

The Concept Of Sex Offender Registry In Pakistan With Interpretive Lens Of Child Protection Experts



Adnan Ashraf	PhD Scholar, Department of Social Work, University of Peshawar, Pakistan Paraplegic Center Hayatabad, Peshawar, Pakistan adnanashraf.1@hotmail.com
Dr. Muhammad Ibrar	Assistant Professor, Department of Criminology University of Peshawar, Pakistan ibrarsworker@uop.edu.pk

Abstract: Background: This paper attempted to explore the concept of sex offender registration (SOR) in Pakistan. The study reviews the international literature and analyze the implemented framework to draw a comparative analysis. The introduction of sex offender registration is a recent development in Pakistan. The government considered sex offender registry as a coping strategy for child sexual perpetrators.

Objectives: The study aims to explore the perspectives of child protection experts regarding the practical application of sex offender registry in Pakistan.

Methods: A qualitative descriptive methodology was applied via in-depth interviews with semi structured interview guide was adopted. The study population were child protection experts who had demonstrated years of experience in policy, planning and administration of child protection. Through Purposive sampling, five child protection experts were interviewed. Each participant in the study underwent a 50-60 minutes' interview in the local language during which valuable insight were gathered. Collected data were analysed thematically.

Results: The study expert posited that the implementation of a sex offender registry system in Pakistan would be suitable and an appropriate set of criteria must be established to classify offenders within this framework. However, they emphasized that such a system must be developed with careful consideration of the country's unique cultural, societal and religious context. The major obstacles to the implementation of sex offender registry includes international covenant legal bindings, financial costs, record maintenance, training and human resource capacity are practical issues.

Keywords: Sex Offender Register, Recidivism, Child Protection Experts, Center for Sex Offender Management, Child Protection Welfare Act 2010

Introduction

During the "tough-on-crime era," a prominent example of a consequence stemming from a conviction was the implementation of registration and reporting requirements for sexual offenses. These regulations were first introduced by the United States in the late 1940s, with the aim of keeping track of habitual sex offenders. However, their effectiveness quickly came into question and they gained a negative reputation. As stated by [Hoppe \(2016\)](#) and

([Lave, 2009](#)), these policies lost support and were either abolished or disregarded as ineffective and unfair by the 1970s.

This approach is based on the shared belief among both the public and legislators that sexual offenders present a substantial and ongoing threat to society. There is a strong belief that these individuals are likely to reoffend, particularly against the most vulnerable members of our communities. As a result, the use of databases to track and closely monitor

known offenders is seen as an effective way to manage this risk ([Sample & Kadleck, 2008](#)). The laws surrounding the registration of sexual offenders require convicted individuals to provide their information to law enforcement authorities, which is subsequently stored in a central database. This system aims to assist law enforcement in identifying and apprehending potential repeated offenders, as well as keeping tabs on known criminals.

In 1990, Washington State pioneered sex offender registration laws. The Clinton Crime Bill of 1994 mandated states to establish registries, further expanded by Megan's Law in 1996, ensuring public safety through offender disclosure. The notion of a sex offender registry was introduced in several countries beyond the United States (US), such as the United Kingdom, Canada, European Union (EU), North America and Australia have taken action to protect their citizens from the threat of sexual abuse. One of the commonly used tactics in these efforts is the implementation of the Sexual Offender Database. Individuals convicted of sexual offenses are legally required to register with law enforcement or a governmental agency. While there is a similar push in these jurisdictions to grant public access to sex-offense registry data, unlike the US, they have largely rejected this mandate. Typically, only law enforcement officials are allowed to view the register information, or there may be limited disclosure under certain circumstances.

The pioneering Sex Offenders Act of 1997, later replaced by the Sex Offences Act of 2003, spearheaded the establishment of a sex offender registry in the UK ([Blacker & Griffin, 2010](#)). It not only marked a significant advancement in addressing sex crimes, but also paved the way for separate registry systems in Northern Ireland, Scotland, and England/Wales ([Kieran, Kemshall, & Hoggett, 2017](#)). In the UK, compared to the US, the limitations placed on those convicted of sexual offences are significantly more rigorous. This is mostly due to worries that the extensive public disclosure of criminal records and arduous impairments may jeopardise the rehabilitation of formerly incarcerated individuals ([Jacobs & Blitsa, 2008](#)).

Registrants must also submit a DNA sample, fingerprints, and a current photo, in addition to disclosing any trips abroad or temporary stays in a household with minors ([Taylor, 2014](#)).

In contrast to the United States, England does not permit unrestricted access to registration information by the public. Instead, England allows for "controlled disclosure" of specific registrants' details, but only in cases where those individuals have been found guilty of sexual offences against minors ([Grace, 2015](#); [Office, 2010](#)). That system, called Sarah's Law ([Lipscombe, 2012](#)), allows the general public to ask if a particular person continues to be a risk to their kid ([McCartan, Hoggett, & O'Sullivan, 2018](#)).

In Canada, the sex-offense registration system closely mirrors that of the UK. While law enforcement officials are allowed to registry information to assist in the investigation and prevention of sexual offenses, this information is typically not open for public access ([Benedet, 2011](#)). The national sex-offense register data in Canada is solely accessible by the police, however, each province has established local notification programs to inform the community regarding registrants classified as high-risk.

In the European Union, records of criminal convictions "may be maintained solely under the supervision of official authorities, which also mandate special measures to ensure the privacy of criminal history data ([European Union, 2016](#)). Therefore, sex-offense registries are not prohibited.

Furthermore, registration serves as a deterrent for potential criminals by discouraging them from committing any type of crime. This implies that individuals who have not yet engaged in or faced allegations of sexual offenses will reconsider before engaging in such behavior, as they do not want to end up under investigation and on a register. The Centre for Sex Offender Management (CSOM) supported this concept, who state that being on a registry can greatly decrease the likelihood of individuals reoffending, as they are subjected to increased scrutiny and are more likely to be caught immediately.

Literature Review

International Variations in Sex Offender Registry

At present, nine countries have effectively implemented sex offender registries (SORs), and Singapore is considering adopting registration and notification systems modelled after those in the USA. However, there are notable variations in the establishment of these registries. Specifically, only the USA and South Korea currently enforce community notification laws, permitting public access to sex offender information. Conversely, six other nations, including the UK, Australia, Canada, France, Ireland, and Japan, maintain sex offender registries but limit public access. Despite advocacy efforts from victim support organizations pushing for legislative amendments to grant public access to these registries, some countries have yet to enact such changes (Long, 2009).

In recent years, there has been a worldwide initiative to increase legal restrictions on sex offenders. However, the United States stands out as a pioneer of what some have labelled "populist punitivism," where public opinion directly influences increasingly harsh laws. In contrast, Western Continental European nations have been characterized as having more lenient policies towards sex offenders. Based on [Petrunik, Murphy, and Fedoroff \(2008\)](#) examination of English-speaking nations such as New Zealand, Canada, Australia and England, these countries occupy an intermediate position between the aforementioned extremes. Regrettably, there has been a conspicuous absence of comprehensive inquiries into the genuine influence and efficacy of sex offender registries.

South Korea boasts a strong system for the registration and notification of sex offenders, which was put into action in 2000. This system ensures that anyone convicted of a sex offense will have their identity publicly disclosed and their information posted on a designated website. Similarly, Taiwan implemented their own legislation in 2005, with further regulations

for operating a sex offenders' database established in 2012. Their database contains essential personal details, details about their conviction, as well as fingerprints, DNA, and a photograph."

One major issue with the concept of registries for sex offender and community notification laws is that they tend to focus on preventing rare incidents of stranger attacks on children ([Meloy, Saleh, & Wolff, 2007](#)). Over the past few years, India has taken steps towards implementing a nationwide sex offender registration program. The police department in New Delhi spearheaded this effort by creating a comprehensive public registry website in 2013. Additionally, research has shown that new cases of child sexual abuse are committed by first time offenders in comparison to registered offender on the list ([Langan, Schmitt, & Durose, 2003](#)).

Sex Offender Registry and Recidivism Rates

The debate between registered and unregistered offenders stems from the belief that Sex offenders are prone to a heightened likelihood of engaging in another offense and endangering the public. To mitigate this risk, SORs impose restrictions on an offender's rights during the reintegration process. However, a study conducted in Iowa uncovered no significant disparity in the rate of reoffending between registered and non-registered sex offenders ([Adkins, Huff, Stageberg, Prell, & Musel, 2000](#)).

The challenge of connecting SORs to reduced recidivism is complicated by other factors. These include effectively rehabilitating offenders to prevent further offenses, limited opportunities for reoffending after registering, and underreporting or undetected cases of sex crimes ([Lievore, 2004](#)). Consequently, it would be inaccurate to solely attribute low recidivism rates to SORs, nor is it feasible to accurately measure their impact on reducing reoffending ([Loucks, 2002](#)). To address this issue, some experts propose implementing pre-screening measures before listing individuals on the registry ([Berkowitz, 2010](#)).

In discussions surrounding crime, the term 'recidivism' carries multipurpose meanings,

whether an individual return to criminal conduct, a prisoner goes back to jail, or an offender shows up in court again. As evidenced by its numerous definitions within literature, the concept of recidivism is complex. However, one common thread across these definitions is the idea of repeated criminal activity by an individual offender ([Payne, 2007](#)). Society often assumes that sex offenders are prone to reoffending due to inherent and fixed inclinations, generally viewed as psychological disorders that necessitate treatment through therapy or medication. It's no surprise that this belief is common, considering that many current research studies define 'sex offending' through a psychological or combined psychological-medical lens ([Winton, 2005](#)).

These concepts are also deeply entrenched in legal discourse, as evidenced by the assertion from the US Supreme Court suggesting unreasonably high rates of sex offender recidivism, albeit lacking empirical substantiation ([Durling, 2006](#)). In both the United States and Canada, rates of adult sex offender recidivism have been reported to vary from 5.3% to 24% ([Levenson & D'amora, 2007](#)). Furthermore, a study revealed that 73% of registered sex offenders in Canada had not faced charges or convictions for another sexual offense within 12 years of their release ([Harris & Hanson, 2004](#)).

A study conducted in Austria revealed that within a brief period of 5 years' post-release, only 6% of 1,115 registered sex offenders were found to re-offend ([Rettenberger, Brien, Turner, & Eher, 2015](#)). This percentage was further broken down to show 4% for those who had committed rape and 8% for those who had victimized children. In a separate research involving 6,102 inmates released in Colorado between 2008-2012, a staggering 61.3% were found to have repeated their offenses without any form of treatment ([Powers, Kaukinen, & Jeanis, 2017](#)). In comparison, 46.8% of those who received treatment were still found to have re-offended. Shockingly, additional studies conducted in Scotland reveal that the recidivism rates may, in fact, be twice as high as reported due to underreported and undetected crimes

([Loucks, 2002](#)).

Research Objectives

The primary objective of this research study is to:

- Establish the perspectives of child protection specialist in Pakistan regarding the concept of sex offender registry.

Methodology

The decision to employ a qualitative approach was driven by its capacity to yield "valuable insights into how individuals construct meaning within diverse social contexts" ([Neuman, 2006](#)).

Tools of data collection

Semi-structured interviews, a popular data collection technique in qualitative research, were utilized. Interview guides ensured consistency across interviews with stakeholder group. face-to-face interviews with child protection experts were conducted, and qualitative data were analysed using NVIVO software for its data analysis and categorization capabilities.

Sampling

Purposive sampling was employed to select individuals, objects, or locations that provide rich information aligned with the study's purpose, rather than maximizing sample size ([Lodico, Spaulding, & Voegtler, 2010](#)).

Ethical Considerations

The University of Peshawar's Ethical Review Board, along with the Graduate Studies Committee (GSC) and Advanced Studies Research Board (ASRB), reviewed the study design and protocol. Formal informed consent was obtained from participants, ensuring their thorough understanding and voluntary participation ([Orb, Eisenhauer, & Wynaden, 2001](#)).

Child Protection Experts

By including child protection experts in the sample, the aim is to gain insights into their efforts to combat child sexual abuse, their interventions targeting child sexual perpetrators, and the practical challenges they encounter on

the ground.

The study participants, identified as CPE-1 through CPE-5, show a diverse yet extensive range of professional and educational backgrounds, all contributing valuable perspectives to the research. All participants are male, with ages spanning from 35 to 47 years. CPE-2, the oldest participant at 47 years, brings 21 years of professional experience. Conversely, CPE-5, the youngest participant at 35 years, has 11 years of professional experience.

The participants possess advanced degrees in their respective fields. CPE-1 holds an MA in Political Science and an LLB, providing a strong foundation in both political science and law, supported by 19 years of experience. CPE-2, with a PhD in Sociology, brings an academic and research-oriented perspective, backed by 21 years of experience. CPE-3, who has an MA in Sociology, contributes 17 years of experience, underscoring his expertise in sociological studies. CPE-4 holds an M. Phil in Public Policy and has added 12 years of experience, reflecting his specialization in public policy formulation and analysis. Lastly, CPE-5 has an MA in Social Work, supported by 11 years of practical experience in the field of child protection, emphasizing his commitment to legal and institutionalize framework. This diverse array of educational qualifications and extensive professional experiences among the participants provides a comprehensive foundation for the study, ensuring a depth of knowledge and expertise in various relevant domains.

Results and Discussions

Sex Offender Registration Management (SORM)

Diverse approaches have been implemented globally for community management of adults convicted of sexual offenses, with significant research attention directed towards the registration/notification mandates and residency constraints prevalent in the United States and other regions. However, research indicates that instead of decreasing reoffending rates, such measures might indeed expand recidivism by limiting individuals' access to employment, housing and other elements essential for

establishing a positive social life ([Zgoba & Levenson, 2012](#)).

In the United Kingdom, each police force operates a Management of Sex Offenders and Violent Offenders (MOSOVO) team responsible for monitoring convicted individuals within its jurisdiction according to their evaluated risk level. Certain individuals may be placed under Multi-Agency Public Protection Arrangements (MAPPA), which involve varying degrees of supervision and intervention proportional to their assessed risk level.

All the CPE stated;

In comparison to the example of United Kingdom, in Pakistan the idea of SORM is in its very early stage. Our police department already over-burden with routine cases of investigation, law and order, low education levels, lack of capacity building and not aware of latest legal development and case management.

CPE 03 elaborated;

The management of sex offender register is additional responsibility without any allocation of trained force, equipment's and resources. It seems in jeopardy to execute the proposed legislative framework in true letter and spirit. The exclusive constituent body of child protection and child welfare KPCPWC already going through administrative challenges and financial constraints, while the additional responsibilities added to the

The Idea of Sex Offender Registry in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

The concept of sex offender registry is prevalent across the world and in Pakistan it has just been proposed. The recent provincial development of "The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa child protection and welfare amendment act, 2022" added a new clause of sex offender registry.

CPE 04 added;

The concept of a sex offender registry is in its infancy stage in Pakistan, necessitating capacity building and sensitization among stakeholders for its implementation. At the provincial level, it has yet to be formally established due to ongoing

political and governmental instability. The newly elected government will hopefully do the legal proceedings on the propose legislative framework.

Furthermore, CPE 05 discussed the reporting mechanism and penalties proposed

The Act also provides for periodic reviews of the register by the KPCPWC every three years under Section 55E. Additionally, Section 55F imposes penalties on organizations intentionally employing sexual offenders, including fines or imprisonment, with vicarious accountability for repeated offenses while employed illegally. Moreover, the Act enforces severe penalties for child abuse, such as life imprisonment or death, as well as 14 to 20 years for child pornography or trafficking offenses. It mandates that child protection courts resolve sexual abuse cases within 30 days and prohibits offenders listed in the register from using public transportation. These comprehensive measures underscore the government's commitment to combating child sexual abuse and ensuring the protection and well-being of minors.

In adherence to the ethical principles governing social work research and practice, particularly within the domain of child protection case management, the issue of confidentiality holds paramount significance in typical scenarios. However, in cases involving child sexual perpetrators, the disclosure of details on public websites appears to contravene established privacy and confidentiality clauses.

Addressing this concern, CPE 01 deliberates

upon the criticality of maintaining confidentiality clauses, underscoring their utmost importance. In cases characterized by habitual perpetration, it emphasizes the imperative to inform the public and relevant institutions about such individuals, who pose a significant threat to society. The rationale behind such disclosure is rooted in the notion that awareness regarding habitual perpetrators is essential for protecting the welfare of children and the broader societal well-being.

Salient Features of Sex Offender Registry under Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Child

Protection Welfare Amendment Act 2022

The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Act No. XIII of 2010 has a new PART added. The following new PART is to be placed into the Act, altering Part-VIII, specifically:

the addition of a new clause, which reads as follows: (vi) "Register of Sexual Offenders" refers to a register record kept up to date in accordance with section 55A of this Act.

55A. Maintenance of Register of Sexual Offenders is part of section DIII (A) of the law. The Act clarify that the names of the convicted child sexual offenders who were reported by the court or the prosecutors must be listed in a Register of Sexual Offenders that is kept up to date by the Police in Consultation with the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa child protection and welfare commission.

55B. Employment Prohibition. Any individual whose name appears or is put in the Register of Sexual Offenders is prohibited from working for any organisation that deals with or involves minors.

55C: It is forbidden to take public transit. It is against the law for the individual to ride any public transit used by children.

55D. Publication on the official website of the Commission. Every piece of information on a person will be made public and published to the Commission's official website, as well as shared with the National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA).

55E. Review of Register of Sexual Offenders.

(1) Every three years, the Commission may examine the name of an offender included in the Register of Sexual Offenders in order to determine whether to remove or keep the offender's name.

(2) The determination of whether to keep the offender's name on file or remove it altogether must be determined by objective standards that are established according to the guidelines.

55F: Penalties for intentionally recruiting an offender. If any private or public organisation operating in the province employs or recruits a sexual offender with knowledge and intent, the

owner or manager of the organisation, as applicable, may be subject to a fine of up to ten million rupees, five years in prison, or both.

(2) If the offender repeats any of the acts listed in Chapter-VIII of this Act while working under such an illegal employment, the management or owner of that organisation, as applicable, will also be held vicariously accountable for the same violation and would face appropriate punishment."

CPE 02 elaborated the KPCPW amendment Act, 2022;

The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Child Protection and Welfare (Amendment) Act, 2022, which mandates that anyone found guilty of sexual abusing of a children face life in jail or the death penalty, was enacted by the legislature on May 31, 2022. A minimum of 14 to 20 years in jail is the penalty for anyone found guilty of child pornography or child trafficking. Anyone found guilty and whose name appears in the Register of Sexual Offenders is prohibited from working for any province-related organisation that deals with minors. It is forbidden for the individual listed in the Register of Sexual Offenders to use public transportation.

All the experts elaborated the following major challenges towards the implementation of sex offender registry;

The foremost hurdles will be the cost of its implementation while keeping in view the ongoing financial situations, added with its administrative budget, resources for investigation, human resource, implementation expenses, cost of incarceration, time management and finances to maintain offender and families.

The key points of the sex offender registry emphasize the imperative of stringent adherence to recommendations such as public access to offender details, prohibition of employment by any organization or institution, and restriction from using public transportation. Seeking insights from sample experts suggested to interpret the Islamic and humanistic perspectives on this matter.

In discussions with all the CPE experts,

it was deliberated that upon completion of a criminal's sentence, excluding cases resulting in capital punishment, the individual is reinstated with all their rights. Stigmatizing individual's post-punishment is deemed unjustifiable within society; they should be afforded the opportunity to travel via public transport and enjoy basic human rights without being subjected to public scrutiny linking them to their past crimes. As integral members of society, they are entitled to pursue gainful employment and lead dignified lives, as undue restrictions may exacerbate their likelihood of recidivism. It is therefore imperative to provide them with comprehensive training opportunities to facilitate their integration into the workforce.

Similarly, Islamic teachings have elaborated the actions towards sinful actions.

As illustrated from Excerpt 02;

There exists a belief that sinful deeds should remain undisclosed, with individuals urged to seek forgiveness from Allah privately. Surah al-Nisa (verse 148) conveys: " Allah does not condone the public disclosure of wrongdoing, except by the aggrieved party."

Imam Bukhari, in reference to the Prophet (SAW), conveys that concealing the shameful deeds of a fellow Muslim will result in Allah shielding the individual on the Day of Judgment.

The findings of this study elaborates;

The prevailing attitudes among child protection experts in Pakistan is favoring the establishment of a sex offender registry (SOR). The restrictions associated with housing, employment, transportation, and identity disclosure are viewed as potentially harmful to the well-being of perpetrator families and children, who bear no responsibility for their actions. Conversely, upon completion of their sentences, there is possibility of reintegration into society. However, the prospect of sharing and limiting daily activities jeopardizes aspirations for successful reintegration.

In lines with these findings, in the context of Pakistan background, the idea of sex offender

register is proposed but not yet implemented. There is a need of proper training, awareness, consensus among stakeholders including the child sexual perpetrator consensus. Importantly, the capacity building of police department to deal with initial stages of the case;

In contrast to the United Kingdom's approach, the situation in Pakistan presents additional hurdles. Our police department is already overloaded with routine cases and lacks familiarity with our rights and case management procedures. The introduction of a Sex Offender Registry (SOR) further complicates matters within our local context.

Conclusion

The findings lead to several critical conclusions for policymakers and stakeholders. Firstly, the implementation of a sex offender registry for child sexual perpetrators requires a consensus among all relevant parties. The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Child Protection and Welfare Amendment Act of 2022 introduced additional penalties, which some argue are contrary to the principles of humanity and justice. Furthermore, the capacity of police department staff is currently inadequate to handle such cases with the necessary humanitarian principles.

Recommendations

Stakeholder Consensus: There must be a unified agreement among all stakeholders, including law enforcement, child protection organizations, legal experts, and community leaders, on the use and management of the sex offender registry.

Humanitarian Approach: The punitive measures introduced by the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Child Protection and Welfare Amendment Act of 2022 need re-evaluation to ensure they align with the principles of humanity and justice. It is essential to balance deterrence with rehabilitation and reintegration efforts for offenders.

Capacity Building: There is an urgent need for a comprehensive training module for police department staff. This training should encompass the principles of handling child sexual abuse cases with sensitivity, empathy, and a focus on the victim's well-being.

Curriculum Development: The induction of a sex offender registration management curriculum should be an integral part of police training programs. This curriculum should cover legal aspects, ethical considerations, and practical skills for managing the registry effectively.

Centralized Database: Establishing a national centralized database is crucial. This database should be accessible to NADRA, the police, child protection organizations, the Federal Investigation Agency, and other relevant stakeholders. Such a database will enhance coordination, information sharing, and the overall efficiency of managing child sexual abuse cases.

Public Awareness: Initiatives to raise public awareness about the sex offender registry, its purpose, and its benefits should be undertaken. This can help gather public support and ensure community involvement in protecting children from sexual abuse.

Monitoring and Evaluation: Regular monitoring and evaluation of the sex offender registry's implementation and its impact on child sexual abuse cases should be conducted. This will help identify gaps, improve strategies, and ensure that the system remains effective and just.

By addressing these recommendations, Pakistan can move towards a more effective and humane approach to controlling child sexual abuse, ensuring the safety and well-being of its children.

Disclaimer

The findings presented in this research paper are derived from my doctoral dissertation submitted to the Department of Social Work, University of Peshawar, Pakistan

References

- Adkins, G., Huff, D., Stageberg, P., Prell, L., & Musel, S. (2000). The Iowa sex offender registry and recidivism: Des Moines: Iowa Department of Human Rights.
- Benedet, J. (2011). A Victim-Centered Evaluation of the Federal Sex offender Registry. *Queen's LJ*, 37, 437.

- Berkowitz, C. D. (2010). Sex offender registration: Balancing the rights of the individual with the public good—a commentary on Comartin, Kernsmith, and Miles (2010). *Journal of child sexual abuse*, 19(2), 226-230.
- Blacker, K., & Griffin, L. (2010). Megan's law and Sarah's law: A comparative study of sex offender community notification schemes in the United States and the United Kingdom. *Criminal Law Bulletin*, 46, 987-1009.
- Durling, C. (2006). Never going home: Does it make us safer-does it make sense-sex offenders, residency restrictions, and reforming risk management law. *J. Crim. L. & Criminology*, 97, 317.
- Regulation (EU) 2016/679 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 27 April 2016 on the protection of natural persons with regard to the processing of personal data and on the free movement of such data, and repealing directive 95/46/EC (General Data Protection Regulation) 2016, 119 C.F.R. (2016).
- Grace, J. (2015). Clare's Law, or the national Domestic Violence Disclosure Scheme: the contested legalities of criminality information sharing. *The Journal of Criminal Law*, 79(1), 36-45.
- Harris, A. J. R., & Hanson, R. K. (2004). *Sex offender recidivism: A simple question* (Vol. 3): Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Canada Ottawa, Ontario.
- Hoppe, T. (2016). Punishing sex: Sex offenders and the missing punitive turn in sexuality studies. *Law & Social Inquiry*, 41(3), 573-594.
- Jacobs, J. B., & Blitsa, D. (2008). Sharing Criminal Records: The United States, the European Union and Interpol Compared. *Loy. LA Int'l & Comp. L. Rev.*, 30, 125.
- Kieran, M., Kemshall, H., & Hoggett, J. (2017). Reframing the sex offender register and disclosure: from monitoring and control to desistance and prevention. *Contemporary Sex Offender Risk Management, Volume II: Responses*, 205-230.
- Langan, P. A., Schmitt, E. L., & Durose, M. R. (2003). Recidivism of sex offenders released from prison in 1994.
- Lave, T. R. (2009). Only Yesterday: The Rise and Fall of Twentieth Century Sexual Psychopath Laws. *Louisiana Law Review*, 69(3).
- Levenson, J. S., & D'amora, D. A. (2007). Social policies designed to prevent sexual violence: The emperor's new clothes? *Criminal justice policy review*, 18(2), 168-199.
- Lievore, D. (2004). Recidivism of sexual offenders: rates, risk factors and treatment efficacy.
- Lipscombe, S. (2012). Sarah's law: the child sex offender disclosure scheme. *Home Affairs, House of Commons [online]* Available at: http://www.insidetime.org/resources/Parliament/Sarahs-Law_SN01692_06-03-12.pdf.
- Lodico, M. G., Spaulding, D. T., & Voegtler, K. H. (2010). *Methods in educational research: From theory to practice* (Vol. 28): John Wiley & Sons.
- Loucks, N. (2002). *Recidivism amongst serious violent and sexual offenders*: Scottish Executive Social Research Edinburgh.
- McCartan, K. F., Hoggett, J., & O'Sullivan, J. (2018). Police officer attitudes to the practicalities of the sex offenders' register, ViSOR and Child Sexual Abuse Disclosure Scheme in England and Wales. *Journal of sexual aggression*, 24(1), 37-50.
- Meloy, M. L., Saleh, Y., & Wolff, N. (2007). Sex Offender Laws in America: Can Panic-Driven Legislation Ever Create Safer Societies? *Criminal Justice Studies*, 20(4), 423-443.
- Neuman, W. L. (2006). Analysis of qualitative data. *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*,

- Office, H. (2010). The child sex offender (CSO) disclosure scheme guidance document: Home Office London.
- Orb, A., Eisenhauer, L., & Wynaden, D. (2001). Ethics in qualitative research. *Journal of nursing scholarship*, 33(1), 93-96.
- Payne, J. (2007). *Recidivism in Australia: Findings and future research*: Australian Institute of Criminology.
- Petrunik, M., Murphy, L., & Fedoroff, J. P. (2008). American and Canadian approaches to sex offenders: A study of the politics of dangerousness. *Federal Sentencing Reporter*, 21(2), 111-123.
- Powers, R. A., Kaukinen, C., & Jeanis, M. (2017). An examination of recidivism among inmates released from a private reentry center and public institutions in Colorado. *The Prison Journal*, 97(5), 609-627.
- Rettenberger, M., Briken, P., Turner, D., & Eher, R. (2015). Sexual offender recidivism among a population-based prison sample. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 59(4), 424-444.
- Sample, L. L., & Kadleck, C. (2008). Sex offender laws: Legislators' accounts of the need for policy. *Criminal justice policy review*, 19(1), 40-62.
- Taylor, L. (2014). *The role of human rights in determining whether complainants of a sexual offence and/or defendants charged with an offence under the Sexual Offences Act 2003 should receive anonymity*. Durham University.
- Winton, M. A. (2005). Treatment paradigms of sex offenders of children: An analysis of professional journals. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 10(5), 569-578.
- Zgoba, K. M., & Levenson, J. (2012). Failure to register as a predictor of sex offense recidivism: The big bad wolf or a red herring? *Sexual Abuse*, 24(4), 328-349.