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INTRODUCTION

This book is the result of a collaboration and many conversations via Skype between a Professor of Drama (Daniel Meyer-Dinkgräfe) and a Social Scientist (Amanda M. Young-Hauser) who live and work at opposite ends of the globe. Daniel Meyer-Dinkgräfe proposed the project: to discuss child sexual abuse and paedophilia from different vantage points he was looking for a psychologist with a research interest in this topic. Following the introduction through a mutual colleague and friend a series of conversations began on the topic of child sexual abuse by male perpetrators. In broad and general terms, we began to exchange stories of publicly known cases from our respective countries, the United Kingdom and New Zealand. Some infamous cases, mainly from the UK, also received international attention and were reported in New Zealand. At that time Dame Lowell Goddard, a New Zealand High Court Judge was appointed head of the Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse, a review established by the then British Home Secretary Theresa May to examine institutional management of their duty of care to protect children from sexual abuse. Our discussions then focused on a selection of theatre plays written in English that have child sexual abuse as their central theme. It might appear obvious that the selected plays were written in the English language but coincidentally we both originate from Germanic-speaking Europe. Our respective German and Swiss backgrounds allowed us to further draw, compare and expand our understanding of public discourses on child sexual abuse and their representations. Reading two or three plays at a time, we connected via Skype, evening in New Zealand and morning in the UK or vice versa to discuss and establish common ground of concepts, terminology and consensus or debates and to determine areas where these are influenced by other disciplines such as law, psychiatry, education, social work or media (journalism).

Child sexual abuse (CSA) is a serious crime that continues to be of great concern and is considered a public health issue (Hornor, 2002; Långström, Babchishin, Fazel, Lichtenstein, & Frisell, 2015). Child sexual abuse is not confined to particular socioeconomic strata. Reports about and discussion of paedophilia (also spelt "pedophilia") take place in the context of the sexual abuse of children. CSA has many private and public faces, ranging from reported and unreported abuse to big public scandals

such as the Rotherham and Rochdale child sexual abuse ring (Tufail, 2015) and, with the advent of the internet and the Darknet now include more easily available and accessible child sexual exploitation material. In the 1980s and 1990s child sexual abuse entered public consciousness and the concept of child sexual abuse began to take shape in academic literature (Taylor & Quayle, 2003) with the Cleveland and Orkney cases in the United Kingdom (Hood, 2001; Kitzinger, 2004; Nava, 1988) and the McMartin case in Manhattan Beach, California (Hood, 2001; Kitzinger, 2000, 2004) triggering a hysteria, and moral panics swept the western world. There are many instances of historical cases, for example institutional sexual abuse of children, to famous entertainers, public figures, politicians and clergy who abused children. Present-day CSA cases makes the headlines across the entire range of media as CSA continues to shock, repulse and attract attention with no apparent audience saturation. For example, on August 10, 2017, the UK Independent ran five stories involving children and sex:

> Child rapist paid £ 10,000 in operation to smash abuse ring; Pregnant rape victim, 10, 'told baby bump is a stone in her stomach'; Married mother-of-two sentenced for sex with teenage boys; Grooming gangs 'not unique' to Newcastle, council leader warns; Female teacher had sex with schoolgirl in car 'and bragged to friends.

An online library search (August 2017) using the term 'child sexual abuse' revealed 87,231 news articles published between 2000 and 2017, the keywords 'child sex offender' yielded 28,687 articles and 'p(a)edophile' 103,870 for the same period.

The terms child sex offender and paedophile are often used indiscriminately in media reports and academic literature. As is often the case with issues at the focus of media attention, concepts and related terminology tend to become at best vague, opinions and expert knowledge fuse, especially if expert opinions are far from unanimous, and there is much by way of sheer sensationalism. This leads to an array of (mis-) understandings of what is meant by child sexual abuse. Altogether, a hazy cloud of facts, fiction and speculation has been created around paedophilia and its relation to CSA. The people who are identified as paedophiles are therefore assumed to be child sex offenders (CSOs) at the same time, but not all paedophiles act out on their sexual urges. Improved understanding is of immense importance in view of the number of new cases emerging, with growing concern about the estimated numbers of unreported cases or indeed cases reported but systematically ignored by the authorities—allegedly, and confirmed by publicly available reports, such as Operation

Yewtree (investigation into Jimmy Savile) or Operation Fairbank (involving the Elm Guest House).

Child sexual abuse is mostly condemned but there have also been calls for its decriminalisation. In 2001, documents of petitions surfaced calling for a decriminalisation of paedophilia: "French law recognises in 12- and 13-year-olds a capacity for discernment that it can judge and punish," said a second petition signed by Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone De Beauvoir, along with fellow intellectuals Michel Foucault, Roland Barthes, Jacques Derrida; a leading child psychologist, Françoise Dolto, and writers Philippe Sollers, Alain Robbe-Grillet and Louis Aragon. "But it rejects such a capacity when the child's emotional and sexual life is concerned. It should acknowledge the right of children and adolescents to have relations with whomever they choose" (Henley, 2001).

In recent times, CSA has been covered across television drama, films, media (Powell & Scanlon, 2015) and theatre to reach a wide audience. The documentary film (for example, Louis Theroux's *A place for paedophiles*), which tends to be the most well-known format for longer engagements with the issues of CSA and paedophilia, can be limited by the direct or indirect film-maker's voice and position in relation to the topic. Such films employ interview and commentary, often retrospectively discussing CSA. A rare exception was the documentary *The paedophile next door* (UK Channel 4), with "virtuous paedophile" (non-offending) Eddie disclosing his attraction to young girls and expressing his hope for opportunities to receive preventative treatment for people like him. In comparison, drama and theatre allow the spectator to see characters on stage who represent the different categories of people involved with CSA and paedophilia in real life, but from the safe distance of the auditorium—including the victim, the perpetrator, family members, police and other representatives of the legal and health systems. The intensity of human experience in the theatre is not available in other media. Theatre thus allows the exploration of a wider context of paedophilia and CSA, thus doing more justice to the highly complex nature of paedophilia and CSA. A collection of reviews of the plays will further enhance interpretations of who the perpetrators might be, their intentions and 'true' nature of the relationship with the victims.

In this book we bring together academic knowledge from drama and psychology to consider, analyse and discuss fifteen manuscripts of plays written in the English language by thirteen English and two American writers. Unsurprising is the human misery represented in all plays and involving the victim and the offender, but striking are the dilemmas, complex and often difficult relationships between the protagonists. And with this we mean the victim's and perpetrator's immediate and wider

family and network, as neither victim nor perpetrator live in isolation: both are members of a kinship group and community. These relational and human aspects are less often revealed and discussed in public discourses or scholarly literature on child sex offending. The contextuality of the plays allows for deeper understanding of the interplay between the victim and the offender, who often belong to the same or extended family. The plays conceptualise people in context, revealing their interactions, relationships, struggles and emotions, which are, akin to real life, often messy. Every aspect of child sex offending is grim, chaotic and confusing; the crime (abuse) is often invisible without physical signs, making its detection challenging. In the past, for example, a damaged hymen was considered a clear indication of abuse (although not all acts of child sex abuse involve vaginal penetration). Considered a sign of virginity, the hymen varies in shape and form and thus it is difficult to assess its integrity (Hegazy & Al-Rukban, 2012). Recent research further shows that tears of the hymen may heal again (Adams, 2008). The ensuing mental pains remain hidden, and the consequences of child sex offending for all involved cannot be anticipated and comprehended beforehand (Young-Hauser, Hodgetts & Coleborne, 2014). Real clarity of what the abuse entailed, what happened or did not happen potentially remains elusive, leading to the examination of an uncomfortable liminal zone of uncertainty and not knowing, impeding an Anglo-American propensity for binary oppositions (Fischer, 2007) of good and bad, innocent and stained, 'them' (the child sex offender) and 'us'. Such dichotomous views become useful tools of social distancing (Simmel, 1950) to keep ambiguity at bay and to single out the child sex offender (CSO) as the other and a monster inculcating fear and loathing. Our preference is to use "men who sexually abuse(d) children" to indicate that the abuse is one aspect only of who the abuser is. However, due to the cumbersome wording we opt to use CSO. The contaminated out-group then is considered as having distinct internal traits that differ from the rest of the public (Janus, 2009).

The book seeks to achieve an enhanced level of understanding by analysing the nature of paedophilia and its relation to child sexual abuse (CSA) as they have been depicted and dealt with in drama and theatre. Theatre performance as a reflection of one's sense of selfhood and as a medium of personal, intimate and up-close communication between actors and audience adds human dimensions to what is otherwise often a factual, clinical and intentionally sober and distant affair void of emotional components and context. Drawing on the plays, critical reviews in newspapers, and academic work on the plays allows us to illustrate the ambiguity of paedophilia, child sexual abuse and relationships involving,

at least allegedly, love, care and fondness, and to ask questions that are neither often uttered nor easily answered. The interpretations offered by the reviewers of the plays' productions encourage reflection on the intrinsic and complex meanings of relationships that are interpreted and re-interpreted with the passage of time, making the identification of child sexual abuse at times immensely challenging.

In this book, our rationale thus is to explore and analyse how theatre, through the intense human experience it facilitates for its audiences, addresses CSA and paedophilia. We consider the plays as blueprints for production in the theatre and assume that readers and spectators of these plays who are not theatre studies academics will tend to see the characters in the plays not first and foremost as representations of a dramatists' strategies, but representations of real people and possible life scenarios. In the book we discuss how precisely the plays achieve this and how they provide realistic accounts of CSA.

We begin with an initial consideration of the terminology currently used in relation to paedophiles and CSA, and summarise the literature in the social sciences, specially (forensic and clinical) psychology, and health sciences, about paedophilia and CSA. This material provides up to date information about research into the topic that informs general knowledge, media representation, and policies.

In the second chapter, we focus on the way CSA and paedophilia are dealt with in fifteen plays written and performed between 1986 and 2016. Newspaper reviews and academic considerations of the plays add to the perspective. In the course of the chapter, enhanced by our brief plot summaries of a further thirteen plays, we identify in and through the plays, a wide range of issues to do with paedophilia and CSA. Readers and spectators are being presented, through the plays, with nuances of paedophilia and CSA that may not be included in or be part of the contents of many other media when dealing with this topic. Those nuances are essential in further understanding paedophilia and CSA. That enhanced understanding is essential to further improve victim support, support of victims' and offenders' families, and prevention of offending and reoffending. The plays ensure that readers and spectators not only notice, realize, and intellectually understand those nuances relating to paedophilia and CSA. By making the characters of the plays come across as real people, they ensure that readers and spectators engage with paedophilia and CSA in more holistic ways that are not limited to intellectual, factual understanding or sensationalism.

In the third chapter, we discuss issues raised in the academic psychology research and in the plays. We support our arguments with

reference to those contexts, and lay claim to objectivity in that way. However, we explicitly go beyond distanced objectivity, at least at times, to reflect the intensity of our engagement with the topic, and to do justice to the emotional dimension of the material—it must not be denied its due place. For the discussion, we start off with thoughts on the victim and moving on to the offender, friends and families of victim and offender, and the context of therapy.

We start our discussion of the depiction of paedophilia / CSA in drama and theatre with reference to the victim. Terms used in the literature to describe the victim include survivor, victim of sex abuse, child sex offender victim, or "parentified child" in intrafamilial abuse (Rowan, 2006). We refer to the sufferer of child sexual abuse either as "victim" or "survivor". Although a contested term because it positions people, the word "victim" might be pertinent as it reveals something about the offender. With its roots also in Latin, the victim is the sacrifice for an offender's illegal sexual gratification. This wide field of terms, with all its potential usefulness in terms of classification, enhanced understanding, and its potential for confusion, should be born in mind when, in the rest of the book, we use the terms "paedophile/CSO" and "victim" or "survivor", and CSA, predominantly with reference to fifteen plays.

The subjects of offence, the children or minors, are typically referred to as abuse victims or abuse survivors. As with the various terms that refer to the perpetrators, the offences, too, range from non-contact to contact and include child sexual exploitation material. It is rare that the exact form of the abuse is disclosed but Silverman and Wilson remind us that the label 'paedophilia' covers a wide and diverse range of issues and behaviours (Silverman and Wilson, 2002, 32).

There is at least a perception that paedophiles / CSOs gain more media attention and more attention from the support services and the legal systems than victims. Jülich and her colleagues (2013) suggest that survivors often bear the costs (financial and otherwise) of sexual violence. Costs incurred by the state or by charities for victim support may thus be less than costs to keep a CSO in prison. The average cost per year of a prison place in England and Wales is £ 37,648 (Prison Reform Trust 2013) and NZ$ 90,977 in New Zealand (Clayworth, 2014). By definition of CSA, the victims are children, and are thus likely to be even less able than adults to express in words the abuse they suffered, and in many cases will not want to reveal details even more publicly than in court. Here the analyses of the plays about paedophilia and CSA reveal how victims are presented, and how we learn about their experiences and what those experiences may have been like—the long-lasting, seemingly never-

ending impact of the abuse on the victim, and the often-ignored dimension of the victims blaming themselves for the abuse they suffered.

From victims the discussion moves on to explore the paedophile / CSO characters in the selected plays in relation to research insights. Here the discussion focuses on their motivations, the path that led them to the abuse, which can involve the internet and child sexual exploitation material, the potential that former CSA victims become CSOs themselves, the relation of substance or alcohol abuse in relation to CSA, being "found out" and put through the legal system, and finally life after release from prison. In this section we will clarify further the need to distinguish, in the plays and in real life, whether the paedophile becomes a CSO, and, equally important, whether the CSO is a paedophile. With that distinction in mind, we use "paedophile / CSO" where appropriate to indicate the unhelpful blurring of boundaries and the need to differentiate.

The third section deals with the impact of CSA on the families of the victims and the CSOs. People react with a wide range of responses to the disclosure that a family member has been a victim or is accused of CSA. Many people simply do not know how to interact with a victim or a CSO. That reaction and interactions might change in the course of time. Some of the reviewed plays raise the possibility of forgiveness.

The fourth section concerns ways in which current societies deal with the CSOs who have offended, and paedophiles who have not (yet?) offended. This section is thus concerned with the ways in which the plays consider paedophilia / CSA as a mental illness, and how the contexts of therapy are considered by the therapists and the CSOs.

Before we start, we want to clarify our own position as writers in relation to our topic. We do not condone any form of child sexual abuse (CSA). We do not endorse, support, or encourage those who want to make us believe that CSA is in any way acceptable. We feel that this statement is needed because of the feedback we have had over the years of working on this book from people to whom we mentioned the topic of our work. Our book has the sole purpose of enhancing knowledge of a highly complex issue. Through the book, and the enhanced knowledge it provides, we hope to be able to open up a space for frank conversations, to contribute to the development of better support for victims/survivors of CSA, and their friends and relatives, the development of better approaches to prevent reoffending, and the development of better approaches to stop potential offenders becoming offenders. This intention is not an expression of hubris, we do not expect to change the world with this book.

Through the book, we seek to enhance knowledge and understanding about paedophilia and CSA. As Clancy (2009) suggests, there is ample

information available on this topic, which is, however, mostly framed as involving trauma (violent CSA) not applying to the majority of victims thus excluding and disallowing their experiences. The plays we have selected and discuss enhance the more pervasive discourse. If a reader can place their own experience as a child with an adult in the context of CSA and is therefore able to make sense of what happened in that past and is thus able to set in motion a healing process, then our book has served its purpose. If a reader recognises his or her inappropriate attraction to and interest in having sex with children and seeks support before becoming an offender and committing CSA, this book has served its purpose. If, through reading this book, brothers, sisters, parents, other family members and friends of either a victim or an offender find ways of coping better with being close to victim or offender, then this book has served its purpose. If those working with victims or offenders professionally (police, ambulance, social services, psychological support) feel supported by the insights they gain from reading this book, then this book has served its purpose. All these may be small steps, small instances, but the issues, as the book will demonstrate, are such that the smallest step, the smallest instance of enhanced understanding, enhanced knowledge, and, on that basis, enhanced ability to cope, is essential and important and can contribute to an individual's wellbeing.

CHAPTER ONE

TERMINOLOGY AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH ON PAEDOPHILES AND CHILD SEX OFFENDERS IN RELATION TO THEATRE AND PLAYS

Over four decades of research on child sexual abuse has produced a large pool of data and a range of assessment tools, intervention strategies, clinical treatment procedures and theoretical frameworks but child sexual abuse stubbornly persists, compromising the wellbeing of many children (Collin-Vézina, Daigneault & Hébert, 2013) and their families. In this chapter we take up topics most relevant to the theatre plays we discuss and begin with a general reflection on methodological issues. We ask the question what child sexual abuse is and then focus on the term "paedophile" and examine the traditional classification and diagnostic tools. No longer are exclusively men considered to be perpetrators of child sexual abuse. We take a brief look at the female child sex offender, consider possible motivations of this crime and what life post-imprisonment involves. Finally, we refer to global computer networks that have opened new and unexpected avenues to sexually exploit children.

For many reasons, undertaking research on child sexual abuse is challenging and often associated with dilemmas (for example, how to gain access to CSOs or victims) and ethical constraints (for example, interviewing young children, or new abuse disclosure). Data, frequently gathered retrospectively, is collected from various sources or a combination thereof (children, perpetrators, police and / or other records). Men who sexually abuse(d) but have never been apprehended (undetected offenders) are excluded from this data. To sidestep this issue, a group of academics in collaboration with minor-attracted persons (MAP) created an online platform and research gateway (B4U-ACT) to support online research carried out anonymously, representing more accurately MAP population, to provide peer support, and to educate and promote best practice for professionals working with MAP. Data gathered by the police as a consequence of an arrest usually underestimates the rate of abuse, in other words an offender does not voluntarily disclose the names of all of

his victims, in particular not those who have not pressed charges. The accuracy of events and circumstances can be compromised in retrospectively collected data. Furthermore, the framing and understanding of research questions can be contentious because sexual abuse consists of a "bewildering variety of behaviours" (West, 2000, 399) clashing with commonly held assumptions that it is obvious knowledge what constitutes child sexual abuse (we will elaborate on this aspect later in the chapter). This is exemplified in the question: "Before the age of 15, do you remember if anyone ever touched you sexually, or made you do something sexual that you didn't want to do?" (Fanslow, Robinson, Crengle & Perese, 2007, 938). This ambiguous and double-barrelled question assumes mutually shared and taken-for-granted understandings about the meaning of "touched sexually" and "do something sexual". Such assumptions of shared understandings are also found in news media reports and are also illustrated in Marty Fugate's and Lloyd Evans' critique (see Chapter Two) of the play *How I Learned to Drive* (Vogel, 1998) and their liberal interpretations of acts of child sexual abuse. Lastly, the discipline of psychology that produces much research on and knowledge about child sexual abuse does not comprise of one unified psychology but consists of many different branches (the American Psychological Association (APA) lists 54 divisions, described as interest groups and subdisciplines) with each taking different stances, and ontological and epistemological approaches to research.

The meaning of the Greek word *paedophilia* denotes love of children, but this has been corrupted and is now commonly associated with sexual abuse of children (Peakman, 2013). The modern-day interpretation of the term *paedophilia* is attributed to the psychiatrist Krafft-Ebing (Peakman, 2013). Drawing on four case studies, Krafft-Ebing considered paedophilia to be "a morbid disposition, *a psycho-sexual perversion*" (Peakman, 2013, 371) and suggested "a hereditary defect" and "degenerate predisposition" (Peakman, 2013, 373), contributing to the perverted sexual propensity. In Victorian times, which fostered a cult of little girls (for example, Lewis Carroll, the author of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, was sketching and photographing mostly little girls) segregation in the form of institutionalisation was often the response to paedophilic behaviour. New standards of state control over individuals' sex lives and, to regulate procreation, eugenics became an emerging trend across western nations (Tulloch, 1997).

The use of the terms *paedophilia*, *paedophile, child sexual abuse* and *child sexual abuser* is somewhat imprecise in regard to the plays we discuss because from the plays it is mostly unclear whether the perpetrator

is considered a paedophile or not. This terminological ambiguity is also reflected in the media, and at times the academic literature also fails to discriminate. Some of the terms used in academic literature are: men with paedophilic interests, men who sexually abuse(d) children, perpetrator, perpetrator of childhood sexual abuse (Barringer, 1992), abuser, offender, sexual abuser, child sex offender, man diagnosed with paedophilia (referring to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM)), sexual offender with child victims, pedophilic sexual offender (Seto, 2012), minor-attracted individual (Goode, 2010), men and women with paedophilic disorder (Briken, Fedoroff and Bradford, 2014), child molester (Durkin and Bryant, 1999), clergy sexual abuse (Doyle, 2006), and youth with problematic sexual behaviour (Gavin, 2005). From this we glean that the field of child sexual abuse is far from unified in its conceptualisation and is reflective of the heterogeneous group of individuals who abuse (Robertielleo and Terry, 2007). Referring to popular media and public perceptions, more descriptive and emotive language such as *dirty old man*, *beast*, *monster*, *fiend*, *animal* or *brute* (Gavin, 2005) is used.

To offer some clarity we draw on the two classification and diagnostic tools—the International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems (ICD) and the Diagnostic and Statistical manual of Mental Disorders (DSM)—which are considered universal authorities to illustrate how paedophilia can be classified. Professionals such as clinical psychologists and psychiatrists draw on these two manuals to diagnose, treat and assess risks in clinical and forensic settings (paedophilia is not a criminal term). The 2016 version of the ICD, 10th Revision (ICD-10 Version: 2016), released by the World Health Organisation, classifies paedophilia as one of the "mental and behavioural disorders" and lists it as a "disorder of adult personality and behaviour" under the heading "disorders of sexual preference". Paedophilia is defined as "A sexual preference for children, boys or girls or both, usually of prepubertal or early pubertal age" (ICD-10, 2016). The DSM was being developed during and after World War II to assess and treat psychiatric disorders, and, as the ICD, is sporadically revised. In the latest version of the DSM, the DSM-5, the label of the disorder previously known as paedophilia has been changed to paedophilic disorder, which is considered a paraphilic disorder. Paraphilia is described as "any intense and persistent sexual interest other than sexual interest in genital stimulation or preparatory fondling with phenotypically normal, physically mature, consenting human partners" (DSM-5, 685). Three criteria determine the diagnosis of paedophilic disorder. These are:

> A. Over a period of at least 6 months, recurrent, intense sexually arousing fantasies, sexual urges, or behaviors involving sexual activity with a prepubescent child or children (generally age 13 years or younger).
> B. The individual has acted on these sexual urges, or the sexual urges or fantasies cause marked distress or interpersonal difficulty.
> C. The individual is at least age 16 years and at least 5 years older than the child or children in Criterion A. (DMS-5, 691)

The DSM-5 and ICD-10 require that the affected person's sexual urges and fantasies cause marked distress, interpersonal difficulty or have been acted upon (Mohnke et al., 2014). Sexual abuse is described as

> activities such as fondling a child's genitals, penetration, incest, rape, sodomy, and indecent exposure. Sexual abuse also includes noncontact exploitation of a child by a parent or caregiver—for example, forcing, tricking, enticing, threatening, or pressuring a child to participate in acts for the sexual gratification of others, without direct physical contact between child and abuser. (DSM-5, 718)

Based on a biomedical model (Thomason, 2014) the DSM is the most widely used assessment tool but is not without its criticisms. Some of these pertain to its subjectivity (diagnoses often rely on self-reporting of symptoms), not being scientific enough, pathologizing and stigmatising people with its powerful, invasive labels (Thomason, 2014), and the addition or removal of diagnoses can follow social pressure--for example, homosexuality was considered a mental disorder until its removal from the DSM in 1973 (Drescher, 2015); Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) has first been included as hyperkinetic impulse disorder in 1968 (Epstein and Loren, 2013) which contradicts its supposed scientific approach (Thomason, 2014).

The paedophilic male or female adult thus defined has a sexual preference for male or female non-adults. The term *adult* is defined, in this context, as a person who has reached the legal age of majority, which varies but for many countries across the world is eighteen onwards. A non-adult is defined as a person who has not yet reached the age of majority. In the legal context, the age of sexual consent can be lower than the age of majority; however, persons who hold a *position of trust* in relation to a person who has not yet reached the age of majority must not engage in sexual activity with that minor even if the minor has reached the age of sexual consent. The Sexual Offences Act lists "parents, step-parents, guardians, lawyers, teachers, clergy or doctors" (UK Sexual Offences Act 2003, section 21) as examples for people in positions of trust.

In the past, research on child sex offenders has been directed toward men. Offences committed by juveniles have been minimized or dismissed because these acts were considered sexual experimentation driven by curiosity and thus seen as self-limiting with maturity (Keogh, 2012, 3). It is only in more recent times that juvenile and female offenders have received more research attention, necessitating tailoring assessment, treatment, consequences and risk of recidivism.

Not every paedophile is a sex offender, in other words: a paedophile may not act on his predisposition and commit a sexual offense and not every child sex offender is a paedophile (Seto, 2008). It is suggested that paedophiles are attracted to different age groups, with labels being derived from Greek roots, and these correspond to Tanner stages (a scale that defines children's physical development): nepiophilia (infants to the age of 2; Tanner stage 1); paedophilia (prepubescent children ages 3 to 10; Tanner stage 1); hebephilia (pubescent children, ages 11 to 14, Tanner 2-3); ephebophilia (adolescent minors, 15 to 17 years old, Tanner stage 4) (Seto, 2016).

In contrast to a paedophile, a child molester is loosely defined as any individual who touches a child four or five years younger to obtain sexual gratification. To exclude developmentally normal childhood sex play (for example, two eight-year-olds playing doctor and patient), an age qualifier is added (Hall and Hall, 2007, 458), although this has been found unhelpful in a study on sibling abuse (Carlson, Maciol and Schneider, 2006).

There is a range of paedophilic activities, and they are considered in different ways by the law. Private fantasies are not illegal and writing or reading paedophilic fiction (or fiction that attracts paedophilic attention) is not illegal either. Lolita, Vladimir Nabokov's novel and the film with the same title are probably the best-known example. If and when the paedophilic acts in relation to his or her sexual preference, if and when the paedophile grooms to seek to engage in sexual activity with a minor or does engage in such sexual activity, they become, if convicted in court, a child sex offender in the legal sense. Prior to conviction, the legal system will not yet categorise them as offender, but as accused of CSA. The legal system does not capture a person who sexually abuses a child but is not convicted because s/he has not been accused. In strictly legal terms, such a person cannot be called an offender, or even a person accused on SA. Such a person is an offender, nevertheless, on moral grounds. Not being caught or apprehended may have further negative consequences for the victim.

In this section we turn to research in the fields of forensic psychology and psychiatry to seek some understanding of who paedophiles / CSOs

might be and what might drive them to commit crimes that are considered to be the most heinous ones. Child sexual abuse is complex and expert opinions often diverge in many aspects of paedophilia / CSA (aetiology, definition, assessment, prevalence, research methods, treatment and its efficacy, risk, recidivism, community reintegration and prevention). There is, however, agreement that men (and women) who sexually abuse children are not a homogenous group. This is reflected pertinently in the plays we present. The ultimate taboo and betrayal, and once considered a crime exclusively committed by men, recognition that women also sexually abuse children has been slow, and research on female child sexual abuse (FCSA) is still in its infancy. Gender roles remain ingrained. It seems counterintuitive to conceive that women sexually abuse children because nurturing and caring roles associated with women contradict abusive and harmful behaviour. Similar to male child sex offenders, female child sex offenders are often known to their victims or work with children. Female offenders are likely to co-perpetrate with a male offender, have experienced abuse as a child or adult at the hands of a man, and struggle with appropriate intimate relationships (Gannon and Rose, 2008).

Other than relying on self-reporting, phallometric measure or plethysmography (penile pulse volume recording) while viewing erotic pictures involving children is a common assessment to detect or confirm paedophilia (Babchishin, Nunes and Hermann, 2013; Capra, Forresi and Caffo, 2014). Self-report questionnaires to measure sexual interest in children have also been developed, or an implicit association test is used to assess cognitive associations whereby reaction times are compared to pairing concepts such as, for example, adult / child and sexy / not sexy (Babchishin et al., 2013, 488).

A diagnosis of paedophilia does not explain the cause of the disorder. Some experts suggest that being a victim of child sexual abuse increases the likelihood of turning into a predator (Jespersen, Lalumière and Seto, 2009). The data on the paedophilic offender population have been interpreted in terms of possible psychological profiles of paedophiles, with the question of whether they choose to be a paedophile, or whether they are born that way, with some men managing to refrain from putting their desires into action, while some are unable to do so. The aetiology of paedophilia remains uncertain (Långström, Babchishin, Fazal, Lichtenstein, and Frisell, 2015). Theoretical models to explain paraphilia (paedophilia is considered a paraphelic disorder) are divided into pathological and normality-theory approaches. The dominant pathological paradigm assumes that paraphilia is symptomatic of a disorder while the normality-theory

considers paraphilia to be a normal sexual variation (Gijs, 2008). Also, neuropsychiatric differences are proposed to explain paedophilia (this topic is taken up in the play *Frozen*) with reported differences to include: lower intelligence (this is particularly controversial); a slight increase in the prominence of left-handed individuals; impaired cognitive abilities; neuroendocrine differences; brain abnormalities (particularly fronto-cortical irregularities) with a comorbidity of impulse control disorders noted (Hall and Hall, 2007). A question to ask is whether these suggested changes noted in paedophiles are related to problems of brain development and maturation or represent brain changes that have resulted from life experiences, such as being physically abused and sexually victimized themselves as children. Also suggested are neurochemical differences (specifically serotonin function and metabolism) and greater frequency of physical symptoms (for example, dizziness, restlessness, change in appetite, lack of change in core body temperature) in paedophiles, as well as environmental factors that may predispose individuals to become paedophiles. Långström and colleagues (2015) examined family aggregation in an effort to link genetic and environmental factors to sexual crimes. From these possible explanations we glean that the cause(s) of paedophilia remains unexplained. Paedophilia as a sexual orientation thus needs to be considered even if this is an uncomfortable thought (Seto, 2012). As outlined earlier, it is suggested that paedophiles target a specific age group and they are either interested in boys or girls of a certain age. Once the victim has reached this milestone the relationship is usually terminated, and the next, younger child is targeted. A paedophile discontinues his engagement with a young person as that person loses their appeal once he/she reaches a certain age and progresses with physical development.

For child sexual abuse to take place, Finkelhor (1999) describes four precursors: the offender's motivation (usually sexual arousal to a child); conquering internal inhibitions (fear, doubts, moral considerations); conquering external inhibitions (gaining access to a child); and conquering a child's resistance. Paedophilic activities often start with grooming a child. Grooming tactics are complex and little is understood about this phenomenon with no agreed-upon definition, particularly because some definitions include the term 'paedophile', which, as we pointed out, is a specific clinical diagnosis not applicable to all men who sexually offend (Craven, Brown and Gilchrist, 2006). The aim of grooming, however, is clear: to gain access to and compliance from a child, and to maintain secrecy. Grooming interactions comprise a range of repertoires including violence (threat and force), and can be opportunistic, usually one-off on a stranger (Craven, Brown and Gilchrist, 2006).

Where the actions of the paedophile / CSO become known, family members and friends are suddenly confronted with completely unexpected and abhorrent information about a person whom they thought they knew and, for many, life implodes (Young-Hauser, 2010; Young-Hauser, Hodgetts, Coleborne, 2014). The Rape, Abuse & Incest National Network (RAINN) suggests that "Many adults tend to overlook, to minimise, to explain away, or to disbelieve allegations of abuse. This may be particularly true if the perpetrator is a family member". Who does one turn to or how does one address suspected child sexual abuse? While in recent times agencies such as Stop it Now, Darkness to Light, Projekt Dunkelfeld, or The Lucy Faithfull Foundation (UK) offer helplines, the consequences of disclosure of child sexual abuse are unimaginable for all concerned: families are often torn apart, the perpetrator is jailed or forced to leave the family home if children are living at the same place.

Following a prison sentence, the complexities and challenges do not abate. Finding suitable accommodation (CSOs are not allowed to settle in the vicinity of victims, parks, schools, kindergartens, day-care centres) is difficult and social support and employment are key factors in the re-integrative processes and to prevent reoffending. Especially while a CSO is on community probation, the status as a CSO needs to be revealed to any future employer and work with children or near children is prohibited. Although some employers are lenient and believe in giving a second chance, released offenders often return to a changed work environment following prolonged jailed terms and often have to contend with menial and inferior employment compared to prior to imprisonment.

Depending on a country's policy, length of imprisonment, seriousness of CSA and frequency of abuse, treatment and intervention may be offered during incarceration as part of an offender's habilitation and with the view to prevent recidivism. Treatment modalities differ and include cognitive behavioural treatment to address attitudes, beliefs and behaviour, and includes a relapse prevention approach; behavioural treatment using aversion techniques to suppress inappropriate sexual arousal to children; non-behavioural treatments such as humanistic approaches; and medical interventions (including drugs, hormone treatment and surgical castration) (Seto, 2008).

Demonstrating that child sexual abuse has occurred is complex. There are many instances of contemporary CSA, while other cases happened a long time ago. What constitutes child sexual abuse is not always well understood (by the victim or family) or defined (in research questions, for example) as we discussed earlier, with its interpretation often left to the victim / research participant or the reader of academic literature or the

consumer of news media. The list of contact activities includes forcible fondling, forcible sodomy, sexual assault with an object, and forcible rape (Hall and Hall, 2007). Non-contact activities involve obscene phone calls, exhibitionism, masturbation, oral sex, prostitution, and child abuse material (RAINN).

The advent of the internet has opened previously unimagined opportunities, including the sexual exploitation of children. No longer confined to physical locations, the internet has become a multi-billion-dollar business for trading illicit material (Ferraro and Casey, 2005). Internet offending is at the centre of two plays and has devastating consequences for the offender and his family (*Crossing the line*) and for those who have a professional engagement, for example analysing digital images of child sexual exploitation material (*Unscorched*). Internet activities have been augmented by the subsequent arrival of the Darknet, which is illegal and described as the underbelly of the internet. It is suggested that paedophilic activities (accessing, sharing or trading of photos, exploitation of children in developing countries through webcams, for example) in the Darknet now have surpassed the internet offering users anonymity and a censor-free world.

CHAPTER TWO

PLAYS ABOUT PAEDOPHILIA AND CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE: CONTENTS, ISSUES AND CRITICAL RECEPTION

The plays

Now that we have an insight into current research into paedophilia and CSA, we can expand on that factual foundation to explore the depth, complexities, unasked questions and unresolved personal, emotional and societal issues raised by the topic and easily overlooked, or intentionally excluded from research in the context of an empirical research methodology. We do this, as suggested in the introduction, with reference to plays about paedophilia and CSA. We focus on the fifteen plays below.

1. *Massage* by Michael Wilcox (UK, 1986)
2. *How I Learned to Drive* by Paula Vogel (USA, 1997)
3. *Frozen* by Bryony Lavery (UK, 1998)
4. *The Lying Kind* by Anthony Neilson (UK, 2002)
5. *The Sugar Syndrome* by Lucy Prebble (UK, 2003)
6. *The Hanging Judge* by David Ian Rabey (UK, 2004)
7. *Mercury Fur by* Philip Ridley (UK, 2005)
8. *Blackbird* by David Harrower (UK, 2005)
9. *Love Jerry* by Megan Gogerty (USA, 2006)
10. *Future Me* by Stephen Brown (UK, 2007)
11. *Scarborough* by Fiona Evans (UK, 2007)
12. *Unscorched* by Luke Owen (UK, 2013)
13. *The Nether* by Jennifer Haley (UK, 2015)
14. *The Predator* by Sayan Kent (UK, 2015)
15. *Crossing the Line* by Mike Sheath (UK, 2016)

We list these plays in the order of their publication date and production in the theatre, provide plot summaries and describe how the plays pick up issues relating to paedophilia and CSA, and which positions relating to

those topics the plays present. Where relevant, we also consider the ways that critics in newspapers, and scholars in academic books or journals, have responded to the plays and / or their productions. Some sections are longer, others shorter. The length of the sections does not correlate with or reflect on the quality of the plays. Rather, the length of the sections reflects our subjective response to the plays—other writers, or indeed our readers, may respond more strongly to different plays of the fifteen selected, and hence have more to think (and would have more to write) about them. The subjective nature of responses to the reality of paedophilia and CSA is reflected in the subjective nature of such responses presented in the plays, in the subjective nature of critical responses (by newspaper critics, and by academics in material already published), and in the subjectivity that characterises the selection of plays for this book, and our responses to the plays. "There is no contact between human beings that does not affect both of them" Fromm (1993, 23) suggested. No matter how short these contacts are, positive or negative, they leave an impression, even "a casual meeting can have a considerable impact" (Fromm, 1993, 23). This is pertinent to our subjective stance *and* to the topic of child sexual abuse and how victims experience, perceive, absorb and cope with acts of sexual abuse. This subjectivity, taken seriously and embraced fully, complements the empirical methodology of academic research in the social sciences that we presented in Chapter One.

Massage

Massage was written in 1986 by Michael Wilcox (premiered on 6 October 1986 at the Lyric Studio, Hammersmith, London, directed by the author). Tony Dodge (a bicycle builder) prepares a birthday dinner for 12-year-old Simon but Simon, the son of journalist Jane with whom Dodge had a relationship, is absent because he is no longer allowed to visit him. To fill this void, Dodge orders a rent boy through a massage agency. Nineteen-year-old Rikkie appears. He was brought up in a children's home and was later sexually molested by his adoptive father. Rikkie soon understands that he has been invited to keep Dodge company because he misses Simon. Over Simon's favourite dinner of tomato soup, sausage roll with baked beans, jelly and birthday cake, Rikkie questions Dodge's close relationship with the boy. Dodge assures Rikkie that Simon was just his companion but gradually it emerges that inappropriate touching took place while Simon was with Dodge on a camping trip. Dodge suggests that Simon was curious and that "We never did anything really heavy together. . . I just came off. Bang! That was that, Dodge the child-molester. Didn't

seem such a big deal at the time" (Wilcox, 1986, 15). Dodge is adamant that Simon was a 'once off' but Rikkie discovers photographs of children. Simon's mother, Jane, arrives to confront (and secretly record a confession from) Dodge, who eventually admits to inappropriate behaviour. When Jane threatens to call the police Dodge counters and calls her an unfit parent whose career was more important than her son's upbringing. The clicking sound of the recorder gives her intentions away. Dodge seizes the tape and destroys it. The play ends with Rikkie and Dodge planning a cycling trip.

In terms of the victim in *Massage*, Simon is represented by the offender, Dodge, and by his mother, Jane, but does not appear as a character himself and thus does not have his own voice. Jane's suspicion leads to the discovery of the abuse, which Simon then confirms.

The offender, Dodge, exploits the fact that his girlfriend, Jane, leaves her son with him while she, a single mother, engages in work-related travel. Dodge takes Simon on trips and spends weekends with him, building himself up in Simon's eyes as a father figure (Wilcox 1987, 18). This could be understood as Dodge's grooming behaviour. Dodge claims, when confronted by Jane and asked by Rikkie, that it was Simon who was curious, made the advances and took the lead. "…we were lying there…him playing with me…" (Wilcox, 1987, 23). He also justifies his possession of child sexual exploitation material (photos and magazines) as allegedly assisting him to find out "what was going on inside me" (Wilcox, 1987, 29). His justifications are trivializing the seriousness of his behaviour.

The victim's single mother, Jane, confronts Dodge directly about the events, even takes a concealed tape recorder with her, recording what she hopes will be his confession and evidence, but does not take the case to the police because of Dodge's threat to expose her as an unfit mother.

How I Learned to Drive

Complex, discontent adult couple and family relationships and an unhealthy liaison between Peck and his niece, Li'l Bit, are the hallmarks of the play *How I Learned to Drive* (by Paula Vogel, premiered in February 1997 at the Vineyard Theatre, New York City, USA, starring Mary Louise Parker as Li'l Bit, and David Morse as Peck). Set in rural Maryland, the story unfolds during driving lessons Peck gives seventeen-year-old Li'l Bit. Led by Peck, their conversations always have sexual, sometimes ambiguous and sometimes definite undercurrents in keeping with the scene headings' innuendos, such as "Shifting forward from first to second

gear" (Vogel, 1998, 21), or "Good defensive driving involves mental and physical preparation. Were you prepared?" (Vogel, 1998, 53). Vogel presents the driving lessons as pretexts for Peck to seek Li'l Bit's company without arousing suspicion. As the story develops, Peck's wife, Mary, begins to doubt his intentions, but tries to explain his behaviour (what happened to him during the war?), and convinces herself that he "is such a good man. Every night, he does the dishes. The second he comes home, he's taking out the garbage . . ." (Vogel, 1998, 66), that he needs her while also blaming the victim: "And I want to say this about my niece. She's a sly one, that one is. She knows exactly what she's doing; she's twisted Peck around her little finger and thinks it's all a big secret" (Vogel, 1998, 67). Ultimately, Mary remains silent. Dirty talking is a daily occurrence within the extended family that includes Li'l Bit's mother, the grandparents, and aunt Mary (Peck's wife). Both Peck and Li'l Bit feel alienated and find each other's company more enjoyable. Perhaps innocent to begin with, elements of grooming creep in and their relationship turns more problematic. There is ample textual evidence that Peck becomes obsessed and infatuated with his young niece. Embedded in apparent flirtatious banters between a seemingly precocious girl and her uncle, inappropriate behaviour in the form of sexual talking, touching, and taking sexually charged photographs takes place. Not revealed until the end of the play, the most serious abuse occurred when Li'l Bit was eleven years old. This provides unequivocal clarity of Peck's inclination and intentions but, uncharacteristic for a typical child sex offender's behaviour as described in the psychology literature, Peck's obsession with Li'l Bit persists beyond her childhood years. Li'l Bit rejects his marriage proposal, he drinks himself to death and Li'l Bit starts on her healing journey.

Li'l Bit, the victim in *How I Learned to Drive*, is molested by her uncle, Peck, from the age of eleven. The victim speaks for herself, from the perspective of Li'l Bit at the age of thirty-five years old, remembering the past and commenting on it. Vogel reveals a wide range of abuse impact on her: she imagines Peck watching every time she has an encounter with a potential male friend of her own age. The excessive awareness of her own body, enhanced by the way that she is developing, resembles body dysmorphia where she has exaggerated ideas about the size of her breasts. She symbolically frees herself of Peck's influence on her eighteenth birthday when Peck proposes to her in a hotel room: "I want you to be my wife" (Vogel, 1997, 84). She replies, "This isn't happening" (Vogel, 1997, 84) and she leaves the room and never sees him again. When she is thirty-five years old, she actually thinks about family and forgiving. Forgiving is a form of healing and possible closure. Forgiving is linked to and a result

of the victim trying to understand what happened, and why it happened: Li'l Bit asks herself whether something happened to Peck when he was eleven years old (this was her age when he started abusing her).

In *How I Learned to Drive*, we get an idea of Li'l Bit's problems in terms of her family context: family members get their nicknames with reference to their sexual organs—Li'l Bit because she had only a "little bit" when she was a new-born baby. Uncle Peck's name is also telling. Li'l Bit's mother reveals that she had a conversation with her mother about sex: she had been told how her own mother was taught not to talk about it. The family, however, talk very openly about sex: in one scene, for example, they are all sitting around the kitchen table and poking fun of the size of Li'l Bit's developing breasts. It is in this and similar situations that Uncle Peck is seen to be standing up for her. The question arises whether any such protective / empathetic action becomes an act of grooming with the knowledge of Peck's inappropriate behaviour, or whether there is room for us reading Peck's genuine concern for others (a concern referred to in his wife's long monologue). Just as many situations concerning CSA and paedophilia in real life are far from clear-cut, the play reflects life's complexity and messiness.

The abuse remains Li'l Bit and Peck's secret. It is not revealed; the law is not involved. Peck is still an abuser, and he is a strong character. He is married, and he helps neighbours (Vogel, 1998, 66). In the scene that shows him in the restaurant with Li'l Bit, he knows how to interact with the waiter, what the etiquette is. He is thus able to move in both (adult / non-adult) worlds but feels more comfortable with Li'l Bit. In the play there are several scenes where Li'l Bit and Uncle Peck "just" interact, and all that happens between them in these scenes seems harmless. However, when Vogel reveals to the reader/spectator, in the penultimate scene, that Peck began his sexual abuse of Li'l Bit when she was only eleven years old, with hindsight, Vogel makes us realize that much of what may have looked innocent at first is quite possibly, or indeed very likely, an example of Peck's sophisticated grooming behaviour. What was presented as possibly the innocent love of a conventional adult for a conventional child, the healthy love and affection an uncle feels for his niece, turns out to have had a sinister background. The reader/spectator is made aware of it and Vogel presents Li'l Bit in such a way that it is clear that she is aware of it to some extent as well, because fairly early on she talks to Peck directly about "crossing the line" and "not crossing the line". Peck gives her, in a way that is cunning more than anything else, the feeling of being in control, and, of course, she is not. In all plays where grooming occurs this tends to come across as "manipulative". Peck invites Li'l Bit to set the

boundaries, giving her what seems like power. In a scene in *How I Learned to Drive* set at Christmas time, Peck does the dishes in the kitchen. He seems moody and Li'l Bit joins him. She senses his moodiness, possibly because she has refused his advances, but she still wants to please him by offering to talk to him once a week (Vogel, 1998, 71). That is precisely what he had probably hoped for. He knows what to do to get what he wants. Even her mere physical presence is something that he is keen to have, and touching in any way, even if it is asexual as the stage direction suggests, excites him. This aspect brings home the ambiguity so characteristic of the protagonists and events in this play. The touching is described as asexual but is not genuinely asexual if it still excites him.

While the focus on the play, through Li'l Bit's memory, is on Peck and Li'l Bit, there is some reference to the impact of the abuse on other family members. Li'l Bit's mother suspects that uncle Peck's interest in Li'l Bit is problematic, but she does nothing about it apart from being reluctant to allow Li'l Bit to take a long journey in his car, the occasion of the first abuse. Peck's wife Mary, the aunt of the victim, is given a long monologue in which she reveals that she suspected Peck's abuse. The monologue format allows additional depth to develop by the revelation of inner thoughts that would otherwise not be expressed in conversational dialogue. Mary describes her husband as someone who works exceptionally hard. He is highly appreciated in the neighbourhood, a good citizen: everybody comes to him because he has got skills that other husbands do not have. He had some unspecified problems related to his time in the war. Altogether, Mary says: "I am not a fool. I know what is going on." (Vogel, 1998, 67), while at the same time she is immediately taking his side. He fights his urges and she sees her role in relation to him as helping him in her very own way—as she puts it, she becomes the light at the end of the tunnel, a constant that he can seek out if he needs help. Vogel presents this as a family member, Aunt Mary's, coping strategy, including her attempt to explain his behaviour with reference to the war. In relation to the victim, Aunt Mary thinks about Li'l Bit that she is sly, the cunning one who exploits Peck rather than the other way around. Victim blaming is not an uncommon reaction to sexual abuse (indeed, victims often blame themselves for the abuse), and for Peck's wife is probably a coping mechanism.

Critics considered *How I Learned to Drive* as "a difficult story to listen to" (Bowie-Sell, 2015) and a "powerful piece of theatre" (Trainor, 2015) that packs "a sometimes violent emotional slug to the guts" (O'Doherty, 2015). They used adjectives such as "bittersweet" (Hitchings, 2015), and