrick: practitioner/TG)*

Accordingly, some participants had an interest in working with individuals who have offended primarily in order to deal with the response to their offending:

> *'We kind of thought… that we would maybe help [people under investigation] to change behaviour or understand their behaviour but as we started getting clients we quickly realised that a lot of them were very, very suicidal, and so we kind of readjusted… our work to focusing on shoring up people's mental health to begin with and then if they wanted it… support generally for just kind of getting through the period of investigation.' (Abigail: practitioner-manager/TG)*

Having shown that the TG includes people who are perceived to present a sexual risk to others as well as people who struggle with sexually harmful thoughts, those who are believed to have sexually offended constitute a third category that actors in this field are interested in intervening with. As illustrated by Figure 7, these categories overlap but none is fully contained by the other, and only two of these categories constitutes the boundaries of the TG *in practice*. I turn now to explore how the definitions and meanings explored so far in this chapter indicate that the field is in a state of heteronomy.

Child protection and the 'paedophile'

Thus far, I have referred to both child protection and public protection. Although I have attempted to remain consistent in using these terms appropriately for the relevant context, they are ultimately intertwined. Exploring how each informs the other in the field under study will show how the field currently exists in a state of heteronomy.

Child protection as all-encompassing

On a practical level, interventions in this field include those which are focused on members of the TG with any harmful sexual thoughts or behaviour, as well as those with a specific interest in individuals with harmful sexual thoughts or behaviour about children. As Chapter Five demonstrated, interventions do not appear to fence themselves off based on this distinction. Indeed, many participants concerned about child protection regarded themselves as working towards the same goals as others in the field, including those with wider aims, and vice versa.

Even precluding a specific interest in children, the strength of the narrative surrounding public protection means that where there is perceived risk of sexual harm, actors are compelled to incorporate this narrative into their practice. As the treatment of people with sexual convictions (PWSC) epitomises the 'criminology of the other' (Garland, 2001), work with this group, including work with people who are stigmatised alongside this group, is very difficult to justify without invoking aims relating to public protection.

This compulsion is mutually reinforced by the issue of child protection. Whilst PWSC are regarded as especially deserving of punishment (Spencer, 2009), children are generally perceived as particularly deserving of protection from harm (Jackson and Scott, 1999). This means that, as explored in Chapter Two, any opportunity to protect children should be prioritised above all else. As such, although practice in the field is not

limited to work with members of the TG who pose a sexual risk to children, the issue of child protection permeates all work in the field. In order to understand this, I recall the image of the 'paedophile'.

The image of the 'paedophile'

I noted in Chapter Three how *meaning* is a central concept in interpretive policy analysis. That is, in order to understand an area of policy, it is crucial to understand what meanings different stakeholders attach to the issue (Yanow, 1997). Here, it is the meaning that actors attach to their interpretation of the TG which constructs the field, and that contributes to the dominance of the rule of CP.

First, it is important to note that 'meaning' is not static; one person may deploy different interpretations of a phenomenon in different circumstances. I argued in Chapter Three that meaning and its relationship to field theory can be understood in terms of Pantzar and Shove's (2010) term 'image'. Specifically, the image an actor projects onto something material transforms it into capital. I also demonstrated above that the TG comes into being through actors' rejection of the notion that members of

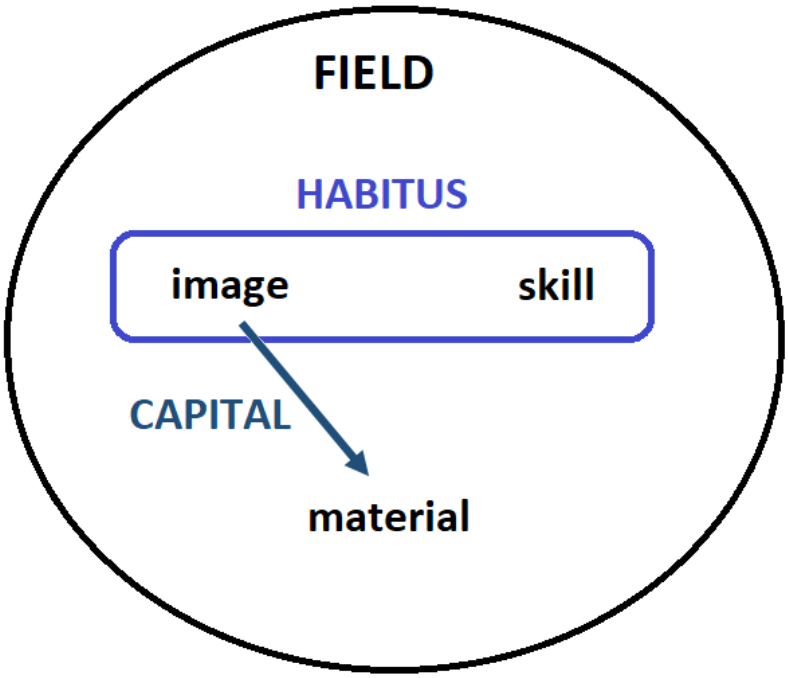


Figure 8: Practice. See Chapter Three for a full explanation of this diagram

the TG can be spoken of under one heading. However, they recognise that these same people are stigmatised collectively as 'paedophiles', and regard them as deserving of protection from harm on this basis.

In this field, actors imbue practice and resources with their image of the TG. Recalling the diagram of practice introduced in Chapter Three (reproduced here for reference – see Figure 8), this is the lens through which they assign symbolic capital. This is illustrated by Figure 9, which represents the diagram of practice with reference to the field under study. As shown in the diagram there is a field-specific 'image' of the TG, but there is also an external image which works on both 'image' and 'material'.

Within the field, the image of members of the TG is of an individual struggling with sexually harmful thoughts, or having been labelled an offender, and in need of support to manage this. They are a person like any other, and they are not only deserving, but they find it very difficult to access unjudgmental support. This perspective is informed particularly by the client-facing professions such as psychotherapy (Tudor *et al.*, 2004) which highlight the importance of centring the individual. A therapeutic organisation which states openly that it is concerned with the welfare of members of the TG, for example, is afforded symbolic capital on this basis.

At the same time, however, actors project their *own* interpretations of *others'* perceptions of the TG onto the same material. That is, participants feel that the TG are regarded pejoratively as 'paedophiles', regardless of their experience or the risk they pose to children, and are seen as undeserving in light of this. Although actors' interest in the field is a direct response to this shared stigma (amongst a group of people who share no inherent characteristics), by shaping their practice in response to this labelling, actors feel they are tainted by association.

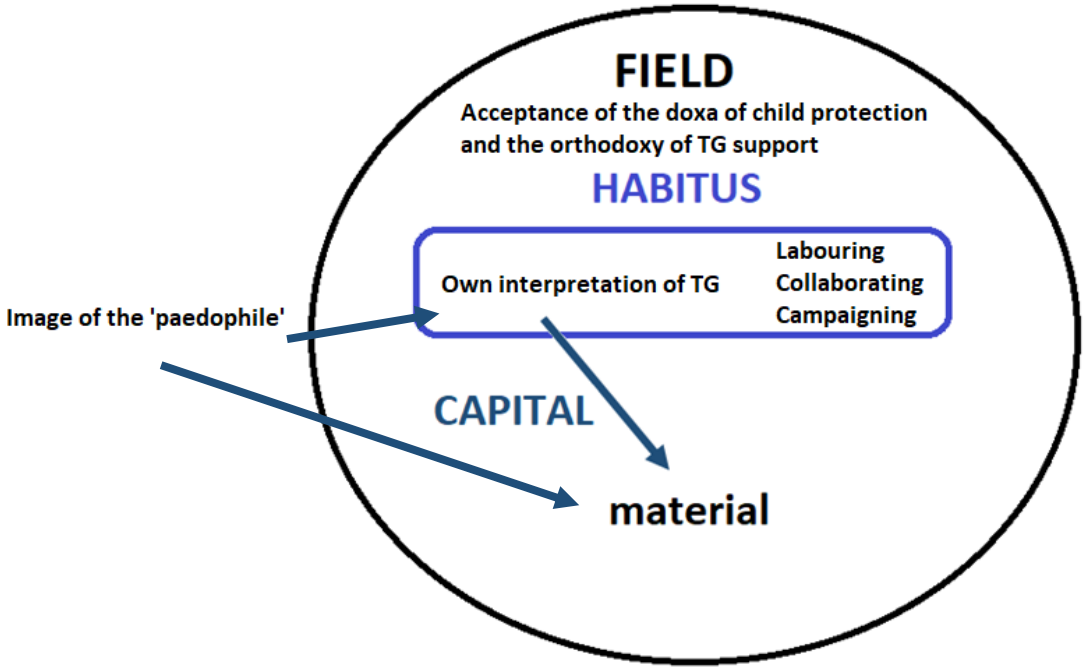


Figure 9: Diagram of practice in this field

The question as to whether this perception is accurate is not relevant here. What is relevant is the extent to which this perception influences practice. Indeed, actors are not simply aware of the limitations of accruing symbolic capital in this field (discussed in further detail in Chapter Seven), but work to a greater or lesser extent to make their work more palatable. Thus, the image of the TG as 'paedophiles' is interpreted as the doxa that all work in the field must be in the service of child protection: the doxa of CP.

As such, the problem for the autonomy of the field is not that actors interpret practice through two lenses simultaneously; a multiplicity of perspectives is to be expected. Rather, actors feel unable to offer their own image of the TG as deserving without also highlighting that their practice in this field contributes to protecting children. This train of thought, which culminates in actors asserting the doxa of CP, is illustrated in Figure 10. The text in the speech bubbles, which offer the perspective of a typical field member, represents my own interpretation of the data.

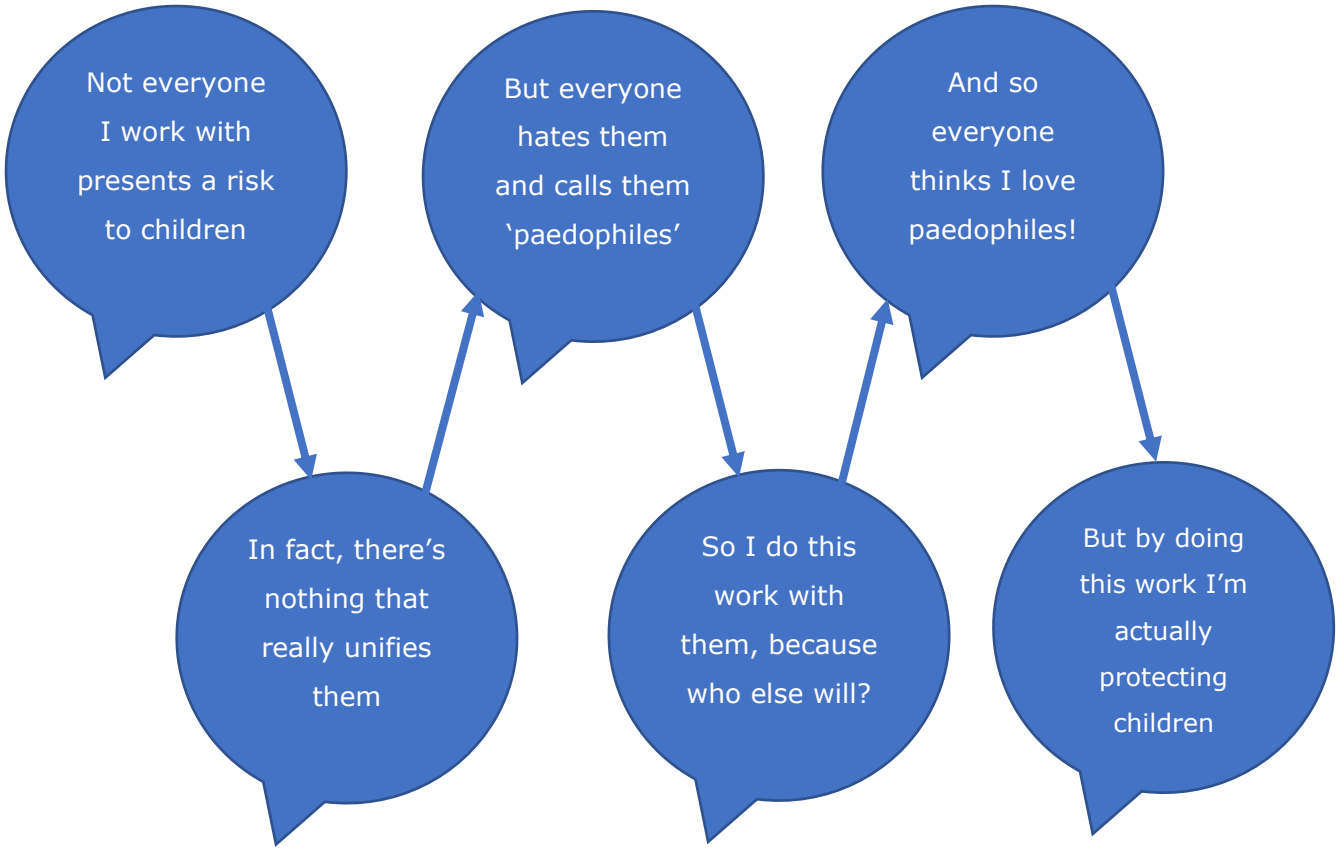


Figure 10: The dominance of the doxa of child protection

I return, in Chapter Eight, to explore how actors draw on narratives in order to manage this state of heteronomy, and how this plays out differently for different field members.

Conclusion

In this chapter I first explored how actors orientate themselves to the issue of harm prevention with reference to two rules that govern the field which operate as *doxa*. I demonstrated that the field is dominated by the rule that work in the field must contribute to the protection of children from sexual harm. The second rule, which is also accepted by those who engage in the field but carries less weight, is that members of the common 'target group' of interventions in the field are deserving of support in their own right.

In the second section I turned to how actors construct a shared understanding of the target group (TG), arguing that although the TG has nothing intrinsic that unites them, actors regard the TG as deserving of

support because they are subject to being labelled ‘paedophiles’. I then explored how actors draw the boundaries of the TG. I identified three categories of individuals who are spoken about as falling within the TG. These are: 1) individuals ‘at risk’ of committing a sexual offence; 2) individuals struggling with sexually harmful thoughts; and 3) individuals who (are perceived to) have sexually offended. I also noted that only the second and third categories constitute the boundaries of the TG in practice.

Having laid out the common targets of the interventions within the field under study, I turn in the next chapter to how actors orientate themselves to the problem of harm prevention, and how they accumulate capital in order to achieve their aims.

Chapter Seven: Operating in the field

Introduction

In the previous chapters I argued that the field is united by a desire to prevent harm, and that harm prevention is understood differently by actors with reference to two 'rules' (Bourdieu, 1987, p. 831) which operate as doxa. The rule of child protection (CP) states that all work in the field must be in the service of child protection, while the rule of target group (TG) support states that members of the TG are deserving of protection from harm in their own right. The field is brought into being through actors' practice, motivated by their interest in engaging members of the TG according to these two rules.

In this chapter I illuminate how actors construct the field through their practice. I first argue that practice in the field can be understood in relation to three ideal types: *wardens* work one-on-one with individual members of the TG, primarily to improve their wellbeing; *marketers* share the wardens' interest in supporting the TG, but frame their work strategically in attempts to attract funding and expand their services; and *multitaskers* seek to prevent child sexual abuse (CSA) through engaging in a range of activities. I then examine the role of symbolic capital in the field before exploring how actors set about accumulating capital.

Three subject positions

In order to make sense of how those in this field are working together, and competing, to try to achieve their aims, it is helpful to consider what forces influence their habitus, and how actors interpret the illusio. That is firstly, in what way do their backgrounds influence how they engage in the field? And secondly, do they elevate the doxa of CP or that of TG support? Through asking these two questions, I demonstrate that it is possible to categorise practice in this field according to three labels: wardens,

marketers and multitaskers. These labels represent ideal types, and no individual actor is assumed to behave exactly according to their assigned category (Weber, 1949). Nevertheless, I did identify five participants as wardens, six as marketers and nine as multitaskers.

In this section I explain these categories in relation to the above two questions and explore how each engages in practice in the field. Doing so will help to explain why those falling within these categories adopt homologous field positions, whilst also sometimes acting outside the bounds of the specified categories.

Wardens

I have labelled those who most closely adhere to the doxa of TG support *wardens* because the name reflects the protective role that they adopt towards the TG. Wardens tended to be practitioners, and are interested in advocating for the needs of the TG in their own right at the expense of having their message heard beyond the field itself.

Professional orientation

All participants I categorised as wardens were engaged in frontline work with members of the TG. This included mental health professionals and those with backgrounds in offender rehabilitation. Although some were service managers, they worked in a private client-facing service. In this setting, service managers are more able than others to resist the forces of marketisation and public protection, as Dorothy explained:

> *'We're completely funded by the people that we work with, so we can be very independent and gives us quite a lot of flexibility really in what we do… We can be quite forward thinking sometimes.' (Dorothy: practitioner-manager/TG)*

As their funding comes from the TG, these service managers can focus on frontline work in order to accumulate symbolic capital and therefore attract more clients. At the same time, their access to capital is entwined with class

dynamics, as only people with access to significant economic capital will be able to use their services. Although, then, these actors are in some senses shielded from the external forces of marketisation, as providers of private services, their business model is embedded in neoliberal values, and they operate in a marketised system.

Interest in the field

As indicated above, although wardens accept the doxa of CP, they are more interested in centring the needs of the TG, and regard child protection as an inevitable outcome of their work. As they are primarily interested in reducing the harm to members of the TG, their focus is almost exclusively on those who are struggling either with sexually harmful thoughts or having been labelled an offender.

It is worth noting that some wardens did express a particular interest in people who are not known to have offended:

> *'There's a very specific group of individuals with exclusive sexual attraction to children who have zero… intention of ever acting on that but there's an assumption from others that they will, so therefore it's not something that they can talk about… I think there's a real absolute dearth of support for people with that attraction.' (Dorothy: practitioner-manager/TG)*

As the above quote indicates, this was not because wardens regard this group as morally different to those who have offended. Rather, they are aware of how difficult it is for people struggling with sexually harmful thoughts to find support unless they are known to have offended

Field position

Wardens tend to be focused on the micro-level, feeling unable to impact the field beyond their professional practice. Whilst they did have opinions about how they would like things to look on a macro-level, they did not think change was realistic. Abigail spoke about her wishes as almost fantastical:

> *'If I had a magic wand, I'd change… the way the media, and I suppose social media as well, talk about these people and the language that they use.' (Abigail: practitioner-manager TG)*

This attitude is in line with the wardens' interest in alleviating harm to members of the TG, as it meant they were reluctant to downplay this aim when speaking publicly about their work, as discussed above. When wardens did try to impact discourse on a macro-level, this was usually very localised. Two actors worked with local newspapers to produce articles about their respective services, but even among these some found that their attempts to create change were repeatedly unsuccessful, and this left them feeling powerless:

> *Tom (practitioner/TG): there's lots of campaigns that have been done about the service… But it's sort of fallen a bit flat, and then you've got nothing to show…*
>
> *Zoë: Do you see that as surmountable?*
>
> *Tom: I don't know what we can do really… We've shared the advantages of talking about child sexual abuse and being open about it this is something that exists. We've worked with other agencies, we've put referral packages and sent them into colleges, universities, GP surgeries.*

The difficulty faced by wardens in getting their message heard on a wide scale fits with their inability – or unwillingness – to translate their message in order to be heard. Although their adherence to the doxa of TG support draws credibility from within the field, by allying themselves with a tainted issue the symbolic capital they accumulate is not recognised outside the field. As a result, wardens remain inward looking, operating at the centre of the field to improve the lives of individual members of the TG whilst hoping – or not, as was the case for Tom (practitioner/TG) – that societal change will take place eventually.

Marketers

Marketers, although similar in many ways to wardens, frame their work strategically in order to attract symbolic capital from outside the field (external recognition, discussed below). The name for this category reflects the way that actors market their work in an attempt to overcome the issues with translation that the wardens face.

Professional orientation

Marketers come from a similar professional orientation to wardens, often working in the same services, and also tend to express compassion for members of the TG. They are more likely, however, to be service managers who are looking to expand their service provision. As a result, although their habitus aligns with the wardens, they are more subject to external forces than those who simply work one-on-one with members of the TG. For example, most marketers I spoke to had sought external funding, meaning they needed to frame their work in a way that would attract support from outside the field.

Interest in the field

Although marketers centre the needs of the TG in their practice, they are aware that doing so openly does not help them to gain external recognition. Marketers therefore frame their work strategically in order to be heard outside the field by defining the 'ideal service user' (see p. 200) narrowly, as people struggling with sexually harmful thoughts who have *never* offended. This is not *only* a decision about framing, but rather can be understood for three interrelated reasons. First, those working in this area are aware of the lack of services for people who are not known to have offended:

> *'I would sit on as a MAPPA [multi-agency public protection arrangements] chair when I was in the probation service still, and you just think, 'Oh god, if there was somewhere that they could*

get some support with this it might be that they're not gonna harm their child'.' (Sebastien: manager/TG)

Second, some marketers indicated that a motivation to help people before they have offended in part to prevent them *becoming* offenders:

> *'I think just generally it would be nice if we could just move away from that really stigmatising punitive approach to people and… you know that's better for the person and it's better for society, isn't it? If you can help that person and they don't go on to offend.' (Patrick: practitioner/TG)*

As the quote above indicates, this stems from a desire to not only mitigate the harm that a person experiences when suffering with sexually harmful thoughts, but to prevent the harm that ripples after an offence has been committed.

Finally, awareness of a gap in services for people who are not known to have offended, combined with a desire to prevent harm, met with the marketers' desire to expand their services. Recognising an opportunity for a new area of practice, marketers were interested in carving out a preventative space for their work to expand into.

For some, this interest was explicitly a business consideration:

> *'Sebastien (manager/TG): …we were looking to broaden the brand offering.*
>
> *Zoë: What was it that triggered that desire to do that?*
>
> *Sebastien: Longevity [laughs]… But also looking to ways to survive… But as [an] organisation we have to do something that's gonna sell and benefit everyone.'*

For others, the decision was pragmatic: not being able to access this subset of the target group through their standard service, they were required to frame the question of supporting those who have not offended as

something distinct, in order that they can attract funding and do the work. This was the case for Jill (manager/TG), who was primarily working with people with sexual convictions (PWSC):

> *'We are working at the back end. We are working with people who've been convicted and harm's been done, and it doesn't seem like a huge step to look at… how we prevent sexual abuse in the first place.' (Jill: manager/TG)*

Accordingly, although marketers come from a similar professional orientation to wardens and share a similar habitus, they tend to seek external recognition in ways that wardens do not. For some this is so that they can meet the needs of this unserved subset of the TG, whilst others – such as Sebastien (manager/TG) considering his 'brand offering' – are primarily responding to the external forces described in Chapter Two.

Field position

As service managers, in particular those looking to expand their service (and so some measure of economic capital can be assumed to be either available, or believed to be accessible), marketers have more scope to influence those on a meso- and macro-level than the wardens. Furthermore, their position means they are more likely to have the capacity to devote some of their work to engaging with potential partners. Although marketers attempt to frame their message in such a way as to accumulate external recognition, it is not clear whether this approach is successful.

Whilst some were able to achieve meso-level change through, for example, attracting funding from sources outside the field, this did not translate into change on the macro-level, as funders were unwilling to speak openly about their support:

> *'We sometimes hear… 'you might get some money off the PCC [Police and Crime Commissioner] but don't tweet about it because they won't want other people to know that that's what the budget's being spent on'.' (Sebastien: manager/TG)*

Alternatively, as with the wardens, attempts to influence discourse outside the field were usually very localised, and often disheartening. Gary (practitioner-manager/TG) spoke about the difficulty with publicising the service because of negative perceptions of the work:

> *'Advertising is difficult because it's hard to give a message out about what the service provides without getting negative publicity from the general public.' (Gary: practitioner-manager/TG)*

One exception to this was the manager of a service who believed that her organisation alone could achieve the kind of societal change required to make it acceptable to seek help for those struggling with a sexual interest in children:

> *'I think really if we had the money there's nothing that would stop it. I mean, you know society might not like it but we know that the people are willing to come forward.' (Libby: practitioner-manager/TG)*

Despite her optimism, however, Libby (practitioner-manager/TG) also bemoaned the lack of support her organisation received from state funders (see p. 239). Ultimately, whilst marketers continue to centre the needs of the TG – however narrowly defined – they seem to struggle to accumulate external recognition, and therefore economic capital. Although Libby felt that 'society' would have to accept her organisation's work with members of the TG, she appeared unaware that negative attitudes to the issue may prevent her being able to meaningfully do the work in the first place. I address this apparent naivety in Chapter Eight.

Multitaskers

The name *multitaskers* reflects the varied nature of the work that those in this category engage in. In contrast to the wardens, although multitaskers accept the doxa of TG support, they see their work as being primarily about public protection. As such they engage in a range of practices in their

attempts to prevent sexual harm, often operating both within and beyond the field.

Professional orientation

Multitaskers tend to work in child protection charities or organisations with a broad focus (for example, universities). For these actors, although they accept the rule of TG support, their dependence on external recognition, without which they would find it very difficult to access state funding, means that they are limited in how upfront they can be about their adherence to this doxa. Recalling the discussion of mission drift in Chapter Two, being dependent on public funding means that actors in charities and publicly funded organisations are more influenced by the forces of marketisation and public protection.

Interest in the field

Although, then, multitaskers are field members because their practice is influenced by their acceptance of the illusio, their primary aims relate to child protection. They are usually motivated by an interest in preventing as much sexual harm as possible, and engaging the TG is one way in which this could be achieved:

> *'I found it very easy even when I first joined the organisation to recognise that in order to solve a problem, so in our case child sexual abuse, it's sensible to go to the source of the problem.' (Abdullah: manager/CP)*

Because their interest in the field only accounts for part of their work to prevent sexual harm, multitaskers are more likely than other actors to drift out of the field. The more that multitaskers elevate the doxa of CP over that of TG support, the closer they come to the field's edges. Understanding the practice of these actors, as I demonstrate below, can help to illuminate the boundaries of this emerging field.

Field position

Of all the actors, multitaskers are the most likely to influence policy. This position of relative power operates in an iterative relationship with their interpretation of the illusio. As multitaskers are able to translate their message for people who do not accept that of TG support, they are able to have some measure of influence. At the same time, this position means that they are limited in the extent to which they can express support for the TG, as doing so would risk them losing external recognition.

Nevertheless, being in this position means that when multitaskers see 'policy windows' (Kingdon, 1984) opening, they are able to offer a solution. Following on from his observation that his organisation can take responsibility from the authorities (p. 238), Ray (manager/CP) noted that this gives him the opportunity to elevate the needs of the TG:

> *'… that can help bring together a much more holistic approach to working with people not just as offenders but as people.' (Ray: manager/CP)*

Because the illusio adopted by multitaskers more closely matches the interests of those outside the field, they are more likely to feel optimistic about changes they see taking place:

> *'The fact that the prevention conversation is gradually gaining momentum is really important in terms of influencing government strategy.' (Trevor: policy/CP)*

Not only did he feel that he and his colleagues had the opportunity to influence policy, Trevor (policy/CP) had ideas of how harm prevention should look in the long run:

> *'You could have a government funded national interpersonal violence reduction unit couldn't you?… I mean that's not to squash fantastic local innovation… but you're never gonna crack the*

problem if you've got these tiny little initiatives.' (Trevor: policy/CP)

Trevor's vision and optimism in this quote reveals his pragmatic approach to the issue; although he accepted the doxa of TG support, and recognised the symbolic capital held by small interventions working with members of the TG, he felt that external recognition is required in order for change to happen.

Symbolic capital

Symbolic capital refers to capital which is understood as such in any given field by those that accept the illusio (Bourdieu, 1998). In this section I argue that actors diverge in terms of whether they value the accumulation of symbolic capital over the accumulation of capital that is recognised outside the field. Ultimately – as I explore in the following chapter – this comes down to the question of whether investment in the field is 'worth the candle' (*ibid*., p. 77).

Taking into account the field illusio, symbolic capital is accumulated through its active acceptance, that is through centring the needs of the TG whilst also working in the service of child protection. As a result, actors that worked directly with members of the TG tended to be well respected within the field. On the other hand, those that presented themselves as primarily interested in child protection were more likely to have large amounts of capital that is recognised outside the field.

Symbolic capital in a tainted field

Although all actors adopt the illusio, participants were aware that doing so makes it difficult to gain recognition amongst those who do not. Several spoke about how working in this area makes them tainted by association:

> *'I've had antagonism, disinterest, patronising people from other professions who think that I should know better than to work with such.' (Ursula: practitioner/TG)*

Fred directly juxtaposed attitudes to his work with the TG with the recognition he would gain if he were to work with children:

> *'I've often thought it would be much easier to see child victims than adult offenders at home… you see if I was seeing child victims at home, he's a nice man doing what he's doing, but if [the neighbours] ever find out I was seeing adult offenders I can imagine they'd be up in arms.' (Fred: practitioner-advocate/TG)*

As a result, several participants struggled to get support for their work from outside the field:

> *'There's so many people desperate for funding, [you've] got people dying of cancer and here you are gonna give funding to somebody who abuses children… it doesn't always sit very well with people.' (Serena: practitioner-manager/TG)*

Internal recognition, then, allows actors to gain respectability among peers within the field, but is difficult to convert this symbolic capital beyond the field. I identified two common responses to this problem. Wardens focused on fostering internal recognition with the acknowledgement that this would make it more difficult to be recognised outside the field, while multitaskers played down their adherence to the rule of TG support in order to gain external recognition. I discuss in Chapter Eight how marketers attempted to accumulate both internal *and* external recognition.

Internal recognition

Some actors within the field found that they were able to accumulate enough internal recognition that they felt they did not need to look elsewhere:

> *'I started doing my MA and got to a point of thinking that's taking up such a huge amount of my time and actually I don't need it… that's about me thinking that I need to prove [myself] somehow.' (Dorothy: practitioner-manager/TG)*

Dorothy in particular appeared well respected in the field – her name came up regularly as somebody whose work is promising – and she explicitly made the decision to focus on accumulating internal, rather than external, recognition:

> *'How do you get your voice heard higher than someone talking about dementia or someone talking about child poverty?… I think that's where I go back to, just do what we do. Just sit in your room and talk to the men that want you to talk to them.' (Dorothy: practitioner-manager/TG)*

The above quotes hint at the complex relationship between habitus and capital, and speak somewhat to the question of whether Bourdieu's assertion that all practice can be understood as an attempt to accumulate symbolic capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) can adequately make sense of seemingly altruistic practice (see p. 69). Although Dorothy spoke with understanding and some sadness about the TG (see also the quote from Dorothy under *Labouring*, p. 232), and her wish to support its members, she accepted some of the limitations of her field position. She felt unable to change the nature of public discourse and so focused instead on making change where she felt she could. Her decision to focus on her clients meant her position aligned closely with the wardens.

In this, Dorothy's approach relied on her having access to symbolic capital. That is, it is only because of her organisation's attempts to accumulate symbolic capital through cultivating internal recognition that she was able to work with individual members of the TG. A 'well-formed habitus' (Moore, 2008) can only take an actor so far. In order to be able to engage in

constructive practice in the field there must be some kind of capital accumulation (Bourdieu, 1977).

Similarly, Edward (practitioner-researcher/TG-all) spoke about his desire to return to client-facing work. For him, the interpersonal relationship with potential clients afforded adequate internal recognition:

> *'I always felt that this type of work is quite rewarding for myself as well because I felt like I had an impact on the clients' lives, and this is a very nice effect of your own work, isn't it?' (Edward: practitioner-researcher/TG-all)*

For Ursula (practitioner/TG), internal recognition was directly convertible to other forms of capital as it meant she received referrals from members of the TG. She explained that clients need to know that they can trust her, and they base this on qualifications as well as 'word of mouth', explaining that, 'they talk to one another'.

Most participants, however, found remaining within this tainted field challenging:

> *'It is an uncomfortable place to be… because the majority of the service world is focused on victims and children and quite rightly so. There is limited support on the perpetrator side.' (Lily: policy/all)*

Having internal recognition, then, was only of limited use for those within the field. Most desired external recognition as well, and made attempts to access this with varying degrees of success.

External recognition

Participants accumulated external recognition by attempting to control the narrative about their work through elevating the doxa of CP and downplaying that of TG support. Some were aware that doing this was

necessary to secure widespread support or funding, even if they chose not to adopt this approach:

> *'I don't think the National Lottery say would want to fund someone to work with a person who's got a declared sexual attraction to children without doing it from a 'this is very much about preventing your offending' goal.' (Dorothy: practitioner-manager/TG)*

While Dorothy responded by spending her time building her practice, rather than seeking external funding, some attempted to serve the needs of the TG whilst controlling the message about their work, but were limited in the extent they could do this. Jill (manager/TG) spoke about persuading a grant-giving organisation to fund her research into preventative work but then finding herself an outsider among other recipients of the grant:

> *'I applied to [fund]… and it took them a while… because they had to get over the unpalatability of my subject matter… right from the outset I was very different from everyone else who was participating. Everyone else was doing something that was a bit more community focused and certainly a lot more palatable.' (Jill: manager/TG)*

Sebastien (manager/TG), meanwhile, spoke about needing to frame the work in terms of public protection in order to attract external recognition:

> *'If you were saying '… person A… they're having a really bad time because of these thoughts and feelings that they're having and we need to work with that'… the potential for funding would be reduced. If you were identifying that 'we're gonna do this work because it's really gonna protect other people', the chances might increase.' (Sebastien: manager/TG))*

Those who were more successful, however, faced the risk that aims relating to TG support would be lost altogether. As such, the more that actors took

this route, the more they sacrificed internal recognition as they were regarded as inadequately centring the needs of the TG. The following extracts indicate scepticism about the priorities of some organisations who may be classed as multitaskers:

> *'I think [org A] started off really well but what they seem to have done is get trapped into the probation service type, financial service type process… It's the way they get their money, and at the end of the day it's all about money.' (Ursula: practitioner/TG)*

> *'[Some agencies are] beholden to funding and political pressures they have to be seen to be coming at it from a child protection perspective, where their primary aim is child protection.' (Abigail: practitioner-manager/TG)*

Although Ursula had elsewhere argued that in order to access funding it was necessary to adapt the message or services offered (see p. 179), she felt that org A were unable to centre the needs of service users because of their reliance on contracts for service delivery. Abigail, meanwhile, felt that by elevating the doxa of CP in order to safeguard external recognition, agencies were less effective than those who centred the needs of the TG.

This remained the case for participants who personally elevated the needs of the TG, but felt they were limited in the extent to which they could do this in their advocacy. Libby (practitioner-manager/TG) spoke about her wish to be able to challenge the negative perception of members of the TG by putting service users forward for media appearances, but she felt the strength of public feeling was too great for her to do so:

> *'We have some [service users] who… if we could show their face in public, it would be a compelling message in terms of moving our message forward… but it would be unethical in terms of protecting them from the general public because the general public's perception is so horrified by the idea of the people that we're working with.' (Libby: practitioner-manager/TG))*

The decision about whether to centre the needs of the TG at the expense of accumulating external recognition ultimately plays out as a question as to whether an actor is invested enough in the field to remain within its boundaries. I return to this in the Chapter Eight.

Accumulating capital

In this section I explore how actors attempted to accumulate capital. I focus on three practices that actors engaged in to a greater or lesser extent, at either the micro, meso or macro *level of operation*. The three levels can be understood in terms of access to capital: the micro-level involves actors with significant internal, but limited external recognition; the meso-level involves actors who have some internal recognition and some external recognition; the macro-level refers to actors, including those outside the field, who possess significant external, but limited internal recognition.

The three practices I focus on here are labouring, collaborating and campaigning. Although all three practices take place on all three levels, each is more closely associated with a different level of operation, as I explore below.

Labouring

'Labouring' is best summarised by Abdullah (manager/CP) as, 'just do[ing] my job as well as I can'. As the quote implies, this refers to how actors accumulate capital through engaging in professional practice. Considering almost all participants worked in the field, this is something that actors working at all levels of operation used. For those focusing on the micro-level, however, as I explore below, this tended to play a greater role than the other two practices.

<u>Being available</u>

A theme that emerged as common among actors working on all levels was that *being available* in their professional practice was seen as a key way in which they could accumulate capital. For those focusing on a macro-level,

some did this so that those they are attempting to influence might turn to them for support. Kylie drew on capital accumulated as a former police officer to influence those still in the force:

> *'I've made a point of making relations with… somebody in each of these [police] forces now already. So, because that credibility is there I know that I can influence what they're doing… I keep on saying to them you can take it or leave it, but I know if I was in your shoes, as I have been, I'd be taking it.' (Kylie: policy/CP)*

For those working on a meso-level, this meant being available to colleagues or other professionals in the field. Similarly to those on a macro-level, actors made themselves available in order that others might turn to them when they want help on the issue:

> *'I went to [high profile international conference] in the hope that I could meet people like [name]. And I in fact I did, and sort of gave my little offering which probably looked quite amateur, I'm sure. But what it did do I suppose was at least say, 'Look we're here, we want to be involved if anyone's got any ideas'.' (Jill: manager/TG)*

The above quotes illustrate, further, how access to capital influences how actors engage in this practice. Whilst Kylie (policy/CP) had connections with those she wished to influence, Jill (manager/TG), whose attempts at expanding her service have not been successful, meaning she had little to offer in terms of capital exchange, was not able to fully capture the attention of the people she wished to attract.

On both of these levels, however, the quotes above speak to the idea that actors are waiting on the side-lines for 'policy windows' (Kingdon, 1984) to open in order that they can advance their issue. Abdullah (manager/CP) spoke about this explicitly:

> *'Sometimes I almost feel like you're waiting for your time to be able to go, 'This is a problem, help us to deal with it'. And if it's not*

the agenda problem at the time it doesn't really get much airtime.' (Abdullah: manager/CP)

Rona (policy/CP) spoke about needing to have resources available in advance if they are to be adopted by the State. She had struggled to get the four UK nations to work together on a new framework, but after proceeding without government input it was then picked up:

> *'You'll notice [the document] hasn't got national on there because eventually it was felt to be too many differences… So we focused on England... and then we've since worked with the devolved nations and I'm delighted to say it's now been adopted right the way across northern Wales, the entire of Northern Ireland … and they're looking at rolling it out in Scotland.' (Rona: policy/CP)*

While those focusing on the meso- and macro-level were making resources available in order to be ready to influence policy, those working on a micro-level tended to make themselves available to attract service users. As these actors seek to accumulate internal recognition, recruiting and retaining clients is an important means of elevating the needs of the TG. Actors working with members of the TG pointed out how difficult it is for people to come forward for support, and being available was one way that they could try to remove this barrier to accessing help. Dorothy (practitioner-manager/TG) speaks about someone approaching her service for support before backtracking, and how she responded by emphasising her availability and openness. Her slightly exasperated-sounding laugh in the quoted extract indicated that this was a common experience for her:

> *'It's about making it as easy as possible for people to make contact… this week I had someone email asking for support and I replied and he'd obviously had a huge panic and gone 'Uh when I said that I had done it, I didn't mean it' [laughing] 'OK, well come back to us if you want to talk at any point you know. We're here… We're not going anywhere'.' (Dorothy: practitioner-manager/TG)*

Serena (practitioner-manager/TG) echoed this when explaining the importance of reacting quickly when someone reaches out for help:

> *'You're wanting to work with somebody's motivation to change. So, the minute they're emailing in we want to be responding within 24 hours and hopefully offering an appointment… that same week, certainly by the week after.' (Serena: practitioner-manager/TG)*

Whilst these quotes indicate the need for practitioners to be available quickly and reliably, Jill (manager/TG) pointed out that a service would also need to be accessible over a significant period of time in order that clients could build up the courage to attend it:

> *'[If] I knew I had an enduring sexual attraction to children, if I sat on the bus and saw a poster saying 'come to our drop in', it might take me a couple of years before I got to a point where I felt… sufficiently safe and courageous enough to do that. So, I think we recognise that it would be a real drip, drip to begin with.' (Jill: manager/TG)*

This focus on working with individuals, instead of influencing change on a wide scale, reflects how access to symbolic capital within the field precludes actors from accumulating external recognition. That is, by being known for centring the needs of the TG and unwilling to downplay this message in public, actors accumulate internal recognition, whilst at the same time limiting their influence among those who do not accept the illusio.

<u>Offering resources</u>

Another way that actors accumulate capital through their professional practice is through *offering resources* to others. This could be thought of as a form of capital conversion, and some participants did make calculations as to where they wanted to devote resources in order to achieve the best outcome. Lily (policy/all) addressed this question in regards to intervening with people convicted or suspected of domestic violence offences:

> *'You… have to look where do you put your intervention? At what point do you invest your commissioning budget?… And what resources are already out there that is addressing this?' (Lily: policy/all)*

As a commissioner, this way of thinking about resources is central to Lily's practice. For others, however, offering resources is not simply a matter of exchanging one type of resource for another. For Fred (practitioner-advocate/TG), he felt able to influence change on a macro-level through equipping others with 'ideas':

> *'The teachers of this world will always change society more than all the clinicians put together… Now, we might be able to have some influence if you like on the educators… We might be able to give you some ideas to take out with you and you can return them back to society in a form of new knowledge new education, new information. So that's how things change.' (Fred: practitioner-advocate/TG)*

This quote from Fred hints at a complex relationship between symbolic capital, his own field position and his aspiration to effect wide societal change. Fred possessed symbolic capital due to his active adherence, through his frontline work, to the rule of TG support. He was aware, however, that this capital is not recognised as such by those who do not adopt the field illusio, and therefore relied on those working on a macro level to translate his message to 'society'.

Echoing this attitude from the 'educator's' perspective, Tilly saw her own role within academia as a way of offering educational resources that can then influence professionals beyond the field:

> *'We're putting something out there that can be picked up or not, but if you wanted to pick it up it would be there. (Tilly: researcher/all)*

For Tilly (researcher/all), although she claimed to be nonchalant about whether her work was used by others, this labouring is also an attempt to accumulate capital, the importance of which she noted later in the interview:

> *'You might be doing absolutely amazing work but people need to know that it's you that's doing the amazing work so that you are invited so that you sit on the table. So, I guess a lot of it is [pause] being connected' (Tilly: researcher/all)*

In the above quote, Tilly highlights the importance of social capital which allows her to generate impact for her work, in order to remain successful as an academic[16].

Limits to labouring

Although actors engaged in labouring through their professional practice, many also referred to the emotional investment required to engage with the issue. This was expressed most keenly by those working frontline with members of the TG, or supporting those who do, and came with a recognition that actors are limited in how much of themselves they could give:

> *'Working in this area… it'd be very hard as an organisation to achieve your aims if your staff are not being supported as best as they could be because otherwise everybody would just burn out and nobody would be able to do anything.' (Abdullah: manager/CP)*

When I asked Abigail (practitioner-manager/TG) what change she would like to see that is out of her remit, she said she was limited only by the law and what she and her colleagues choose to do:

[16] Academics in British universities have been increasingly required in recent decades to demonstrate that their research has 'impact' beyond academia (Martin, 2011; Colley, 2014).

> *'We've recently decided we won't take phone calls on Sundays, we turn the phone off. But the phone is on until pretty late, you know I have spoken to people on motorway bridges late at night.' (Abigail: practitioner-manager/TG)*

While noting that she does limit how much of herself she can give, however, Abigail also highlighted the personal sacrifices she makes, indicating that she talks down suicidal clients from 'motorway bridges' at unsociable hours. This hints to a relationship between personal investment and symbolic capital. Indeed, one participant reported scepticism among field members regarding an actor whose investment in the field was perceived as self-interested:

> *'The sense was that maybe this was somebody who was [engaging in the field] so that [they] could reap some financial reward from it.' (Jill: manager/TG)*

I explore this relationship between personal investment and symbolic capital, and their connection with habitus, in Chapter Eight.

Collaborating

The second practice, collaborating, most frequently happened at a meso-level, and to a lesser extent on a micro-level, as it refers to actors working together to achieve similar aims. Chapter Five has explored how this happens in the field, and I noted in Chapter Six how those who emphasised the rule of child protection tended to also feel that everyone in the field is working towards the same goal. Here, I explore how collaboration can be understood in terms of capital accumulation.

Sharing responsibility

One key way actors collaborated was with others within the field to share responsibility for difficult decisions:

> *'My professional peer group is key, particularly because we are sometimes… working in quite an ethically sensitive area, and being*

able to have a range of people that you can draw on to run ideas past, to run ethical dilemmas past is really invaluable.' (Bruce: manager/CP)

For some, collaborating helped actors feel more able to engage in *labouring* in pursuit of their aim, where otherwise they may feel overburdened. Edward (practitioner-researcher/TG), for example, felt like he could draw on the expertise of colleagues to improve his work:

'I would like to not work completely on my own. I would like to join, for example, an organisation that already does that because I think it's always helpful to discuss cases with colleagues et cetera… I also wouldn't be competent to do that on my own' (Edward: practitioner-researcher/TG)

This quote highlights Edward's position of relative powerlessness in the network, such that he needs to align himself with other actors in order to be able to engage in work in the field. Jack (researcher/all) echoed the desire to work with others who adopt the illusio in order to manage working in a tainted and emotional field.

'I think creating that critical mass I suppose, of people who can share ideas, can support each other, and who you can split the load with if you like, both academically and I suppose emotionally… that's really important.' (Jack: researcher/all)

Daphne (policy/all), on the other hand, anticipated a backlash to a project which emerged from within the field, with support from her department, and convened a meeting of stakeholders within her locality in order to manage the reaction. In Daphne's situation, she was unable to persuade actors from outside the field to accept the illusio, but she did manage to neutralise some of the anger that threatened her goal of harm prevention:

'I knew some of the people who were kicking up about this, and I… arranged meetings between the various parties… Did we agree?

We didn't agree. But did it come to the kind of mayhem and blood on the floor that I thought it might have happened? No, it didn't, and gradually it went out of the situation.' (Daphne: policy/all)

The above two examples speak to some of the tactics deployed by field members to make their message more acceptable to those outside the network. Daphne (policy/all) and Jack (researcher/all) both work in public facing organisations, and draw on networks in different ways when saying something that might elicit negative publicity. Daphne used her access to political capital (endowed by a state institution and therefore recognised as valuable by those who adopt the field illusio as well as those who do not) – to mediate the response. Jack, meanwhile, felt that he was limited in his capacity to engage in work in the field when doing so by himself. Having colleagues who also adopt the field illusio meant that he had colleagues who assigned him internal recognition, making his lack of external recognition easier to accept.

<u>Taking responsibility from others</u>

As well as sharing responsibility, those actors I described above who make themselves available to address the issue when others found themselves struggling, collaborated in order that they could take responsibility *from* others:

'The authorities have always historically tended to work independently and deal with it through their mechanisms… but I think with the overwhelming explosion [of online offences]… there's a recognition within their organisations that they can't do that, and they need to work collaboratively with other organisations.' (Ray: manager/CP)

Here, having access to external recognition is valuable, because it means that organisations are trusted by those who do not adopt the field illusio. This puts these actors in a favourable position to take on responsibilities of external organisations, including powerful entities aligned to state

institutions, for example national government, and engage in practice in line with the illusio. For Abdullah (manager/CP), having external recognition was important as it meant his organisation was able to access state funding:

> *'I must say [state institution] have been very, very good supporters of us… [in terms of] their trust in us to be the right organisation to [prevent CSA].' (Abdullah: manager/CP)*

Conversely, the importance of external recognition can be seen in Libby's (practitioner-manager/TG) frustration at not being seen as the right actor to solve the problem:

> *'I don't understand why [PCCs are] not throwing money at us, because we save them so much money and time if we can intervene early.' (Libby: practitioner-manager/TG)*

During our interview, Libby (practitioner-manager/TG) put significant emphasis on the uniqueness of her organisation, and its potential to reduce harm, particularly in terms of cost savings. She had some success in collaborating with other field actors and those outside the field, but was unable to convert this into economic capital in the form of funding. I explore in Chapter Eight the extent to which this could be about certain actors' struggle to translate the message so that it can be heard by those outside the field.

<u>Collaborating as capital accumulation</u>

Exploring the way actors collaborate, then, illuminates further how access to capital mediates the possibility of accessing further capital (Bourdieu, 1977). For some, collaborating created opportunities to be heard and this could in turn be converted into symbolic capital:

> *'Being part of such an organisation makes you contactable. It makes you part of the groups; it gives you an entrance. You now*

are allowed to contact people or be contacted.' (Tilly: researcher/all)

On the other hand, whilst collaborating can give less powerful actors more of a voice, a degree of internal recognition is required in order to collaborate in the first place. As noted above, for Jill (manager/TG), her lack of capital meant that although she managed to get access to others in the field, she had little to offer in return so was unable to collaborate:

'[Going to a well-regarded conference] didn't really forward my cause particularly. It enabled me to get in touch with people who are at the coal front and doing that kind of academic enquiry but didn't really practically give me any help.' (Jill: manager/TG)

Wendy (manager/CP) emphasised the importance of not simply being part of the discussion, but being seen as worth collaborating with:

'To be heard you've got to have credibility, you've got to have integrity and you've got to be seen as having that across the piste of all the other organisations. We never compete. Don't need to. We partner.' (Wendy: manager/CP)

In the above quote, Wendy was referring to talking to actors outside as well as inside the field – her interest was in external recognition, as this enables her to not only have a seat at the table, but to do so from a position of power. It is noteworthy that Wendy's organisation is on the periphery of the field, sitting just outside its boundaries. I noted in Chapter Four that members of the field fall under the category 'dedicated critical' according to Koppenjan and Klijn's (2004) categorisation (see Table 2). Although Wendy's organisation accepts the rule of TG support, they do not work with the TG, making them, instead 'non-dedicated critical' actors. I explore below how this means their interpretation of the illusio is different from those within the field.

For most, collaborating was a delicate balance of working together to achieve an aim and competing for the same resources. Serena (practitioner-manager/TG), talking about different interventions in the field, expressed this difficulty:

> *'I think there's a place for everything… But it's about us all being respectful of each other, not saying 'well ours is the best'… it's difficult when you're all after the same pot of money as well though isn't it?' (Serena: practitioner-manager/TG)*

For some, the capital conversion involved in collaborating took the form of an explicit calculation:

> *'We will pay to go [to a multiagency meeting]… how much of that working with other agencies can we do if effectively we're losing money by doing it?... of course, we're motivated by the things that other people would be motivated by including networking… but no it will be very useful for us… In terms of staying within ethics and within the law, but also in terms of being proactive in shaping… the way practice works for all agencies.' (Abigail: practitioner-manager/TG)*

For Abigail (practitioner-manager/TG), the decision to devote resources to networking took into account the opportunity to accumulate social capital and to take part in the conversation about decision-making in the field, as well as the cost to her organisation of doing so.

Campaigning

Finally, *campaigning* tended to be utilised by actors working on a macro-level. Most actors, as indicated above, spoke to the need to reach out to the wider public and people in positions of power in order to challenge the discourse surrounding members of the TG, but not all engaged in these activities themselves.

Translating the message

Several participants indicated that they moderate their message when talking to people outside the field. This spoke to an awareness that the field illusio is not only not accepted by the majority of the population, but is quite difficult for many people to even consider:

> *'There's a way of talking about [prevention] which enables the conversation to happen. And if you talk about it in the wrong way, you can see how it goes off the tracks quite quickly.' (William: researcher/all)*

As such, many felt that they could persuade others of the utility of engaging the TG even if they could not persuade them to accept the doxa of TG support:

> *'We deliver training or consultancy with [professionals] then they will often not necessarily change completely but will understand what we're trying to do and in the majority of cases will support what we do.' (Ray: manager/CP)*

Those who did not adequately translate their message so it could be accepted by those outside the field, meanwhile, struggled to be heard. Speaking about the personal assistant (PA) of an influential individual, Fred (practitioner-advocate/TG) contrasted this with meeting the individual himself:

> *'[The PA] was so open minded and… He was the one who brought [name] subsequently to visit us. [But] [name] didn't want to have the debate… At the end of the day all he wanted to know was, 'Can we cure paedophiles?' (Fred: practitioner-advocate/TG)*

This difficulty can be understood in terms of access to capital discussed above. When actors try to convert internal recognition outside the field, the unacceptability of the issue means it is not recognised as symbolic capital, and they struggle to be heard. Daphne (policy/all), although carrying

sufficient external recognition to be able to contact state officials, faced this problem when she tried to get firm responses:

> *'I need to persuade the government to take an interest in this, so I'm having a discussion, initially, with officials in the Home Office and now with officials in the MoJ… But part of the problem is that people aren't keen to talk and are finding reasons not to get dates in the diary.' (Daphne: policy/all)*

The question that this raises of the extent to which the message needs translating in order to effect policy change is one I return to in the following chapter.

Targeted campaigning

One way that participants responded to this difficulty was to campaign in a targeted way. Daphne (policy/all) had more success with campaigning when she targeted specific people:

> *'The thing about the police… is that it's quite traditional in its approach. It does things well, does things properly. Is it prepared to innovate and change? They find that quite difficult. So, it would be Chief Constables and commissioners who will be prepared to have that more forward looking discussion.' (Daphne: policy/all)*

For Ray, the difficulty with being heard by people outside the field meant that when fundraising he tried to '*get them in the room*'. Once he has been able to do that, he explained, '*generally they will come along and say that sounds good to me and will support us*' (Ray: manager/CP).

This approach was not just employed by those who attempted to translate their message, but those who did not also acknowledged that it would be difficult to be heard on a wide scale. Dorothy (practitioner-manager/TG) felt that she could make change on a micro-level because she can persuade colleagues to adapt their practice, but on a wider level, she explained, '*I don't think people are interested enough*' to listen.

Contributing to wider change

As with the other practices, this difference can be understood in terms of access to capital. I noted above that Wendy (manager/CP) operated on the edges of the field, wielding considerable external recognition. She saw her attempts to influence the media as promising but requiring sustained effort:

> *'By repeating always the same messages… And just repeat, repeat, repeat, until you think 'they must have got it by now'. And they haven't.' (Wendy: manager/CP)*

Similarly, Oscar (researcher/CP-all) saw his work as a small part of wider change. His position as a researcher gave him access to external recognition, meaning he could influence students:

> *'I'm not gonna be around to see the positive effects of this, but be part of this and encourage other people to do it. I teach… about some of the work we do and… some of the students we have doing projects have gone onto do this themselves.' (Oscar: researcher/CP-all)*

Although, as I noted above, Fred struggled to have his message heard, he continued to try to push it:

> *'We have to acknowledge that adults have sexual attraction to children… and then we have to educate people around that.' (Fred: practitioner-advocate/TG)*

Unlike those who did successfully translate their message, Fred (practitioner-advocate/TG) did not feel like he was part of a wider movement. Rather, he compared his advocacy to his therapeutic work, from which he has learnt to persist with seemingly 'hopeless cases'. Fred possessed internal recognition because of his therapeutic work, and external recognition because of his psychoanalytic training, which afforded him cultural capital. Although he struggled to influence change beyond the

field, his professional background meant that he was not disheartened, unlike others who felt they were not being heard.

Thus far, I have demonstrated how practice in the field can be understood in terms of accumulation of either internal recognition or external recognition, amounting to different interpretations of symbolic capital. In the final section I suggest a typology of actors, arguing that each type represents a different way of accumulating capital, and can be understood in terms of illusio and habitus.

Edges and irregularities

At the start of the chapter I noted that twenty participants could be categorised as either wardens, marketers or multitaskers. Turning, now, to the remaining participants, six of whom were difficult to categorise, and four I found to fall outside the field, can help further make sense of the practice of those within its boundaries. In this section I therefore address these actors by way of illuminating the contours and boundaries of the field under study.

Difficult to categorise

Among those actors that did not fit the typology, all had a professional orientation most in common with multitaskers. Indeed, several spoke about their practice in similar terms to multitaskers, with Bruce (manager/CP), for example, telling me, '*I flit between lots and lots of different things*' in a typical day.

These actors differed from multitaskers, however, for two distinct reasons. Some aligned with wardens in that they emphasised the deservingness of members of the TG in their own right, whilst their practice matched that of the multitaskers. Others emphasised the importance of public protection whilst continuing to elevate the needs of the TG. The former can be understood as an attempt by individuals who accept the illusio to make

their work acceptable beyond the field, whilst the latter indicates a potential emerging category.

Attempting to control the narrative

I discussed above how the accumulation of internal and external recognition are mutually incompatible. The practice of some participants who were difficult to categorise can be understood as attempts to overcome this bind. These participants expressed support for members of the TG, in particular noting that their aims were in part to reduce harm to them as well as to children. Although Kylie worked in a child protection organisation, she described her former role in policing as being in part about protecting PWSC:

> *'I always like to think of [visits after release from custody] as a bit of a comfort blanket for them as well, as I say 'listen we are where we are with this now, but it's about protecting you as well'.' (Kylie: policy/CP)*

Like marketers, these actors wanted to frame their message in a way that meant they were heard beyond the field. Whilst marketers did this by focusing on a narrow subset of the TG, these actors tended to mirror the multitaskers in elevating the doxa of CP. They then used their position, where they had greater external recognition than wardens or marketers who elevated the doxa of TG support, to attempt to influence change beyond the field.

In order to achieve this, these actors were very careful about how they communicated. When Ray (manager/CP) asked me not to quote something he said, and I assured him that all quotes would be anonymised, he responded by emphasising that even anonymised quotes may be identified as coming from his organisation, and he would be wary about what he had said being 'misread by others'.

I note in the next section how Rona's (policy/CP) interpretation of the illusio means that she is on the periphery of the field, working in an organisation

on its boundaries. She told me about initiatives within her organisation which amounted to attempts to operate in the field, and asked me to be careful about how I shared the information:

> *'Something else that we did… if you talk about this you probably have to [do so] in confidence because this has not seen the light of day this… intervention.' (Rona: policy/CP)*

It is possible, then, that these actors that were difficult to categorise may have had more success than others at accumulating both internal and external recognition. They did so by engaging in practice in such a way as to cultivate external recognition, whilst maintaining a carefully constructed discourse which elevates the needs of the TG in certain spaces, and the aims of CP in others.

Another category?

I explore in Chapter Eight how policy in this field appears to be being developed from the ground up, and I have noted that I struggled to find state actors who adopt the illusio. The two policy actors I did speak to who operate in the field, however, did not neatly fit the categories listed above. They both worked in policing policy, with responsibility for public protection as well as protecting both alleged offenders and victims.

As such, these actors had most in common with marketers. They tended to elevate the argument that members of the TG are deserving in their own right, and tried to deliver this message outside the field. Unlike the others who were difficult to categorise, however, they already had external recognition because they worked for state institutions. This meant that they were able, within reason, to express support for the TG. However, even these actors felt that they were limited in how far they could openly communicate their adherence to the illusio. Daphne (policy/all) felt limited in what she could both do and say, telling me she gets a 'kicking' if she funds an organisation in the field, and so when doing so she is 'careful and

thoughtful'. When I asked if there are some areas she feels she could not fund, she told me:

> *'I think saying, people who've been convicted of activities that have hurt children, and… trying to offer a treatment rather than a punitive approach, is quite a difficult way to go.' (Daphne: policy/all)*

In some ways, the policy actors I interviewed had commonalities with others who could not be categorised, but their practice was more targeted than those, who had much in common with multitaskers. As noted, I identified very few policy actors who would openly express adherence to the illusio, and as Chapter Five has explored, there are few local or national government policies in the UK that address members of the TG as deserving in their own right. It is possible, however, that as policies emerge that address the TG, a new category of actor may be identified whose adherence to the illusio and practice in the field aligns with those I identified here.

Edges of the field

As indicated above, and explored in further detail in Chapter Eight, a continuum can be identified where those who adhere most to the doxa of TG support are most firmly embedded in the field, whilst those who elevate that of CP are more likely to be found at its edges. Among my participants, some individuals share an illusio with the multitaskers but their work means that they do not engage in practice in the field itself. Some, meanwhile, when asked directly accepted the doxa of TG support but this acceptance does not influence their practice. In both of these instances, actors' practice is insufficiently impacted by the illusio, and they therefore operate outside the field. Understanding this relationship can help to firm up the boundaries of the field itself.

<u>On the periphery</u>

Those participants on the periphery were well-known by other participants, and were able to drift in and out of the field. Essentially, these actors were

multitaskers who elevated the rule of CP above that of TG support to the extent that the latter did not impact their practice. This could be for personal reasons; actors may accept the doxa of TG support but there are stronger interests that pull on their attention. Wendy explained what led her to leave an organisation working in the field:

> *'It was the right time to go… and also I knew there was something I was burning to do and I couldn't quite put my finger on it.' (Wendy: manager/CP)*

Wendy (manager/CP) remained in child protection, and her experience in the field and acceptance of the illusio gave her some internal recognition. However, her decision to leave the field means that she no longer invested in its stakes and she is not a meaningful competitor for symbolic capital.

Rona, on the other hand, worked for a child protection organisation which set up a service for PWSC which had not been used. On investigating why this might be the case, Rona found that potential service users reacted with scepticism to the suggestion that her service might help them, responding, '*I'd think it would be a trick or something, because why would they help me?*'. In this scenario, Rona's organisation had inadequate internal recognition because it does not demonstrate an adherence to the doxa of TG support. It was therefore denied entry to the field altogether.

<u>Outside the field</u>

Finally, some participants did not operate in the field at all. For these participants, although some accepted the illusio, none did so to the extent that it impacted on their practice.

Ted, an advocate for victims of CSA, rejected the doxa of TG support entirely:

> *'I think we as a society have… become a little too combat cuddly about the person that perpetrated the crime and forgotten about the victim of the crime.' (Ted: advocate for CSA victims)*

In Ted's view, people who had perpetrated CSA had surrendered their right to receive support. Whilst he acknowledged that members of the TG who have not offended should be offered support, he prioritised this lower than strengthening the criminal justice response to offending and supporting victims:

> *'Public money as far as I'm concerned should be spent on the criminal justice system, putting these people behind bars, rehabilitation where possible – behind bars – and… if there's any left over, the victims.' (Ted: advocate for CSA victims)*

Other participants, although they accepted the doxa of TG support, their acceptance did not impact on their practice. Marilyn and Angie, managers in a local authority who I interviewed together, spoke with regret about the lack of services for young people who are at risk of sexually harming. When I asked if they could do something about the problem through changing policy, however, Marilyn explained that it is not a priority:

> *'We can absolutely look at that from a policy perspective. The issue would always then be resources… So I can say to a local authority 'well you should be providing stuff for perpetrators or potential perpetrators' and they could say 'yeah I know we should… [but] if you want me to do that, which one do you want me to stop doing?'.' (Marilyn: local authority manager)*

The above three participants had agreed to meet me because they found the topic interesting for their own personal reasons. Penina, a manager in a violence reduction unit (VRU), an initiative to reduce violence by adopting a public health approach (see Chapter Two), had been recruited through her PA, and had not thought a great deal about intervening with the TG before we spoke. As a result, her responses indicated a caution around considering this topic area. She suggested that issues such as knife crime are easier for the VRU to tackle, while with CSA:

> *'It just becomes a much muckier and more difficult world. And I'm not quite sure that we necessarily really understand all of those things.' (Penina: VRU manager)*

For Penina, it is possible that in the right environment she could find herself on the periphery of the field; as the interview progressed she echoed sentiments expressed by multitaskers:

> *'I mean I'm quite interested in this, and certainly we do need to do something about perpetrators… I do think that you need to intervene with all the people affected including the victim if we're going to really make a long term difference.' (Penina: VRU manager)*

Ultimately, however, Penina's focus meant that, at the time of our speaking, although she may have accepted the illusio when prompted, it does not impact on her practice, and she was therefore not part of the field.

Conclusion

I suggested in the previous chapter that the field operates according to a doxa which manifests in two rules which are interpreted differently, depending on an individual's habitus and illusio; the rule of child protection and the rule of TG support. In this chapter I demonstrated how actors' practice in the field can be understood in terms of this dynamic.

I first suggested that individuals who engage in practice in the field can be understood according to three ideal types of actor: wardens, marketers and multitaskers. I then showed how symbolic capital in this field, because of its tainted nature, is difficult to convert outside the field itself. As such, actors with less investment in the illusio seek to accumulate what I have termed 'external recognition', at the expense of 'internal recognition'. I then focused on the practice that actors engage in in order to accumulate capital.

Finally, I sketched the boundaries of the field, looking at field actors who are difficult to categorise and participants who are not members of the field

at all. In so doing I demonstrated that although emerging – and struggling to do so, as I explore in the next chapter – it is nevertheless possible to identify the boundaries of this field.

In the following chapter I conclude this thesis by reviewing the findings presented in this and the previous two chapters in the context of the literature and my theoretical framework. I outline my unique contributions to knowledge, and suggest some areas for further research.

Chapter Eight: Discussion

Introduction

In this chapter I draw together findings from the three preceding chapters by way of elucidating this PhD's unique contribution to knowledge. Starting with an awareness of an emergent area of practice, I conducted semi-structured interviews with actors who I understood to be engaged within it, initially from my own desk-based study and subsequently through snowball sampling, and I mapped the network of individual and institutional actors, the boundaries of which having emerged from analysing these interviews. During analysis, I conceptualised the network as a potential field, and applying Bourdieu's theories alongside Interpretive Policy Analysis (IPA) was able to explore the iterative relationship between the illusio, habitus and symbolic capital, and thus illuminate the contours and internal logic of an emerging field.

I begin this chapter by highlighting my distinct contributions to knowledge, before turning to how actors employ narratives in order to be heard. Whilst practice in the field can be understood in terms of actors' interpretation of the illusio, I argue that all actors are required to respond to the external forces of public protection and marketisation. Those with greater investment in the illusio are simultaneously the most protected from these forces whilst also being the least likely to be heard beyond the boundaries of the field, and these positions interplay with the narratives actors choose to draw on in explaining their practice.

Before concluding this chapter, I suggest some areas for further research. Noting that I have identified a possible instance of 'bottom-up' policymaking, I pose some questions that have arisen from this research, the pursuit of which may offer opportunities for further theorising. I then return to show how my research, and conceptualisation of the space I have

identified as a field, have implications for how we can make sense of this emerging area of intervention and its contributions to policy change.

Contributions to knowledge

Enriching interpretive policy analysis and field theory

Drawing on a practice orientation to social research, I used IPA to put Bourdieu's field theory to work. In so doing, I demonstrated how each set of theories can be used to enrich the other. I applied Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus and capital to the practice theory of Wagenaar and Cook (Wagenaar and Cook, 2003; Wagenaar, 2011; Cook and Wagenaar, 2012) and that of Pantzar and Shove (Pantzar and Shove, 2010; Shove *et al.*, 2012) and offered an original conceptualisation of practice which incorporates concepts from each.

This approach represents a significant contribution to knowledge which comprehensively addresses an underexplored issue. That is, scholars in IPA and practice-based studies frequently acknowledge a debt to Bourdieu in terms of his focus on practice (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Laws and Rein, 2003; Wagenaar, 2011; Behagel *et al.*, 2017), but do not explicitly draw on his theoretical toolkit. Others have argued that Bourdieu's theorisation of practice was underdeveloped, contributing to his concepts being difficult to operationalise in empirical settings (DiMaggio, 1979; Brubaker, 1985; Warde, 2004; Nicolini, 2012). Warde (2017) notes that Bourdieu failed to deploy the concepts of field and practice concurrently, suggesting that the former seems to have displaced the latter. Nicolini (2012), meanwhile, argues that by circling round a general rather than a specific theory of practice, Bourdieu's conceptual toolkit is limited in the extent to which it can explain the social world. At the same time, as explored in Chapter Three, some scholars have offered conceptualisations which offer the possibility to systematically apply a practice approach in empirical settings (Pantzar and Shove, 2010; Cook and Wagenaar, 2012). As far as I am

aware, however, none have completed the circle by taking this concrete approach to practice back to Bourdieu's conceptual toolkit.

In this thesis I have addressed this surprising and considerable gap. By bringing Bourdieu firmly back into practice-based studies, and doing so from an IPA orientation which elevates the importance of meaning, I have shown how a conceptualisation of practice such as that offered by Pantzar and Shove, worked into a model of field theory, can address the critiques of Bourdieu's theories noted above. In so doing I have responded to Bartels' (2018) suggestions that scholarship should focus on systematically analysing different approaches to studying policy as practice, and could attempt to combine approaches.

Having integrated these approaches, I illustrate in this chapter how this conceptualisation of practice can help make sense of an empirical phenomenon. I explore how macro-cultural discourses surrounding child protection and the image of the 'paedophile' can explain how material is converted into symbolic capital in the field, and how these discourses influence the formation of a field-specific habitus. Ultimately, this analysis builds a picture of an arena in which the foundational doxa is dominated by forces external to the field, indicating a field that is struggling to emerge. I explore the implications of this finding at the close of this chapter.

Illuminating an emerging field

I embarked on this study after setting out to design an intervention for those I perceived as potential offenders, and realising that several similar interventions already existed. On becoming aware of a growing area of intervention for those I defined at the time as 'potential perpetrators of child sexual abuse', I also noted that little was known about why this area was establishing itself in the way that it was, and felt it would be valuable for me to explore this question. During analysis, the characteristics of this area of practice lent themselves to conceptualisation as a 'field' in Bourdieu's sense.

This conceptualisation was fruitful for two reasons. First, as I noted above, it has allowed me to make contributions to IPA, field theory and policy analysis. Second, my analysis has uncovered and shone a light on an emergent area of practice which is addressing a pertinent issue. This is an area that has not – to the best of my knowledge – been studied before. Making sense of why the landscape is taking the shape in the way that it is has implications for the practice of actors I have identified here, as well as members of the target group who are the subjects of interventions I have explored.

As noted in Chapter Two, research has addressed how individuals perceived to be at risk of sexually harming experience interventions, or how individuals who struggle with sexually harmful thoughts wish to be supported (Hudson, 2005; Cacciatori, 2017; Shields *et al.*, 2020). Whilst these issues are being interrogated, however, the landscape of support for this group of people is changing, both in the UK and internationally. Focusing on the UK – but with findings which have implications internationally – I have shown how those actors engaging in this space who are most committed to supporting members of the TG are also the most constrained in their practice, and that they struggle to speak openly about their aims and motivations.

In this chapter I interrogate this conundrum, and show how the difficulties faced by actors mean that they are required to choose between frankness about their motivation for supporting for members of the TG and attracting funding to expand or sustain their service. As a result, members of the field engage in 'translation' in ways that distort or obstruct their priorities. This issue should be taken seriously by those operating in this field, as the way that individual or organisational actors address this conundrum has implications for the support they are able to offer members of the TG.

Discerning shared understandings

A key characteristic of the field that I have identified is that there is no shared language with which to talk about the TG. Some actors emphasised the heterogeneity of the TG and stated directly that there is nothing inherent that unites them, while those who did see the TG as a single group were unable to articulate what connects them. Instead, the TG are defined by how they are perceived by others: they are all subject to the pejorative label 'paedophile', and regarded by actors as deserving of support on this basis. In the absence of shared language with which to talk about the TG, then, there is a shared understanding that they *can* constitute a group.

This observation has implications for policy, theory and practice as it can facilitate actors engaging in this area to consider their language, and to actively draw the boundaries of who they seek to work with. This finding, in concert with the exploration in Chapter Six of what separates and what unites diverse members of the TG, will offer actors the conceptual tools with which to speak to the TG as a whole, or to identify different subsets of the TG that they wish to engage. This will also enable those who continue to use the term 'potential perpetrator' to move beyond this labelling and stigmatising language, to a more accurate and descriptive set of terms.

An understanding, moreover, that the TG are united by being subject to the harm of the stigmatising label, 'paedophile', may help field members to articulate their motivation for engaging with this group. I explore below how actors working in this space tend draw on narratives which serve to 'translate' their interest in supporting members of the TG to a greater or lesser extent, in order to justify their work to those outside the field. A narrative of harm prevention, which would involve highlighting the harm of the stigmatising label and stating an intention to address this harm, may help to move the topic away from the preoccupation with the idea that members of the TG may harm others. This would fit with a rights-based approach, which emphasises the humanity of members of the TG, as it

involves focusing on the issues that these individuals bring and require support with (which may or may not include a propensity to offend) as a consequence of, or in relation to, their labelling.

Theoretical insights into field emergence

The above insight led to the finding that the field under study brings itself into being through practice. That is, actors reject the notion that the subjects of their interventions can be described under a single heading. However, they regard themselves as part of a network, and their practice is guided by adherence to the doxa of child protection and the doxa of target group (TG) support. By identifying this interplay, I demonstrated that a field may emerge not simply following the *adoption* of a label (Grodal, 2007) but also following the *rejection* of the label 'paedophile', which nevertheless unifies those subject to the (rejected) label under a single heading.

This finding, furthermore, indicates that field emergence can follow a different order to that identified by Brenninkmeijer, who suggests that field emergence follows the 'officialization' (2018, p. 224) of the problem. Instead, with no substantial written policy on the issue, and a lack of unifying language with which to talk about the central issue, the field under study is emerging *before* the issue has been responded to as an 'official' problem. Identification of this process has been possible because of a focus on practice.

Following this, I identified the 'rules' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) which govern the field, and draw in this chapter on the Bourdieusian concepts of illusio, doxa and heteronomy to explore how the field is struggling to assert itself as autonomous. I showed that the doxa of CP is dominant, whilst those whose illusio elevates the doxa of TG support are at the centre of the field. As a result, the field is in a state of heteronomy, where those within its bounds are subject to external forces to the extent that the field is not

'capable of generating its own problems instead of receiving them ready-made from outside' (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 112).

This research has, therefore, presented a snapshot which offers a vision of a field that may become more or less established over time. Understanding this in the context of a field with no unifying language with which to talk about its subjects, where actors within its boundaries are unable to speak openly about their motivations for doing the work they do, makes this problem intelligible. That is, I have shown that a field can emerge in this uncertain and hidden context, and I explore in this chapter how actors rely on narrative strategies in order to legitimise their practice. The particular constellation of narratives and the way they are deployed, moreover, contributes to the shape of the field and practice within its bounds. Further attention to the extent to which this field is able to self-sustain over time will be fruitful for extending this finding: a field can emerge in these circumstances; to what extent can it survive?

Identifying 'bottom-up' policymaking

Having argued in Chapter Three that Lipsky's 'bottom-up' policymaking does not adequately focus on how those at the bottom of the hierarchy can influence policymaking higher up, I have explored one way in which this might happen. I suggest here that the tainted nature of the issue on which this field is based means that actors who may be inclined to join the field, but who are fully dependent on external recognition, are unable to openly express their adherence to the rule of TG support, and so they remain just outside. It is possible that this manifests in an iterative relationship between practice and policy, amounting to genuine 'bottom-up' policymaking. I note below how this could be further explored through drawing on the literature on street-level policy entrepreneurship (Frisch Aviram *et al.*, 2021).

I return, for the remainder of this chapter, to the findings discussed thus far to illuminate the complex relationship between discourse and practice in the field under study.

TG support: a struggle for autonomy

I noted in Chapter Six how actors are compelled to assert the doxa of child protection and TG support. As a corollary to this, actors occupying different field positions adopt different narratives. This can be understood in terms of Cook and Wagenaar's (2012) exploration of how context is evoked in practice. Cook and Wagenaar tie their understanding of context to the term *basho,* a concept from Japanese philosophy referring to a physical place which derives meaning from its history, and which determines how it is defined by those who practice within it[17]. As such, context includes the material surroundings, as well as associated norms and expectations. An archetypical therapy room for example, with a chair and couch in a particular setup, is recognisable as such by certain people because of the history and cultural significance of psychoanalysis. At the same time, it only remains a therapy room as long as therapy is practiced within it, whilst the psychoanalyst relies on the room's setup to shape their practice.

If we think of work with the TG as an intangible space, the concept of *basho* can help to explain how it exists because of the practice of those within it, which is in turn guided by its own 'shape'. I have explored already how the TG only exists because actors reject the label 'paedophile' and recast those subject to it as deserving of support. The space that is created in this response to the stigmatisation of 'paedophiles' – the *basho* – is therefore shaped in part by the image of the 'paedophile', and practice in the space is informed by an interplay between this image and the actors' own image of the TG.

[17] This description neatly echoes that of practice explored in Chapter Two, where one thing (action or place) becomes another (practice or *basho*) through deriving its meaning from a given context.

Returning to the hypothetical patient-facing therapeutic organisation discussed above can help explicate this point further. Let us suppose that, as with other private therapy services, therapists see clients individually and do not distinguish between different categories (for example, in terms of gender, criminal record, employment etc.). However, because they promote their service as unjudgmental, and willing to work with individuals with a range of sexual problems, or sexual convictions, including in relation to children, members of the TG feel safer coming here for support than to a mainstream service, and thus a high proportion of their clients are members of the TG.

The *basho*, then, refers to the norms and expectations that encircle this particular group of clients, described above. That is, although many actors in the field see members of the TG as no different to anyone else, they respond to the macro-cultural discourse of child protection and the 'paedophile' which does single them out as a group, as well as their experiences of being treated differently by others. Our hypothetical organisation, then, might have a more developed confidentiality policy than other therapy providers, and may routinely hand out flyers for crisis helplines such as *Stop it Now! UK & Ireland* (see Chapter Five) or Samaritans. Therapists, moreover, may expect new clients to present with sexual difficulties, and structure their practice in a way that enables disclosure of this sort.

I return to the point made in the opening paragraph of this section, that actors deploy different narratives in justifying their work with the TG. As with the preceding discussion of the *basho*, it is not simply that actors bring these narratives as a response to the image of the 'paedophile'. For many, their entry into the field may have been guided by one or more of these narratives, and it is only when faced with the image of the 'paedophile' that they are forced to bring it as an alternative. As with the other elements of practice explored in this chapter, actors' field position and their adopted

narrative(s) exist in an iterative relationship with one another. It is worth exploring the dominant narratives in play in the field.

Three narratives

The ways in which actors explain or describe their involvement in the field speaks to their disposition and interpretation of the illusio. Here, I explore this in terms of narratives, suggesting that the language actors use, and the arguments they elevate as well as those they downplay, help explain their field position, not only in terms of illusio, but also their relative success in accumulating capital.

It is helpful to note examples of how individuals in other tainted areas have been found to adopt narratives. In an ethnography of immigration detention officers in the Norway, Ugelvik (2016) found that staff deployed a range of narratives in order to persuade others as well as themselves that their work is legitimate. Also using ethnography, based in the USA, Cahill (1995, 1999) studied the training of funeral directors. He found that part of this involved being taught how to do the 'rhetorical work' necessary to counter the negativity funeral directors experienced when others perceived their occupation as involving 'dirty work' (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999).

Both of these areas of work have parallels with the field under study here. For immigration detention officers, members of the public largely distance themselves from their sphere of work. Unlike funeral directors, whose work is more or less accepted as necessary (bearing in mind most people will encounter – if not solicit – funeral directors at some point in their lives), it is relatively easy for the general public to suggest that the work of immigration detention officers and people working with members of the TG should simply not exist.

On the other hand, funeral directors were found to be generally firm in their own commitment to the work, regarding the stigma placed on the work as coming from misunderstandings or denial of death (Cahill, 1995). As with funeral directors, my participants felt convinced of the importance of TG

support, and that negative attitudes towards the TG were based on stigma. They drew on narratives in order to challenge similarly negative attitudes towards their work with members of the TG, and ultimately to accumulate external recognition.

This role for narratives indicates that, to some extent, the field is self-contained, if not (as explored above) autonomous. That is, although as a 'tainted' field, the field under study can be said to have much in common with the detention centre studied by Ugelvik (2016), whereas immigration detention officers in that study chiefly used narratives to build *self*-legitimacy, actors in this field were more likely to attempt to convince *others* that their work is valuable. Furthermore, the degree of investment in the field is related to the extent to which actors adopt a narrative in line with the field illusio.

On the other hand, actors continue to assert the doxa of CP, and adopt narratives which frequently downplay that of TG support. This is precisely because the field is ultimately *not* autonomous, and actors are required to translate the message of TG support in order to be heard by those on whom they depend for economic capital. Three dominant narratives operate in the field: rights-based; child protection and public health. Beyond these, secrecy also operates as a means of obscuring the message of TG support.

<u>Rights-based approach</u>

First, the narrative of a rights-based approach elevates the importance of the individual, emphasising the humanity of members of the TG. As explored in Chapter Two, this approach can be seen in interventions such as the Good Lives Model (GLM), which has gained traction in recent decades, and draws on moral as well as clinical justifications for its application (Glaser, 2013). I noted how the move away from labelling language reflects the increasing awareness of people with convictions (PWC) as individuals with rights. This is echoed in this field beyond talk of PWC, particularly in the reluctance of many of my participants to offer a definition of 'potential perpetrator of child sexual abuse'.

This narrative is central to the field, reflecting the doxa of TG support, and is adopted by those who most closely adhere to the illusio*,* as well as to a lesser extent by those who operate closer to the edges of the field. Thinking back to Figure 9 on p. 211, image and material are influenced by the image of the 'paedophile', which represents actors' projections of *others'* stigmatising attitudes. A rights-based approach, on the other hand, evokes a situation in which the image of the 'paedophile', *does not* influence either the actors' own image of the TG nor how actors assign symbolic capital.

Recalling how the powerful macro-cultural discourse relating to the 'paedophile' contributes to the field being in a state of heteronomy, actors whose practice is not influenced by this discourse would not engage in translation in the way I explore below. However, as will be seen, nobody I spoke to unequivocally took this position, actors either drawing on the other narratives when speaking outside the field or engaging in secrecy in order to tone down their message in certain circumstances.

Child protection

While the narrative of a rights-based approach involves a rejection of the image of the 'paedophile', the narrative of sexual harm prevention has the potential to evoke this more stigmatising view of the TG. Although the former is articulated to a greater or lesser extent by actors in all field positions, many actors also offer the latter when attempting to translate their message to make it palatable to those outside the field.

This narrative is influenced by the macro-cultural discourse of public protection which situates the TG as inherently risky. Benefits of intervening in the field are framed in terms of the possibilities to prevent harm to others, notably but not exclusively children. As explored above, the dominance of the doxa of child protection means that all actors articulate this message to some degree. The extent to which they do this depends on how much they wish, or need, to be heard by those outside the field.

The more actors adopt this narrative, the more they implicitly (at least from the point of view of observers) shift their interest in harm prevention from the TG, at risk of the harm that emanates from being labelled 'paedophile', to members of the public, at risk of harm from the TG. As a result, those who front this narrative in explaining or justifying their work inevitably elevate the doxa of CP over that of TG support.

Public health

The third narrative, that of public health, removes the gaze from both the TG and the public and focuses on the issue of harm itself. I explored in Chapter Two how public health approaches to criminal justice issues have gained traction in recent years. For those adopting this narrative, macro-level considerations render work with the TG 'common sense', as opposed to moral.

Although the TG are largely absent from this approach to preventing sexual harm, apart from as the subject of a slew of interventions aimed at reducing their riskiness, this narrative can operate in quiet opposition to the othering discourse of child protection. A public health approach functions by treating as community members those that are usually cordoned off in public protection oriented models (Kemshall and Wood, 2007).

Indeed, whilst many actors adopt this approach within and beyond the field, entry into the field presupposes acceptance of the doxa of TG support. As such, even among those who are motivated primarily to prevent sexual harm – whose practice is dominated by the doxa of CP – practice in the field involves a recentring of the gaze on the TG. Through a public health lens, however, the TG are not configured as a stigmatised group whose rights need protecting, nor a dangerous faction in need of containment and incapacitation, but carriers of risk to be managed.

Secrecy

While all actors justify their engagement in the field with reference to an interweaving of these narratives, it is important to also understand the role of secrecy in structuring how actors do so.

The theme of secrecy permeates this field and operates for actors in three directions. First, the topic of sexual harm – and particularly CSA – is surrounded by secrecy (Wilson and Prescott, 2014). Second, actors were found to be secretive about their own work in the face of other field actors they regarded as potential competitors. Third, actors are secretive about the extent to which they accept the doxa of TG support, and indeed their motivations for accepting the field illusio.

It is the third direction which influences how actors adopt narratives in attempts to make themselves heard beyond the field. That is, although actors' engagement in the field can be understood in relation to how the above three narratives shape their practice, they often feel unable to speak openly about their motivations. As such, participants spoke about how the narratives that they adopted in interviews do not always match up with those they adopt in public. This is, of course, not unique to this field, evidenced by the common requirement for qualitative research interviews to be anonymous and confidential. Nevertheless, how actors address this balance when engaging in the field is of note. In the following section I explore how this plays out for actors in different field positions.

Balancing the two rules

As I have explored, it is not possible for actors to elevate both rules of CP and TG support equally. This mirrors the *dual relationship* problem discussed in Chapter Two, where forensic mental health practitioners have a responsibility to both their patients and those governing the behaviour of the same patients (Gannon and Ward, 2014). As such, all actors in the field engage, to a greater or lesser extent, in balancing the two rules. In this

section I explore how actors construct narratives and engage in practice in their attempts to achieve this balance whilst accumulating capital.

The discussion thus far indicates that the doxa of TG support is foundational to the field. The *strength* of the rule of CP, meanwhile, comes from outside the field: it is a response to actors' interpretations of others' perceptions of the TG, which meets with the external force of public protection. Similarly, all actors engage in practice which elevates the needs of the TG to a certain extent, and in order to counter this all actors draw upon the discourse of child protection. This, however, exists in tension with the defining doxa, and in response those at the centre of the field emphasise their belief that members of the TG are deserving of support in their own right.

As a result of this compulsion to name and assert the doxa of TG support, the rule is at risk of being relegated to orthodoxy (Bourdieu, 1996). Thus, the field members are in a defensive position where those who are most invested in its stakes are required to assert the doxa of TG support in order that it continues to guide practice in the field. Those who are involved but less invested, on the other hand, are neither compelled to assert the rule of TG support nor offer another in the form of heresy, and thus it remains doxa.

Meanwhile, actors are engaged in continual efforts to accumulate symbolic capital in the form of internal or external recognition, whilst negotiating the forces of public protection and marketisation, explored in Chapter Six. How they do so, and the narratives they draw on to justify their practice, can help illuminate how this field, whose doxa is perpetually at risk of being dislodged, is emerging.

Figure 11 illustrates the interplay between actors' interpretation of the illusio, access to capital and susceptibility to external forces. With the semicircle representing the field, those at the centre most readily accept the doxa of TG support and incorporate this into their practice. Chapter Seven introduced the three types of actor in relation to the illusio and

access to capital. I explore here this relationship in more detail, and also how actors respond to the external forces of public protection and marketisation by adopting counternarratives to that of the 'paedophile'.

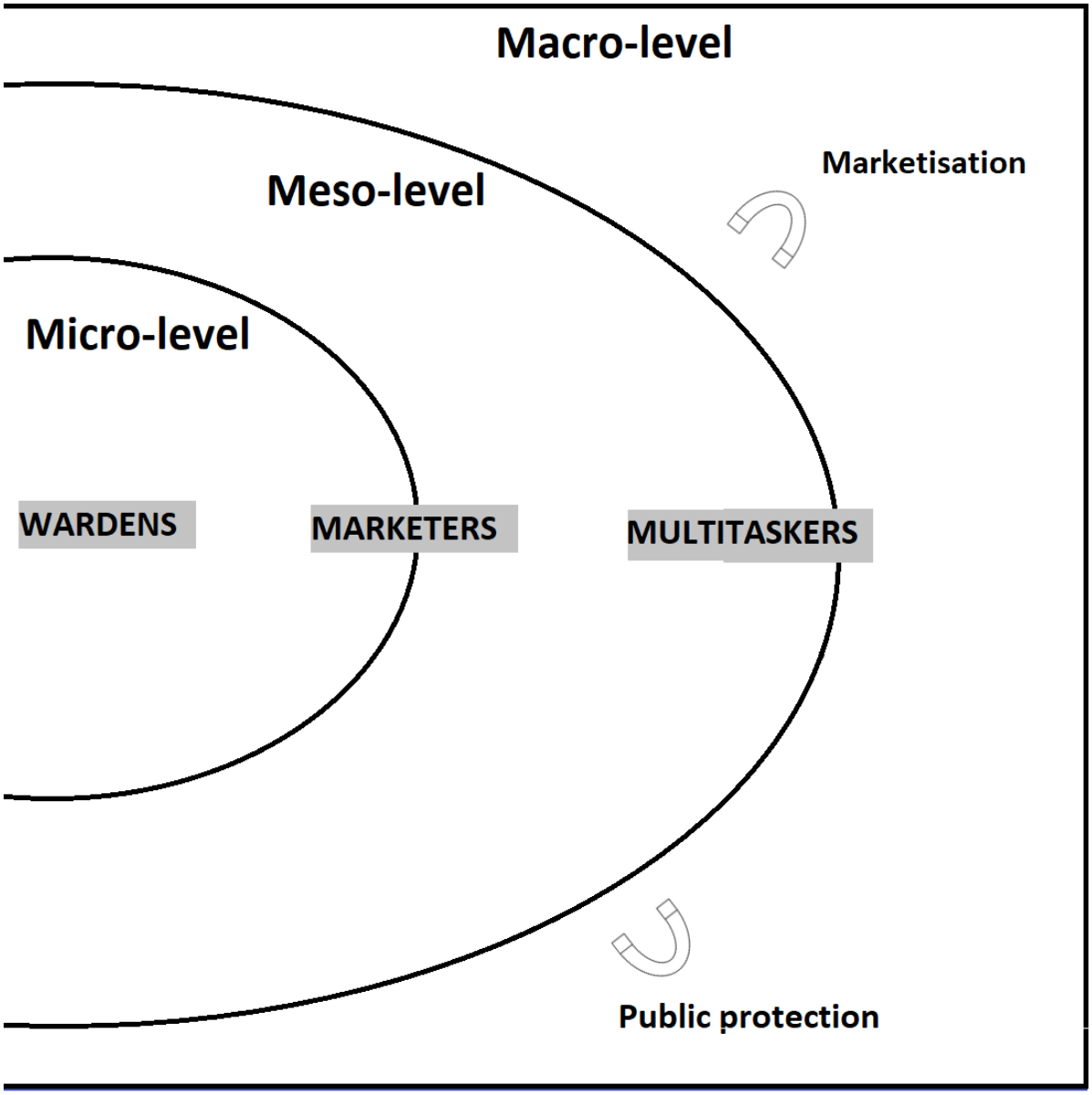


Figure 11: Field position, access to capital and susceptibility to external forces

Wardens

I noted in Chapter Seven that symbolic capital is not only accumulated through active acceptance of the illusio, but also through personal investment. That is, actors give some of their own energy and emotional capacity to working in a tainted field. This came across in the way some

wardens felt frustrated by their inability to be heard beyond the boundaries of the field, and the way they focused instead on face-to-face work.

This can in part be understood because wardens adopt the narrative of a rights-based approach to the TG, in line with the illusio. Taking this position whilst declining to centre the narrative of either public protection or public health makes wardens tainted with the stigma of the 'paedophile', as I explore below. Their message, moreover, is not simply unwelcome. Elevating the needs of those castigated as 'paedophiles' is regarded by many as conflicting with the needs of those that we presume are at risk from the TG (Garland, 2001).

As a result, wardens are reliant on either accumulating sufficient internal recognition that they can operate without external funding, or on being allied with an actor that is able to accumulate external recognition and thus mobilise economic capital. The former tend to be manager-practitioners in private services, while the latter are practitioners without management responsibilities, whose own managers are likely to be marketers.

Although most wardens expressed frustration at not being heard beyond the micro- and meso-levels, as internal recognition is not recognised outside the boundaries of the field, continuing to work in frontline services entrenches this position further. Ultimately, wardens accept the limitations of their field position, and focus on cultivating a habitus in line with the doxa of TG support.

Marketers

Those would-be wardens that do attempt to accumulate external recognition without sacrificing internal recognition are reinvented as marketers. However, this very attempt to translate the message of TG support challenges the notion that actors are primarily interested in serving the needs of the TG. This tension is evident in the way client facing services have in some contexts pointed out that their primary focus is on members

of the TG, as opposed to the prevention of sexual harm, and in other contexts referred to their work as preventative.

Furthermore, as service managers, marketers are more susceptible to the forces of public protection and marketisation than practitioners, and their wish to be heard outside the field reflects this. The name 'marketer' refers not only to the way these actors adapt their message to suit the audience, but also to their functioning in a marketplace of services. I noted in Chapter Seven that marketers tend to adopt their field position because of a wish to expand their service, and that one participant framed this explicitly as a business decision. As such, these actors have a similar habitus to wardens, but their practice is more determined by forces outside the field.

Marketers echo the narrative of public protection and design services that they anticipate will be picked up and attract further revenue. Because internal recognition is not convertible to economic capital outside the field, and sources of revenue within the field are limited to small services and clients themselves, marketers need external recognition that *is* convertible to economic capital. This can be understood as an interplay of the forces of marketisation and public protection. That is, in attempting to be successful *market* players in their pursuit of economic capital, these actors find themselves needing to also respond to the force of public protection.

Marketers attempt to manage this interplay by speaking differently to different audiences. Within the field they emphasise their adherence to the doxa of TG support, and in their work they acknowledge all subsets of the TG as equally deserving. In this, they echo the rights-based approach taken by wardens, reflecting the fact that these two types of actor emerge from similar professional orientations.

When speaking beyond the field, for example when attempting to attract statutory funding, however, marketers focus on members of the TG who are regarded by some as more deserving; usually those with harmful sexual interests who have never offended (see Chapter Two). Additionally, they

elevate the doxa of CP and the aim of reducing the economic costs of dealing with offending. By adapting their message in this way, however, marketers tacitly accept the image of the 'paedophile' as risky, and PWSC as undeserving on their own terms.

Because of this dual narrative, marketers are heard both inside and outside the field, but both voices are circumscribed. Service users and other service providers hear the message of TG support that is equivocal; TG are supported because they are deserving, but only inasmuch as this support protects others from sexual harm. Funders and child protection organisations, meanwhile, hear the message of CP that is adulterated by an underlying sympathy for members of the TG, and are unwilling to echo the message outside the field. Ultimately, by attempting to elevate both elements of doxa in different circumstances, and thereby accumulate both internal and external recognition, marketers also surrender some of each type of symbolic capital.

This is not to say that marketers are destined to be unsuccessful; interventions explored in Chapter Five, as well as multiple participants, did get funding through adopting this strategy. The message, however, is only heard by actors who accept the doxa of TG support. This may include other field members on the meso-level, such as certain Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs) or actors who accept the illusio but are not invested in the field, such as funders or policymakers. These actors are, in turn, reluctant to publicise their acceptance of the illusio, even in a translated form, as this would not bring them external recognition, and they do not value the accumulation of internal recognition.

This semi-success can help explain why some marketers secured funding but were not allowed to publicise it, or were able to get agreement from policy actors that the field is worth investing in, but struggled to get firm commitments. Although frustrating, and this experience led some marketers to exit the field, it also explains why some felt success was just out of reach. There appears to be enough positive feedback from those

within the field and those on its periphery to encourage marketers to try to speak to those that might give them external recognition. Having small platforms, such as pockets of funding, together with the conviction that the work is valuable, some actors found it difficult to understand why their message is not picked up outside the field.

Multitaskers

Finally, multitaskers, on the edge of the field, are most susceptible to the forces of public protection and marketisation, but also most able to be heard outside the field and therefore accumulate external recognition. By virtue of their acceptance of the illusio, multitaskers accept the doxa of TG support and this influences their practice. However, their primary aims relate to child protection. For multitaskers, their work in the field can be understood in terms of a desire to contribute to the prevention of sexual harm, combined with an acknowledgement that working with members of the TG is both morally right and expedient.

Taking into account this interpretation of the illusio can help illuminate multitaskers' field position and access to capital. By elevating the doxa of CP, multitaskers already carry a message that does not need translating in order to accumulate external recognition. At the same time, their message does not elevate the needs of the TG, and their practice does not *overtly* signal a dedication to the doxa of TG support (although the practice of individual or organisational actors may do so in certain settings). As such, the capacity for multitaskers to accumulate internal recognition is limited.

Because they are primarily concerned about child protection, multitaskers do not need to adopt a narrative to counter the image of the 'paedophile'. On the contrary, their practice in the field can be understood in terms of their adoption of the public health approach to sexual harm. Multitaskers approach the issue with a different habitus to wardens and marketers, with their interest in the field emerging from a desire to prevent sexual harm which merges with an underlying sympathy towards the TG. This helps

explain how multitaskers operate at the periphery of the field, able to talk to those outside its boundaries and easily (say, by changing jobs) exit.

As with the wardens, multitaskers' interpretation of the illusio and access to symbolic capital mutually reinforce one another. In this position, multitaskers are most likely to be heard by those outside the field who can grant external recognition and economic capital, but do not necessarily accept the doxa of TG support. However, as with charities which experience mission drift, this position has two consequences.

First, the closeness to those outside the field makes it difficult for these actors to openly elevate the needs of the TG as doing so would entail losing external recognition. As a result, other field members withhold internal recognition and regard those in this position with some degree of suspicion. This can be contrasted with the entrenched position of the wardens: whilst wardens make some measure of personal sacrifice in working directly with the TG, multitaskers were regarded by some participants as sacrificing the needs of the TG as a consequence of working with those who do not recognise them as deserving of support.

Second, being dependent on funding and recognition from outside the field, multitaskers are therefore more susceptible to external forces than those at the centre. This is entwined with the above issue, as downplaying the needs of the TG is one means of responding to the force of public protection. However, while this interpretation of the illusio can be understood as a force internal to the field that pushes actors towards its periphery, the forces of marketisation and public protection can be understood as external forces which pull actors away from the centre.

A permanent state of heteronomy?

It is here that the field under study can be understood to be struggling to emerge. Those who are most invested in its stakes, the wardens, have the least power beyond the field's boundaries. They have symbolic capital, but are unable to convert this to significant economic capital, and their

counternarrative of a rights-based approach is easily drowned out by the macro-cultural discourse surrounding child protection and the 'paedophile'.

Conversely, field members who are least invested in its stakes, multitaskers, have the most power outside its boundaries. Although they have less symbolic capital than those at the centre, they have economic capital and external recognition due to their interest in child protection. Their narrative of a public health approach is seen by those outside the field as forwarding the issue, and they are therefore slightly more successful at getting their message across.

It is worth recalling Bourdieu's description of heteronomy, in relation to social class:

> *'…it is only when the dominated have the material and symbolic means of rejecting the definition of the real that is imposed on them… that the arbitrary principles of the prevailing classification can appear as such.'* (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 169)

If we consider this dynamic in relation to the field in question, it is still struggling to assert itself but unable to dislodge the doxa of CP to the status of orthodoxy. This is not to suggest that most actors are not guided by aims relating to child protection; participants largely valued the fact that their work contributed to child protection. Rather, the rule of CP *as* doxa is restrictive. While it remains doxa, actors must always be engaging in practice in a way that fronts the needs of children – even when they do not believe children to be at risk – and this can impact on the way they engage with members of the TG. In considering how actors overcome this paradox, it is helpful to think of practice in relation to habitus.

Whilst the interpretation of symbolic capital – as something that is assigned by others, rather than the actor who seeks it (Mead, 2020) – is mediated by the macro-cultural discourse surrounding the 'paedophile', habitus is understood as the ultimate expression of the illusio (Bourdieu, 1998). The practice of actors in the field, then, can be understood in terms of the extent

to which they are able to successfully operate according to a habitus which embodies the image of the TG as deserving, in line with the field doxa.

This further explains why the wardens operate at the centre of the field. Their practice is to some extent guided by the image of the 'paedophile', as it informs their own interpretation of the TG as a stigmatised group. However, their engagement with the TG primarily reflects their perception of this group as deserving of protection from harm. Recalling the description of habitus as both 'structured' and 'structuring' (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 53), the disposition of wardens is structured by their work in frontline services which elevate the importance of the individual client. This centrality of the individual – particularly the importance of adopting an unjudgmental attitude – then structures how wardens engage in advocacy. That is, their adoption of a rights-based narrative and reluctance to translate the message of TG support to be heard beyond the field.

It is worth considering how this position affords wardens access to symbolic capital. As indicated in Chapter Seven, it is not just their active acceptance of the illusio which achieves this. Rather, wardens signal their allegiance to the field through personal investment in its stakes. Because of the tainted nature of the field, the more that an actor adopts a position at its centre, the more they are subject to being tainted by association. As the field, however, is defined by a rejection of the stigmatising label, 'paedophile', those who ally themselves with the TG are regarded, by those who accept the illusio, as deserving of symbolic capital on this basis.

Although this process is easiest to identify among the wardens, as they are closest to the centre of the field, it happens to a greater or lesser extent for all field actors. Indeed, the illusio adopted by any field actor can be understood in terms of the extent to which their habitus is structured by their bringing their own image of the TG as deserving of protection from harm to the skills they deploy in the field. When considering the field positions of different actors, this would suggest that the more a field actor's

habitus incorporates this image, the closer to the centre of the field they are likely to be.

Bringing service users into the field

As noted in Chapter Four, this study has not considered the role that members of the TG play in constructing the field under study. This is an important question, and is worth considering from two angles. First, to what extent do members of the TG respond to the ways that field members balance the rules and attempt to recruit them as service users? If further research were to consider the role of potential services users from this perspective, the directionality of the term 'target group', discussed in Chapter Six, may remain untroubled. Nevertheless, research with actual or potential service users could explore the extent to which they feel in control of the service they receive, or have been offered. It could also explore the impact of the balancing act discussed above on their ability to benefit from the services being offered.

The second way members of the TG could be brought into the field is through being conceptualised as field members. This has explicitly happened in some contexts. For example, the *Help Wanted* programme in the US emerged from a young person with sexual interest in children setting up an online support group for people like himself who were committed to not offending (Malone, 2014, 2016). It is also likely to happen, however, in contexts where involvement is less direct. As service users, for example, the way that members of the TG articulate their needs and engage with services could reflect their own adoption and interpretation of the illusio, and this practice could feed back into how the services operate.

Ultimately, it is likely that members of the TG contribute to constructing the field under study both as active recipients of services whose practice is not influenced by adherence to the illusio, putting them therefore outside the boundaries of the field, and as field members who can be considered actors in the field alongside those mapped and studied here. In order to

understand how members of the TG contribute to shaping the field, both of these angles should be explored.

Having built a picture of how the field under study operates, its logics and the attempts by its members to be heard, I turn in the following section to the implications of my findings for the policy landscape and theory.

Policy change from the bottom up?

I have explored how the issue of sexual offending in policymaking is influenced by a dominant discourse which casts those who are perceived to pose a sexual risk as 'other' (see Chapter Two). This discourse, however, does not dictate wholesale how policies are made, although it may inform how they are communicated. Policy changes which reflect the field doxa have taken place in recent years, and although multitaskers dominate, there is evidence that core actors are sometimes involved in the decision-making process. In this section I reflect on the findings so far in the context of the policy landscape for this issue. The very lack of meaningful policy change in this area means that the data does not allow firm conclusions to be made about what is taking place. Instead, I offer some questions for further study which have emerged from my findings.

Translation or drift?

I noted in Chapter Two that charities often find it difficult to contradict the government of the day due to fear of losing contracts or funding sources, and that this leads to 'mission drift' (Poole, 2007). I also discussed the way community-based penal agents increasingly take on the punitive role of the State in what Maguire *et al.* (2019) termed 'penal drift'. These phenomena can be considered in light of the finding that actors in this field 'translate' their message in order to be heard beyond the field's boundaries. The question that arises from this is whether those who are the most successful at translating the message of TG support do so to the extent that it loses

its original meaning? To address this, I consider two approaches to translation that I identified in the field.

First, some actors – primarily multitaskers – centre the aims of child protection in their approach, and this makes their message appealing to those outside the field. It is difficult to identify the extent to which this amounts to 'translation', as these actors often approach this issue with goals relating to the prevention of harm to children in the first place. However, my findings indicate that these actors downplay their interest in TG support in order to have their approach taken up by policymakers.

To what degree, then, do these actors downplay the message of TG support to the extent that it no longer reflects the field doxa? There are indications that some in the field believe that those who elevate the aims of child protection do so at the expense of upholding the rights of the TG. There are also indications that certain actors adopt this child protection-focused narrative whilst their practice *does* address the needs of the TG.

The second approach to translation is adopted by those whose practice overtly addresses the needs of the TG, and is justified through drawing on the narrative of child protection. This approach appears less successful at eliciting overt policy commitments, but does enable actors to draw support from those outside the field who accept the doxa. It tends to be adopted by marketers; as managers who are interested in expanding their service, these actors are likely to be the most susceptible to the problems associated with penal drift.

In this situation, as these actors are speaking to others who accept the doxa of TG support, there is less of a need to downplay this message. They are also, however, offering to solve a problem for the State: although they are not delivering penal services they are hoping to take some measure of responsibility for crime control. Accordingly, they attempt to demonstrate that their approach contributes to the prevention of sexual harm and makes sense according to market principles, representing a response to external

forces which entwines that of public protection and marketisation. Moreover, these actors often focus on members of the TG who are struggling with sexually harmful thoughts and who have not offended. This reflects an adoption of market principles in their own practice, as this group is an unserved – and deserving – population with whom they can intervene.

The question in relation to both these sets of actors, then, is whether their practice is shaped by their attempts to be heard – whether they are subject to mission drift or penal drift, respectively – and if so, how far this draws them away from a primary interest in TG support? This question is not only relevant to the field under study, but may have salience for other fields which converge around a 'tainted' central issue. Further research could investigate how policy change takes place in relation to other tainted issues, with a particular focus on the extent to which those involved in the issue are required to translate their message in order to influence change.

Narrative strategies

Following this, a further question could address the extent to which narratives facilitate change in the field. The present study has identified how actors deploy narratives to accumulate internal or external recognition. Further inquiry could draw on the work of McBeth *et al.* (2007) which combines 'policy change theory' and 'narrative policy analysis'. The former aligns with the theories of policy change discussed in Chapter Three, including the work of Kingdon (1984) and Jenkins-Smith and Sabatier (1993), which offer improvements to the 'staged model' of policy development. The latter shares much with IPA, also outlined in Chapter Three. In particular, McBeth *et al.* (2007) draw on Stone (1998), which explores how policy actors frame problems in order to push their preferred solutions.

An important question in this regard is, to what extent do actors in this field use the narratives identified strategically in order to contribute to policy change? Building on and extending the IPA approach deployed here, this question could utilise the frame analysis of Schön and Rein (1994) and the

'decentred governance' of Bevir and Rhodes (2006) in order to interrogate how narratives and framing construct a particular policy landscape. Focusing in particular on how secrecy is utilised as part of a narrative strategy could help illuminate the practice of actors, discussed in Chapter Seven, who attempt to accumulate both internal and external recognition.

Changing field dynamics

Building on the above brings up a further question: if and when actors in the field contribute to policymaking, to what extent is their contribution 'bottom-up', and to what extent is it shaped by powerful policy actors? The findings presented herein present opportunities for further inquiry in this regard.

First, it is worth recalling how some wardens felt they were being listened to by actors outside the field, although their message was not carried very far. It is also worth bearing in mind how working in the field makes actors tainted by association, and that actors engage in work to make their adherence to the illusio more acceptable to those outside the field. It is likely, therefore, that there are some field actors – including in policy – whose engagement is deliberately hidden from view, and others who accept the illusio in private but would not do so publicly.

Second, policy documents that do speak to the needs of the TG indicate that both the approaches to translation discussed above are utilised. For example, policy in this area presents work with the TG as a means of protecting children, and language which talks of the TG as deserving has focused on those who have not offended.

What this hints at is an iterative relationship between the practice of policy actors and that of those developing services. Being expected to uphold the narrative of public protection, very few policy actors can risk openly demonstrating adherence to the field doxa, although they may agree to its principles (see Loader, 2008). The closest evidence of this happening over the course of this study was the pronouncement by Chief Constable Simon

Bailey that people suspected of online offences should be diverted from the criminal justice system (see p. 142). Not only was Bailey the subject of considerable backlash, which he subsequently described as a 'low point… in my career as Chief Constable' (Bailey, 2019), but as an unelected policing actor he was in a relatively powerful position from which he could talk about the TG in humanising terms.



Figure 12: Translating the message of TG support

In their position within the State apparatus, then, and unable to express adherence to the doxa of TG support, policy actors look to those within the field to offer solutions to the problem of CSA – moments that appear to actors as 'policy windows' (Kingdon, 1984) – that they can then turn into policy. Although it appears that the actors whose offers do get turned into policy are those who most successfully translate the message of TG support, there is evidence that other field actors influence policymaking.

As illustrated in Figure 12, my findings indicate that this field might be contributing to gradual policy change. Figure 12 depicts the field as a semicircle, as with Figure 11, but includes 'covert' field members – those who take part but do not publicise their involvement – and those who accept the illusio but are not part of the field. Unlike Figure 11, this image represents the *discourses* that actors draw on, rather than their practice; although these are the same for many actors, for others, or in certain contexts, they conflict, as explored above.

The megaphones in Figure 12 indicate how 'far' the message of each set of actors can travel. That is, although actors in each position can be heard by those in adjacent field positions, the message cannot travel further without the message of child protection being raised a little more than that of TG support.

This has salience when considering the categories of actor explored in Chapter Seven. Thus wardens, who carried the message of TG support, were limited to working on a micro and meso-level but struggled to be heard beyond the field. Marketers, meanwhile, who focused on a more 'deserving' subset of the TG, were heard by actors who tend to be unwilling to publicise their engagement in the field. Multitaskers, who focused on the message of child protection, were heard on a macro level by those who do not necessarily accept the doxa of TG support.

In Chapter Three I discussed Lipsky's (1980) 'bottom-up' policymaking, and suggested that his theories do not account for how street-level bureaucrats

may contribute to the policymaking process. Literature which draws together Lipsky's work with Kingdon's (1984) work on 'policy entrepreneurs', also explored in Chapter Three, can be instructive here. This body of work suggests that those working in frontline settings can contribute to policy change by lobbying within organisations from a privileged position of knowledge in regards to the reality of policy implementation (Petchey *et al.*, 2008; Frisch-Aviram *et al.*, 2018; Lavee and Cohen, 2019; Frisch Aviram *et al.*, 2021).

The literature on street-level policy entrepreneurship tends to focus on actors who push for change within their organisations, or on a government policy level. Indeed, although the definition is contested, the label 'policy entrepreneur' often describes someone who is dynamic, savvy and proactive in attempting to get their issue on the agenda (Frisch-Aviram *et al.*, 2018). Nevertheless, there is scope for this body of work to help illuminate how entrepreneurship may happen through the everyday practice of actors in a field. In this study, actors appear to be creating change not necessarily through (seemingly unsuccessful) attempts to get their message into the public domain, but through indefatigably pursuing their 'dirty work' (Ashforth and Kreiner, 1999) and thus carving out a space that policy actors can then enter.

I return to the questions posed at the beginning of this section. Although the research offers a snapshot of the field under study, I have noted how policy and practice in this area is changing (see Chapters Two and Five). Whilst this appears to be in part led by those actors who deliver the message of child protection, the message of TG support from within the field is also creating change.

In order to understand the nature of this change, an important area of enquiry would be the practice and discourse of 'covert' field members and those who accept the illusio but are not part of the field. It may be that gathering empirical data on these potential groups of actors is destined to be unsuccessful, as they are by definition hidden from view, and may wish

to stay as such. Nevertheless, if it were possible to guarantee anonymity and safeguard the narrative that these actors are trying to protect by remaining covert, empirical study in this area could illuminate the extent to which policy change is influenced by actors further towards the centre of the field.

With or without the participation of field members who wish for their engagement in the field to remain covert, further research on the nature of the political engagement of other field actors could identify how and where street-level policy entrepreneurs contribute to 'bottom-up' policymaking. Building on the findings in this study, future research could categorise actors according to the three subject positions identified here and map how these actors contribute to change within and beyond the field.

Change on a wider scale?

A final question worth posing is how and to what extent macro-level dynamics can help explain policy changes taking place in this field? The 'zooming out' that addressing such a question would require could be done from both a policy and criminological perspective. Drawing on policy analysis, longitudinal studies would allow the actual process of policy change to be observed, rather than a snapshot as has been taken here. Sabatier (1995), for example, argued that policy change needs to be studied empirically for at least ten years before conclusions can be drawn.

Such a perspective could be valuable for two reasons. First, the landscape I have been studying has changed over the course of this research, but my chosen research methods do not lend for this to be incorporated into my findings. Second, I have identified a field in a state of heteronomy. Exploring whether the field manages to assert itself as autonomous, continues operating on shaky foundations, or disappears entirely could be instructive for developing a greater understanding of the issues explored here.

Putting theory to work

The above questions are pertinent, and pursuit of them would draw on and develop the findings presented herein. The posing of these questions, alongside the insights already explored in this chapter, has been made possible and intelligible because of my original drawing together of field theory and a practice approach to IPA. I highlighted at the start of this chapter my unique contributions to knowledge. Here, I consolidate this by noting two ways in which I have demonstrated these contributions to be valuable.

First, I have shown how policy change can be illuminated through a focus on practice. Drawing in on an area of intervention in the UK which operates in the context of a near absence of written government policy, I studied the practices which contribute to constructing this emerging landscape. This endeavour, moreover, was facilitated by a conceptualisation of practice which elevates the importance of the *meanings* that actors deploy in their engagement with the world. This allowed me to demonstrate how those actors in the field who adhere most ardently to its central tenet – that members of the TG are deserving of support – struggle to get their message heard beyond the boundaries of the field. This explains why overt local or national government policy commitments downplay this message, and field actors who modulate their own support of members of the TG are more successful at eliciting support from policy actors.

Second, conceptualising the area of interventions studied as a *field* (Bourdieu, 1985), has allowed me to make sense of the issues faced by actors working within its bounds. By merging my model of practice with Bourdieu's conceptual toolkit, I have been able to develop some of his central concepts in reference to my findings. Most significantly, my analysis allowed me to delineate the illusio (Bourdieu, 1998), which in turn made it possible for me to identify which of my participants could be considered field members. Similarly, by exploring the aims of participants and the way

they engage in practice in order to achieve their aims, I was able to distinguish between what I have termed 'internal recognition' and 'external recognition', and make sense of these in terms of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1989). Finally, I used the concepts of heteronomy (Bourdieu, 2000) and doxa (Bourdieu, 1987) to make sense of the conundrum faced by actors who wish to broadcast the message of TG support, noted above.

Taken together, this approach has allowed me to show how actors operating in this tainted field deploy narratives in their attempts to be heard by their chosen audience, and engage to a great or lesser extent in translation which threatens to draw them away from the central message, that members of the target group are deserving of support. It has allowed me to explore how this issue is experienced differently by actors in different field positions, and how actors respond to it in ways that reflect and entrench the positions that they occupy. As explored above, my findings have implications for the field under study, for those in other tainted fields, and for theory building.

Appendix A – Initial interview schedule

What are the barriers to and facilitators of intervention work with potential perpetrators of child sexual abuse?

Introduce myself, recap the purpose of the research and confirm that the interview is being recorded. Ask interviewee to explain their role (if they have more than one, ask them specifically, for example, 'I approached you because of your role as…; could you tell me what this involves?')
Prompt: are you involved in work relating to potential perpetrators of CSA?

Impact of dominant discourses

I have used the term 'potential perpetrators of CSA' OR you've used the term …; can you tell me what this means to you?
Look out for following terms and potentially prompt if not mentioned: paedophilia; mental illness or disorder; non-offending; help-seeking; sexual orientation; stigma

If not mentioned: what do you understand by the term 'child sexual abuse'? To what extent is CSA similar to or distinct from other forms of child abuse and neglect?

What do you think the general public understands by the above terms?
If not mentioned: probe as to who interviewee regards as 'the public'; potentially ask about different types of public (e.g. educated, religious, professional etc.)

To what extent do you think public attitudes towards CSA perpetration match up with the evidence?
If interviewee perceives a disjuncture: what is the impact of this disjuncture on preventing CSA?

If relevant: how would you suggest bridging the divide? Do you have examples of this in your work?

How should targets for pre-offender interventions for CSA perpetration be identified?

How do stakeholders perceive their own roles?

You mentioned above that you have done … in relation to supporting potential CSA perpetrators. I'd like to ask a few questions about this:

What is your ultimate aim in pursuing this work? *Ask something along the lines of 'what would success look like?'*

Who do you consider to be stakeholders of this kind of work?

What has been your role? What kind of day to day work has this involved?

Can you pinpoint what may prevent you from ultimately achieving (aims mentioned above)?

Is there work that needs to be done that you feel is out of your remit?
If relevant: apart from yourself, who or what department(s) in your organisation is responsible for CSA prevention? Do you collaborate?

How do stakeholders understand their work in context?

Outside your own organisation, can you tell me what you know about work taking place to support this group?
If relevant: do you work directly with any of these organisations? Do you know of organisations that are collaborating, but where you are not involved? What collaboration would you like to see in the field?

Do you believe there is a role for criminal justice/ the voluntary sector/ health [as appropriate, depending on interviewee and previous answers] in engaging potential CSA offenders?

Are there any specific government policies that you consider particularly relevant to this field? Do you feel like it facilitates or hinders innovation?
If not mentioned: what do you think about the focus on CSE? OR how helpful is the distinction between CSA and CSE?

What do you think about the emphasis on policies being based on evidence? Do you think this has an impact on policies that are written?

What has been the impact of political uncertainty in recent years? *If not mentioned, prompt in relation to Brexit.*

Does your organisation have a media strategy to manage public responses to these kinds of interventions? *Prompt: do you think having a media strategy is valuable? Do you consider it proactive or reactive?*

Competing priorities

Is it ever necessary to make difficult decisions in your work in relation to the issue at hand? How do you navigate this?
Prompt: offering support to potential offenders vs. victims; supporting potential offenders vs. protecting potential victims; privacy of potential offenders vs. protecting potential victims; time constraints; how to spend money, particularly if interviewee has oversight of funding for (pre)offender and *victim services.*

Do you feel like it is necessary to accept some level of risk of CSA perpetration in order to achieve the aims of your work?

Thinking back to the aims we discussed earlier, what has been the impact of austerity on your ability to work towards those aims?

Concluding questions

How do you see this field in 10 years' time? How would you like it to look? What would need to happen in order to achieve the latter?

Appendix B – Revised interview schedule

What are the barriers to and facilitators of intervention work with potential perpetrators of child sexual abuse?

Introduce myself, recap the purpose of the research and confirm that the interview is being recorded. Mention the written exercise.

As you know, I approached you because of your work with…; could you tell me a little about what work you've done in relation to potential perpetrators of child sexual abuse?

What is your ultimate aim in pursuing this work? What would success look like?

Written exercise

I'm going to write your aim on this sheet of paper and ask you to use the paper to write down some of what we are saying. I'll put a circle around the aim, and divide the paper across the middle. The top half represents anything that helps you achieve your aim, and the bottom half represents any barriers. Inside the circle I'd like you to put things you can control, and outside, things that you cannot control.

First, can you tell me who you rely on to achieve your aims? *Prompt: specific individuals, organisations, people you don't know.*

And what can you personally do to achieve the aims?

What may prevent you from achieving your aims?

Is there work that needs to be done that you feel is out of your remit?

Interview to the double

I'd like to move on, but I'll leave the paper here for the rest of the interview so if you think of anything you'd like to write down you're welcome to do so.

The technique I'd like to try is called interview-to-the-double, to explore the day-to-day work that your role involves. For this, you would imagine that you are going to be replaced by a double, and you need to brief this double about how to act, what to do etc. in order that nobody notices that it isn't you. Are you happy to try this?

If yes: can you think about something coming up that relates to the aim you just mentioned? OK, now imagine I'm going to be the double, and talk me through what I need to do to make sure I pass as you, and people don't get suspicious.

Concluding questions

Is it ever necessary to make difficult decisions in your work in relation to the issue at hand? How do you navigate this?

How do you see this field in 10 years' time? How would you like it to look? What would need to happen in order to achieve the latter?

Is there anybody else I should be speaking to?

Prompts

Impact of dominant discourses

I have used the term 'potential perpetrators of CSA' OR you've used the term …; can you tell me what this means to you?

What do you think the general public understands by the above terms?

To what extent do you think public attitudes towards CSA perpetration match up with the evidence?

How should targets for pre-offender interventions for CSA perpetration be identified?

How do stakeholders understand their work in context?

Can you tell me what you know about work taking place to support this group?

Are there any specific government policies that you would add to this sheet?

What do you think about the emphasis on policies being based on evidence? Do you think this has an impact on policies that are written?

What has been the impact of political uncertainty in recent years? If not mentioned, prompt in relation to Brexit.

Does your organisation have a media strategy to manage public responses to these kinds of interventions? Prompt: do you think having a media strategy is valuable? Do you consider it proactive or reactive?

Competing priorities

Thinking back to the aims we discussed earlier, what has been the impact of austerity on your ability to work towards those aims?

Appendix C – Participant consent form

School of Sociology and Social Policy
Participant Consent Form

Name of Study: Exploring innovation in interventions for potential perpetrators of child sexual abuse

Name of Researcher(s): Zoë Robinson

Name of Participant:

By signing this form I confirm that (please initial the appropriate boxes)**:**	**Initials**
I have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet, or it has been read to me. I have been able to ask questions about the study and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction.	
I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study and understand that I can refuse to answer questions, and that I can withdraw from the study at any time until formal analysis has begun, without having to give a reason.	
Taking part in this study involves an interview that will be recorded using audio and written notes. Audio recordings will be transcribed as text, and the transcriptions anonymised.	
Personal information collected about me that can identify me, such as my name or where I live, will not be shared beyond the study team.	
My words can be quoted in publications, reports, web pages and other research outputs.	
I give permission for the de-identified (anonymised) data that I provide to be used for future research and learning.	
I am aware that due to my role and the nature of the research, although the lead researcher will make every effort to anonymise data, it may be possible to identify me through quotes or references in spite of this.	

I agree to take part in the study

_____ _____ _____
Name of Participant Signature Date

_____ _____ _____
Researcher's name Signature Date

2 copies: 1 for the participant, 1 for the project file

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