

# **An Exploration of News Reporting of Paedophiles Over Time**

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## **Acknowledgments**

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<b>Contents</b>	<b>Page</b>
Abstract	3
Introduction	4
Literature Review	6
Methodology	11
Analysis of Findings	14
Conclusion	16
Bibliography	17
Appendices	23

## **Abstract**

This research explores whether there are any changes in how the UK's national newspapers report on the trials of child sex offenders over a seven year period from 2008 to 2014 using the methodological approach of content analysis. The purpose of the research is to uncover whether there is evidence that news reporting informs its readership of changes in the understanding of child sex offenders, reporting more sympathetically on the growing medical and academic challenges to perceived perceptions of child sex crime offenders who, notwithstanding the seriousness of their crimes, are, for example, often either victims of child sex crimes themselves, or are genetically predisposed to their behaviour. There is an increasing school of thought that there is more of a requirement of medical, psychological treatment and rehabilitation and a little more understanding by society of underlying causes of such behaviour, rather than total condemnation and vilification. Does our national press, as a source of information, reflect this change of understanding about child sex offenders in its news coverage?

The research provides evidence that, over time, there is no trend at all towards more positive news coverage about child sex offenders. Over the seven-year time span, positive or sympathetic coverage is evidenced but it is negligible to insignificant. News reporting is overwhelmingly negative. While photographs of the offender are published more over time to tell their own story, the research also uncovers evidence of added negative descriptions of the child sex offenders' physical appearance and demeanour, together with detailed descriptions of his offences past and present, perpetuating the recognised negative stereotype of the child sex offender not meriting sympathy or understanding or providing any underlying causes of his crimes.

The research also finds evidence that negative reporting is further reinforced by added news coverage making comparisons to other past child sex offenders and, from 2010 onwards, news coverage becomes increasingly negative as the press inform their readership of the dangers of the internet with regards online grooming. This overall trend of increasingly negative reporting continues, culminating in 2014, the most recent year of the seven-year time span.

## Introduction

The area of interest for this Criminology project is to explore the construction of the news, particularly, how newspapers both the quality press and the popular press report on paedophiles and whether this has changed over time. The modern perception of the paedophile is a media construction. Media coverage of paedophile related stories are more often than not sensationalist and not necessarily concerned with accurate or conscientious reporting. Rather, they pander and inflame to public concerns with the aim of selling the next tabloid story. It was therefore necessary for me to take a cautious approach to any given story. As a matter of conscientious and balanced analysis, I took a cautious approach to all stories in the media related to paedophilia. This gave me the need to a more accurate understanding of individual life stories reflected in newspaper reporting. It was important to establish the facts of each given story and to pay particular attention to the details of sexual activity. These stories mostly dealt with the physical contact between the offender and a child victim, typically, any penetration or sexual touching. As paedophilia is not restricted to physical intimacy, I also investigated online grooming and how it is seen in news reporting, for instance, inciting a child to perform sexual activity and what the media portray this as.

I first became interested in the subject when I saw growing media exposure of historical sex crimes committed by male celebrities. For example, Jimmy Savile, Rolf Harris, Max Clifford and Gary Glitter are all examples of male celebrity paedophiles who have been prosecuted (except for Jimmy Savile who died before he was exposed) for sex offending against children. I saw that the media had reported on the male celebrities in a cruel fashion. Jimmy Savile was headlined as “Pervert Savile” (the *Daily Star*, 2013), Rolf Harris was headlined as “Predator faces jail over sex assaults” (the *Daily Express*, 2013) Max Clifford was headlined as “Sex predator” (the *Times*, 2013) and Gary Glitter was headlined as “Sex offender arrested over sex offences” (*BBC*, 2012). This showed me that the media creates headlines like these to inform us that these people are a threat or danger to society. Although, the headlines may have been correct, I had to consider why the majority of the time the national press produces these negative headlines. After looking at the celebrity paedophile cases, I also examined non celebrity paedophile cases such as Robert Hunter, Dean Hardy and Gareth Hulme who have been prosecuted for committing sex crimes against children. Robert Hunter was headlined as a “UK paedophile who posed as Justin Bieber online is jailed” (the *Guardian*, 2013), Dean Hardy was headlined as a “Paedophile identified by freckles on his hands jailed for six years” (the *Guardian*, 2009) and Gareth Hulme was headlined as a “Paedophile described as every parent’s worst nightmare” (the *Guardian*, 2010).

These headlines in news reporting have increased the propensity for people in society to bracket all paedophiles as harmful and a risk to their children. Has the negative depiction of paedophiles in the media created this public perception of paedophiles “As every parent’s worst nightmare”? (the *Guardian*, 2010). In a comparison of celebrity and non celebrity paedophile cases in the media, there seems to be a disparity in the way the cases were reported. Is celebrity centred paedophile coverage venomous and as such more unbalanced because it sells stories?

What inspired me to this Criminology project was a module that I studied in Level 5: Crime, Media and Technology. The module leader was Vanessa Oddy and she delivered fascinating lectures on crime news, cyber crime, media crime & violence and moral panics. Her seminar activities were also engaging, for example, one time we looked quality press newspapers and popular press newspapers and how different headlines would be and the use of photographs in each one. I was surprised to see that there was hardly any positive reporting in the popular

press and also the popular press had more photographs. It had provided me with an insight on the differences between both presses that I had very little knowledge about. I knew from then I wanted to do my third year research study on comparing a particular crime story with the quality press and popular press.

My starting base for my research was influenced by Helen Whittle, a guest lecturer on the Crime, Media and Technology module. Since 2006, Helen has worked as part of a team in the Behavioural Analysis Unit at the Child Exploitation Online Protection Centre, where she advises police forces across the country on sex offending behaviour. She assists with the investigative process and interview strategies based on knowledge of victim and offender behaviour. She also likes to work with young people who are experiencing some sort of trauma or who are exposed to male treatment. Helen is also currently finishing off her PhD in Forensic Psychology and the title of her research is called: “An exploration of the vulnerabilities of child victims of online grooming and implications for professionals, where she is interviewing child victims of sexual abuse and sex offenders”. The treatment of paedophilia is a complicated, difficult and indefinite issue to resolve, significantly, because no one is sure of the cause of paedophilia (Bradford & Wilson, 2000). Helen argues that there is an ongoing debate along the lines of punishment versus treatment. She does not feel that prison is useful for paedophiles to rehabilitate. She believes this because of her own research, where she has debriefed child sex offenders in prison and interviewed victims. Helen states that paedophiles need special treatment and if paedophiles are placed in prison, they are at risk of being killed or sexually abused themselves.

It is only in the last 30 years that people, society, newspaper reporting and the media have started using the word paedophile which is a medical word. However, now everyone knows the word paedophile. Paedophilia is described as a “severe public health problem of staggering proportions” (McDonald & Bradford, 2000:248), with the paedophile being constructed as a major bogeyman in our modern society (Silverman & Wilson, 2002). Holmes & Holmes (2002) state that paedophiles are sometimes called lovers but this is not the most common description used to refer to that, they are more often called child molesters.

Thomas (1985) argues that paedophilia is a fondness for children and an unnatural desire for sexual relations but he also argues that if society and people accept this definition, it is easy to see the overwhelming difficulty of treating and rehabilitating such offenders. Silverman & Wilson (2002) suggest that the current public concern surrounding paedophilia, which has developed in over the past 10 years or so, has been partly established by the increasing media interest in sex offences. In regards to this, the high profile cases such as the murder of Holly Wells and Jessica Chapman (2002) and the disappearance of Madeline McCann (2007) resulted in media campaigns like the *News of the World* and the *Sun* newspaper’s Sarah campaign (2000) (McCartan, 2004). The proliferation of high profile media driven paedophile cases covered in the media have contributed to paedophilia, becoming a central concern in modern society (McAlinden, 2006) a moral panic (Cohen, 2002) and a social risk (Furedi, 2002).

When initially pondering my final research question, I chose the potential question; “Do our national newspapers ever portray paedophiles sympathetically?” After further research, I saw that the media tended to be more negative than positive in their coverage of this topic. Therefore, my initial question was both invalid and inaccurate. Following, discussions and guidance from my supervisor, I chose the title; “An exploration of newspaper reporting of paedophiles over time”. This title enabled me to draw comparisons over time and I decided additionally to contrast coverage of child sex offenders in the quality press and the popular

press. My aim was to see if media reporting has changed over time and if so how. Although, it should be noted that even if news reporting trends have changed, it does not necessarily follow that the attitude of society has. I also accept that any findings I identify cannot be generalised as social facts as the scope of investigation is on a very small scale due to the workload and word count limitation guidelines of this research project. However, I do not believe this devalues my findings, particularly, as my research investigates a period of time up to present day and there are no other published research papers as up to date as this.

## **Literature Review**

There is an extensive amount of academic literature that exists around the topic of news reporting, the media, child sex crimes and the construction of the news. This literature review focuses only on areas relevant to this research study. Firstly, this literature review will explore the historical context of the news reporting of paedophiles and how it has changed over time. Secondly, the literature on the gradual vilification of paedophiles in the media will be investigated. Developing from the idea that paedophiles are constructed as a “major bogeyman in our modern society” (Silverman & Wilson, 2002:50), the literature review will thirdly explore the concept of moral panics first established in Stanley Cohen’s seminal 1972 work. Fourthly, the academic views of whether child sex offenders should be treated or punished will be looked at as there have been significant advances in the medical and scientific evidence and knowledge on this particular crime over time.

Since the late 1970’s, the image of the disturbing child sex offender has been distorted into a new stereotype known as the well organised paedophile (Jenkins, 1998). Jenkins (1998) outlines the understanding of paedophilia has developed in three stages: stage one 1976-1982, stage two 1983-1986 and stage three 1987-1992. Stage one 1976-1982, suggests that child pornography was increasing and this was connected to the sexual exploitation of children and paedophiles often drawn from social and political elites (Jenkins, 1998). Stage two 1983-1986, underscores that paedophiles abuse a large number of children (Jenkins, 1998). Paedophiles sometimes abduct and abuse their victims, often leading to problems such as sexual violence (Jenkins, 1998). Stage three 1987-1992, suggests that paedophile murder rings are a common phenomenon; that paedophiles collaborate and have recorded footage of their deeds in films and videos (Jenkins, 1998).

Megan Kanka (1994) in the United States of America and Sarah Payne (2000) in the United Kingdom are two cases that involved the abduction, sexual abuse and murder of children. Both perpetrators were known to the respective criminal justice systems to constitute a risk to children and society (Moss & Stephens, 2006). Both cases were reported by the media in detail, from the moment the children disappeared to the arrest and conviction of both the offenders. Sarah Payne was 8 years old disappeared on Saturday 1 July 2001 (Kemshall, 2003). She had argued with her siblings and was then abducted by Roy Whiting, a child sex offender. He had recently been released from prison where he had been serving a sentence charged for assault on a child (Kemshall, 2003). Sarah had been with her siblings but after a short while her siblings noticed her absence and informed their grandparents.

The police soon launched a search and media campaign in order to help find Sarah but it steadily became clear that Sarah had been abducted (Kemshall, 2003). Sarah’s body was found on 17 July 2000, 17 days after her abduction (Kemshall, 2003). Sarah’s murder case (2000) has similarities within Megan’s murder case (1994). On 29 July 1994, Megan was abducted, rape and murdered by Jesse Timmendequas, a neighbour and a child sex offender who had two previous convictions (Davidson, 2008). The two young girls were both visually

attractive and their photographs have since appeared in international coverage of their cases (Davidson, 2008). Megan's mother campaigned for the public disclosure of child sex offender's home addresses and consequently the New Jersey State Supreme Court presented Megan's Law in 1994 (Davidson, 2008). Megan's Law (1994) allows information regarding the whereabouts of child sex offenders to be available (Davidson, 2008). Under Megan's law (1994), convicted child sex offenders are placed into risk bands; personal information about low risk offenders is not available to the public, schools and nurseries are informed about the presence of medium risk offenders and the public (Davidson, 2008). The public are able to obtain the information on high risk offenders (Davidson, 2008).

The murder of Sarah Payne (2000) instigated a media campaign calling for child sexual abusers living in the United Kingdom. Sarah Payne's mother started a campaign, supported by the *News of the World*, to create in Sarah's Law (2000) in the United Kingdom (Davidson, 2008). As part of the campaign, the *News of the World* published the addresses and photographs of known child sex offenders (Davidson, 2008). Before Sarah's Law (2000), the government had detailed child sex offenders on a register and Roy Whiting had been on that sex offender's register since 1995 (Davidson, 2008). In response to the media campaign and subsequent public pressure, the government introduced Sarah's Law (2000) to disclose information about child sex offenders in the community (Davidson, 2008). Both Megan's Law (1994) and Sarah's Law (2000) are subject to criticisms. Nemeth (2012) argues that Megan's Law (1994), contravenes an individual's human rights; stating that released child sex offenders have already paid for their crime. Similarly, Keeble (2006) finds that as a consequence of Sarah's Law (2000) there is much anecdotal evidence of paedophiles misidentification and also vigilantly attacks on paedophiles themselves. A consequence therefore, has been that dangerous child sex offenders are driven underground away from scrutiny.

The Mass Media is a major source of our information about crime, criminals and systems of criminal justice, both as news and as fiction.

Carrabine, (2008:99) describes how "Media audiences commute on a daily basis between books, magazines, newspapers, computers, television, cinema, radio and so forth in ways that veer from vague distraction to fierce communication". Our understanding of crime, criminals and the criminal justice system are also impacted by the Mass Media's representations of them. "The media are not simply neutral conduits of information about crime indeed the institutional arrangements that organise the media and the rhetorical forms through which crime is represented can play a vital role in shaping and reflecting our deepest cultural fears about crime and insecurity" (Stenson & Sullivan, 2001:3). For example, Ditton & Duffy's (1983:164) study on an examination of Scottish newspapers over a one month period shows that "Crimes involving violence and crimes involving sex together constituted 2.4% of real incidence, yet 45.8% of newspaper coverage".

Soothill & Walby's (1991) study of over-reporting of sex crimes can provides a deeper insight into the vilification of paedophiles in the media. They conducted one of the first systematic analyses of sex crime in the media, four sets of issues, seeking the sensational, producing a cascade effect, embracing a narrow definition of crime and information and explanation (Mason, 2003). Firstly, the focus of the popular press on the sensational leads to the use of negative and emotive terms such as "sex beast, sex friend or the sex monster" (Mason, 2003:166) in their coverage of sex crime. It is perhaps these negative and emotive terms that help to sell newspapers (Mason, 2003). Secondly, the production a cascade effect is occurs when, during the trial of a sex offender, the reporting resorts to the deliberate use of distortion

and exaggeration in order to maintain the momentum for public attention (Mason, 2003). This type of coverage can have a particularly harmful effect. It can contaminate the lives all of those people connected with the crime, no matter how remotely whether they are offenders or not (Mason, 2003). Many of these individuals may suffer dramatic consequences in their own personal lives due to this kind of publicity (Mason, 2003). The third issue is the often narrow definition of sex crime, meaning that while news reporting of sex crimes is extensive, only a very small number of reports receive sustained coverage (Mason, 2003). The news media place a selective emphasis on unconventional types of attack in preference to the more customary ones, sex sells. In consequence, there has been a subsequent narrowing of what counts as a legitimate sex crime (Mason, 2003). Lastly, information and explanation refers to the ways in which, both the quality press and the popular press rarely look beyond specific events to address larger social context in which these child sex crimes occur (Mason, 2003).

Soothill & Walby's (1991) content analysis on the over-reporting of sex crimes highlights the influence of normalisation of sex offenders, however they do recognise that sexual violence has "A wider range of forms than is typically reported" (Howe, 1998:2) in the press and that, for instance marital rape is a form of serious sexual assault which gets little, if any, media coverage (Howe, 1998). In addition, Soothill & Walby (1991) include an account of news reporting of sex murder trials and even domestic murders which have "sexual aspects" (Howe, 1998:2) for example, murder of spouses which have been motivated by something to do with sex (Howe, 1998).

The demonisation of paedophiles connects to the gradual vilification of paedophiles in the media. Paedophiles that use their own childhood experiences to support their behaviour, Itzin (2000) states that some men will say that they enjoyed being touched as boys, and they were not victims. Furthermore, because of the way their abusers abused them, they might even think that they were the cause of their own abuse, if paedophiles believe that children want this activity, they are unlikely to believe what they are doing is wrong and causes damage (Itzin, 2000). In addition, many offenders will excuse their paedophile behaviour by claiming that "What was done to me justifies what I do to others" (Powell, 2007:50). Although, it must be taken into consideration and remembered that while an average of 65% of child sex offenders report to have been victims of sexual abuse as children, this does not explain why they have become an abuser (Powell, 2007). Moreover, Greer (2003) argues that the press's stereotypical image of the predatory stranger, which is always given newspaper prominence stresses the "otherness" of sex offenders and separates them from "ordinary", "normal" people who do not commit sex crimes (Greer, 2003:185). However, other research contradicts this stereotype. "Most paedophiles are gentle and tentative in their interactions with children, violence is rare and it is only in extreme cases that abuse of pre-pubertal children is a deeply ingrained life-long erotic preference" (West 1987 cited in Silverman & Wilson 2002:31).

The early work of the key theorist, Stanley Cohen (1972), establishes the concept of moral panics. He states that moral panics are based on the labelling perspective with how society labels individuals as being a particular person or belonging to a group that will threaten societal views (Cohen, 1972). The Mass Media is a major part of the labelling process where Cohen (1972:8) describes "The media have operated as agents of moral indignation in their own right: even if they are not self-consciously engaged in crusading or muck-racking, their very reporting of certain facts can be sufficient to generate concern, anxiety, indignation or panic". Within this setting, Cohen (1972) categorises the media inventory into three stages which are exaggeration, prediction and symbolisation.



Firstly, that the media choose deviant or socially problematic stories or events that is newsworthy and would most likely cause a moral panic (Cohen 1972 cited in Carrabine *et al*, 2009). Secondly, predictions state that what would have already happened could happen again, with more deadly consequences (Cohen 1972 cited in Carrabine *et al*, 2009). Thirdly, that the media convey images using pictures and language that will suggest a moral panic or make the story less important for a wider audience (Cohen 1972 cited in Carrabine *et al*, 2009). Therefore, Cohen's (1972) concept of moral panics presents the media impact in understanding moral panics as a whole. In addition, Altheide (2009) highlights how moral panics "encapsulate the fear narrative for news purposes and part of the social control and fear narrative" (Altheide, 2009:85). He stresses how news reports related to crime and fear have played a part to studies of the links between crime and fear, thus, how moral panics can promote social control though providing a focus for mobilising fear. In this context, Altheide (2009) refers to Hall's (1978) suggestion that moral panics can help gain the support of the "silent majority" for legitimising coercive measures.

However, Jewkes (2013) states that there are major criticisms of Cohen's (1972) concept of moral panics. Firstly, she argues that the media turn a normal story into a story that is extraordinary and exaggerated (Jewkes, 2004). Secondly, moral panics happen at a time where there is rapid change in society and this leads to more frequent moral panics (Jewkes, 2004). Thirdly, moral panics suggest what type of people there are in a particular society, for instance, individuals in financial hardships or from broken families (Jewkes, 2004). It is Jewkes's suggestions on the three criticisms of Cohen's (1972) concept of moral panic that highlight the problems of his examinations. Moreover, Jenkins (1998) argues that rates of violent crime, plus mugging, were actually rising evidently, meaning the problem was not as subjective as it was made out to be. Waddington (1986) states "It seems virtually inconceivable that concern expressed about racial attacks, rape or police misconduct would be described as a moral panic" (Waddington, 1986:258). Without conditioning, Waddington (1986) indicates the term moral panic is used in a hostile and ideological way. Also, Tierney (2010) reflects on the extent to which there could be a link between greater public tolerance and moral panics, thus, in turn to changes in the rate of particular crimes. "An increase in crime in a particular neighbourhood might eventually reduce people's sensitivity, making them more tolerant" (Tierney, 2010:368). He points out this should lead to less criminalisation which is less crime and indeed this may be related to the notions that in the media world, moral panics have less impact because nothing really surprises us individuals anymore (Tierney, 2010).

Jenkins (1989) argues that there is an issue with understanding the ways in which a panic is created or perceived, for instance, to support ideas, the use of abuse of statistics and examples to support claims. Also, vital are the means by which claims come to be expressed in the media and the wider relationship between the media and the making of the policy (Jenkins, 1989). It is these factors that supply to the process of typification, hence the choice to view a problem in one way rather than another, for example, classifying urge abuse as a criminal justice rather than a medial one, with all that applies for possible solutions (Jenkins, 1989). However, Goode & Ben-Yehuda (2009) states that moral panics began as far back as the existence of organised society itself, meaning long before technology, long before writing and long before the idiographic recording of social and historical events. The Renaissance witch craze is an example which time after time exploded hundreds of years before our society developed the modern mass media of communications was a genuine moral panic but the modern mass media provide the most efficient spark for the creation of moral panics (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009). Therefore, the media visualise deviance, concentrate and publicise

public outrage about wrongdoing and offer a perspective on social control (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009).

Currently, there are academic and public debates around the title punishment versus treatment on paedophiles. A chief constable named Simon Bailey suggests that many paedophiles who view child abuse images online should be treated by the NHS as patients rather than being sent to prison because they pose no threat to children (the *Daily Mail*, 2014). Also, Goode (2010) argues that paedophilia cannot be cured, for example, locking up them in prison will do them no good. Bradford & Wilson (2000) further stresses that a possible approach to the treatment of paedophilia is drug treatment such as something similar to cognitive behavioural therapy, in that the drugs would help to suppress sexual desire, suppress deviant behaviour and reduce victimisation but how do the drugs achieve this? Stone *et al* (2000) states that specific areas of the brain can have impact upon sexual behaviour and therefore the targeting of these areas can have positive effects, for instance, serotonin effects on sexual drive, hence increasing the serotonin levels of paedophiles will result in a reduction of the offender's sex drive. Also, there are other various pharmaceutical treatments for paedophiles like narcoleptics, acetate and special serotonin reuptake inhibitors, all of which have been shown to affect paedophiles testosterone levels and decreasing both their sexual drive and their sexual offending (Stone *et al*, 2000). Even though, Stone *et al* (2001) suggests that drug treatments do work in controlling paedophilia, Bradford (2000) concludes that more research is needed, by both the drug companies and the government, to analysis the effectiveness of using drug treatment in regards to treating paedophilia.

On the other hand, some scholars such as Vito & Maahs (2012) state that by punishing child sex offenders, they are getting what they deserve because they inflict pain on a child for which they should be punished for. Also, Brown *et al* (2013) suggest that these child sex offenders will be punished because bad behaviour has occurred and child sex offenders have caused harm. Vito & Maahs (2012) and Brown *et al* (2013) pursue the view that, for child sex offenders, punishment is the only outcome.

## Methodology

I have chosen to approach my research study with a content analysis methodology. Content analysis is a methodology for studying the content of communication, used primarily in media communications and sociology research (Krippendorff, 2004). The analysis views data as representations not of physical events but of texts, for example, newspapers, images and expressions that are produced to be seen, read, interpreted and acted on for their meanings (Neuendorf, 2002). Therefore, it is a quantitative (measured) accurate representation of body of messages and with a clear set of definitions that fully explain the sampling and categorising methods (for inter-coder reliability), content analysis is objective (Neuendorf, 2002). Overall, content analysis provides a descriptive account of what is there - it provides documentary evidence, often, for what we already know is there (Neuendorf, 2002).

I have been very particular with my choice of methodology but I understand that the choice of my methodology has its advantages and disadvantages. Firstly, a strength of content analysis is that it can be done with little use of time, money, or person power (Adler & Clark, 2011). Here, I can refer to the example of Arthur, Clark, Clark and Racine who all worked as a team of four on their examination of literature anthologies, where they borrowed from local libraries. Arthur, Clark, Clark and Racine did this for the fun of working with each other and particularly for the enhanced data reliability that comes from cross-checking each other's observations in many ways (Adler & Clark, 2011). However, their project could have been done by one of them, with no special equipment, by just using a library card (Adler & Clark, 2011). Secondly, content analysis is often seen to an unobtrusive method, a term devised by Webb *et al* (1966), to refer to a method that does not involve participants in a research having to take the researcher into account. It is therefore a non-reactive method (Bryman, 2012). Moreover, it is certainly the case that, when the focus on content analysis is upon things such as newspaper reports, there is no reactive effect (Bryman, 2012). Newspaper reports are not written in the knowledge that a content analysis may one day be carried out on them (Bryman, 2012). Bryman (2012) also argues that content analysis is a highly flexible method and it can be applied to a widespread of different kinds of unstructured textual information. He states that although content analysis is often connected with the analysis of mass media inputs, it has a much broader applicability than this (Bryman, 2012). Moreover, the most important strength of content analysis is that it compares things over time. Also, content analysis is recognised as a very reliable research tool for making comparisons over time (Bryman 2003), which is the essence of this research project. There are also key limitations in content analysis as a research method.

A limitation of content analysis that Waltz *et al* (2010) states is judgment, where it is required to reduce the data and interpret the meaning of another's communication. However, there is a risk of losing or modifying the meaning of the communication, due to incomplete information (Waltz *et al*, 2010). Another limitation of content analysis is that it is like "archival research" (Royse, 2008:257) in that it relies on material that already exists and therefore prevents the research from controlling influential extraneous variables. Unlike experiments, content analysis cannot be used to demonstrate cause and effects (Royse, 2008).

For a balanced analysis of newspaper reporting, I am going to explore both the quality press and the popular press because both types of media have different styles of reporting. The quality press is a category of newspapers distinguished by their seriousness, therefore serious events that are covered constantly (Dyer, 1982). However, the popular press newspapers aim to provide wider events containing entertainment and rumours (Koopmans & Statham, 2010). The difference in crime reporting in the popular and quality press demonstrates itself in relation of "content and quantity" (Pratt, 2007:69). The issues such as crime, sex and sports

appear more frequently in the popular press reports. As a result of this, the popular press reports do not receive in depth stories as the quality press (Franklin & Murphy, 1991). The quality press seeks to notify, thus projects a different attitude from the popular press (Franklin, 2013). The popular press portray paedophiles as a distinct individual that has certain traits and the offender is viewed as a “sex beast” (Williams, 2008:57). However, Bednarek (2006) states that the popular and quality newspapers have a similarity, they both use distinct language.

To get a typical, balanced media portrayal, I decided to avoid any stories involving well-known figures or celebrities and instead to select seven unknown perpetrators, tried and found guilty of similar child sex crime, ranging from the years of 2008 to 2014. After some additional research, I also decided that for time comparison purpose, I would only select the last day’s reporting of the perpetrator’s trials. I selected six newspaper reports and I selected these particular stories because they were all similar. The 2008 perpetrator is called Alan Hopkinson, he is white and he is 45 years old. The 2009 perpetrator is called Dean Hardy, he is white and he is 50 years old (the *Guardian*, 2009). The 2010 perpetrator is called Gareth Hulme, he is white and he is 35 years old (the *Guardian*, 2010). The 2011 perpetrator is called Robert Hathaway, he is white and he is 37 years old (the *Guardian*, 2011). The 2012 perpetrator is called Michael Jackson, he is white and he is 50 years old (the *Guardian*, 2012). The 2013 perpetrator is called Robert Hunter, he is white and he is 35 years old (the *Guardian*, 2013). The 2014 perpetrator is called Myles Bradbury, he is white and he is 50 years old (the *Guardian*, 2014) (Please see Appendix B).

I selected the newspapers which were the *Guardian*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Times*, the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Mirror* and the *Sun*, objectively on the basis of the circulation figures A B C 2014 (Please see Appendix A). In my choice of newspapers, for a balanced comparison, I wanted both sides of the political spectrum as some newspapers support a right wing ideology, such as the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Daily Mail* (Franklin, 2013). Others support a left wing ideology such as the *Guardian* and the *Daily Mirror* (Franklin, 2013).

The methodological process I went through to decide what was relevant to count in order to explore my research study was to choose areas of reporting which might change over time. The areas identified were firstly whether the reporting of the trial of a child sex offender was positive or negative. The second area to count which might change over time is the use of photographs, there is the argument that “a picture speaks a thousand words” (Price, 1994:52), which means there will be less description because the reader has got a visual image (Price, 1994). Since the newspapers are using an image of the child sex offender, a negative portrayal is reinforced “sex predator with the scary eyes” identified by (Salter 2004:48). The third area which is likely to change over time is how the manner in which child sex offenders have groomed their victims, with newspapers highlighting the increased dangers of online grooming over time. This news reporting is likely to be negative. The fourth area to count is references to the nature of the offence committed. As the analysis is the last day of the trial in which all the child sex offenders were found guilty, the newspapers are likely to report in detail the full nature of the child sex offence. This news reporting is likely to be negative. The fifth area to count is the negative/positive mentions of physical appearance of the child sex offender. This area contributes to the research question because again the descriptions of the child sex offenders are likely to be negative, linking into the literature which argues that the media construct child sex offenders as ‘inhuman monsters’ (Greer, 2003). I decided this count was important as if newspapers had not used a photographic image of the offender, they were likely instead to describe what he looked like at this trial for the reader. The sixth area to count, to connect with literature on moral panics, is any additional journalistic comment on similar past cases highlighting to the reader that these offences are frequent and widespread. I

divided these areas into seven sections into a coding sheet (Please see Appendix D). Appendix D includes the story name and the six different newspapers to be used with the published dates. Clear definitions of each category can be seen on Appendix C.

After a trial of my coding sheet, I thought about adding another area to count the positive mentions of physical appearance. However, it was clear that there was not a single positive description of the child sex offender's appearance, any written comments simply either drew the reader's attention to negative aspects of the photograph, or in absence of a published photograph, the descriptions were all negative.

Appendix E is a design of the tally log sheet for each year. The first area that was identified was a total in negative reporting in both the quality press and the popular press and then a total overall. These included (a) negative reporting, (c) negative photo, (d) online grooming, (e) mentions of nature of crimes committed, (f) negative mentions of physical appearance and (g) comment on similar past cases taken from Appendix F the completed coding sheets. The second area that was identified was a total in positive reporting in both the quality press and the popular press and then a total overall. This included (b) positive reporting taken from Appendix F the completed coding sheets. I decided that producing tally log sheets for the seven year period was important because there is evidence that some positive reporting is appearing as our understanding about paedophiles evolves now that there is more research about child sex offenders. Now there is more research, I wanted to find out if there is any evidence of a media response to the concept that child sex offenders are increasingly recognised as misunderstood individuals who need treatment and rehabilitation rather than the stereotypical 'evil monsters' who deserve public condemnation and punishment (Whittle *et al*, 2013).

For inter-coder reliability, so that any researcher can replicate what I am counting (Bryman, 2012), I have defined that the use of the noun "paedophile", the use of word in news reporting is neither positive or negative. However, if paedophile is qualified, this could make it positive or negative. For example, "predatory paedophile" "paedo", "pervert", "sex beast", is a negative description. Positive descriptions include "misunderstood paedophile" "paedophile also a victim of sex crime" and "paedophile a victim of difficult childhood". Descriptions such as "loser", "loner" and "weirdo" were also considered and counted as a negative description. The only photos counted were pictures of the convicted child sex offenders and these were defined as a negative description. For the other four counts 'online grooming', 'mentions of nature of crimes committed', 'negative mentions of physical appearance' and 'comment on similar past cases', the count was per sentence in the news report.

With regards to collecting data, I was unable to access news reports from the Colindale Library as it is currently closed. Therefore, I sourced online newspaper accounts as an alternative. I also visited the British Library to access newspaper accounts for photographic images of the child sex offenders in the context of the accompanying news articles.

## Analysis of Findings

The statistical outcomes for each of the coding sheets can be found in Appendix F.

The content analysis of seven years of reporting on paedophiles in the quality press (the *Guardian*, the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Times*), and in the popular press (the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Mirror* and the *Sun*) yielded seven different areas to compare over time. The first category was a count of negative reporting. For this category, 2008 had the overall highest instances of negative reporting in the quality press and it was unusual inasmuch as it was the only year with more negative reporting in the quality press than the popular press. However, it was not a significant amount more, except 2014 when there were over double instances of negative reporting of the seven year period as against the quality press. The literature supports this outcome inasmuch as the popular press, with their routine use of sensationalised negative emotive language (Mason, 2003) are likely to report more negatively than the quality press.

The second category was a count of positive reporting. For this category, 2012 had the overall highest instances of positive reporting in the quality press which was expected. In subsequent years, it was the popular press with least positive reporting. In 2010/2011, there was no positive reporting at all. Given in their more measured reporting provided in the quality press, which are more likely than the popular press to report something positive, or sympathetic with an offender, even the undisputed “bogeyman of our age” (Silverman & Wilson, 2002:12), this outcome is not unexpected. However, overall, instances of positive reporting in both the quality and popular press over the seven-year time span are negligible to insignificant.

The third category was a count of photographs. For this category, 2014 had the overall highest images of photographs in the popular press. There was a trend of an increase in the use of photographs over time, consistent with all national newspapers supporting their stories with ever increasing number of photographs (Franklin, 2013). Kitzinger & Skidmore (1995) identified an extra dimension about the use of photographs of child sex offenders generally. Kitzinger & Skidmore (1995) argued that these photographs reinforce physical characteristics are associated with images of sex offenders to mark them from ‘normal’ people, such as that they are “dirty, unclean, shaven, when you see a photo of them you think, oh, yeah, I can tell” (Kitzinger & Skidmore, 1995 cited in Greer 2003:79) Please see Appendix B which gives a good example of the notion that “a picture speaks a thousand words” (Price, 1994:52), which often means there will be less description in both newspaper presses because the reader has got a visual image (Price, 1994).

The fourth category was a count of online grooming. For this category, 2010 had the overall highest count of online grooming in both the quality press and the popular press and this was interesting to see. However, this content analysis identifies that even with photographs, further descriptions of the physical appearance, mannerisms and demeanour of the sex child offender also appear in the news reports in both the quality and popular press as indicated below. In 2008, 2009 and 2012 there was no mention of online grooming in either the quality press or the popular press. 2011, was the only year with more mentions in the quality press than the popular press as in subsequent years it was the popular press who informed their readership more about online grooming than the quality press. There is a marked trend that mentions of online grooming become more frequent over time as the press, the popular press in particular, draw their readers’ attention to the identified link between the internet and child sex offending behaviour (Martellozzo, 2012) and the dangers of the internet generally (Whittle *et al*, 2013).

The fifth category was a count of mentions of the nature of the crimes committed. For this category, 2010 had the overall highest count of the nature of the crimes committed in the

popular press. The interesting finding within this category is the big differences between the quality press and the popular press. The popular press gives details of the nature of the crimes committed far more than the quality press. In 2011, there was over twice as many mentions of nature of the crimes committed in the popular press than the quality press. The literature supports this outcome inasmuch that Soothill & Walby (1991) argue that the popular press report a great deal of salacious and titillating detail about sex crimes rather than serious accounts of these crimes.

The sixth category was a count of negative mentions of physical appearance. For every single year, there were double sometimes triple counts of negative mentions of physical appearance in the popular press as against the quality press. The most significant year, 2014, had the most negative mentions of physical appearance and 2011 had the greatest difference between the quality press and the popular press. The literature supports the concept that any physical descriptions of the child sex offender replaces or complements a negative photographic image. The high count is interesting in both the quality press and the popular press inasmuch as descriptions of the physical appearance of male offenders are not generally present in news reports, it is only female offenders who receive such close scrutiny about their physical appearance in the press (Jewkes, 2011). As identified by McCartan (2004), however, this high count about the physical appearance of these male child sex offenders has an explanation as it is used to reinforce the 'otherness', 'beast', 'demon' stereotype of this particular offender.

The seventh category was a count of comment, further news coverage on similar past cases of child sex offenders. For this category, 2009 had the overall highest count of comment on similar past cases in the popular press and over the time span, it was consistently the popular press which reinforced the point that one case of child sex offenders was not the exception. The findings shows that it is the popular press which overwhelmingly draws the readers' attention to the fact there have been other similar cases in the past, supporting the moral panic narrative 'that it has happened before and it will happen again'. Altheide (2009) highlights how moral panics "encapsulate the fear narrative for news purposes and part of the social control and fear narrative" (Altheide, 2009:85). He stresses how news reports related to crime and fear have played a part to studies of the links between crime and fear, thus, how moral panics can promote social control though providing a focus for mobilising fear.

The overall summary of findings can be found in Appendix G. Here, it can be seen that for every year recorded, the news reporting is overwhelmingly negative, in both the quality and popular press. Interestingly, from 2010 onwards, there is a pattern of the news reporting becoming increasingly more negative, the highest count of negative coverage being the most recent year, 2014. This is partly explained by the added increased coverage from 2010 about the 'dangers of the internet' in relation to online grooming and also by increased distorted reporting of similar cases giving the newspaper reader the impression that child sex offenders, rather than being a relative rarity, are frequent, commonplace and an 'ever present danger'. Predictably, given their distinct style of sensationalised reporting, overall, it is the popular press's news coverage of a child sex offender which is more negative for every year, except 2008, when the quality press had more negative coverage than the popular press.

## Conclusion

The purpose of this undertaking was to explore news reporting in the quality press and in the popular press, to gauge whether there was a trend of media reporting which reflects a changing understanding of paedophiles over time. In theory, with growing medical and academic challenges to the perceived perceptions of child sex offenders, which I have identified in depth in the literature review, it should follow that press reporting should reflect these changes and reporting on child sex offenders should be evolving away from the stereotype of the 'evil sex beast' to, perhaps, an exploration of underlying causes behind this type of offence, that some of the child sex offenders have a mental disorder, some were abused themselves as children, some have a genetic disposition and many other underlying causes which might contribute to their behaviour.

I wondered if our national press, being a valuable source of information to people, reflect this change of understanding in any way to their readers, indicating that child sex offenders, despite the seriousness of their crimes, required our understanding. It was, after all, not so long ago when, for example, homosexuals were condemned and vilified by our society for their behaviour. Now, with a better understanding and changing attitudes and resultant changes to the law, this group in society are no longer the 'folk devil' they once were in society, or reported as such in the press. I was also particularly interested in a comparison over time because existing academic research mainly focuses on recent child sex offender cases involving the use of technology such as easy access to pornographic images and the new practice of online grooming which is facilitating child sex crimes.

This research project was based on analysing the reporting of the last day of the trial of a child sex offender in six national newspapers, using one comparable case per year in a seven-year time span from 2008 to 2014. I had preconceptions that all the national newspapers would report negatively about child sex offenders, a notion supported by the literature and that there would be no or very little positive reporting and my findings provide evidence confirming this assumption. My findings did, however, reveal a small amount of positive reporting, and, predictably, given their more in-depth and objective style of reporting, this was twice as much in evidence in the quality press than the popular press. However, compared to the negative coverage, any positive coverage became negligible to insignificant. There is also no pattern of news coverage becoming any more positive over time, so there is no evidence to indicate that press coverage is changing in any way for the positive to reflect changes in our understanding about paedophiles, in fact the opposite is in evidence.

This research found that news reporting on child sex offenders is overwhelming negative. Journalists go far beyond reporting a guilty verdict on the last day of their trial. Along with published negative photographs of the offender which tell their own story, detailed reporting of their appearance, dress and demeanour are also included in the news coverage and also detailed descriptions of the offences committed, past and present, conjuring up the traditional negative stereotype of the 'evil sex beast' identified in the literature. Added to this, journalists - twice as much in the popular than the quality press add to the negative coverage by detailing other past child sex offender cases, highlighting that this crime, far from being a rarity is commonplace, the process of deviancy amplification identified in moral panic literature. The coverage, particularly in the popular press, becomes increasingly more negative from 2010 onwards, as the readership are informed about the dangers of the internet and online



grooming, culminating in the most overall negative reporting for 2014, the most recent year in the time span.

When you take into account the much higher circulation figures of the quality press as against the popular press (Please see Appendix A), it can be argued that the vast majority of newspaper readers are reading an unchanged over time totally negative social construction of the child sex offender, routinely portrayed and described as a ‘monster’ ‘beast’ ‘demon’, as identified in the literature. Newspaper readers are reading no news at all, or very little, reflecting or informing them about new recent developments in the understanding of child sex offenders. Given that people get so much of their understanding about crime from the media (Carrabine, 2008), there are clearly distortions in the news reporting of trials of child sex offenders, fuelling stereotypical images, ‘stranger danger’, moral panics and fear.

Although this is a small-scale piece of research that cannot be generalised, it seems that there is nonetheless an indication that despite changes of perceptions about child sex offenders in the medical and academic arena, in the eyes of our national press, in 2014, the paedophile is still firmly the “bogeyman of our age” (Silverman & Wilson 2002:12).

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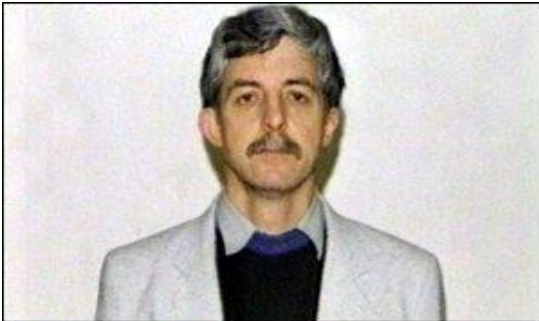
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**APPENDIX A – CIRCULATION FIGURES A B C 2014**

ABCs: National dailies, September 2014							
	September 2014	September 2013	% change	August 2014	Sep 2014 (without bulks)	April 2014 - Sep 2014	% change on last year
The Sun	2,019,032	2,213,084	-8.77	2,108,387	2,019,032	2,062,153	-8.58
Daily Mirror	951,179	1,025,970	-7.29	960,964	906,179	958,351	-7.72
Daily Star	462,491	538,751	-14.15	471,629	461,431	469,149	-13.05
Daily Record	210,858	246,615	-14.50	212,182	205,883	213,819	-15.15
Daily Mail	1,692,610	1,777,780	-4.79	1,678,729	1,616,531	1,690,669	-5.71
Daily Express	467,994	524,944	-10.85	479,017	467,994	478,887	-9.15
Daily Telegraph	505,473	550,023	-8.10	511,857	505,473	512,806	-6.97
The Times	399,915	393,978	1.51	396,671	377,761	396,551	0.39
Financial Times	217,121	241,884	-10.24	210,182	195,216	217,663	-13.12
The Guardian	180,731	197,543	-8.51	177,827	180,731	183,766	-4.42
The Independent	63,135	69,388	-9.01	62,568	45,944	63,035	-12.74
i	286,833	296,699	-3.33	285,902	223,908	286,808	-4.80

**APPENDIX B – INFORMATION ON THE PAEDOPHILE INCLUDING NAME + YEAR, IMAGE AND AN EXAMPLE HEADLINE**



Paedophile Name: Alan Hopkinson  
2008. White – 45 years old.

Example of a Quality Press Headline:  
“Paedophile who kidnapped two girls  
jailed for life”.

Example of a Popular Press Headline:  
“The most dangerous Paedophile”.



Paedophile Name: Dean Hardy 2009.  
White – 50 years old.

Example of a Quality Press Headline:  
“Paedophile identified by freckles on his  
hands jailed for six years”.

Example of a Popular Press Headline:  
“Paedophile identified by his freckles in  
sex abuse photographs jailed for 6



Paedophile Name: Gareth Hulme 2010.  
White – 35 years old.

Example of a Quality Press Headline:  
“Paedophile described as every parent’s  
worst nightmare jailed indefinitely”.

Example of a Popular Press Headline:  
“Paedophile Gareth Hulme warned by  
judge he may never leave prison”.



Paedophile Name: Robert Hathaway  
2011. White – 37 years old.

Example of a Quality Press Headline:  
“Paedophile jailed”.

Example of a Popular Press Headline:  
“Sick paedophile locked up”.



**APPENDIX B – INFORMATION ON THE PAEDOPHILE INCLUDING NAME + YEAR, IMAGE AND AN EXAMPLE HEADLINE**



2012. White – 50 years old.

Example of a Quality Press Headline:  
“Paedophile jailed indefinitely over abduction of boy aged 10”.

Example of a Popular Press Headline:  
“Paedophile named Michael Jackson”.



Paedophile Name: Robert Hunter 2013.  
White – 35 years old.

Example of a Quality Press Headline:  
“UK Paedophile who posed as Justin Bieber jailed”.

Example of a Popular Press Headline:  
“Paedophile who posed as Justin Bieber online to sexually abuse children as young as 9 is jailed for 14 years”.



Paedophile Name: Bradley Bradbury.  
White – 37 years old.

Example of a Quality Press Headline:  
“Paedophile jailed for abusing young patients”.

Example of a Popular Press Headline:  
“Paedophile jailed for 22 years for abusing cancer patients as young as 10”.

**APPENDIX C – DEFINITION OF NEGATIVE REPORTING, POSITIVE REPORTING, NEGATIVE PHOTO, ONLINE GROOMING, MENTIONS OF NATURE OF CRIMES, NEGATIVE MENTIONS OF PHYSICAL APPEARANCE AND COMMENT ON SIMILAR PAST CASES**

Negative Reporting is any type of reporting in newspapers which can be emotional and cruel.

Positive Reporting is any type of reporting in newspapers which can be seen as sympathetic.

Negative Photo is an image of a representation of the perpetrator.

Online grooming is when an individual builds an emotional relationship and connection with a child or children in order to have trust for the purposes of sexual abuse or exploitation.

Mentions of nature of crimes committed is any information describing what particular sex crime the perpetrator committed.

Negative mentions of physical appearance is information describing the perpetrator in a negative way, for instance, unshaven.

Comment on similar past cases is any information about the perpetrator being involved in previous offences and comment on any previous convicted child sex crime offenders.

**APPENDIX D – BLANK EXAMPLE OF CONTENT ANALYSIS CODING SHEET**

Date of Publication Crime Story Number							
Newspaper	(a) Nega tive Repo rting	(b) Posit ive Repo rting	(c) Ne gati ve Ph oto	(d) Onlin e Groo ming	(e) Menti ons of nature of crimes comm itted	(f) Negati ve menti ons of physic al appear ance	(g) Com ment on simila r past cases
The Guardian							
Daily Telegraph							
The Times							
<b>Totals of quality press</b>							
Daily Mail							
Daily Mirror							
The Sun							
<b>Totals of popular press</b>							

**APPENDIX E – BLANK EXAMPLE OF CONTENT ANALYSIS TALLY LOG SHEET**

	Total Negative Reporting (a)+ (c)+(d)+(e)+(f)+(g)	Total Positive Reporting (b)
Quality Press		
Popular Press		
<b>Total Overall</b>		

**APPENDIX F - COMPLETED CONTENT ANALYSIS CODING SHEETS**

Date of Publications: 29 May 2008 Crime Story Number 1: Alan Hopkinson							
Newspaper	(a) Nega tive Repo rting	(b) Posit ive Repo rting	(c) Ne gati ve Ph oto	(d) Onlin e Groo ming	(e) Menti ons of nature of crimes comm itted	(f) Negati ve menti ons of physic al appear ance	(g) Com ment on simila r past cases
The Guardian	12	0	0	0	3	0	2
Daily Telegraph	27	0	0	0	10	1	6
The Times	6	1	1	0	3	2	1
<b>Totals of quality press</b>	45	1	1	0	16	3	8
Daily Mail	3	0	0	0	1	3	1
Daily Mirror	8	2	0	0	4	4	2
The Sun	20	0	1	0	6	4	2
<b>Totals of popular press</b>	31	2	1	0	11	11	5

Date of Publications: 23 April 2009 Crime Story Number 2: Dean Hardy							
Newspaper	(a) Nega tive Repo rting	(b) Posit ive Repo rting	(c) Ne gati ve Ph oto	(d) Onlin e Groo ming	(e) Menti ons of nature of crimes comm itted	(f) Negati ve menti ons of physic al appear ance	(g) Com ment on simil ar past cases
The Guardian	4	0	0	0	4	0	3
Daily Telegraph	4	0	0	0	1	0	2
The Times	2	0	0	0	1	1	2

<b>Totals of quality press</b>	10	0		0	6	1	7
Daily Mail	5	1	1	0	4	1	9
Daily Mirror	4	0	0	0	4	5	7
The Sun	7	0	1	0	3	5	6
<b>Totals of popular press</b>	16	1	2	0	11	11	22

**APPENDIX F - COMPLETED CONTENT ANALYSIS CODING SHEETS**

Date of Publications: 30 June 2010 Crime Story Number 3: Gareth Hulme							
Newspaper	(a) Nega tive Repo rting	(b) Posit ive Repo rting	(c) Ne gati ve Ph oto	(d) Onlin e Groo ming	(e) Menti ons of nature of crimes comm itted	(f) Negati ve menti ons of physic al appear ance	(g) Com ment on simil ar past cases
The Guardian	6	0	0	3	4	0	3
Daily Telegraph	8	0	0	3	10	2	4
The Times	3	0	1	2	2	1	2
<b>Totals of quality press</b>	17	0	1	8	16	3	9
Daily Mail	9	0	1	2	8	7	4
Daily Mirror	9	0	0	3	8	5	6
The Sun	6	0	1	3	7	2	6
<b>Totals of popular press</b>	24	0	1	8	23	14	16

Date of Publications: 20 December 2011 Crime Story Number 4: Robert Hathaway							
Newspaper	(a) Nega tive Repo rting	(b) Posit ive Repo rting	(c) Ne gati ve Ph oto	(d) Onlin e Groo ming	(e) Menti ons of nature of crimes comm itted	(f) Negati ve menti ons of physic al appear ance	(g) Com ment on simil ar past cases
The Guardian	12	0	0	2	3	0	7
Daily Telegraph	4	0	0	3	3	0	6
The Times	4	0	0	1	2	1	2
<b>Totals of quality press</b>	20	0	0	6	8	1	15
Daily Mail	12	0	0	3	6	6	4

Daily Mirror	9	0	1	2	6	5	3
The Sun	6	0	1	2	6	5	2
<b>Totals of popular press</b>	27	0	1	7	18	16	9



**APPENDIX F - COMPLETED CONTENT ANALYSIS CODING SHEETS**

Date of Publications: 5 November 2012 Crime Story Number 5: Michael Jackson							
Newspaper	(a) Nega tive Repo rting	(b) Posit ive Repo rting	(c) Ne gati ve Ph oto	(d) Onli ne Groo ming	(e) Menti ons of nature of crime s comm itted	(f) Negati ve menti ons of physic al appear ance	(g) Com ment on simil ar past cases
The Guardian	9	2	1	0	4	1	3
Daily Telegraph	6	0	0	0	6	1	3
The Times	8	1	0	0	4	1	6
<b>Totals of quality press</b>	23	3	1	0	14	3	12
Daily Mail	14	0	0	0	9	5	6
Daily Mirror	10	0	1	0	4	6	7
The Sun	8	0	0	0	4	5	4
<b>Totals of popular press</b>	32	0	1	0	17	16	17

Date of Publications: 16 September 2013 Crime Story Number 6: Robert Hunter							
Newspaper	(a) Nega tive Repo rting	(b) Posit ive Repo rting	(c) Ne gati ve Ph oto	(d) Onli ne Groo ming	(e) Mentio ns of nature of crimes commit ted	(f) Negati ve menti ons of physic al appear ance	(g) Com ment on simil ar past cases
The Guardian	2	1	1	1	1	1	2
Daily	6	1	0	1	1	1	2

Telegraph							
The Times	6	0	0	2	2	1	4
<b>Totals of quality press</b>	14	2	1	4	4	3	8
Daily Mail	6	0	1	1	1	2	4
Daily Mirror	12	0	0	1	1	3	6
The Sun	6	0	1	1	1	3	4
<b>Totals of popular press</b>	24	0	1	3	3	8	14

Date of Publications: 1 December 2014  
Crime Story Number 7: Myles Bradbury

Newspaper	(a) Nega tive Repo rting	(b) Posit ive Repo rting	(c) Ne gati ve Ph oto	(d) Onlin e Groo ming	(e) Menti ons of nature of crimes comm itted	(f) Negativ e mentio ns of physica l appeara nce	(g) Com ment on simil ar past cases
The Guardian	14	0	1	1	6	3	8
Daily Telegraph	2	0	0	1	5	2	3
The Times	8	0	0	1	3	2	1
<b>Totals of quality press</b>	24	0	1	3	14	7	12
Daily Mail	18	0	1	1	5	8	4
Daily Mirror	20	0	1	0	10	4	3
The Sun	17	0	1	0	2	5	1
<b>Totals of popular press</b>	55	0	3	1	17	17	8

**APPENDIX G – COMPLETED CONTENT ANALYSIS TALLY LOG SHEETS**

2008

	Total Negative Reporting (a)+(c)+(d)+(e)+(f)+(g)	Total Positive Reporting (b)
Quality Press	74	1
Popular Press	58	2
<b>Total Overall</b>	132	3

2009

	Total Negative Reporting (a)+(c)+(d)+ (e)+(f)+(g)	Total Positive Reporting (b)
Quality Press	26	0
Popular Press	66	1
<b>Total Overall</b>	92	1

2010

	Total Negative Reporting (a)+(c)+(d)+(e)+(f)+(g)	Total Positive Reporting (b)
Quality Press	55	0
Popular Press	84	0
<b>Total Overall</b>	139	0

2011

	Total Negative Reporting (a)+(c)+(d)+ (e)+(f) +(g)	Total Positive Reporting (b)
Quality Press	55	0
Popular Press	88	0
<b>Total Overall</b>	143	0

2012

	Total Negative Reporting (a)+(c)+(d)+(e)+(f)+(g)	Total Positive Reporting (b)
Quality Press	53	3
Popular Press	89	0
<b>Total Overall</b>	142	3

2013

	Total Negative Reporting (a)+(c)+(d)+(e)+(f)+ (g)	Total Positive Reporting (b)
Quality Press	37	2
Popular Press	60	0
<b>Total Overall</b>	97	2

2014

	Total Negative Reporting (a)+(c)+(d)+(e)+(f)+(g)	Total Positive Reporting (b)
Quality Press	63	0
Popular Press	109	0
<b>Total Overall</b>	172	0

## **APPENDIX H – 500 word Reflective Report**

Defined as “the involvement of the learner evaluating an outcome of learning or performance against a set standard or criterion” (Kitsantas & Dabbagh, 2010:8), self-reflection involves the learner setting individual standards to use for self-judgment and other social phenomena that occur in the social world. A broader criminological understanding can thus be achieved through summarising the fundamental developments, learning and progress carried out on the Criminology project.

My research study connected to a module that I studied in level 5 which was Crime, Media and Technology. My starting base for my research was influenced by a guest speaker called Helen Whittle. Since 2006, Helen has worked as part of a team in the Behavioural Analysis Unit at the Child Exploitation Online Protection Centre, advising police forces across the country about sex offending behaviour. Helen assists with the investigative process and interview strategies based on knowledge of victim and offender behaviour and the use of various profiling tools. She also likes to work with young people who are experiencing some sort of trauma or who are exposed of male treatment.

The academic skills I developed during the research study were time management and thinking skills. I had to be organised and divide my time equally to each of the sections in order to complete the Criminology project successfully. I used a wide range of resources from the University such as the library where I consulted with academic books, journals and the subject librarian to help me begin and complete my research study.

In order for my methodology to work, I had to use similar sex crime stories that matched my criteria. I used middle age white male men and I avoided celebrity sex crime stories. Also, I choose not to look at female sex crime stories because female child sex offenders are unusual so I thought my research would be limited. One way my methodology could have been improved was choosing more newspapers in the quality press and popular press. This would have further helped answer my research question as there would be more data collected. Also, it was such a pity that Colindale Library was closed because I would have been able to use hard copy newspapers instead of online alternatives.

The knowledge of research methods and the skills that have been acquired through the implementation of such research methods (selecting a research topic, choosing a type of methodology, and carrying out the coding and tally log sheets) have been fundamental in increasing employability.

The process has shown that research is a long lengthy process, thus it is complicated and involves a number of areas that interlink, but in the end it is worth it. It has additionally furthered my research techniques through these will help in the future, having given an insight to the process of research, as I would like to complete a PHD in the same area of crime, media and technology and explore the distortions in the media. As Knight & York (2003:5) argue “A set of achievements – skills, understandings and personal attributes that make individuals more likely to gain employment and be successful in their chosen occupations”. It is these self-reflections that provide a greater understanding to my learning that enables me to appreciate the usefulness of self-reflection in the research study.