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## [9] Introductory Section

### 1. The Dominance of the 'Abuse-Figure'

Definitions and classifications of intergenerational sexual contacts are characterized -- in both the scientific and the non-scientific discourses -- by a high degree of non-uniformity. Whereas they are sometimes spoken of in relation to pedophilia, at other times, they are discussed in terms of sexual violence, sexual abuse, incest, sexual exploitation, or molestation. The confusion caused by conceptual conflation impedes our ability to assess and understand the issue. Nowadays, the "interpretational hegemony of the abuse-figure" (Lautmann 1994, pg. 8) appears to define the discourse at every turn. Therefore our first item of business should be to take out a detailed position on this, in order to be able to distinguish the phenomenon of pedophilia from the abuse paradigm. The undifferentiated use of the abuse concept leads, among other things, to a levelling of the differences in terms of the context, duration, intensity, surrounding circumstances, and possible consequences of intergenerational sexual contacts.

The present-day predominance of the abuse-figure can be traced back to portions of the women's and child-protection movements. (Kavemann/Lohstöter 1984; Saller 1987) In recent years, many publications on the sexual abuse of children have appeared in Germany. F1

[F1: Among them are a particularly large number of autobiographical reports. (Laley 1993; Hansen 1993; Petry 1993)]

The vast majority of publications take sides, see themselves as representing

the victims, proceed with "moral indignation," [10] and turn the problem into a scandal with the help of "pithy symbols" and "dramatizing metaphors." (Cremer-Schäfer/Stehr 1990) Only rarely is this literature based on empirical research of its own; some contributions amount, as a rule, to unsystematized experiences, thereby attaining the status of 'abuse work.' Only rarely -- or selectively -- is the international discussion taken note of. Representatives of the abuse paradigm of course proceed based on the notion of a(n observable) violent act and an experience of suffering. But violence is not only an objective but also a subjective event. The concept, as it finds application in the abuse paradigm, always comprises already implicitly assumed interpretations and conclusions. (Löscher 1992) The undifferentiated use of the violence concept has to run aground on the shoals of the reality of 'sexual abuse,' which is not automatically associated with the use of threats and violence against -- and clear suffering by -- the victim. The over-the-top, inflationary application of the concept to a multiplicity of phenomena is not justified. Tightly interwoven with this is, finally, the tendency to reduce sexuality to a factoid, the sexual act; to ascribe too much weight to the sexual act, to isolate and elevate it to a trauma in and of itself, without addressing and differentiating the relational horizon in which a sexual act takes place or even does not take place. (Schorsch 1989, pg. 144) In discussions about sexual abuse, it is, oftentimes, not a matter of ascertaining objectively-verifiable harm. This is implicitly assumed via a normative theory of childhood. Sexual acts are measured against its (in part highly variable) yardstick of age-suitability and child-appropriateness. Work on a theory of child sexuality and an ethic of sexual self-determination for children which might be able to provide the foundation for a theoretically- and empirically-based assessment of abuse revolves around and is tied to it. Instead such work repeats and confirms the definitions of sexual abuse, condemning and prohibiting intergenerational sexual contacts. Though scandalization had initially sensitized the public, today is it scarcely of any help in considering [11] the problems associated with it in a differentiating way. Whereas Rutschky has laid bare the "emphatic voyeurism" (1992, pg. 30) with which the abuse-figure is associated, Schetsche represents the view that the above model "satisfied the acute psychological and ideological needs of an entire series of different social groups in the late 1980s. Namely, the 'desire' that the patriarchy be disavowed, success in the corresponding political arena, restricting sexual freedom of movement, accounting for the existence of widespread psychological disturbances, creating space for experts to carry out their work, and stoking media reports." (1993, pg. 276)

## 2. Definitions and Classifications

Early on, sexual science had made an attempt at the differential consideration of adult-child contacts. Richard von Krafft-Ebing introduced a category which he called "paedophilia erotica." It was intended to describe those cases "in which neither low morals nor psychological or physical impotence drive the sexual need for children, but rather...a psychological perversion." (1912, pg. 415) He regarded this tendency as being primary, focused on less serious acts, with those affected being unable to be aroused by adults. But of course, we must look to more up-to-date explanations: "If pedophilia is an erotic-sexual preference, then it inevitably manifests and shows itself. It is hastily relativized as a fixation; as a perversion of psychiatry as well as an over-reach, it makes

for a rather poor point of departure." (Lautmann 1994, pg. 15) Until now, many studies certainly have neglected, through a differentiation based on various characteristics, to develop a system for classifying the wide variety of sexual contacts that take place between adults and children, as well as the actual interactions that occur in the phenomena under study. Those studies which have attempted to establish a typologization were surveyed by Knight et al. (1985). This model, which definitionally divides the various types of intergenerational sexual contacts [12] into three hierarchical criteria-levels (adult's primary sexual preference, the importance of the child in the relationship, and the significance of force), will be depicted as follows:

#### First Type: The Pedophile

His primary sexual interest is in children. He seeks out long-term bonds that are structured like partnerships. Sex is a component of the overall relationship. Sexual practices are usually limited to mutual stroking and masturbation. Meetings with children who were, heretofore, complete strangers to them are arranged. If the child reacts in a rejecting way to even the most cautious of sexual approaches, he does not press things any further. Threats or the use of physical force are rare. He does not regard the relationship with the child as either exploitative or harmful.

#### Second Type: The Substitute-Object- and Incest-Perpetrator

Adults are this type's primary sexual objects. When sexual contacts with adults are not possible, he switches to children. Moreover for him, the child only represents a sexual object; he must obtain sexual satisfaction. As a rule the children come from the perpetrator's own family (incest) and/or the neighborhood. Particular circumstances of the family situation as well as the influence of alcohol are often catalysts for the sexual acts. Because the child is a substitute sexual object -- taking the place of a woman -- the sexual act usually culminates in penetration or attempts at penetration, irrespective of the child's resistance. The literature makes a distinction between "situational and sociopathic perpetrators." Whereas the former requires a particular situation in order for a one-time sexual contact to occur, the latter takes place within an overall anti-social and aggressive context.

#### Third Type: The Aggressive-Sadistic Perpetrator

Sexual contact with a child, which is entered into with massive violence, is a symptom of a personality disorder or sickness. Numbering among this type are the mentally ill, the feeble-minded, those with brain injuries, and various kinds of sadists. The violence employed is not a means to, but rather, an essential component of, the sexual act.

[13] In conclusion, Knight et al. assert: "It is noteworthy that every child molester scheme included a type with an exclusive and long-standing sexual and social preference for children and contrasted this type with a second whose offenses were seen as a regression from an adult level of psychosexual adaptation in response to stress. Most systems also posited a third type comprised of psychopaths with very poor social skills who turned to children largely because they are easy to exploit, not because they are preferred or desired partners." (1986, pg. 260) [English in original.]

The present study is exclusively concerned with the first type of



intergenerational sexual contacts -- those of pedophiles. Moreover, it is limited only to pedophilic contacts between men and boys under fourteen years of age. [F2]

[F2: Lautmann (1994) reports, moreover, on pedophilic contacts between men and girls. For sexual contacts between women and girls, see Knopf (1993).]

Pedophilia should be understood as a relationship, between an adult and a child, which is driven by feelings of love and includes erotic-sexual desire.

### 3. Sexual Criminal Law

Under the umbrella of criminal acts against the right to sexual self-determination, sexual acts upon children have a special -- as well as broad -- place in the German criminal law. In terms of abuse campaigns, public discussion is concentrated almost exclusively on §176 StGB ("Sexual Abuse of Children"), under which pedophilic contacts in general are also subject to punishment. This section stipulates custodial sentences ranging from six months up to ten years, with less serious cases being punishable by sentences of up to five years or fines, for anyone who engages in sexual acts upon, against, or with a person under the age of fourteen.

Particularly serious cases are subject to custodial sentences ranging from one year up to ten [14] years; namely, when the perpetrator 1) has actual sexual intercourse with the child, or, 2) the child is seriously physically abused during the course of the act. If, through reckless disregard, the perpetrator brings about the child's death as a result of the act, the custodial sentence imposed will be a minimum of five years. Under Par. 5 of §176 StGB, a custodial sentence of up to three years or a fine may be imposed upon whomever 1) engages in sexual acts against a child, 2) conspires to engage, or to have a third person [F3] engage, in sexual acts against a child, or 3) influences a child by showing him or her pornographic images or representations, by playing back audio recordings with pornographic contents, or through corresponding conversation. (See Dreher/Tröndle 1986, pg. 858.) [F4]

[F3: The third person does not necessarily have to be an adult. Inciting one child to engage in sexual play with another child is also punishable.]

[F4: If one wishes to make a distinction between sexual contacts between adults and children in intra- vs. extra-familial contexts, two additional sections of the criminal law must be taken into account: Just before the section on Criminal Acts Against the Right to Sexual Self-Determination is found §173 StGB. It concerns sexual intercourse among descendants and relatives along ascending lines. 'Sexual intercourse' means vaginal penetration or the 'intrusion of the male member into the labia menora.' (Dreher/Tröndle 1986, pg. 841) §174 ("Sexual Abuse by Those Entrusted to Protect) makes sexual contact with a person under 16 years of age punishable when one of the parties is entrusted with raising-up ("foster parents," "guardians," "step-parents," "teachers," "nannies," "members of the clergy" (pg. 847), educating ("teachers," "doctors," "pastors," "driving instructors" (pp. 847-848), or looking after the other party as they go through life ("residence directors," "probation officers," "trip chaperones") (pg. 848). Acts which do not fall under §173 are also



punishable under §174 when. e.g., they are akin to sexual intercourse and no vaginal penetration or "no intrusion of the male member into the labia menora" has taken place.]

The current wording of §176 StGB is the result of the Fourth Reform of the Criminal Law of 1973. Previously, §176 ("Serious Lewdness") comprised circumstances that did not only concern children. With the Fourth Criminal Law Reform, intergenerational contacts were assigned a paragraph of their own. There was also a clear expansion of the acts covered. It was intended to guarantee [15] comprehensive protection against sexual contact of any kind between adults and children. "The law must protect the child's overall, undisturbed development from premature sexual experiences." (Dreher/Tröndle 1986, pg. 858) This suggests a formal, legal, manifestly and necessarily clear drawing of boundaries, an unequivocal and unmistakable statement of the official sexual morality; but it cannot rein in the multiplicity of sexual goings-on. The problem lies in the fact that the variety and volume of acts which are subject to punishment is simply too great: obscene conversations, the exhibiting of pornography, playing doctor, exhibitionistic acts, genital manipulation, mistreatment, rape, and killing are lumped into one and the same paragraphs. They concern acts which -- with regard to their harmfulness, riskiness, or potential violence to children -- are extraordinarily dissimilar, and can hardly even be compared with one another. It is not just the use of force that makes it sexual abuse; what we have here are "abstract-risk offenses" (Dreher/Tröndle 1986, pg. 858), even though it is possible that no harm was done to the victim, or that he or she was never in any jeopardy. Lautmann speaks of "differentiation-hostile wording," since the paragraph "makes no provision for the screening-out of cases which do not merit sanction." (1980, pg. 44) Moreover, the concept of "sexual abuse" remains vague: What is meant by it? When are we talking about acts "upon," "against," and "with" a child? The criminal law's commentaries are more in the nature of "a biological, if not actually pornographic enumeration of sexual practices than a comprehensive description of objectionable interactions." (Baurmann, 1991a; pg. 51) The present study will, therefore, take pains to assess the act-events in pedophilic relationships more closely, throwing light on them through micro-analysis.

#### 4. Criminal Statistics

Firstly, it is worth noting that the extent of sexual contacts between adults and children in Germany is not known. [16] Only in the Police Criminal Statistics (PCS) are 'reliable' figures to be found. [F5]

[F5: It must be noted that the PCS only represents the number of suspected cases, whereas in the criminal proceedings statistics, one is able to see how many cases are resolved and result in conviction every year. These two statistics cannot be compared directly with one another, because cases that might, in a given year, merely be reported may only be resolved in the following year or later. In order to resolve this problem an outcome statistic would be needed, which at the moment does not yet exist. (Baurmann 1991, pg. 231) The criminal proceedings statistics are, however, much smaller than the PCS figures.]

It provides information regarding the number of different attempted and

carried-out sexual crimes that are recorded and investigated by the police and then indicted by the district attorney. In the year 1992, 16,442 cases of the completed and attempted sexual abuse of children (§176 StGB) were catalogued in the PCS. The victims of these criminal acts were 18,275 children under fourteen years of age, of whom 13,882 were girls and 4,393 were boys. Of the accused, 97.4% were men, with women making up the remaining 2.6%. Of the victims, 57.5% had not previously been acquainted with the suspects; 7.2% were related to the perpetrators [F6], and 18.4% were acquainted with them. (Federal Republic of Germany, Police Criminal Statistics 1993, pgs. 19, 60-63, 119) [F7] [F8]

[F6: In this context, the PCS defines relatedness as "all family members, according to §11 Par. No. 1 StGB (thus including relatives by marriage, engagement, divorced parties, foster parents and children)." (Federal Republic of Germany, Police Criminal Statistics 1993, pg. 61)]

[F7: "Acquaintanceship" is not defined by the PCS, and on the form is subjectively determined by the person filling it out. Moreover, it is of course the rule that what is coded is always the closest degree of relationship (as per the PCS). Filling out the form (differing by state) are sometimes case workers, sometimes 'case analysts.' The latter, at least, administer it in a more uniform way. (Nevertheless, here the entry would be no less subject to error.) Otherwise it is not very precise, even under the guidelines for completing the form. (Baurmann, personal communication)]

[F8: One still has to look at those cases where there is typically a taking advantage of a relationship of dependency, which must also be considered: §174, §174a, 174b StGB ("Sexual Abuse of Dependents"), with 1,329 registered cases for the year 1992 (Federal Republic of Germany, Police Criminal Statistics 1992, pg. 19), and moreover, §173 ("Sexual Intercourse Between Relatives"). The PCS does not put out any figures for this. According to Federal Police Bureau calculations, Baurmann estimates that the number is around 500 attempted and completed attempts per year. (1992, pg. 82) At the same time, how many persons were under 14 years of age remains unclear. (Concerning this, also see Footnote 4.)]

It is important to consider the fact that, among the [17] sexual acts that are reported under §176 ("Sexual Abuse") are to be found both many sexual acts against single children (i.e., exhibitionism) as well as more serious cases of rape against a child. Baurmann (1983) has subjected the cases to a cluster analysis and worked out their heterogeneity: 35% of the reported criminal acts can be characterized as exhibitionistic acts (pg. 407), with a further 20% or so "proving to be quite superficial and rather harmless" (pg. 408). In about half of the cases the child's dependency was taken advantage of; he or she was -- in the broadest sense of the word -- threatened or felt him/herself to have been threatened. Of this sub-group, approximately 20% were able to be crystallized out which had "quite a lot in common with sexual coercion and rape" (pg. 408). Through the cluster analysis, it was found that "with increasing degree of acquaintance, more serious kinds of sexual contacts also had to be expected" (pg. 373). The study emphasizes that: "Some authors who, on the other hand, assume that all or most registered cases of child sexual abuse involve violence, threats, or the abuse of power find themselves confronted with results which contradict this

opinion. (...) Consequently, cases of 'pedophilia' would also be quite rare, relative to the magnitude of the crimino-legal cases that frequently comprise the 'sexual abuse of children' group" (pg. 408). Baurmann, therefore, also is not at all surprised "when the assessment of so-called 'sexual abuse of children' can vary so greatly in political discussions. Therefore, depending upon one's political intentions, either the relatively harmless half of criminal acts, or the other half, sexually violent acts (in the strict sense [18] of the word), in this area are extrapolated out and reckoned to predominate" (1991, pg. 234).

## 5. 'Dark Number' Estimates

For the crime of child sexual abuse (§176 StGB), Baurmann estimates a 'light/dark number' ratio of 1:5. (1991, pg. 233) Therefore for 1992, with a 'light number' of 16,442 reported cases, the 'dark number' would be assumed to be 82,210 criminal acts. In estimating the 'dark number,' however, there is the following problem to consider: A dark number estimate presumes the existence of an objective definition of 'abuse.' Depending on one's perspective, varying estimates are bandied about. For example, coming out of the arena of 'abuse work' are very different, terribly seductive 'dark number' conceptualizations. Kavemann and Lohstötter assert that "approximately 300,000 children are sexually abused every year." (1984, pg. 28) As Exhibit A one can certainly fall back on Baurmann (1983) himself, with his Federal Police Bureau victim interviews. The assertion made is, however, absolutely baseless. The latter author has repeatedly set the record straight regarding this faulty representation. He bears quoting here in some detail: "First of all, it is striking that the authors of this 'dark number' estimate have included the 'rape' and 'sexual coercion' of 'girls under 18 years of age'; consequently, they should really have spoken in more precise terms, about 'sexually violent acts against girls and women.' Furthermore, it is, to me, striking that a 'dark number' estimate of 1:20 should then be ascribed for the area of the 'sexual abuse of children' (really, according to the sources cited therein, it would in fact be '1:2 up to 1:18'). This questionable 'dark number' estimate is, then, used as a multiplier of the 15,000 reported cases of sexual abuse and sexual violence against children. But at the time of the publication of this book (1984), the 'light number' itself was already some 3,000 to 3,500 victim-cases on the high side, even when assessing cases of exhibitionism in front of children as 'sexual abuse' or 'sexual violence.' When one does not so assess them, then this 'light number' would constitute an over-count of [19] some 6,000 to 7,000 victim-cases. But what these authors completely fail to recognize is that sexually violent acts in the strict sense of the word, as well as the sexual abuse of children and exhibitionistic acts in front of children, yield entirely different 'light/dark number' ratios. With absolutely no reservations whatsoever, Kavemann/Lohstötter multiply 15,000 (allegedly forcefully perpetrated victimizations of children) by 20 (the alleged 'dark number'), thus arriving at the figure of '300,000 children being sexually abused every year.' Many subsequent publications referred to this faulty calculation, often ascribed to me or to the Federal Police Bureau, sometimes even calling it a conservative estimate, or, the annual number of sexually violent acts against children." (Baurmann, 1992, pg. 100)

Employing the concept of 'sexual abuse' in an undifferentiated way, thereby producing false numerical estimates, suggests the reality of a secret



epidemic of sexual violence directed against girls (and women). Lautmann has worked around this encroaching sphere of moral entrepreneurship, asserting that: "By definition the problem is blamed on men, and indeed, often enough, on the entire species. (...) Those afflicted are not only the individual victims but all women, who are under the threat of rape for their entire lives. A sort of victimogenesis has been added to the female social character." (1993, pg. 151) What is also a component of this context is that thoughts about protection precede any thoughts of self-determination. Considerations about prevention and intervention fill entire books about 'sexual abuse,' whereas ideas about children's sexual self-determination as well as empirical inquiries are at a comparative disadvantage. The moral politics which derives 'dark number' estimates, police criminal statistics, and crimino-legal determinations quash the question as to the child's sexual self-determination; on the contrary, there is likely to be a presumption of asexuality.

#### [20] 6. Methodological Problems in 'Abuse Research'

Just like with their 'dark number' estimates, empirical results from scientific studies of intergenerational sexual contacts vary considerably depending upon their methodological presuppositions. And so many studies -- as just described -- do not make a differentiation in terms of the various types of intergenerational sexual contacts, but rather, under the interpretational model of 'sexual abuse,' combine intra- and extra-familial sexual contacts together into a single construct. (Baker-Duncan 1995; Finkelhor et al., 1990; Kercher/McShane 1985; Miller et al. 1991) A further problem is a lack of definitional clarity; i.e. what, in terms of the problem of sexual abuse, 'children' and 'childhood' are understood to mean. There is the question as to whether a uniform age-phase can be presumed. Many studies set strict age-limits, which turn out to be quite different from one another: Gebhard et al. (1967) use 12 years of age as the cutoff; McCaghy (1967) age 13, Kinsey et al. (1963) age 14, Baker and Duncan (1985) as well as Miller et al. (1991) age 16, and Kercher and McShane (1984) even go up to 18 years of age. [F9]

[F9: "Sexual abuse may also be committed by a person under the age of 18 when that person is significantly older than the victim or when the perpetrator is in a position of power or control over another child." [English in original.] (Kercher/McShane 1985, pg. 366)]

Sometimes, only the beginning of puberty is specified as the age limit. (Cohen et al. 1969; Mohr et al. 1964) Many studies use as their bases legal determinations (for Germany, Kirchhoff and Kirchhoff 1979, for example), or, by contrast, explicitly depart from the latter and define them in diffuse terms: "Therefore, in the end, only a case-by-case definition of sexual abuse against girls and boys can be constructed, which is based on the child's experience of helplessness at the time and is oriented towards the consequences for the child's physical and psychological development, instead of categories from the criminal code." (Enders 1989, pg. 9f.) Sometimes a particular age difference between perpetrator and victim is seen as the definitional [21] foundation for sexual abuse, i.e., by Finkelhor, who establishes an age difference of five years for children up to 12 years old, and ten years for older children. Consequently adolescents, among others, become perpetrators of sexual abuse.



One fundamental problem is just what acts constitute sexual abuse. In many studies, it is not only acts that are associated with direct physical contact that are classified as abuse, but also acts in which no physical contact comes about, such as, for example, exhibitionistic acts, sexually-tinged conversations, or photographs of naked children. (Baker/Duncan 1985; Finkelhor 1979, 1984; Kercher/McShane 1984) Sometimes, studies merely ask in general terms whether sexual contacts have taken place under circumstances "when the subject did not want them." [English in original.] (Miller et al. 1991, pg. 45) Or, the question has a suggestive bias and is highly conducive to distortions via retrospective interpretation, as, for example, in Finkelhor: "When you were a child, can you remember any kind of experience that you would now consider sexual abuse involving someone touching you, or grabbing you, or kissing you, or rubbing up against your body either in a public place or private -- anything like that?" [English in original.] (1990, pg. 20) (Emphasis added.)

A further methodological lack of clarity is whether one only inquires about forced and unwanted acts, or also, about possibly consensual acts, as was done by Okami (1991).

Finally, there is the issue of how the study group is put together. Besides the problems inherent in retrospective inquiries and the assembling of selective samples is the fact that the highest prevalence rates are found among women in urban households, with polls of the general population yielding figures in the middle-range and college samples having the lowest rates of all. (Haugaard/Emery 1989, pg. 89)

## [22] 7. Etiological Paradigm

Whereas there is, on the one hand, a lack of differentiations in the criminal law, Police Criminal Statistics, 'dark number' research, and the methodological approach to empirical studies into intergenerational sexual contacts, there has, on the other hand, been an abundance of questions posed as to the etiology of and therapy for the perpetrators. Interests driven by the desire for etiological insight have been preoccupied, again and again, with finding out whether the adult has any psychologically- or socially-striking features, whether sexual problems lead to children being used as sexual objects, and whether one's own experiences of sexual violence are causally related to the perpetrator profile. Finkelhor and Arayi (1996) have combined the various explanatory hypotheses into a factor-model which is based on the following four guidelines: 1. Why does a person need to have sexual contact with a child in order to find sexual satisfaction? 2. What makes a person capable of being sexually aroused by children? 3. How does a person become so frustrated with sexual interactions with adults that he turns to children? 4. Why is a person not hindered, by social norms, from seeking out sexual contacts with children? The various question-levels are subdivided into an overall total of 23 explanatory hypotheses, ranging from early childhood trauma, to chromosomal disorders, to problems with alcohol. But empirical studies flatly contradict the prevailing theory-based explanations. Okami and Goldberg compared, using research reports, eighteen personality characteristics of men who have had sexual contacts with children with a control group, and found that: "little clinically significant pathology was found, among either 'pedophiles' or 'sex offenders' against minors." [English in original.] (1992, pg. 297)

[F10]

[F10: Concerning this, see also the study by Langevin et al., which concludes: "None of the commonly-held hypotheses were supported." [English in original.] (1985, pg. 204) Furthermore the overview by Levin and Stava, which was able to find differences in only one study. (1987, pg. 76)]

Consequently, the so-called perpetrators are usually not seriously psychologically [23] disturbed men. Likewise they are not, as is often assumed, socially isolated and conspicuous. There is to be found "no confirmation for the thesis that these men are loners." (Breckhaus/Kolshorn 1993, pg. 80)

The view that the adult would be sexually unsatisfied and frustrated, and would turn to children as a substitute for sexual contacts with adults needs -- according to the above-described classification system -- to be rethought. For the pedophilic type, it is the case that he has an almost exclusive sexual interest in prepubertal children. Freund et al. (1991) have been able to confirm this thesis by using phallometric measurements in the laboratory. Likewise, Briere and Runtz (1989) were able to ascertain, with student questionnaires, that 5% of men surveyed have exclusively pedophilic desires. Men can also develop a quite specific interest in children beyond an impetus to use them as substitute objects.

The thesis of a connection between one's own experience of sexual violence and perpetrating violence oneself is only able to be confirmed to quite varying degrees. Whereas Gaffney et al. (1984) came to the conclusion that 27% of subjects were, as children, themselves victims of sexual violence, DeYoung (1982) arrived at a figure of more than 60%.

With regard to therapeutic efforts, in a survey of the literature in which twenty-five empirical studies were evaluated, Kelly came to the conclusion that: "No large study group or series of cases has determined the overall effectiveness of these behavioral treatments." [English in original.] (1982, pg. 406)

## 8. Harm Paradigm

In addition to the focus on etiological questions, many publications have concerned themselves with the issue of harm to "self or other-declared victims" [F11] of sexual offenses.

[F11: On the differentiation of the victim-concept, see Baurmann (1979, pp. 90-92).]

But as Lachmann (1988) has already pointed out, these publications are based -- depending on [24] the underlying ideological or theoretical scientific fundamental premises -- on different and at times even divergent judgments. Feminist-oriented works assert that harm to child sex victims is always a given (Armstrong 1985; Kavemann/Lohstötter 1984); advocates of emancipatory sexual pedagogy try to demonstrate just the opposite, and have even demanded a corresponding reform of the criminal law (Kercher 1973; Potrykos/Wobke 1974). The risk of cherry-picking evidence cannot be completely ruled out; uniform contemporary trends of the '60s and '70s on the one hand, and those

of the '80s on the other, are recognizable. Both extreme positions are suspect, given the fact that it is all too easy to deductively proceed based on normative assumptions; moreover, what is actually occurring goes unnoticed. Appraisals from the psychoanalytical side go even further. Ferenczi has characterized the incestuous relationship as "linguistic confusion." The child's desire for affection does not mean that he or she wants to be turned into a sexual object by adults. The latter "confuse children's playfulness with the desires of a sexually mature person, allowing themselves -- without considering the consequences of the sexual contacts -- to get carried away." (1972, pg. 308) On the other hand, Schorsch, the founder of the Hamburg School of psychoanalytically-oriented sex-psychiatry, asserted in the 1970s that: "A healthy child in an intact environment will assimilate non-violent sexual experiences with adults without any ill-effects." (1975, pg. 358) Against the backdrop of the abuse campaigns, which led to the ideologization of child sexuality and sex with children, there was an explosion in victim-oriented literature, bringing with it changes in the visibility as well as the place of sexuality, eventually occupying a relativized -- and yet still underscored -- position: "Child-love is, consequently, neither generally bad nor generally good. There is only so much that can be said about it: It is risky due to its asynchronicity, it is burdened by the disparity in desires; however, this does not mean that it is intrinsically harmful." (1989, pg. 176) The thesis of asynchronicity is also taken up by Dannecker (1987). He is of the opinion that only following puberty does the heretofore merely predisposed [25] and pre-formed sexual object finally become centered. In a pedosexual relationship, a reciprocity of objects is lacking.

Compared to those sexual-theoretical positions, however, a glance at the more recent empirical studies shows that the question of harm cannot be answered in terms of one or another -- in part defensive -- position. In a study comparing 369 sexually exploited children with children who did not have experiences of this kind, Comte and Schuermann pointed out that an "abuse experience" can be processed in some very different ways: "Some children appear to be very seriously damaged, others less so. And still others seem to not be affected by it at all." (1987, pg. 389; cited in Honig 1992, pg. 401) [F12]

[F12: In another study, in which 25 empirical studies into the problem of harm were compared with one another, Comte (1985) found that global statements such as "all children are harmed," or, "the contacts are generally not harmful," cannot be sustained based on the status of today's knowledge.]

The difficulty with the harm paradigm consists of the fact that oftentimes it is only argued theoretically, or indeed, in the empirical studies, no theoretical integration of the findings is performed. Ascertaining psychological harm as the result of particular sexual contacts remains dubious, so long as, for example, only statistical associations are present, which cannot say anything about the direction of the calculated correlation. (Diesing, 1980) It is scarcely possible to find out, via a one-time interview, whether a child with pre-existing psychological problems has especially frequent sexual contacts with adults, or, whether it is because of sexual contacts with adults that psychological problems have arisen. It is important to make sure that the overall context, and above all, the



conditions relating to secondary victimization (Lempp 1968; 1990), are more seriously considered. [F13]

[F13: Kilpatrick (1987) has called attention to the notable methodological premises within the framework of a theoretical inquiry into the investigation of harm.]

One cannot represent harm in terms of a "one-to-one relationship between the violence experience and the formation of symptoms." Honig (1982, pg. 402ff.) has pointed out the multiplicity of factors which determine the potential for harm, such as, for example: age and gender of the child and the adult, contact duration and frequency, nature of the relationship between child and adult, type of sexual act, threats or the use of force, as well as mediators such as secondary victimization and the child's psychological environment (e.g., rejection in the home).

In conclusion, it should, therefore, be borne in mind that one cannot simply proceed based on the assumption that harm is an objectively-present fact. It is, therefore, problematic when, for example, conspicuous conduct on the part of children is all too quickly, and possibly wrongly, interpreted as the result of sexual abuse, and for the purpose of diagnosis, "checklists" are drawn up which are meant to aid in detecting abuse. (Braecker/Wirtz-Weinrich 1991; Enders 1990; Glöer/Schmiedeskamp-Böhler 1990; Steinhage 1990; Trube-Becker 1987) [F14]

[F14: In this connection, Offe et al. (1992) have drawn attention to the consequences for the practice of social work. They deplore the fact that indications of sexual abuse are rashly converted into the certainty of it; one goes on the assumption that every suspicion of abuse must also be based on actual fact.]

The present study, however, will not be driven by the question of harm. This would have meant including in the study the children who had had contacts with the men who were interviewed. At the moment this would certainly appear -- in the face of the campaigns against the problem -- to be extremely difficult, on the grounds of research ethics. Moreover because a theory of child sexuality is lacking, or is only at the early stages of conceptualization (Honig 1993; Perry 1990; Constantine/Martinson 1981), questioning the children would be premature. Therefore here the debate over the question of harm has been explored in great detail, so that through the portrayal of its ambivalent implications we will be free to reflect on the fact that not every sexual [27] contact between an adult and a child is equally harmful; one must, first of all, content oneself with reconstructing the course of the interactions from the older party's point of view.

## 9. Themes in 'Pedophilia Research'

The theoretical and empirical literature which focuses exclusively on the above-described type of pedophilia is thin. Under the heading "Male Intergenerational Intimacy: Historical, Socio-Psychological, and Legal Perspectives" [English in original], a 1990 special issue of the Journal of Homosexuality summarizes the current status of the research, beyond the abuse, etiological, and harm dogmas. (See, in the following, Sandfort/Brongersma/van Naerssen 1990.) It can be viewed as the mirror



image of the scientific process in this particular branch of research. The following themes are catalogued: The phenomenon of pedophilia is described in terms of comparative historical, ethnological, and cultural perspective: as initiation rite among present-day peoples, as "Greek love" in ancient Grecian society, and as pedagogical eros during the historical era of the youth movement. A proper historical essay examines the conditions under which various age limits for sexual contacts between adults and children are arrived at. In the social psychology component, contributions concerning the 'self-image problem' and questions of self-acceptance are discussed. Pedophiles' identity problems are described by way of analogy to various phase-models of a "gay identity" (i.e., from coming out to coming out all over). [These three phrases English in original.] In a further contribution, children's sexual scripts are discussed. In this special issue, problems relating to pedophiles' self-organizing clearly stand in the foreground. This collection of essays shows that historical themes, questions of identity, and problems of self-organizing are especially dominant in the debate over pedophilia.

Besides these scientific works, there is a small number of publications which have come out in the arena of pedophile organizations. (Hohmann 1980; O'Carroll 1982; Tsang 1981; Vogel [28] 1986) But also discussed in them are historical questions, problems in self-organizing, legal debates, and identity themes. Likewise in the area of pedophile organizations, empirical studies have been undertaken in the Netherlands: Bernard (1978; 1979), who in the 1970s carried out studies of long-term contacts between boys and men, has demonstrated that oftentimes it is the children who would have seized the initiative in the contacts; most of the children would regard and accept the sex as part of the overall relationship. Harmful consequences were not found by this author. Brongersma (1986; 1990) has himself been quite occupied with the various questions relating to pedophilia, and moreover has, again and again, fallen back on studies of his own. He is interested, above all, in a child's attraction as well as psychosexual development (Vol. 1, 1986); and further, the problem of a repressive sexual upbringing and how it responds to a pedophilic relationship (Vol. 2, 1990).

Sandfort (1986) has looked at the experiences that boys have had in pedophilic relationships. For this he interviewed 25 boys, ranging from age ten to sixteen. Some of the boys had already been friends with the adults for as long as six years. Sandfort shows that it is only following a long friendship that the sexual contacts occur; and this predominantly initiated by the adults. For the most part the boys do not see themselves as being oppressed or exploited; the adults would have accepted their needs and demands. The boys come predominantly from troubled families, and regard the relationship as a substitute family.

It is clear from this brief overview that up until now one of the central questions has remained completely unanswered, which is meant to be the focus of the present study; that is, the question of the unknown interactional course of a pedophilic encounter.

#### [29] 10. Issue Under Study

At the center of attention of almost all of the studies that have been conducted as of this point has been either the children, above all with

respect to the question of harmful consequences, or the adults, with regard to their psychodynamics and amenability to treatment. In the crimino-legal debates, the etiology- and harm-paradigms are framed within the context of the extent of the contacts between adults and children, which is derived from criminal statistics and 'dark number' estimates. What are rarely considered are the social events in which the course of the sexual contact comes about. Taken out of context, depictions of external criteria remain stilted. What gets asked about is the location, duration, and frequency of the sexual contacts, the number of victims and how they were selected, the perpetrator-victim relationship in terms of the parties' formal degree of kinship or acquaintance, the intensity of the sexual practices, and the presence of threatened or applied force. The sexual act is, moreover, perceived as a purely biologically-motivated event, as "satisfying the sex-drive," thereby completely excluding their social and communicative aspects as well as their psychological importance to the participants. (Schorsch 1987, pg. 125f) The exclusive focus on the physical, genitally-referent act means that the act-events are either understood and able to be explained only biologically, or not at all. Due to the interactions being so reduced, the actual course of the acts between the participants is rendered incomprehensible. Consequently, what is missing in this field are studies which describe the interactions. Up until now, juristically speaking, the perpetrator and/or the victim has been the primary focus of interest, the act less so. Implicit presuppositions concerning the background details relating to the act, seen as circumstances of absolute violence, lead to a strong taking of sides against the detestable perpetrator and for the pitiable victim. In the debates over the justifications and limitations of criminalization, there is clear agreement that what we have here is in fact a criminal act. Points of view arguing for a perpetrator-centered (i.e. character, prevention) or victim-oriented (i.e. the desire for retribution, reparation) criminal law are, on the other hand, [30] restricted or not acknowledged at all. This pigeon-holing of acts by the criminal law makes it necessary to analyze the act-events from a social science point of view. With act-concepts and act-determinations today standing at the center of crimino-legal discussions, criminology can take its cue from that; i.e., by empirically studying the interactions inclusive of their subjectively-ascribed meanings.

Therefore, the present study shall devote itself to the following central research questions:

1. How are the interactions of the getting-acquainted process constructed?
2. How do the interactions play out in terms of everyday events?
3. How do the sexual interactions play out?
4. How is a dissolution of the relationship interactively carried out?

### [31] Methodological Section

#### 1. Exploratory 'Dark Number' Research and Access

As of this point, empirical studies into sexual contacts between adults and children have originated predominantly from the 'light number' sphere. The lion's share of the findings are based on cases that were the subject of legal proceedings, as well as persons who, due to such contacts, were either imprisoned or residing in psychiatric institutions at the time the research was conducted. These findings are distorted by the psychosocial effects of

total institutions on those concerned. [F15]

[F15: Polsky, the sociologist of criminology, likens such research to zoology; he contends that criminal perpetrators or patients are studied like caged gorillas. (1973, pg. 47) He holds, moreover, that in researching criminal subcultures, "sociology is not of much value if it does not, in the final analysis, concern itself with real-life people in their normal life-world." (pg. 71)]

Moreover it is known, from representative retrospective inquiries, that the majority of sexual contacts are not reported to state agencies, etc. In order to examine these unknown contacts more closely, in this study the focus is on sexual contacts which have not been subjected to crimino-legal proceedings or psychiatric practice. This will be attempted by undertaking an exploratory 'dark number' study. (Concerning this research strategy, see Schwind 1981; Sack 1985; Müller 1978; Undeutsch 1983.) Such a project is faced with the task of incorporating the "unexplored terrain, marginality, or novelty of the phenomena into an exploratory, [32] qualitative plan of action." (Hopf 1984, pg. 18) The goal of this undertaking was to make a qualitative research contribution to the sociological description of pedophilic interactions. The portraits of those who are being interviewed will, insofar as possible, be filled out by their own ideas of what drives them. In connection with this, gradually capturing the internal perspective is absolutely indispensable. A qualitative, exploratory 'dark number' study involves describing the interactional events from the perspective of those concerned, in order to provide -- through interpretation and analysis -- theoretical secondary constructs. As Geertz would put it, we might well speak of the attempt at a "dense description." Moreover the goal is "to become entrusted with the answers which other persons...have found, and incorporate them into the archive of human expressions which is accessible to everyone." (1983, pg. 43)

Talking about sexuality and personal sexual experiences is a problematic undertaking, especially when it is subject to the omens of stigmatization and criminalization. Therefore, an effort was made to deal with this difficulty up front, in order to foster a relaxed conversational atmosphere. The sexuality of the interview participant should not be approached as a "worrisome secret." (Foucault 1983, pg. 49) The desire to obtain more insight into pedophilic events, and the intention to attain the subjects' own "expert status" for oneself, was greeted with great receptivity. Moreover the men questioned hoped that, by sharing their experiences, they could contribute to a more humane understanding of their situation.

## 2. Recruitment

The interviewees, correspondingly, consisted of the research population of male adults who have engaged in sexual contact with prepubertal children outside of the familial context, whereby these contacts should not have previously been, or currently be, the subject of criminal proceedings or psychiatric practice. In order to minimize any distortions in the population being [33] questioned, and to find various avenues of access to the 'dark number,' a multiplicity of recruitment sources was utilized. In concrete terms, these consisted of a citizens' rights-oriented sexual-



political organization, pedosexual groups, a contact network, and the procuring of reports and interviews within the framework of the 'snowball' method. Aside from the self-declaration as pedophiles, the men had to have had practical experience in terms of contacts with boys. A total of forty men were interviewed. The recruitment source distribution, in which the interviewees are classified based on their existing pedosexual experiences with children under fourteen years of age, as well as their experiences with criminal proceedings and/or therapeutic practice, is described as follows:

Tab. 1: Interviews based on Recruitment Source, Degree of Pedosexual Experience, and 'Dark Number' Rank

Recruitment Source	Interviews Conducted	Meeting criteria in terms of:	
		1. Pedosexual Experience	2. with boys under age 14
		3. w/o criminal proceedings and/or therapeutic practice	
Organization	10	4 in 1 - 3	6 in 1 - 2
Groups	7	4 in 1 - 3	3 in 1 - 2
Contact Network	6	1 in 1 - 3	5 in 1 - 2
Reports	4	3 in 1 - 3	1 in 1 - 2
Procurement via Third Party	13	11 in 1 - 3	2 in 1 - 2

All of the interviewees evinced having had pedosexual experiences.

[34] The experiences with criminal proceedings were in the past; these had resulted in acquittal, sentences of probation, or fines. Only one of the interviewees had been sentenced to a term in prison. Any given interview was able to be completed over the course of a weekend. Therefore conversations were conducted with these persons in order, among other reasons, to gain further access to the 'dark number.' They themselves chose to be part of the research project. Moreover, they hold important organizational as well as mediator roles within the 'pedosexual scene.' It was worth winning their trust, in order to gain the broadest possible access to the 'dark number.'

Their therapeutic experiences were of an outpatient nature. At no point in time had any of the interviewees been a psychiatric inpatient.

Regarding the particular recruitment sources:



### Citizens' right-oriented sexual-political organization

Right at the very beginning of the project, before any attempts were made to recruit interview partners, the research request was presented to the organization's annual general meeting. In order to attain our goals -- primarily, to carry out 'dark number' interviews -- it seemed like a good idea to convince the members of this organization of our personal trustworthiness. Their help as go-betweens aided us in recruiting such conversational partners, who were rather passive, reclusive, or, in any event, not members of this organization. Consequently, those attending that annual meeting were not themselves interviewed. But the organization did support the study, and printed a brief description of it in their newsletter.

### Pedosexual groups

Contact was established with three pedosexual groups from various parts of Germany. Fourteen of the northern German group's daily meetings were attended for various intervals; we corresponded with the southern German group, and a single contact was established with the remaining group. Moreover some interviewees were obtained from yet other groups, [35] some of whom had very few members, and whose participants would show up only very irregularly. Consequently, the important thing is that it was not only the "members in good standing" of a group that were interviewed, but also those who were part of the 'dark number.'

### Contact Network

The recruitment of interview partners through a contact network of go-betweens took place in five spheres: those known to project members through their sexual-science activities; via the citizens' right-oriented sexual-political organization; through the pedosexual groups; the Department of Sex Research at the University of Hamburg; and via a graduate student who had joined the project.

### Reports

To begin with, a brief description of the research project was written up; in it the aims and purposes of it were made clear in understandable ways. Above all, the guarantee of anonymity was pointed out. The brief description was printed in an issue of a popular monthly journal on pedophilia, which is part of the pedosexual scene; and also in the regularly appearing newsletter of the citizens' right-oriented sexual-political organization, which is also used as a jumping-off point by those who are interested in pedosexual issues.

### Snowball Procedures

Obtaining interview partners via already-questioned persons proved to be extremely useful and fruitful. Those interviewed were able to get a good picture of the interviewer as a person and make concrete assessments of the project. Following a manifestly positively experienced contact and personal interaction in the interview, the interviewees could, "in good conscience," vouch for the study and pass the word about it.

[36] As a rule, the establishment of contact proceeded as follows: As soon as there was a sign of a readiness to engage in conversation, a preliminary interview was conducted by telephone. In the overwhelming majority of cases, the subjects either made the call themselves, or, permission was

received through an intermediary to place a call to the subject. The preliminary interview pursued three goals: First of all the absolutely confidential handling of the interview was guaranteed, and the ways in which the anonymity of those questioned would be assured and spelled out. Furthermore, background information on the subjects was solicited. Central to the establishment of trust was convincingly answering their own questions regarding the goals of the study, particularly whether one would be pursuing -- as was the case with most of the studies up until that time -- psychiatric, psychological, psychoanalytic, medical, or criminological research goals. The fact that those were excluded from consideration, and that the interviewees were able to bring into the conversation their own views on pedophilic events was particularly important, and certainly made a decisive contribution to their willingness to participate. Moreover, an attempt was made to carefully verify the sample criteria. At the same time, it was a question not of lapsing into a hurried and cool conversational tone, but rather of explaining, in a manner that could be understood, why things had to be done this way. In addition, a date, time, and location for the interview was arranged. With two exceptions -- the interview partners did not show up at the prearranged locations -- all of the so-arranged interviews came off without a hitch.

### 3. Data Collection

For the reconstruction of pedophilic interactions, a data collection method which brings together both the problem-centered and narrative elements of the qualitative interviews would seem to be in order. Whereas in the problem-centered interview (Witzel 1982; 1985) a particular framing of the problem has already been analyzed and certain aspects have already been [37] fleshed out [F16], which, in any event, are addressed in interview manuals, in the narrative interview (Schütze 1977) the narrative principle is front and center.

[F16: As early as the so-called necessary, positive struggle of the 1960s, hypothesis-free social research was already being criticized. The contested distinction was between research which was conscious of its own hypotheses, and that which withdrew from such awareness. (Adorno et al. 1969)]

In the data collection, there was an attempt to combine both the problem-centered approach as well as the narrative principle. Our problem-centered tack will be modified with the help of narrative data, so-called "accounts of unique lived experience." [F17]

[F17: "Accounts of unique lived experiences are those subjectively interesting, actual events that are drawn from oral accounts which are related one after another, with the orientation-structures of the actual events also being reconstructed, to a considerable extent, according to the perspective of experiential recapitulation. (Schütze 1977, pg. 1)]

Consequently, the theoretical concept remains open vis-à-vis the meaning-structures of those being interviewed (the principle of openness). [F18]

[F18: To a great extent, the tension between openness and structuredness in interview collection permeates the methodological debate. (See, e.g., Kohli 1978, Wahl et al. 1982; Kleinung 1982; Jüttemann 1985.)]

Centering on a particular problem-framework, and yet at the same time posing open questions, the problematic sphere of interest is merely alluded to, and in such a way that a narrative-generating stimulus is presented (the principal of day-to-day, temporal communication). [F19]

[F19: Concerning the principle of openness and communication, see Hoffmann-Riem 1980, pp. 343-348. For more about this, see the foundational work by Schütze, Meinefeld, Springer & Weymann: "Foundational Theoretical Premises for a Methodologically-Controlled Approach to Understanding Strangers," in: Bielefeld Sociological Working Group (Eds.): Everyday Knowledge, Interaction, and Social Reality. Opladen 1980, pp. 433-495.)]

Moreover a communicational relationship is established with the interviewee which takes, as its point of reference, the rule-system of the interview partner himself. In the interview, an attempt is made to find a middle ground between, on the one hand, the originality of the narrative, and on the other, the methodological postulate of comparability. The guidelines should merely guarantee a certain comparability of the interviewees, without restricting [38] the interviewees in terms of their narrative. [F20]

[F20: A similar course, which attempts to combine a problem-centered approach with a narrative-generating design, has been pursued by, e.g., Mühlfeld et al. (1981) and Honer (1985).]

Therefore narratives would appear to be significant, since they are scenically rooted and well-suited for themes with a high potential for conflict. One may proceed based on the assumption that they illustrate the structure of act-orientations and the course of events in comparatively precise ways, for the stringing together of events impels the narrator to "dig down deep" (Schütze 1977, pg. 1) and describe and explain the details with greater exactness. This getting 'caught up' in the narrative is particularly likely to occur when one is successful in motivating one's conversational partner to relate his experiences in chronological sequence. Therefore, the thematic blocks which were laid down in the interview guidelines were not dealt with in an isolated manner, but rather, through the stringing together of more or less concrete sexual experiences. A given account gained in plausibility as more details were provided, and there existed the possibility of a reconstructive interpretation, for the interview partners were of course obliged to make explicit the meanings and contexts of their narratives. Consequently, a correlation between verbal representations and actual act-courses probably can be attained, at least over the course of many narratives. In contrast to justifications and argumentations, they are act-oriented.

#### 4. Conducting Interviews

The above-described problem- and narration-centered approach implies treating the interviewees as experts. The encounter and the interview are carried out in such a way that a conversational situation is initiated in which those being questioned feel that they are being taken seriously and have an interest in how the matter is characterized. Precisely because conversations about intimacy are correspondingly difficult to conduct -- especially when it comes to a sexual preference which is not only taboo and stigmatized, but is crimino-legally prosecuted [39] and criminalized on top.



of that -- it is extraordinarily important for the interviewer to demonstrate that he is just as interested in the interviewee as a person as he is in his biography. (See Kinsey et al. 1955, pg. 36.) The conversational encounter demands what Wolff (1976) has characterized as a desire to understand, and above everything, not being a know-it-all. A necessary corollary to this would seem to be a willingness to have a radical change in perspective. It is not the relevance-system of the sociologist, but rather, the relevance-system of those whose stories are supposed to be being described and reconstructed which must, from the very beginning, constitute the focus of attention. In addition to that one must, of necessity, also have -- as Honer has formulated it -- a "certain amorality" (1989, pg. 301) at one's disposal. Here, a knack for amorality means "nothing more than a readiness to wall off one's own morals, thereby radicalizing merely that pragmatic research practice which we all know to be the postulate of steering clear of value judgments." (pg. 301)

The difficulty in broaching the subject of taboo, stigmatized, and criminalized sexual events was alleviated somewhat by, in the course of an initial, frank phase of the conversation, articulating problem-specific knowledge of these complex themes. In order to encourage those being interviewed to present their subjective view of the problem at hand, one does not just immediately engage them in purely artificially carried-out non-directive communication. The interviewees' interest in conversing is, rather, generated and maintained by one being able to make it explicitly clear that one is in fact interested in their view of the matter. Such a "quasi-normal conversation," as is also employed by Hitzler & Honer (1988), 'breaks the ice' in the interview situation, above all in the initial phase, and promotes an atmosphere of trust. The result is by no means to inhibit conversation, but rather, to generate a narrative. Naturally it reduces barriers to interaction, and normalizes what is, in fact, always the highly unusual communication situation of the interview. Certainly the interviewer cannot, by way of facilitating such an interview, "limit himself to [40] posing 'softball' questions, giving friendly nods, and saying 'uh-huh'." (Hopf 1978, pg. 107) [F21]

[F21: Bergod & Breuer (1987, pg. 28) also see a danger that, via an overly drawn-out narration, above all when, as early as the beginning of an interview encounter, an unusual conversational situation is produced which can lead to considerable insecurity on the part of the interview partner. There is, moreover, the danger that the interviewee will be turned into a "neurotic narrator." (Bude 1985, pg. 333) Though his narrative may indeed 'flow' quite well, his talk may be devoid of any real content, because he has to employ this as a defensive strategy. He then merely tells himself and others something, as Bude would say. A "homology of narrative form and experiential form" is, therefore, no longer present.]

In the second phase of the interview, based on the methodological concept, three interrogatory courses were pursued. With the "general sounding out" prong, stimulated by a prompting question, the interviewees were asked to delineate their various experiences. With the request to provide an account of how they saw these contacts, one was able to get a sense of the perspective from which the interviewees have constructed their portrayals (preferences/fixed, ongoing contacts/intermittent contacts/past contacts). The next prong was devoted -- almost as a matter of course -- to questions

regarding the initial becoming-acquainted stage as well as the course of the contacts. In these ways, in the interview guidelines, the planned theme-blocks were strung together. In between them, what cropped up again and again were "specific sounding-outs," whereby an attempt was made to follow up on the interviewees' narrative sequences as well as the variations in their various accounts. Via "looking in the mirror" and "understanding-questions," the active generation of real understanding was brought about. These soundings-out also served to elicit new rounds of narratives. If they appeared to be important for placing the relevant themes in their respective contexts, when there were questions for the interviewees which were not covered by the guidelines, or, when one touched on aspects which were not addressed by the guidelines, additional "ad-hoc questions" would also be posed.

#### [41] 5. Interview Guidelines

Interview guidelines should, on the one hand, stress the thematic focal point corresponding to the problem-centered approach, while still, on the other hand, leaving enough room for the interviewees' accounts, also including -- above all -- themes which, though not explicitly included in the guidelines could, nevertheless, be of importance for the study. As an orientational framework for the interviewer, he was well-served by the assistance and differentiability potential of narrative sequences. The guidelines consist of an introductory, general sounding-out question, as well as seven subject-areas with an overall total of 19 key questions, which in part -- above all in the "sexuality" theme-block -- were subdivided yet further into bullet points. This subdivision helped to establish whether the interviewees picked up the questionnaires themselves or whether, if necessary, they had to be asked to do so.

The theme-areas were comprised of the following: getting acquainted, the day-to-day routine of a pedosexual relationship, the child, sex, the end of relationships, the child's parents, and the potential threat of a criminal report. At first glance, nineteen key questions may seem excessive [F22]; but the interviewees often addressed several questions simultaneously in their interviews, without having to be asked to do so. And so, in the "getting acquainted" theme-block, some interviewees gave an account of how long their friendship had existed and where and how the getting-acquainted came about; or, in the "day-to-day" theme-area, a continuous narrative sequence was reported in which certain activities were undertaken, where the encounters took place, how frequently, etc.

[F22: Hopf has called attention to the dangers of "guideline-imposition" ("guideline bureaucracy"). (1978, pg. 101)]

The structure of the theme-fields as well as the sequence of the account would in no event be imposed on the interviewees; rather, the self-selected conversational thread was to remain untouched. But in fact, it was demonstrated that the thematic construction of the guidelines tracked closely with the interviewees' own course-descriptions. They went on a bit too long only in the areas of getting acquainted, the day-to-day, and the boys' [42] characteristics, before getting to the theme-field of "sex." To this extent the course-form is a favorable one, because in the intervening time the interviewer is able to assess how he should introduce and explore.

this latter, most critical theme-area.

If the guidelines' spontaneous narrative item were left unanswered, narrative-generating "ad-hoc questions" would be posed at the appropriate juncture in the interview. Furthermore, a decision would be made as to whether, and at what points in the interview, additional, "specific soundings-out" were necessary in order to paint a more complete picture.

The practical applicability of the guidelines was verified in a pre-test consisting of four interviews. Because no acceptance-, understanding-, or time-related problems cropped up during these conversations, their contents were incorporated into the interpretation section. The in part, in and of itself, open-ended structure of the conversation allowed for a higher degree of comparability in terms of assessing the data. The conversations were able to be directly related to the respective guideline questions, which made the evaluation that much easier. At the end of the interviews, biographical data was collected.

## 6. Tabulation of Data

### Transcription

The interviews took, on average, two hours to complete; they were transcribed word-for-word and without any asides.

The following protocols were implemented: Remarks from the interviews were identified by the symbol "F." Para-linguistic utterances (ah, hrm) were not transcribed; non-verbal features and other notable aspects were placed in parentheses (laughs), emphases underlined, pauses identified -- according to length -- with up to three dashes (---), and unintelligible remarks signified by ellipses (...). For reasons of better readability, linguistic idiosyncrasies (i.e., a repeated "ne") were, admittedly, omitted.

As to the anonymization of transcripts, the following is of note:

Interviewees' first names were replaced by pseudonyms; likewise [43] with yet other names which might be mentioned during the interview. Place names or other identifying characteristics were omitted.

The quotations' accompanying labels, e.g. (1/1-5) or (1/1-10, 20-25), are to be read as follows: Before the back slash is the interview page number. Following the back slash is the indication of the line numbers. A comma between line numbers indicates that statements relating to a given topic were combined from two different, discrete narrative statements. The elided, intervening text is, therefore, replaced by an ellipsis without any parentheses [...].

### Coding

Content-based codes were developed, above all, vis-à-vis the problem-centered orientation as well as the interview procedures. This also served to ensure the already-mentioned greater comparability of the data. Based on the four-interview pre-test, the 44 codes which were developed were compiled into six code-blocks with the following themes: social connections, sex, child, power, surrounding contexts, biography.

The technical aspect of the coding of the interview data was carried out



based on the program-constraints of the intended evaluational procedures (AQUAD - Analysis of Quantitative Data). (See Huber 1989, 1990; Kelle 1990; Giegler 1992.)

### Evaluation of Data

The wealth of interview material begs the question as to which evaluational procedures are best suited to fleshing out the generalizable, inter-subjective connections between the described course-processes in ways that are understandable. How should the large number of portrayed experiences be classified? The data evaluation method is closely related to findings which are of interest to -- as well as predicted by -- the research hypotheses. The sociological processing of the interview text was oriented towards a procedure which, while playing down any case-internal structural connections, stressed the [44] commonalities across various case descriptions of pedophilic events. This insight-driven approach was aimed, in terms of the project's framework, at the typical "intersection of individual-biographical and social structures." (Gerhardt 1984, pg. 64) And so the evaluational form that was chosen was one of a "typologizing interpretation." Structures, connections, types, and recurrences that cut across the various cases are fleshed out from the narratives. Standing at the center are detectable, prevailing patterns of pedophilic interactions.

The idea was that via comparison [F23], a proper structuring of the interview data could be attained.

[F23: The classical sociological literature has already taught us how to apply the fundamentals of analyzing phenomena in terms of both their commonalities as well as their differences. Simmel: "With complex phenomena the homogeneity is worked up just as one would do with a cross-section, with the heterogeneities...being held constant." (1983, pg. 12)]

To begin with, in an initial read-through of the text, a subject-oriented evaluation took place which was essentially based on the thematic complexes of the guidelines: paving the way for contact / sexual interactions / day-to-day events / separation / power asymmetries / control over events. For purposes of attaining greater theoretical depth, relying heavily on Strauss (see 1991, pg. 43), the case-comparison procedure was undertaken. The strategy of "maximizing differences" [English in original] (Glaser/Strauss 1974, pg. 55) enabled, via the parallel compilation of 40 man-boy contacts, an initial classification of the interview material, whereby polar types were marked. The contrasting comparison was performed both within as well as across the individual subject-areas; next to interactions which were identified as "serious" were, above all, "playful" ones; but there were also "difficulties" and "faultlines." This result led to some reflection on the fact that a multiplicity of interactions and experiences obviously takes place in various relational contexts of the pedophilic encounter. With this so-obtained finding, an attempt was then made to invest the thus-derived experience-types with some sort of theoretical context. Above all, the contrast between the more playful and the more serious interactional connections was redolent of a theoretical model which would [45] appear to represent this type of experience quite well: Goffman's contextual analysis (1977). The elicited depictions of pedophilic interactions were evaluated in the light of this theoretical model, with the over-arching theoretical

categories derived from it being applied to the cases under study. The interactions depicted by the interview partners were, along with their meaning-descriptions, meant to be based on -- as well as informed by -- this theoretical model in terms of its "pragmatic refraction" (Schütze et al. 1980, pg. 445) [F24]; i.e., on their context.

[F24: "Particular act-functions always convey information, and are not to be interpreted 'purely semantically' as situation-abstract meaning-configurations." (Schütze et al. 1980, pg. 445f.)]

Moreover, over the course of the study as a whole, it has been shown that a theoretically-driven work furnishes more points of orientation for a systematization of the data, compared to studies which are specifically aimed at the object-sphere of pedophilia.

## 8. Establishing Validity

In interpretive social research, there is always some doubt expressed with regard to the quality of the data collected. With skepticism one encounters the question as to "whether information concerning other social phenomena has been permitted to pass for data relating to the phenomenon at issue." (Honer 1989, pg. 298)

In narrative research, however, one proceeds based on the assumption that the accounts tell a story of structural characteristics which registers any discrepancies in terms of what are merely presented as being the facts of the matter. With this insight, one may have confidence in the validity of the instrument designed to elicit uniquely experienced histories. Two formal, ascertainable structural elements may be found in the described account: the narrative's chain of events, and its degree of narrativity. They can serve as a yardstick for establishing whether what we have is more along the lines of a reality-based representation, or one which is distorted due to the control of information. All in all, the ebb and flow of the narratives did in fact possess the "air of authenticity." (Matthes 1983, pg. 11) This [46] goal is, however, not attainable via a passive-receptive, emotionally neutral, and socially-detached interviewee role: "Only when the research subject is able to give form to his act-orientations in autonomous self-representation, based on his own ascriptions of relevance, when he is able to be emotionally engaged in -- and can also see the importance of -- the interview communication relative to his day-to-day actions and relations -- only then may internal validity be hoped for." (Hoffman-Riem 1980, pg. 350)

If an account is inconsistent and changes in terms of its theoretical depiction, or, if an attempt is made to interrupt the flow of the conversation or to end it, these are clues to the existence of problematic areas.

Aside from the question of whether the interviewee is able to express his views unhindered, also of importance is, of course, the relationship of trust between the researcher and his informants. (See Denzin 1970.) What also counts here is the ability to ensure anonymity, as well as the interviewer's conduct and appearance (looks, clothing, speech). But what also -- as has already been mentioned -- was given great weight by many of

the interviewees was that before them was placed a social problem which they had a personal interest in shedding some light on.

But in addition to the furnished potentiality for autonomous representation, the narrative also served many interviewees' desire for self-understanding. [F25]

[F25: The distinction between self-depiction and self-understanding is discussed by Kohli (1981).]

And so, scarcely any informants showed up for the interview who would not have had a need to grapple with both themselves as well as the issue at hand. Undoubtedly there were also conversational partners who wanted to use the interview to pursue propaganda goals; but the latter certainly had no influence on the narratives provided in these encounters, and scarcely any experiences were related which could be said to be absolutely unique. In this research project -- and this, in all probability, has a lot to do with [47] the subject and the type of approach with respect to it -- the interview partners had a great need to speak about their in-part also burdensome experiences, and personally reassure themselves with regard to them.

## 9. Demographic Distribution

The present study makes no claim as to the representativeness of its results. One cannot make any sweeping generalizations based on the 40 interviews that were conducted. This is, rather, in the nature of an exploratory study. Indeed, with regard to certain sample characteristics, we are obliged -- in the following -- to examine whether what we have here is perhaps a one-sided or fundamentally skewed constellation of interviews. In specific terms, these characteristics are distributed as follows:

### Age

The not implausible assumption, that in this study only "receptive" interviewees of younger ages would have made themselves available for conversation, was not confirmed. With experiences from several generations one would encounter different permutations in terms of self-image, lifestyle, and everyday problems. Of the 40 interviewees, the youngest was 21, and the oldest, 75 years of age. The age-distribution of the sample was as follows:

Tab. 2: Interviewees' Ages

<u>Age in Years</u>	<u>Number of Interviewees</u>
21-30	15
31-40	10
41-50	12
51-60	2
60-	1



The average age of the interviewees was 36. The overwhelming majority of this population was able to look back upon approximately fifteen years of [48] relevant experiences. Admittedly, though, a long duration did not necessarily say anything about the quality and the quantity of the contacts; indeed, that is just what the present study shall examine first. But what can be stressed is that those questioned did in fact look back upon long-standing pedosexual experiences. The research population was not dominated by those who were just having their coming-out and initial sexual experiences. It was able to be ascertained that the sexual-biographical characteristic "15 years with more or less frequent, intensive, and meaningful sexual contacts, mainly without any criminal proceedings or psychiatric experience," provided an empirically-solid basis for constructing a sufficiently understandable, broader framework for the social interactions and contexts typical of pedophilic events.

#### Educational Level

Educational level is, in addition to occupation, an important criterion for determining social class membership. The readiness to give an account of sexual behaviors which are made taboo by outsiders, and which, on the grounds of prudence, must be concealed, requires, on the one hand, courage, and on the other, a certain ability to reflect, in order to make a decision whether or not to participate, based on a subjective appraisal of the chances and risks involved. The fact that in this study it was predominantly middle-class men who were prepared to give interviews probably had something to do with this "calculational ability" and self-confidence; in spite of the trust-building approach, they were never able to completely exclude the possibility of the situation becoming -- from the interviewees' point of view -- an unpleasant and precarious one.

In concrete terms, those questioned evinced the following levels of schooling:

Tab. 3: Interviewees' Level of Education

Educational Level *	Number of Interviewees
Special School (Sonderschule)	1
Hauptschule	10
Realschule	9
Gymnasium	20

[\* Translator's note: The German school system is set up quite differently from, e.g., that of the U.S. Here is how The Economist (rather sardonically) explains it: "Germany is one of the few European countries that still divides children up at the age of ten. The cleverest go to Gymnasien, the main route to university; the ordinary are sent to Realschulen; and the dullards attend Hauptschulen, often the breeding-grounds for disaffection."

#### [49] Occupation

The widespread presumption that pedophiles are predominantly employed in social/pedagogical occupational fields was not confirmed in this study. This is clear from Table 4, which lists the occupational abilities currently

being practiced by the interviewees. In order to protect their anonymity, some of those questioned did not want to name their occupation in more specific terms, and were, therefore, circumspect about it (e.g., self-employed, civil servants, employed by a social control agency), or, said only that they were craftsmen, workers, students, or had no learned occupation. In the following an attempt was made, insofar as possible, to classify the interview partners' occupational activities according to occupational sectors.

Tab. 4: Interviewees' Occupational Activities, According to Occupational Sector

Industry/ Craftsman	Natural Sciences/ Technician	Service (Public)	Service (Private)	Sales	Administrative
Auto Mechanic	Engineer w/Degree	Teacher/Prim.	Notary Asst.	Book Dealer	Social Scientist
Locksmith	Programmer	2 Teachers Sec. I	Confectioner	Graphic Artist	
2 Carpenters	Farmer	2 Teachers Sec. II	Baker	Exporter	
Gardener		3 Social Pedagogues	Publicist		
Plant Worker		Social Worker	Musician		
Warehouse Worker		Theologian	Waiter		
			2 Drivers		

Though it is true that among the 40 interviewees there are eight pedagogues, the range of occupations in the sample still ranges from work at a car shop on up to a degreed engineer, and from a functionary at an industrial plant on up to the position of a social scientist in administration.

## [50] Theoretical Section

### 1. Goffman's Use of Interactional Analysis

Again and again in his work, Erving Goffman has described interactions in which the person, as Hitzler conceptualizes it, "is constantly overcoming problems, looking for answers, and indeed, putting the pieces of the puzzle together." (1992, pg. 451) The pedophilic man would also appear to be such a "Goff-being" (1992); however, he has to proceed based on the assumption that, in encounters with children, the establishment of expectational security is not a simple matter. From the getting-acquainted process to separation, constantly in the foreground is the question, analogous to how Goffman (1980, pg. 16) has also posed it vis-à-vis the analysis of interpretive schema of frames: "What is actually going on here?" These men are always having to ascertain this for themselves, as they seek to construct their interactions; they are constantly having to reckon with

difficulties and problems. Above all, due to children's oftentimes unpredictable actions, much in these encounters would initially appear to be unclear and uncertain. Given the more or less hit-and-miss nature of such dealings, circumstances demand the creation of some sort of expectational certainty. Furthermore, one may proceed based on the assumption that almost everything that happens in these encounters can only be brought about within the context of the interactions which are occurring at a given time. In addition to the above-stated aspects, I would also like to use Goffman to analyze pedophilic interactions because he has developed extensive conceptual instrumentation for describing interactions, in which -- as has been said -- expectational structures would appear to be, at best, incomplete and in need of clarification. In order to be able to shed light on a difficult to understand, and indeed, socially controversial situation, it seems to me that this conceptual superstructure, [51] which allows us to gain insight into the "interactional order" (Goffman 1983), is exactly what is needed. In addition to this flawless conceptual work, which, in contrast to other interactional concepts (e.g., the identity-concept, the script-concept, and in part other interactional concepts) is quite 'fine-tuned,' the Goffmanesque model offers the advantage, moreover, of showing considerably stronger connections to empirical observations than is the case with other interactional approaches.

## 2. Uncertainties and Vagaries in Interactions

Goffman has always been interested in interactions which are imbued with uncertainties and vagueness. Ever since "On Cooling the Mark Out" [English in original] (1952), there have been problems associated with this: And so it seems that above all, in order to work through uncertainty and vagueness, a controlling "representation of the self" (1988) is needed; a theme, which crops up in manifold ways, in connection with various things. He has studied what happens when, due to institutional arrangements, representation strategies are thwarted (1977), or when, as is depicted in the work "Fun and Games" (1973), sudden "interactive strains" crop up; and furthermore, when "behavior in social situations" (1971) is characterized by "going through the motions." In "Stigma" (1979), Goffman described interactional strains which are due to the discrediting -- and the potential for discrediting -- of an individual. He analyzes forms of information control which render the imposed stigma necessary.

In addition to the more representational options, via which one seeks to master oftentimes fragile situations, are "interactional rituals" (1986) which also perform this task; a further, larger complex of themes in Goffman's work. Rituals foster "techniques of image cultivation," show "respect and good manners," and can help to prevent "embarrassment" and "alienation in the interaction."

The processes which are necessary to the obtaining, the conveying, and the concealing of information are spelled out in the book "Strategic Interaction." (1981a) The work "The Individual in [52] Public Intercourse" (1982b) looks at, among others, the question as to how rule violations in interactions are to be remedied through "corrective exchange." In "Contextual Analysis" (1980), Goffman devotes himself in detail to so-called "contextual difficulties" and "faultlines" of interactions, and in "Replies and Reactions" (1978), he eventually addresses the issue of how



communicative intentions might be understood, and which difficulties may accompany the transmission process.

### 3. Interactional Order as a Field of Research In Its Own Right

Goffman has devoted his entire life to interactional order as a field of sociological research in its own right. He proceeds based on an assumption that every social occasion gives rise to the problem of "interactional order." [English in original.] (1982; 1983) He was already emphasizing this viewpoint even in some of his earlier writings; thus in his dissertation (see Lenz 1991a) as well as in the publications "Techniques of Image Cultivation" [F26] and "Alienation in Interactions" [F27].

[F26: "In a situation where one must protect one's image, one assumes the responsibility of supervising the course of events. One must guarantee that a particular expressive order is maintained -- an order which regulates the course of events, all equally, whether they may be many or few, so that everything which is obviously impacted by it is consistent with one's own image." (Goffman 1986, pg. 14f)]

[F27: "When one breaks -- with or without any conscious intention -- a rule of etiquette, usually the other persons present feel authorized to restore the ceremonial order, just as, of course, action would also be taken when other forms of social order are violated. Through the ceremonial order, which maintains etiquette via a system of rules, the capabilities of the individual -- by allowing himself to get involved in conversation -- are socialized; it takes on the character of a ritual and a social function." (Goffman 1986, pg. 125f.)]

In the Foreword to "Interaction: Fun and Games / Role Distance," he underscores the problem that "...in face-to-face interaction, the organizational unities in which a systematized...direct interaction occurs have, [53] of late, been neglected." (1973, pg. 7) In "Behavior in Social Situations" (1971), Goffman laid out the central issues pertaining to the interactional order: How are interactions constituted and how are they maintained? How does one overcome the potential risks and strains that crop up in the interaction? How does one become prepared to fulfill certain (role) obligations? For him, it is always a matter of the rules of the interaction, and not what motives drive people and what they thereby hope to attain. The interactional order is not interested in the psychology of the individual. What interests Goffman is not individual patterns of orientation, but rather, their social organization: "I presuppose that the real object of interaction is not the individual and his psychology, but rather the systematic relationships between the actions of the various persons simultaneously present...Consequently, it is not a question of people and their situations, but rather, situations and their people." (1986, pg. 8f.)

### 4. The Structure of the Interactional Order

The manifold concepts from Goffman's numerous works have, as of this point, lacked a systematic tying-together into a comprehensive contextual framework. Only in his "presidential address" [English in original] to the ASA has Goffman provided something approaching a systematic overview of his

conceptualizations of the interactional order. But the components and structure of the interactional order are perhaps less transparent in this brief overview than they are in his individual publications. Therefore, it would seem to be a good idea to try to reconstruct and systematize Goffman's work.

Goffman is constantly concerned with the question of whether the direct interactional encounter evinces some sort of order. Arising successively in his works is an order-structure, an overview of which can be described as follows. (See Fig. 1.) The starting point is the interactional concept. Goffman is primarily interested in [54] direct, so-called face-to-face [English in original] interaction. In essence, it is composed of three components, in the following order: framing, ritualization, and the dramaturgical representation.

Frames delineate "organizational principles for events" (1980, pg. 19) or organizational premises; i.e., rules for the interpretation of events. People who find themselves in such a situation are, again and again, faced with the question: "What is actually going on here?" (1980, pg.16)

Fig. 1: The Interactional Order in Face-to-Face Events

Interactional Order in a Face-to-Face Event		
	<u>What's Going on Here?</u>	
	Which	
Structuring through	Frames	Expectational Security Imparted
	<u>How do I have to act?</u>	
	Which	
Institutionalization through	Rituals	Regulatory Security Imparted
	<u>How Do I Wish to Proceed?</u>	
	Which	
Representation through	Dramaturgies	Goal Security Imparted

In order to answer this question, rather than new situational definitions being supplied again and again, one falls back on some fundamental frames which, in our society, are available for understanding events. Therefore it functions on the interactive level as, so to speak, a "loose coupling" [English in original] -- as Goffman says -- to the social structures. This coupling is, however, not to be regarded as a one-sided "point to point" connection, but rather, particular "selective membranes" which constitute external influences on the interaction. (1983, pg. 11) Certainly, frameworks are identified not only within an interactional situation, but are also constituted through concrete actions. Crook & Taylor distinguish, in this respect, between [55] the "frame-as-structure" [English in original] (the pre-existing framework) and the "frame-in-use" [English in original] (the applied structure), and say: "I frame my experiences, but the structure of the frame is prior to my experiences." [English in original.]

(Crook/Taylor 1980, pg. 245) Consequently, frames represent two sides of the same coin: Frame analysis studies not only how people interpret social situations, but also how these interpretations are actively produced by them. Only within an interaction's frame is there produced an orientation - and with it, an expectational security -- that makes sense.

Rituals also participate in the construction of meaning in interactional situations. Rituals are less likely to address orientation-related questions than they are pragmatic ones: How do I have to act? They represent institutionalized, normative regulations -- above all for polite behavior. Goffman defines an "interpersonal ritual" "...as a consequence of habitual, conventional acts via which one person shows that he or she is paying attention to another person." (1981b; pg. 8) Rituals have a dual effect on the individual: as an obligation to do something, or to refrain from doing something, vis-à-vis another person; and, an expectation that one is able to presume something vis-à-vis him/herself. A ritual is a form of symbolic action. It ensures the acknowledgment, confirmation, and strengthening of relationships, the attention to as well as respect for rules, and, the restoration of a threatened -- or even distorted -- order. The establishment of expectational and conduct security on the one hand, and the obligatory regulations for carrying out actions (rituals) on the other, merely represent the conditions that are more or less imposed on the encounter. With the dramaturgical depiction of the self, the goal-pursuing actor is also incorporated into the overall conception. Here, it is a matter of clarifying the question: How do I wish to proceed? With the dramaturgical analysis, Goffman seeks to study how "...the individual himself as well his actions are depicted to others, with what means he controls and shapes the impression that he makes on them, and which things he is or is not allowed to do when he wishes to convey his self-representation to them." (1988, pg. 3) Moreover, what is of interest is not the individual motive-status in terms of goal-setting, but rather, the types and ways that [56] personal goals are implemented and realized. Therefore, in summary, the reason that Goffman's works appear to be so informative is because they allow for the tying-together of various questions pertaining to action-orientation, in terms of expectational, rule, and goal security. In these ways he has, in Schimank's opinion, constructed an "integrated actor-concept." In Goffman's interactions, the person "...is not only striving to render the social situations in which he finds himself sufficiently predictable, in order to not be constantly exposed to every possible contingency; he is, beyond that, pursuing his own aims, which he is attempting to realize to the greatest extent possible." (1992, pg. 188)

## 5. The Implementation of the Interactional Order

Although one can infer a Goffman theoretical model which, even when not explicit in terms of an overall outline is still taking shape via a process of accretion, at most, only particular elements of the model are discussed; and that would be in the contexts of either a critical theoretical discussion, or, the empirical-practical application of a particular theoretical piece. But Goffman is still, despite a presumed acquaintance with his body of work (even following the appearance of frame analysis in the 1974 original), predominantly viewed as an exponent of symbolic interactionism (see Harle 1978; Halle 1977; Laver/Handel 1977; Wehrspaum 1978); the dramaturgical aspect of his interactional order is regarded as a



subset of interactional symbolism. (See Hare 1988; Morriane 1985.) Some even classify him exclusively in terms of a dramaturgical perspective. (See Fontane 1980; Lyman/Scott 1975; Perinbanayagam 1974.) Yet others see in Goffman a functionalist, on the basis of his strong ties to Durckheim and the ritual-concept that emerged out of his discussions with him. (See Collins 1980.) The systematization of his works in frame analysis was assessed as already being almost "structuralist treason against the investigation of symbolic interactionism." (Oswald 1984, pg. 212) (See Denzin/Keller 1981.) [57] Also making reference to frame analysis are, in particular, Gonos (see 1977) [F28] and Manning (see 1980); but now in more positive terms, when they classify Goffman as a structuralist.

[F28: Gonos emphasizes: "While interactionists attempt to deal with the unfolding of actual everyday events, it is Goffman's intent to 'see behind' this constant activity to what, in modern parlance, would be referred to as the 'structures' that invisibly govern it. These structures Goffman now refers to as 'frames'." [English in original.] (Goffman 1988, pg. 857.)]

[F29: Concerning this, see also Lenz, who examines the question as to what extent Goffman can be characterized as a structuralist. In summing up, he comes to the conclusion that: "Goffman's theoretical platform should be regarded as a rough draft that needs to be purged of the one-sidedness of its interpretive or structural perspective through a tying-together of both perspectives. Goffman overcomes the astructural bias and the model of the almost limitlessly creative individual, while at the same time arguing against the negation of the autonomous subject, against the extensive conflation of meaning categories and even the reified character of social reality." (1991b, pg. 294)]

Others, on the other hand, put framework analysis alongside Schützian phenomenology. (See Eberle 1991.) [F30]

[F30: Eberle sees the central difference lying "essentially in the fact that Schütz proceeds ecologically based on the subjective experience of various meaning-spheres, with ever more emphasis on one's own unique reality; Goffman, on the other hand, proceeds based on the social production of these realities." (1991, pg. 189)]

Besides classifying Goffman in interactionistic, dramaturgical, functionalistic, or structuralist terms, still others, moreover, treat him as a semiotician (see Riggins 1970), or study his work from the perspective of ethno-methodology (see Widmer 1991) and conversation-analysis (see Bergmann 1991).

As of this point, though, very little work has been done -- in practical, empirical terms -- using a Goffmanesque approach. The dramaturgical perspective has, for example, been used in order to more closely investigate the meaning of emotional dramas between the fans of, the coaches of, and the players on a football team. (See Zurcher 1982.) Other works apply the ritual-concept to linguistic analyses. (See Holly 1979; Werlen 1970.) In addition, attempts have been made [58] to apply frame analysis to empirical act-fields; e.g., to socio-religious issues. (See Johnson/Weigert 1980.)

Given this bandwidth as well as the divergent assessment of the work, any

attempt to classify Goffman as belonging to any particular school will misfire. Oswald thinks that: "Goffman stands between, or above, or over the schools...He has a central sociological problem, and he tries to solve it with all the means at his disposal, cutting across the various schools." (1984, pg. 212) Stubborn critics see in that a certain eclecticism; favorably disposed on up to enthusiastic recipients are more likely to treat him as a "systematic social theorist" (Giddens 1987, pg. 109) or even a "paradigm bridger." (Hitzler 1992, pg. 449) [These last two phrases original in English].

## 6. The Conceptual Apparatus of the Interactional Order

The basic structure of the interactional order consists of the construction of the interactional concept from the frames, the rituals, and the dramaturgical representations of the self. In the following, the components of the interactional order will be presented in greater detail.

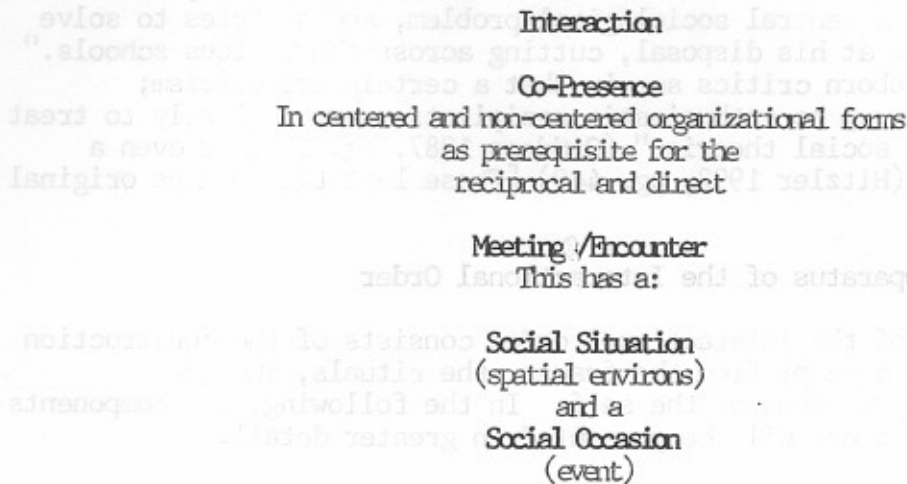
### 6.1. The Interactional Concept

At the center of Goffmanesque analyses stands the interactional concept. (See Fig. 2.)

The jumping-off point is the state of co-presence. (1971, pg. 28) It presupposes, for one thing, a flow of information which takes place between those present, and for another, a feedback effect, given that every actor is always simultaneously the sender as well as the recipient of the flow of information. Two basic types of joint presence may be distinguished: the non-centered (unfocused) and the centered (focused) interaction. ['Unfocused'/'focused' original in English.] "Non-centered interaction consists of the interpersonal communications which are merely the result of persons coming together; i.e., when two strangers eye each other up across a room with regard to clothing, posture, and general appearance, in the course of which each modifies his own behavior because he himself is under observation. A centered interaction occurs when persons effectively agree, for a certain period of time, to maintain an exclusive focus of cognitive or visual attention, as, for example, in a conversation, in a board game, or in a mutual task [60] which is carried out by a small circle of participants." (1973, pg. 7)

The concept of co-presence is thematicized on three levels: on the level of the meeting or social encounter, on that of the social situation, and on that of the social occasion. (See 1971, pg. 29ff.) The meeting or social encounter represents a group of two or more individuals who are in mutual, direct contact with one another. With a social situation, a spatial environment is described in which every person who enters into it is made a member of that meeting. The foundation for participation in meetings and social situations arises, as a rule, from a social occasion. What is to be understood by that is a larger social affair, undertaking, or event which is chronologically and spatially circumscribed, and is distinguished by furnishings which are expressly designed for it. Social occasions are structured in different ways. For many there is a precise beginning and an exactly determined end, a deliberate limiting of participants and a prescribed extent to the activity produced and maintained. Oftentimes, occasions are planned out in advance and structured according to an agenda.

Fig. 2: Interaction



Depending on the social occasion and its requirements, a certain type of

#### Engagement

Primary Engagement

Secondary Engagement

Lack of Engagement

But there are also occasions which can be of a rather diffuse nature; nevertheless, in their course a particular structure and direction is still evident. Social occasions create the frames in which situations and meetings play themselves out. Behavioral rules may, to a great extent, be traced back to social occasions. Various requirements relating to the conduct of interactional participants are tied to the given social occasion. A certain "engagement" is expected. (1971, pg. 29ff.) What is meant by that is a certain devotion to the primary activity of the occasion. [F31]

[F31: There is, oftentimes, a person who is responsible for the course of a social event; this involves setting the event in motion, keeping the focus on the primary issues, keeping things going, and bringing the event to a close; "it is to ensure order." (1971, pg. 29) Between beginning and end, an "engagement curve" (1971, pg. 29) is detectable: "...a line which traces the rise and fall of the general devotion to the occasion's primary activity." (1971, pg. 30f.)]

Furthermore, a certain [61] "emotional investment" (1973, pg. 22) is expected. The participants in the interaction are required to be suitably and equally focused on the event, which is a sense that they have during this time. In addition, they spell out the "rules of irrelevance" (1973, pg. 22), which can remain unconsidered and unobserved in the interactional situation.



A particular type of engagement is imprinted by the social occasion and its described requirements. Goffman draws a distinction between primary and secondary engagement: "Primary engagement is when a substantial portion of an individual's attention and interest are absorbed by something which clearly is recognizably, at that moment, the most important determinant of his actions. By secondary engagement is meant an activity which an individual can carry out while slightly distracted, without thereby threatening or meddling with the simultaneous cultivation of the primary engagement." (1971, pg. 51) The primary engagement is, as has already been alluded to, usually determined by the social occasion. Goffman speaks of the "appropriate-to-the-occasion primary engagement." (1971, pg. 57) Consequently, occasion-appropriate mutual engagement means that the activity in an encounter is in harmony with the ethos of the social occasion, and within the situation, a certain degree of occasion-appropriate morale and activity is to be evinced. Primary and secondary engagement may be distinguished from one another by a faulty (pushy, ridiculous, overdone) over-engagement. (See 1971, pg. 57f.) The significance of this, which goes without saying, cannot be grasped merely in terms of an adequate primary engagement. On the contrary; there are also situations in which the demanded engagement indeed is developed, but -- for whatever reasons -- is not able to be maintained.

### The Frame-Concept

Frame analysis pursues the goal of bringing into sharper relief the frames which, in our society, are available [62] for understanding events. Every situation begs the question: What's going on here? In order to gain clarity and expectational security events must be interpreted; and this is just as true when it's a matter of problematic situations, in which confusion and doubt prevail, as it is in routine situations, in which certainty exists. Events are interpreted with the aid of frames. Relying on Bateson (see 1972, pg. 177ff.), Goffman defines them as follows: "I proceed based on the assumption that we establish for events -- and for our personal participation in them -- at least those of a social nature -- certain organizational principles for defining a given situation; I refer to these elements as 'frames'." (1980, pg. 19) Frames are, therefore, interpersonal schema by which an otherwise meaningless aspect of a scene is made into something meaningful; they make possible the localization, perception, identification, and naming of a seemingly unlimited number of actual events -- which are defined in terms of frames -- and furnish a comprehension-horizon for events. They structure the situation, signalling which meaning -- from the wealth of possibilities -- is intended. With frames, themes and action consequences are delimited, communication styles and interpretive courses fixed. "Frame-knowledge," as Soeffner says, is "...having at one's disposal knowledge concerning interpretational instructions pertaining to those notice-giving actions and signals with whose help other signals are to be joined to form a proper interpretational unity." (1989, pg. 144) This frame-knowledge is a product of the meanings and encounters themselves. Interpretive and interactional levels thereby experience a tying-together. Through the particular ritual forms and representations to which Goffman has called attention in his further works, implicit knowledge is imparted at the level of interpretation. In these ways, provisional expectational certainties can be established. Even in unclear and uncertain situations, with special care one can apply such

implicit stores of knowledge. One obtains situational security, then, to the extent that one sees himself confirmed in his representations, has a good command of ritual and performance, and is able to participate in the encounter. Consequently, with frame-analysis, not only are meaning-schemas [63] described, but also concrete interactions, encounters, and act-scenes; frames are used for interpretations and actions, for cognitions and situations. Goffman: "...the frame supplies more than just meaning; it also supplies engagement. With each activity the participants are, typically, not only creating a picture of what is happening, but are (to a certain degree) also spontaneously taken captive, placed under a spell." (1980, pg. 376)

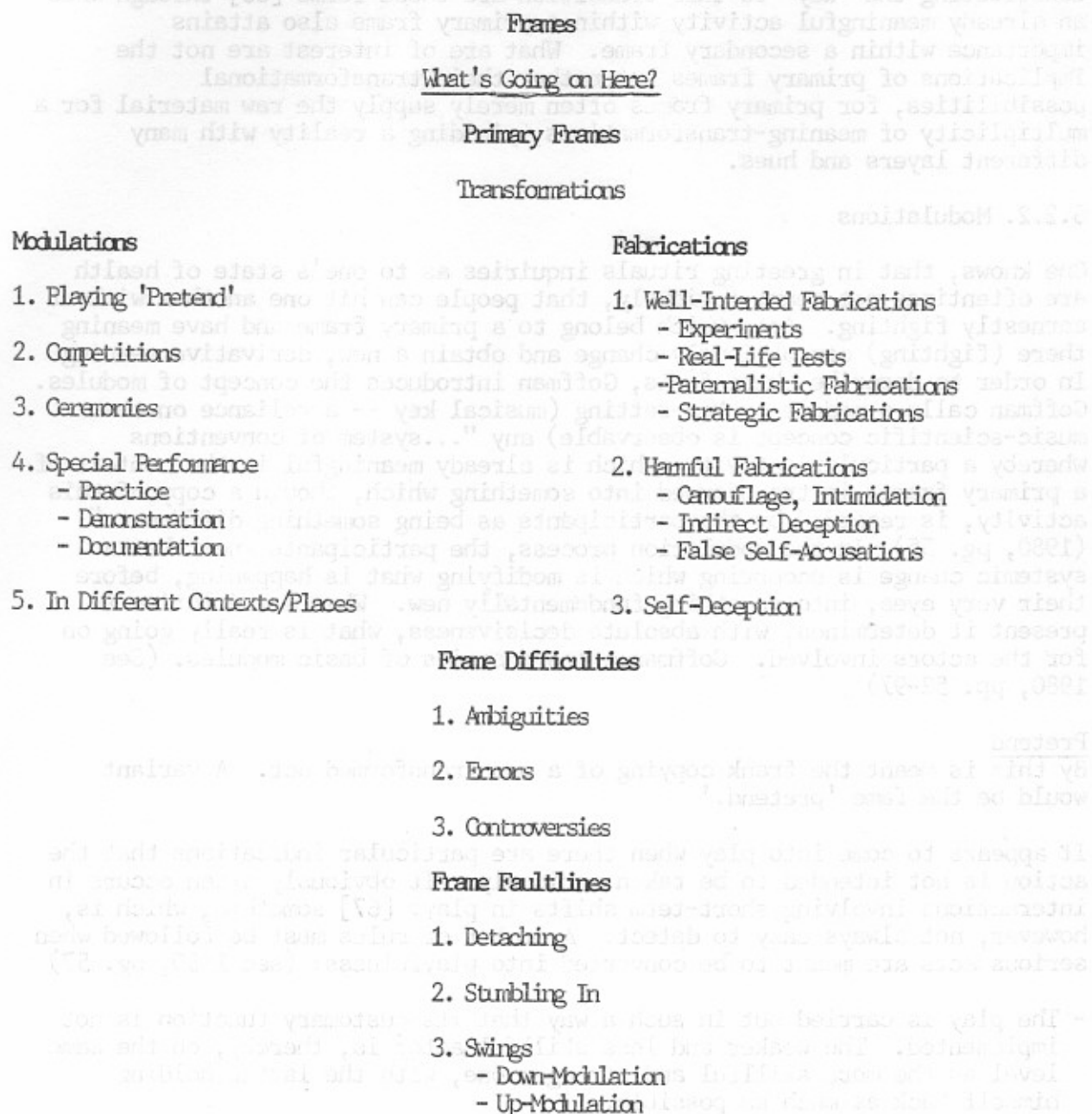
Frames are furnished by society, for it is obvious that in everyday life -- despite its multiplicity of meanings and fragility -- they provide relatively successful processes for understanding things and taking action. A certain portion of explicit interpretational knowledge appears -- through socializing influences -- to always be available, and must not only always be explicitly agreed to anew and be worked into definitions of situations, but: "...those who find themselves in the situation are usually not the cause of this situation (on the other hand, one can often be presumed -- by the society in question -- to be doing so); typically, they merely -- quite rightly -- ascertain what they are supposed to do in the given situation, and act accordingly." (1980, pg. 9) Though the society makes a given interpretational perspective obligatory, this interpretive course is by no means imposed upon the individual; for "...how to now figure out what is going on in a concrete situation is a question of the application and interactive coordination of forms of frames." (Eberle 1991, pg. 178) With regard to these application and interactive coordination forms, Goffman has undertaken an inventorization and categorization of the frames that have been made available, which we shall go into in further detail in the following (see Fig. 3).

#### [65] 6.2.1. Primary Frames

As has already been explained, Goffman regards interpretational schemas as being socially pre-supplied. Its organizational principles are to be spelled out in terms of frame analysis. Fundamental are, first of all, the "primary frames." They make it possible to categorize an infinite number of circumstances, so that the going-on are placed in context, such that, to the extent possible, one adequately reacts to 'what's happening.' Primary frames are such that one "...does not fall back on a pre-existing or 'original' interpretation." (1980, pg. 31) They are, therefore, basic because one is scarcely able to look upon events without bringing primary frames into the equation, and thereby forming a conjecture as to what even happened in a given situation, and what, by the same token, was likely to happen now. It is precisely because these frames are original, cannot be peeled back any further, and to some extent are used subconsciously, that Goffman speaks of primary frames. They make available representations in a given direction, as events are understood (e.g., a hand movement as a gesture of greeting, as a manifestation of fear, or merely as a nerve-muscle event).

In frame-analysis, a distinction is made between two overarching classes of primary frames: the natural, and the social. In "natural frames," events

Fig. 3: Frames



"...are seen as undirected, unoriented, unanimated, 'purely physically' unguided..." (1980, pg. 31) "Social frames" offer an interpretational schema for "...events in which the will, purpose, and guiding actions of an intelligence...play a part." (1980, pg. 32) Here already the problem of an unequivocal ordering becomes obvious, when social and natural frames crop up simultaneously (e.g., in a gynecological examination, both erotic as well as medical considerations). Since Goffman would like to contribute to an analysis of social reality, what is of interest to him are social frames. Within the social frames group, to him the analysis of primary frames remains, admittedly, rudimentary. He is primarily concerned with the rules



which make the transition between 'primary' and 'secondary' frames possible. Constituting the 'key' to this transition are those forms [66] through which an already meaningful activity within a primary frame also attains importance within a secondary frame. What are of interest are not the implications of primary frames but rather their transformational possibilities, for primary frames often merely supply the raw material for a multiplicity of meaning-transformations, yielding a reality with many different layers and hues.

### 6.2.2. Modulations

One knows, that in greeting rituals inquiries as to one's state of health are oftentimes not meant seriously, that people can hit one another without earnestly fighting. Acts which belong to a primary frame and have meaning there (fighting) can obviously change and obtain a new, derivative meaning. In order to describe these facts, Goffman introduces the concept of modules. Goffman calls a module or key-setting (musical key -- a reliance on the music-scientific concept is observable) any "...system of conventions whereby a particular activity, which is already meaningful in the context of a primary frame, is transformed into something which, though a copy of this activity, is regarded by the participants as being something different." (1980, pg. 55) In the modulation process, the participants know that a systemic change is occurring which is modifying what is happening, before their very eyes, into something fundamentally new. When a modulation is present it determines, with absolute decisiveness, what is really going on for the actors involved. Goffman cites a series of basic modules. (See 1980, pp. 52-97)

#### Pretend

By this is meant the frank copying of a non-transformed act. A variant would be the game 'pretend.'

It appears to come into play when there are particular indications that the action is not intended to be taken seriously. It obviously often occurs in interactions involving short-term shifts in play; [67] something which is, however, not always easy to detect. A number of rules must be followed when serious acts are meant to be converted into playfulness: (see 1980, pg. 57)

- The play is carried out in such a way that its customary function is not implemented. The weaker and less skillful actor is, thereby, on the same level as the more skillful and stronger one, with the latter holding himself back as much as possible.
- The expansiveness of many actions is exaggerated.
- The act-course which is called on as a model is neither precisely adhered to nor fully carried out. Games are often started and broken off; they are begun again and briefly interrupted and possibly mixed with elements from other meaning-relationships.
- Many repetitions occur in games.
- If several people participate in the game, their participation must be voluntary. An invitation to join in the game can be declined; dropping out of the game must be possible.
- A game is oftentimes characterized by frequent role-changes. This leads to a dissolving of the hierarchy that would have continued to exist between the participants in terms of their non-playful conduct.

- A game often lasts longer than would be the case with their non-playful model.
- There are signs for the temporal references by which the scope of the game is to be delimited, as well as spatial references which announce the territory over which the game is supposed to extend in a given case (beginning and ending brackets/ceremonial brackets).

A play-modulation is not implicitly cut from particular events. Just as one can engage in goal-oriented play (for example, the activity of a carpenter), one can also engage in ritual play (as in, for example, a wedding ceremony). It would likely be evident that events in the social-related system are more amenable to modulation than events in a nature-related system. The transformative power of particular objects -- [68] which function as elements of or motives for play -- becomes quite clear: "A toy that is played with shows -- in an almost perfect way -- how, in the final analysis, a playful definition of the situation can place the usual meanings into a world outside of power." (1980, pg. 55)

### Competitions

The modulation of the competition lies in the fact that the source-image of the fight is limited, through rules, in terms of its intensity and nature. This is particularly observable in sports competitions. Although a steady transition appears to exist between playful and fighting activity, the two can, nevertheless, be distinguished from one another: "In playful activity, someone or something is turned into a 'toy' only temporarily, and never completely; in organized games and in sports this takes place in institutionalized ways -- to a certain extent stabilized, and the scope of action is determined via formal rules of activity." (1980, pg. 70)

### Ceremonies

With ceremonies "...something different from the ordinary is going on..." (1980, pg. 70) Examples of this would be marriage ceremonies, funerals, investitures. In ceremonies, the act-course is predetermined. Whereas in a game, rules make extensive iteration possible, in ceremonies, rules certainly serve to limit things: "An action can be broken out of the usual tapestry of events and, stylized, fill a whole situation." (1980, pg. 71) Consequently, a ceremony modulates an event.

### Special Performance

Goffman described three variants of special performance: practice, demonstration, and documentation.

The whole point of practice, or even attempts, experiments, or planning, is "...to allow novices to gather experiences in which...actual contact with the world is [69] excluded, because events are shorn of their usual contexts and consequences." (1980, pg. 72)

Demonstrations describe the "...carrying-out of a task-analogous activity outside of its customary functional context, in order to be able to give someone else greater insight into its course." (1980, pg. 79) Mentioned here is the example of a door-to-door salesman who demonstrates how a vacuum cleaner sucks up the dirt which he has scattered on the ground for the purpose of demonstration to a potential customer.

In documentation, events are recorded and then played back, thereby allowing one to show that they have really happened. "Whereas the purpose of a demonstration is to learn or show an idealized run-through, documentation provides the actual traces of an event in the real (i.e., less transformed) world which, as is asserted, is not associated with any documentary intentions." (1980, pg. 82)

#### In Different Contexts/Places

In the modules presented as of this point an action with a purpose was carried out, which can be perceived as being different from what is customary. With the concept of in different contexts/places, Goffman proceeds based on the assumption that "...some motives for an action are the customary ones, whereas others, especially when they are stabilized and institutionalized, lift the goings-on out of the usual field of activity." (1980, pg. 88) Goffman cites the example of a dignified woman from the upper middle class who volunteers for a charitable organization as a sales clerk, or, a lumberjack who is just on vacation.

Until now, we have gone on the assumption that a module only transforms something which already has meaning in the primary frame. But this definition needs to be supplemented, for modulations can be susceptible to further modulations. For example, one can play as if one is engaging in competition. Consequently the modulation is transformed from a primary frame, so that an additional layer is added to the original phenomenon.

#### [70] 6.2.2. Fabrications

Fabrications (not entirely validly rendered as "inventions/deceptions") constitute a second form of transformations. When, in a modulation, all participants are initiated into the actual event, whether fabrications or a disparate relationship is present, the participants do not implicitly know that a made-up situation exists. An invention pursues "...the conscious efforts of one or more persons to guide the goings-on in such a way, that one or more other persons are given a false impression of what is happening." (1980, pg. 98) Goffman distinguishes between well-intentioned and harmful conditions of the transformative phenomenon. (See 1980, pp. 102-142.)

#### Well-Intentioned Fabrications

Transformations are well-intentioned when they "...are supposed to be in the interests of those being deceived, or, if not entirely in their interests and for their own good, are, at least, not contrary to their interests." (1980, pg. 102) Generally speaking, well-intentioned fabrications leave their originators morally intact, and the fundamental interests of the interactional partner are protected. Included among well-intentioned fabrications are the following: (See 1980, pp. 102-119.)

Experiments. In this case, for certain reasons, at least one of the subjects should not know about what is actually going on.

Real-Life Tests. In these cases, one puts loyalty and character to the test.

Paternalistic Fabrications. They are aimed at sparing others. Usually out of a sense of tact, one holds back information in order to avoid causing the other person any unnecessary difficulties.

Strategic Fabrications. Here the deception is inevitably implied in the event itself; e.g., in certain board and card games.



### Harmful Fabrications

These transformations are employed with unequivocally injurious intentions. Goffman cites numerous variants (see 1980; [71] pp. 120-128): "camouflage, mimicry, and intimidation" as well as the "swindle-maneuver." Moreover "indirect deception-measures"; e.g., intrigue in which compromised, false evidence is produced. Likewise, the "assertion of discredited facts" represents a harmful fabrication. In addition, he even mentions "false self-accusation," the goal of which would probably be to get publicity.

### Self-Deception

Besides well-intentioned and harmful transformations, self-deception can also count as an "understandable mistake." Oftentimes, illusions and delusions can contribute to self-deception.

### 6.2.4. Frame Difficulties

We usually assume that our meaning-frames are appropriate because the correct meaning is indicated by the context. Sometimes, however, we cannot have confidence in our own interpretation of reality; we are uncertain about it -- it appears problematic and requires further assurances. Not rarely, the most minimal shift in the framed experience is enough to cause difficulties. Because our frames are susceptible to varying interpretations, shaky, and riddled with weaknesses, they need to be verified over and over again. This is actually based not on frame-security, but rather, on the dangers of continuation. Goffman has worked out the various frame difficulties that can arise. (See 1980, pp. 332-375.)

### Ambiguities

Due to prevailing confusion and doubt, the definition of a given situation may prove to be unclear or merely uncertain: "Sometimes it is a question of what could really be going on; other times, it is a question of which of the several, clearly outlined possibilities is actually the case." (1980, pg. 332)

### Errors

If, amidst ambiguities, one is striving to clarify events, errors usually lead to faulty frames. By error, Goffman means a "...non-manipulated erroneous belief with regard to the framing of the events of the moment." (1980, pg. 338) Although one intends for his frame to be reliable, one is proceeding on the basis of false assumptions. Ambiguities can lead to errors; but the clearing-up of an error can also be accompanied by ambiguities when a given point in time leaves a lot of room for doubt.

### Controversies

If the participating actors do not find themselves in the same frame, they may end up arguing over their various interpretations of the situation. Generally, though, these rarely seem to be the causes of frame controversies. Controversies usually arise due to errors. Moreover, the oft-made assertion of "inadvertence" and of "an innocent mistake" (1980, pg. 359) begs the question of whether and to what extent one can chalk it up to error. Controversies can also stem from unrecognized modulations. Events give the impression of 'untransformed-ness'; although a modulation is in fact present, a controversy can arise over the question of just what has happened. Sometimes, in order to settle the argument, the assertion is made

that it was only a joke. Then again, explanations to the effect that it was inadvertent, a mistake, or a joke could provoke a new argument, in which the former are doubted. Now it is not only a matter of clarifying the question -- what has happened here -- but how the thing should have happened. A frame-argument becomes problematic when it is discovered that the actions were pre-arranged in such a way that the possibility of an excuse was already being held in reserve, or, when one subsequently declares that the deceptive maneuver truly was well-intended.

#### [73] 6.2.5. Frame Faultlines

Through framing -- as it has been highlighted up to this point -- actors confer meaning to the goings-on; be it through primary frames, transformations, or the clearing-up of frame difficulties. In all cases, the frame helps to delimit contingent situations with regard to expectational security.

But a frame can miscarry, and suffer a break. For every frame-setting also has normative expectations connected with it, to the extent that the actors are supposed to pay attention to the events at hand. Along with the frame, limits to it are also agreed to; that is, what is to be regarded as proper behavior. A frame's guiding function experiences a break when the actions are improper; whether that be due to a lack of, false, or too weak or strong engagement. Goffman described various forms of frame faultlines. (See 1980, pp. 381-408.)

#### Detaching

Frequently, the discharging of tension is the reason for detaching. Those concerned are no longer engaged. One reason for this would, for example, be a role which one is obliged to take up, but for which one has no conviction; possibly because it is experienced as being too formal or solemn. Another reason lay in behavioral restrictions which might be imposed on the body and which cannot be kept up -- e.g., sitting still. Often, an attempt is made to ritually conceal the detachment.

#### Stumbling In

What is meant by this is the following: "Someone who apparently stands outside of a framed event, a non-participating spectator who, however, in reality secretly does have something to do with it, perhaps suddenly can no longer maintain the appearance of non-participation and jumps into the event, quite obviously, with both feet." (1980, pg. 389)

#### [74] Swings

Situations can swing back and forth, bringing the actors closer to the original situation or moving them further away from it. Goffman distinguishes between two possibilities. (See 1980, pp. 390-408.)

Down-Modulation. By this are meant, for example, joking, 'throw-away' actions by one party that are taken seriously by another.

Up-Modulation. Modulated-up acts are ones in which an additional layer is added to the frame. Humor, for example, can be used to cover up deeper animosity.

#### 6.3. The Ritual-Concept

Whereas, with the frame-concept, Goffman attempts to establish a connection between the active subject and the existing social structures, the ritual concept has to do with the question of what it means for the interactional participants to conduct themselves according to situationally-appropriate rules, or even to violate them. To some extent, rituals represent an operationalized frame sub-category in which, subsequent to or even in parallel with the clarification of the meaning-question "What's going on here?," now, the situationally-appropriate interactional rules must be activated, based on the question: "How should I proceed?" Frames are used for a general sounding-out of the establishment of expectational security, rituals, for concrete interactional conventions, and in order to adequately set the stage for the framed events. The actors thereby attain rule-security.

By incorporating rituals into his interactional order Goffman is pursuing two goals. One, describing a basic interactional model which can empirically capture the construction of social reality; two, explaining social events through, on the one hand, coordinated social interactions and goings-on, and, on the other, corrections and modifications being openly made. Along with Radcliffe-Brown's (see 1952) [75] social-anthropological studies, Goffman identifies mainly with the ritual concept spelled out in Durkheim's (see 1984) sociology of religion. [F32]

[F32: Goffman subdivides religions into doctrines and rites. Doctrines refer to the contents of religions, rites, to the rules by which people are supposed to behave vis-à-vis holy things. (See Durkheim 1984.) Regarding Durkheim's influence on Goffman's thinking, see Collins 1980, 1988; also, Lenz 1991a.]

He defines it quite generally: "A ritual is a mechanical, conventionalized act via which an individual attests to his respect and his reverence for an object of the highest value." (1982b; pg. 97) Through ritual, one expresses his character as well as his esteem for the other participants. One gives something of oneself, and the others acknowledge this. Often rituals have only an accompanying role, manifesting themselves only in small ways. However they cannot, in the interaction event, be regarded as "play at the margins." (Gouldner 1974, pg. 461) They are, rather, described by Goffman as elements of a "ritual order" (1986, pg. 32), which is not an end in itself, but a condition for the functioning of interactions.

Goffman distinguishes between rituals which, with rule-observance, are used as "confirmatory exchanges," and those which, with rule-violations, are used as "corrective exchanges." (See 1982b.)

### 6.3.1. The Confirmatory Exchange

Confirmatory exchanges serve to establish and strengthen relationships. Relying upon Durkheim (see 1984), Goffman distinguishes between positive and negative rituals of rule-observance: receptivity- vs. avoidance-rituals. (See 1982b, pp. 97-137.) A receptivity-ritual "...comprises actions via which the individual demonstrates, to those whom he is addressing, what he thinks of them and how he is going to treat them at the commencement [77] of interactions." (1986, pg. 79) An avoidance-ritual "...can be used, with reference to forms of respect which are applied to the affairs at hand, in



## Rituals

### How Do I Have to Act?

#### Rule-Observance

#### Receptivity-Rituals

1. Manifestations of Sympathy and Interest
  - interested questions
  - compliments
  - polite answers to questions
2. Solicitations of Sympathy and Interest
  - mentions of one's own experiences
  - their manifested pleasure/confidence
  - praising oneself, glorifying oneself, showing off, boasting
3. Polite Offers
  - introducing one to other people
  - inviting
  - making welcome
4. Ratifications
  - providing reassurance
  - congratulations
  - expressions of regret
  - forms of approval
5. Manifestations of Openness
  - greetings (establishing contact)
  - dismissals (security of the contact)
  - maintenance rituals

#### Avoidance Rituals

1. Prohibition
2. Forbidding
3. Taboo
4. Distance

#### Confirmatory Exchange

order to keep one's distance from those whom one is addressing, so as to not violate the sphere surrounding the addressee..." (1986; pg. 70)

Consequently, receptivity-rituals specify what one must do, whereas avoidance-rituals spell out what one is not allowed to do.

Goffman enumerates the following receptivity-rituals. (See 1982b; pp. 97-137.)

#### Manifestations of Sympathy and Interest

Numbering among these are interested questions, all forms of compliments, and polite answers to questions.

#### Solicitations of Sympathy and Interest

Included here would be mentions of experiences regarding which one is looking for understanding and acknowledgment. Also belonging here are

Fig. 4b: Rituals

## Rituals

### How Do I Have to Act?

#### Rule-Violation

#### Lack of Attention

#### Neglect

##### 1. Too little attention towards others:

- Overlooking
- Showing a lack of interest, or indifference

##### 2. Too little attention vis-a-vis one's own self:

- letting oneself go
- lack of dignity

#### Lack of Reticence

#### Pushiness

##### 1. Too little reticence vis-a-vis others

- indiscretion
- curiosity
- meddling
- impudence
- name-calling
- insults
- threats
- reproaches

##### 2. Too little reticence vis-a-vis others

- praising oneself
- bragging
- divulging private matters

### Unexpected Incidents

#### 1. Ceremonial Desecrations

#### 2. Predicaments

#### 3. Alienation in the Interaction

- diversion from the outside
- self-consciousness
- interactional consciousness
- outsider-consciousness

#### 4. Territories of the Self

- personal space
- the box
- the in-use space
- the rank-position
- covering-up
- possessed territories
- informational reserve
- conversational reserve

### Corrective Exchange

#### Verbal

1. Explanations
2. Apologies
3. Requests

#### Nonverbal

1. Making Orientation Known
2. Showing Respect
3. Conveying Information via Exaggeration

positive assessments of one's own person; depending on the degree of joy/confidence that is manifested, praising oneself, glorifying oneself, showing off, and boasting.

### Polite Offers

Through the offer of acceptance into their own group, interactional partners can take pride in themselves. Included here are introductions to other people, invitations, and making welcome.

### Ratifications

Ratification rituals pursue the goal of noting and accepting possible changed circumstances on the part of an interactional partner. Ratification rituals show that a changed situation has been registered and identified, and that one wishes to continue to have a relationship with his interactional partner. They express the fact that, in spite of the acknowledged change, nothing has changed between the two parties. Through ratification rituals, reassurances are articulated; but even congratulations and expressions of regret can be subsumed under this, as well as all forms of approval relating to new [78] acquisitions; e.g., a new hairdo. These rituals represent a special case of manifestations of interest, in which positive participation in a new circumstance is expressed.

### Manifestations of Openness

Under this heading are confirmations regulating changes in the degree of openness in the encounter. What is meant by this are greetings and dismissals, but also so-called maintenance rituals, which are used to celebrate and animate a relationship.

### 6.3.2. The Corrective Exchange

When, in ritual interaction events, a rule-violation occurs, order can be restored via a corrective exchange. (See 1982b, pp. 138-255.) (See Fig. 4b.) Rule-violations arise due to deficits of attention, out of neglect, for example when one omits the customary pleasantries; e.g., when one overlooks another, evinces a lack of interest, or is indifferent.

Furthermore, this can occur when too little attention is paid vis-à-vis one's own self, whereby one lets himself go (loss of control due to alcohol consumption, overly effusive sentiments, etc.), or exhibits a lack of dignity, e.g., via carrying out degrading tasks.

Rule-violations can, however, arise due to a lack of discretion, through pushiness, whereby one offends another because of indiscretions, curiosity, meddling, impudence, name-calling, insults, threats, and reproaches. Moreover through a lack of attention vis-à-vis one's own person, when one praises or brags about oneself in an exaggerated manner, or improperly divulges private matters.

[80] The just-described forms of neglect and pushiness vis-à-vis ritual obligations or demands can provoke some unexpected incidents. Demands upon an actor can provoke unexpected incidents; the latter fall, according to Goffman, into the categories of "ceremonial desecrations" (see 1986, pp. 94-100), "predicaments" (see 1986, pp. 106-123), "alienation in the interaction" (see 1986, pp. 124-148), and violations of "territories of the



self." (See 1982b, pp. 56-71.)

### Ceremonial Desecrations

Indirect Ritual Desecration. The going-on can dishonor the addressee in such a way that he does not notice the desecration.

Direct Ritual Desecration. In this form of ritual contempt, the insult is made directly "to his face," and is quasi-officially-imparted.

### Predicaments

Predicaments can arise when expectations are not able to be fulfilled.

Goffman distinguishes between the abrupt predicament, short-lived, but which can also be extremely intensive, and ongoing uneasiness, which can appear rather moderate. In a predicament situation, one is unable to offer his interactional partner any response which would have ensured a tranquil continuation of the encounter. The predicament blocks the way. One is, undoubtedly, together with the other, but not "in the game." (1986, pg. 110) It appears to be a critical point at which the bewildered party stops trying to cover up and downplay his shakiness. Signs of this, therefore, would be bursting into tears, breaking out into laughter, erupting in rage, or panic. The confusion can also be contagious when the others notice that their interactional partner is no longer giving them any support. Oftentimes, a predicament-situation arises when, in some way or another, our presented self is confronted with a different side of ourselves.

### Alienation in the Interaction

Diversion from the Outside. Instead of paying the requisite attention, one devotes oneself to matters which lie outside of the present subject of [81] conversation, namely, via an arbitrarily conscious or unintentional absent-mindedness.

Self-Consciousness. In this case, one directs his attention, in improper ways, towards one's own self.

Interactional Consciousness. Here, one is overly preoccupied with the question of how the interaction is playing out as an interaction.

Outsider-Consciousness. What is primarily meant by this are situations in which one is predominantly preoccupied with controlling the impression that one gives off to others. To an undue degree, attention is directed towards those who, though indeed are not participating directly in the interaction, nevertheless might be interested in the impression that the actor is giving off.

### Unexpected Incidents -- Territories of the Self

Unexpected incidents can be provoked within the following territories of the self.

Personal Space. Personal space represents the territory surrounding the body, into which the other person is only allowed to intrude in certain situations. And so there are, for example, rules relating to physical distance, which can vary by situation. Different distance-rules apply, for example, in a crowded elevator than in a conversational situation.

The Box. The box describes a territory in which an individual claims the right to be in alone; for example, a reserved seat.

The In-Use Space. This category comprises territories which are only required for a certain period of time and for a particular purpose; e.g., the space required for a museum visitor to get a good look at a painting.

The Rank-Position. A rank-position established the pecking-order of two or

more individuals vis-à-vis a desired good. Included in this category would be, for example, waiting lines and waiting lists.

Covering-Up. This is characterized by a very tight wrapping-up of the body. Because different parts of the body are ascribed different sorts of importance, this covering-up also protects against contact in varying ways.

[82] Possessed Territories. With this, Goffman describes things which an individual has laid claim to as one's own; e.g., personal possessions.

Informational Reserve. What is meant by this is, for one thing, control over questions that are pushy, nosey, or tactless; and for another, the contents, for example, of handbags, letters, etc.

Conversational Reserve. Conversational reserve makes it possible to exercise control over who can enter into a given conversation, and when.

Unexpected incidents usually give rise to corrective actions which have a clearly ritual character, for they make a repentant adjustment possible. The function of corrective activity is "...to change the meaning which could otherwise be ascribed to an action, the goal being to convert something which could be regarded as offensive into something that can be regarded as acceptable." (1982, pg. 156)

The success of these meaning-changes is based on one's functional capabilities under verbal as well as nonverbal conditions, which Goffman characterizes as basic forms of corrective behavior. (See 1982b, pp. 157-169.)

### Explanations

The explanation offers various possibilities for correcting a rule-violation that had been committed. One can contest the act really having occurred; one can concede and point to extenuating circumstances; one can attribute it to the fuzziness of the situation or express one's lack of competency.

### Apologies

"An apology is a gesture which an individual divides into two parts: In one part he blames himself for the transgression, and in the other part he distances himself from the offense and confirms his acknowledgment that a rule has, in fact, been broken." (1982b; pg. 161f.)

### [83] Requests

In requests, one asks for permission to carry out an action which could potentially be viewed as a violation. One signals the possible transgressive character of one's intended action and seeks consent.

A second group of corrective rituals consists of making things known through nonverbal means. So-called "body-bound messages" represent a means "...with whose help an individual can attempt to distance himself from undesirable qualities of his own conduct." (1982b, pg. 183) (See 1980, pp. 184-193.)

### Making Orientation Known

Via making one's orientation known, an individual disseminates particular information about oneself, in order to clear up any misinformation and, in this way, correct any wrong impressions. Two specific moments are detectable in making one's orientation known: "critical signals" and the "point of ascertainment." (1982b, pg. 36ff.) Critical signals means the

actions directed towards the other via which the individual finally seeks to find out what the other meant. The point of ascertainment is the moment at which both partners realize that the critical signals have been exchanged, and each of them has understood that both parties have grasped them.

#### Showing Respect

If an action can or could be interpreted as a transgression or threat, one can, through gestures, intimate that one has honest intentions; e.g., in an overcrowded subway train, when women frequently have occasion to suspect indecent touching on the part of standing passengers, one keeps both hands up as high as possible on the straps.

#### Conveying Information via Exaggeration

The hallmark of conveying information through exaggeration is the consistent repetition of a rule-violating action, but not in a serious way.

#### [84] 6.4. The Dramaturgy-Concept

In Goffman's work, those moments at which interaction-jeopardizing tensions are overcome have been depicted, on the one hand, in terms of frame analysis, and on the other, in terms of interactional rituals. With the frame-concept, Goffman discussed socially-provided meaning-functions for establishing expectational security; with the ritual concept, he has described the conventional route to a situationally-appropriate behavioral repertoire. These rather restrictive conditions of frame and ritual givens are certainly based on a goal- and a dramaturgical-depiction-oriented actor-concept. Standing at the center here is this question: How do I wish to proceed? It is a matter of portraying the self in such a way that one's own self-conceived goals are attained, without endangering the interactional relationships.

Goffman introduces the concept of "dramaturgy" in his research into "Self-Representation in Everyday Life" (1988). His conceptual framework, with whose help he analyzes the interactional situation, is the theatrical performance [F33]:

[F33: Goffman, moreover, refers to Burke, who has attempted to analyze goings-on in a way which is analogous to the analysis of dramas. Burke proceeds, above all, based on the motives for the proceedings: "The titular word for our own method is 'dramatism,' since it invites one to consider the matter of motives in a perspective that, being developed from the analysis of drama, treats language and thought primarily as modes of action." [English in original.] (1955, pg. XVI) Burke names the following as the five key concepts of dramatism: act, scene, agent, agency, purpose. [English in original.] (1955, pg. X)]

"The points of view that are applied in this area are those of a theatrical performance, which means that they are derived from dramaturgy." (1988, pg. 3) However, the description and analysis of a behavior by means of the theater metaphor characterizes the former not as a particular type of behavior, but rather, serves as an observational perspective. In that way, so thinks Goffman, sociology opens up a fifth perspective, in addition to those of the technical, the political, the structural, and the cultural: "Just like each of the other four, the dramaturgical perspective can be used



Fig. 5: Dramaturgy

Dramaturgy	
<u>How Do I Wish to Proceed?</u>	
<b>Belief in One's Own Role</b>	<b>Façade</b>
1. Taking on Roles <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- being bound to the role</li> <li>- qualifications for carrying them out</li> <li>- active engagement</li> </ul>	1. Scenic Components <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- stage set</li> <li>- front/backstages</li> <li>- props</li> </ul>
2. Role-Distance	2. Personal Façade <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- official badges, rank characteristics, clothing, gender, age, size, physical appearance, posture, manner of speaking, facial expressions</li> </ul>
3. Cynical or Sincere Performance	
<b>Dramatic Formation</b>	
<b>Techniques of Image-Cultivation</b>	
<b>Idealization</b>	
<b>Expressive Control</b>	
in cooperation with the cast	
1. Dramaturgical Loyalty	
2. Dramaturgical Discipline	
3. Dramaturgical Carefulness	
<b>Untrue Representations</b>	
1. Intimations	
2. Ambiguities	
3. Omissions	
4. Overdoing/Underplaying	
5. Denials	
<b>Mystifications</b>	
1. Social Distance	
2. Respect	

as an aim [85] of analysis, as a definitive classification principle." (1988, pg. 219)

Consequently, at the center of dramaturgical analysis stands the management of (self-) representations, in which the participants fashion a visible audience for one another, mutually influence one another, and produce something. Goffman defines the central concept of representation as follows: "A representation can be defined as the total activity of a particular participant in a particular situation, which thereby serves to influence the other participants in some way." (1988, pg. 18) The self-

description underlies the strategic maneuver. The goal is to make a particular impression on one's interactional partner. In the following the Goffman-described strategies of dramaturgical representation -- which serve the goal of security -- will be explained in greater detail.

#### 6.4.1. Belief in One's Own Role

A prerequisite for 'self-confident' role-performance is the ability to both "take on" a role, as well as to "distance" oneself from it. "Taking on a role means the complete disappearance of the actual self, which the situation makes available -- to be seen completely in terms of the role-archetype, and expressly confirm that one is accepted. To take on a role is to be seized by it." (1973, pg. 120) Three conditions characterize the taking-on of a role: being bound to the role, the demonstration of one's qualifications to perform it, and active engagement in the role's goings-on.

And yet, it may also be necessary to perform a role not with complete seriousness, but rather, keep or demonstrate role-distance. Goffman mentions, by way of example, two different means of role-distancing: "In one case the individual seeks, insofar as possible, to protect himself from being 'tainted' by the situation, [87] as for example when an adult, who is tagging along in order to protect his child, takes pains to remain completely rigid, dispassionate, and otherwise occupied. In the other case the individual cooperatively produces a childlike self; he meets the situation more than half-way, but then, through some small gesture, retreats from the lowered self, in order to show that the joke has not gone quite far enough." (1973, pg. 124) Belief in one's own role can, however, lead to danger if one does not realize that "one has been taken prisoner by his own game." (1988, pg. 19) The actor is completely submerged in his role and, so to speak, drops out as a partner. Another problem is when "...one's own role is really not able to be convincing." (1988, pg. 19) Here the discrepancy between obligatory and spontaneous engagement must be endured. In order to resolve the conflict, one can decide on either a "cynical" or a "sincere" portrayal [F34]:

[F34: Goffman emphasizes that it is not only out of self-interest that one might become a cynical performer, but also precisely because the "audience is not permitted to be sincere." (1988, pg. 20) Goffman cites the example of a gas station attendant "...who is resigned to checking, over and over again, the tire pressure on a car belonging to an over-anxious female driver." (1988, pg. 20)]

"If the performer is not convinced of his own role, and is not seriously interested in convincing his audience, then we may label him as "cynical"; on the other hand, we reserve the expression "sincere" for those performers who actually believe in the impression which their own performance evokes." (1988, pg. 20)

#### 6.4.2. Façade

To the façade belongs the "standardized expressive repertoire" (1988, pg. 23) that the individual brings to bear in the course of his performance. Goffman distinguishes the "scenic components of the expressive repertoire"

from the "personal façade." (1988, pg. 25) He numbers as being among the scenic components the "whole stage set of [88] spatial arrangements...the props and backdrops for the human action that takes place in front of, between, and upon them." (1988, pg. 23) Goffman emphasizes that sets are usually immovable in the geographical sense, "...so that those who wish to use a particular set as part of their performance cannot begin their play until they have taken their respective positions..." (1988, pg. 23) The stage-area offers a "front stage," the place where the performance takes place, but also a "backstage," where suppressed front-stage goings on can be played out unmolested. (1988, pg. 99f.) Goffman describes the personal façade as an "expression bearer," like, for example, official badges, rank characteristics, clothing, gender, age, size, physical appearance, posture, manner of speaking, facial expressions, gesticulations, etc. (1988, pg. 25) Goffman recommends separating the personal façade into "appearance" and "conduct." The appearance provides information about social status, and conduct, about the role which one intends to play. (1988, pg. 25) Appearance and conduct can contradict one another, for example when a performer who has a higher status than his audience suddenly behaves in a condescending or familiar manner.

#### 6.4.3. Dramatic Formation

The just-described repertoire is largely standardized. The actual dramatic performance depends on an individual's competence to effectively give form to a role. At the same time, it turns out that there is a danger of there being a conflict between expression and action. For example: "The attentive pupil, who wants to be attentive, fixes his eyes on the teacher and keeps his ears wide open, thereby playing the part of being attentive in such a way that eventually, he's no longer really listening at all." (1988, pg. 33)

The goal of dramatic formation is to convey as good an impression of oneself as possible. With this strategy, an "image" is constructed: "The terminal image can be defined as the positive social valence which one acquires for himself through behavioral strategies via [89] which others assume he is pursuing it in a particular interaction. This is the self-image circumscribed by the termini of socially-accepted qualities -- an image which others can accept." (1986, pg. 10) Though oftentimes in the interactional situation the image is confirmed by others, still, by no means is a common agreement inevitably produced. Rather, acknowledgment appears to be a general feature of interactions. Goffman described this as the "working consensus" of an interaction, which it really is not, "...since agreement upon it is usually not based on deeply felt valuations..." (1986, pg. 16f) It is due precisely to this fragile situation that the actor is forced to perpetually work on his image. The individual has various interpersonal practices at his disposal for this, which Goffman characterizes as "techniques of image cultivation." By this are meant actions "...which are undertaken in order to bring everything that one does into harmony with his image. In addition to that, techniques of image cultivation serve as ways of working through 'unexpected incidents'." (1986, pg. 18) In order to optimally shape one's image, paying attention to the following dramaturgical qualities is particularly important.

#### 6.4.4. Idealization



In order to make an ideal impression, the approved values and ideals of one's audience must be considered in one's self-representation. For that purpose, it may be necessary to hide or at least tone down actions, facts, and motives which are incompatible with this idealization. Therefore, the impression is often given that the present role would be the only -- or at least the most important -- one.

#### 6.4.5. Expressive Control

Without intending to, one may find that one's conduct is being misinterpreted. These [90] difficulties are encountered when one tries -- if they really do crop up -- to bring to light unpleasant events which are consistent with the general definition of the situation. Expressive control allows one to correct oneself when the lead and supporting actors in the situation work together. This "ensemble" sees to it that the audience is only given access to certain information. Goffman uses the term "ensemble" "...for any group of individuals that mutually constructs a role." (1988, pg. 75) The ensemble is directed in close cooperation, and bound together by mutual dependence and trust. It is important that no open dissension break out among the ensemble's members. Unanimity is, therefore, a prerequisite for the ensemble performance, although their roles may differ in terms of varying "high dramatic dominance." (1988, pg. 93)

Goffman names three properties of effective expressive control, which must be borne in mind partly in terms of one's individual performance, but above all, in terms of the ensemble's teamwork. (See 1988, pp. 193-207.)

#### Dramaturgical Loyalty

Here it is a matter of maintaining loyalty to the ensemble members. Developing a strong group-solidarity is important. The ensemble members must establish a close community.

#### Dramaturgical Discipline

Meaningful for effective teamwork on the part of ensemble members are the will as well as the ability to exercise dramaturgical discipline; i.e.: "Whereas the performer is seemingly required to keep his actions in check and prevent them from going in spontaneous and unpredictable directions, in his performance he must, nevertheless, feel sufficiently free as to be able to overcome any dramaturgical problems, should they arise. He must put on display the intellectual and emotional participation in the activity which he is depicting, and at the same time guard against being carried away by his own [91] performance, thereby doing justice to his actual job, namely, giving a successful performance." (1988, pg. 196)

#### Dramaturgical Carefulness

A loyal and disciplined performance certainly demands that it be prepared for with foresight and planning, that it be intelligently staged, and that it be ready to deal with any unexpected incidents. It is only right that the ensemble members be just as loyal and disciplined. Here the rule holds true that: "The fewer the members, the fewer the possibilities for mistakes, difficulties, and betrayal." (1988, pg. 199) In terms of an accurate performance, an audience which gives few problems proves to be quite favorable. In addition, it is a good idea to adapt to the informational conditions of its field of operation.

#### 6.4.6. Untrue Representations

Untrue representations come into play when one is in front of an audience by which one threatens to be permanently misunderstood, and which one knows is paying particular attention to what the representation could mean. Goffman underscores the fact that between true and untrue performances shades of gray certainly do arise which, though indeed morally controversial, are not implicitly regarded as being absolutely objectionable. He numbers among these the strategies of "intimation," "ambiguity," "omission," "over- or under-playing," and "denial." (See 1988, pg. 58.)

#### 6.4.7. Mystifications

In conclusion, Goffman mentions mystification as a strategic means of dramaturgical performance. Via general and depicted social distance vis-à-vis the audience, a certain awe can, in turn, be produced. This awe [92] allows the performer to appear mysterious: The audience remains "shy," and therefore is able to be kept at a "distance." (See 1988, pg. 64.)

### 7. Summary

Goffman has created an extensive instrumentarium with which, above all, shaky and uncertain interactions are able to be described. It allows for the tying-together of the interactional dimensions of expectational-, rule-, and goal-security:

- Pre-existing structure-generating "organizational principles for events" (frames) (1980, pg. 19) enable one to find one's bearings and obtain expectational security.
- Institutionally-anchored "conventional acts" (rituals) (1981b, pg. 8) represent the obligatory rules related to the carrying-out of actions and offer rule-security.
- Self-generated specific forms of (self-) representation in interactions serve to "influence participants in a myriad of ways" (dramaturgy) (1988, pg. 3), and hold out the promise of goal-security.

Goffman's conception of interaction was, therefore, chosen for the analysis of the interview materials because its elaborateness allows -- in contrast to other conceptions of interaction -- the diverse ways in which an actor influences others in a given situation -- and in turn shaped by them -- to be illustrated.

Most existing concepts of interpretive social research are aimed at reconstructing a given case-structure. This study, on the other hand, intends to place the emphasis on a micrological analysis of the multi-layeredness of the interpersonal schemas applied in the interview partners' depictions. The aim of the study is not to reconstruct an underlying generative case-structure, for example, along the lines of meaning-patterns. It is a question of illustrating the variety and multi-layeredness of self-representations, the rituals and frames, with their [93] transformations, difficulties, and faultlines. Goffman's interactional order offers, via a broad conceptual inventory-taking, the advantage of a microanalytic approach. At the same time, the model offers less of a possibility for ascertaining the latent internal meaning-structure; rather, it allows us to

inquire how actors -- above all in fragile situations -- actually manage to find their way. In the face of these central interests, Goffman's underlying subject-model also stands out from traditional models. He has in mind an actor who "is neither embedded unquestionably in nature nor in culture, but rather is instructed, via interpretation and presentation, in the need to obtain information vis-à-vis any experience, and remain aware that one's situational definition is constantly at risk" (Hitzler 1992; pg. 457); thus, a conceptual model that clearly best represents the pedophilic man.

## [94] Empirical Portion

### Contact Frames, Their Rituals and Dramaturgy

#### 1. Primary Frames

Many of the questioned men make use of culturally-mediated forms of communication and social etiquette, which help them to establish the initial contact. Numbering among these are greetings, inquiries, questions, and glances. They represent ritual announcements which signal a change in the participants' degree of accessibility. One is thereby in the position of being able to fall back on an irreducible or original interpretation; i.e., a primary frame.

#### Greetings

As a ritual of anticipation and recognition, a greeting signals a state in which one is face-to-face with another, and the door is open to a possible ongoing exchange.

"Occasionally, one even becomes acquainted because one lives in the same neighborhood, and always conveys a friendly 'hello.' This is also a tried and true method, something I am quite familiar with. Consequently, I only know boys from my neighborhood whom I see again and again, smile at, say 'hello' to, and so on."  
(Stefan: 32/1-7)

Admittedly, co-presence in the greeting-encounter only constitutes a quite short-term social situation, thereby limiting the greeting-gestures [95] that are exchanged. A social occasion, in which the interaction is embedded within a stronger engagement, is not associated with this. This is accomplished more by direct action, in terms of a request to make a polite inquiry.

#### Inquiries

The request for information appeals indirectly to the rule-custom which says one should respond to requests courteously; to this extent, one can expect a polite response on the part of those whom one is addressing.

"Actually, given this backdrop of opportunities of various kinds, one usually cannot count on certain key situations arising. It could even be an encounter with someone who's just come into town. That someone asks me for directions, or I ask someone else for directions, because I take a fancy to him, and I get the sense that it might be nice to get to know him. And then I try to find out, based on the situation, whether it is possible to establish contact, or if it is not possible. For example,



it is not possible when the parents remain close by, and keep a very close eye on their little ones. In such a situation, it wouldn't make any sense to walk up to someone and ask him a question, something that could be a possible opening for establishing contact." (Kurt: 1/22-44)

With the produced social occasion, various requirements of certain kinds are associated with the awaited engagement. First of all, the addressee must be involved in the occasion to a certain extent and, on the basis of polite convention, be in an emotional state of anticipation. This on the one hand atmospherically favorable, but on the other -- because of very formalized ritual -- still distanced moment has but one chance to be seized. Therefore dramaturgical care has to be taken; the pedophilic man must play to a possibly unfavorable audience, and correspondingly map out the further course of the contact attempt. If the chances for becoming better acquainted are favorable, this offers the possibility of making an approach through questions.

#### [96] Questions

In addition to through noncommittal greetings and binding obligations to provide helpful information, one can of course also very directly set the scene for getting acquainted via a question.

"Oh yes, since there are numerous possibilities for that. And so they are to be found, for example, in the bigger cities, in ping-pong parlors or soccer grounds, thus any areas where boys are always playing like soccer or ping-pong. And then one just joins in. Therefore, sometimes things are more favorable when there are already some boys there and no one is really off by himself; one simply asks whether one might be able to join in. And then, this is usually the case, yeah. And then one is able to see, by playing soccer -- and of course one also sees this in other games -- how the boys play, and also their character, and so it is at play that a person shows his true colors. And actually, it is always a very good sign when one has spent a whole hour playing football. Then you will already be able to sort things out a bit, as to whether you can forget about it or what. And whoever is, then, of interest, one can arrange to do something else with them, or even set a date, and then come to an agreement with them, yeah." (Paul: 1/19-33)

In order for an interaction to take place, a direct question will, admittedly, only result in success when the scenic components of the goings-on are harmonized with the personal façades of those asking the questions, and the ties to the required scenic role, the qualifications for performing it, and the active operation of it are able to be established. Otherwise, the direct kind would probably lead to difficulties. The situation becomes easier when a trusted person brings the newcomer into the game, and takes on an integrative function. Once the first step in paving the way for contact -- the 'getting aboard' so to speak -- has been carried out, then the scene offers the chance to pursue becoming better acquainted. Via play, the person in question obtains insight into how the boy presents himself, how he characteristically appears to be, how he gets along with other people. This insight can be used projectively, in order to represent oneself to others as a potential partner. But certainly, we must still bear in mind the fact that the contact was indeed established via a primary frame, [97] the direct question; however right away a play-modulation transpires, which on the one hand helps the engagement to be maintained without awkwardness, and on the other, provides room for conducting the aforementioned sounding-out.

Up to this point, within the primary frames, verbal strategies of approach have been depicted. Establishing visual contact offers an additional means for becoming acquainted.

"Indoor pool, jacuzzi; six, four or so people in the pool. Over there, across from me sits a boy who's just as pretty as a picture, pretty as a picture. Older, yes, thirteen, yeah, this -- later on he told me thirteen. So, I was sitting across from him. Therefore I looked over at him with great interest, very attentively, very; I always have a quite provocative, which I have used frequently, a provocative glance." (Mike: 10/638-648)

Visual contact proves to be a basic means of conveying attention and devotion. In this case one even sees oneself as having a provocative, "turned-on" manner, and therefore makes an initial contact, conveying an interest to the other party. Glances can be taken in different ways. They can be casual, superficial; but also, as here, targeted and intense. With the unequivocalness of the glance, as in the above-described narrative, the interviewee wishes to clearly signal the intent of his action. He thereby risks, no doubt, a possible rule-violation, whereby he becomes too pushy, and his expressive control slips away from him. It is, however, precisely the non-verbalness of the glance-strategy which affords various options for corrective exchange, so that one can perhaps take such risks. That is, it cannot be demonstrably established whether the glance was "provocative" vis-à-vis sexual intentions, or whether, for example, the interviewee was simply lost in thought, or was looking intensely because he thought he recognized somebody who was in the vicinity. The multi-functionality of the glance allows for the denial of responsibility, and can therefore be stretched to the point of provocation. [98] Furthermore, glances can remain unreciprocated. If one chooses verbal communication, one must approach the other person, come face-to-face with him, and then open up communication. In situations of greater precariousness, this is oftentimes a too direct form of making contact.

#### Intermediaries

In addition to greetings, inquiries, questions, and glances, within the primary frame third persons, oftentimes other boys, function as contact intermediaries.

"Usually, so far, I have observed that it does not work terribly well if you, as an outsider, now for example go to a playground or something like that. Consequently, right now I have some real reservations, as it were, about going in 'cold' as an outsider, going in there and saying, 'Hi, hello, can I join in?' Because meanwhile, I no longer feel like a boy myself, such that I would be able to do so easily and naturally. And why should I go to the playground, when that doesn't work? But the outdoor pool is another story, 'cause I can just plop myself down there, and they're running by, and you see one of them who you know, and so on and so forth, and along the way you also become acquainted with others; that does work." (Oliver: 14/226-240)

One might think that an intermediary would be the most comfortable as well as the most innocent way of establishing contact. To a certain extent, via anticipatory rituals, a third person will make a polite offer of introduction. But in order to be able to rely on this strategy for establishing contact, a certain acquaintance-inventory is, admittedly, a prerequisite.

## 2. Modulations

The pedophilic men's narratives, which illustrated the process of getting acquainted, contain numerous modulations. The interviewees report playing and joking around, regarding sports and reading aloud to children as possibilities for establishing contact with them. Moreover, certain [99] tests and demonstrations are carried out, and possibilities noted, in order to get close to boys. Some men say that babysitting, becoming a Godparent, and using 'bait' has made it possible to get closer to them.

### Games

One of the central modulation phenomena is playing 'pretend.' Here, earnest goings-on are converted into playfulness; for example, when a goal-oriented action, such as the taking-off of a helicopter, is turned into a game, thereby enabling one to enter into the getting-acquainted process.

"Yeah, so at any rate I will play, almost always quite gladly. I, I am an old gamesman, and there are some party games which I prefer to start out with, for example 'the funhouse,' on up to games in which one can really engage them, and consequently in which I gladly get into the bathtub for example, even right away, as I've already mentioned previously, motorboat, play motorboat, or play helicopter. This is, of course, also lusty because, in playing helicopter, he must therefore lay down low in the water, and so then I grasp him between the legs, reach up through and hold his chest, place one of his legs to my left, the other to my right, then I go under, so that we are once again on the same level, completely shift him towards me, so that his bottom is right here, and then I again go up over the water and, and hold him so, and he has to be stretched out like this, since his legs are at my shoulders, and I hold him like this. And then I rotate my own body, yeah, I rotate myself on my axis, and this produces huge squeals, because of course the water rattles him when he splashes it along the waves with his hand, so that it skips along, just like water-skiing. It is an awful lot of fun, and above all else they very quickly become very dizzy. And then when one lets them into the water again, uh huh, then of course one must again mother them a bit, so that they, so that they can regain their balance. This is, consequently, a very rewarding game. Moreover one can, thereby, start up a nice motor. And so when, when it is on the surface, then brrrrr, then one can thus blow right into his bottom, [100] yeah, blow right into there, brrrrm, and then they let loose with a squeal, yeeeee, and then, terrific game. And so playing helicopter is just fantastic." (David: 41/600-628)

Obviously, within the game-context, as has been described here, any expectational insecurity vis-à-vis paving the way for contact is demolished; for the frame appears to prove itself to be a "rewarding" one, a "terrific game." The play-frame consists of small rule-assignments; initially it is a matter of clearly showing the take-off. For this the man must, with his arm, grasp the boy between his legs, hold his chest with his hands, and align the boy's legs to the left and the right of his shoulder. Then it's started. In addition to that one gets into a crouch and pulls the boy near with his hand, so that the boy's buttocks and the man's face are in close proximity, eventually again going up over the water. The actual flight consists of one rotating on one's axis; at the same time the motor is started up again and again (the boy's buttocks), the so-called "blowing right into" it. Finally the landing leads, due to the generated feeling of dizziness, to one being able to "mother" the boy. The entire game is, for the adult, completely erotic. The boy's chest can be felt with the hand,



the man traces the boy's penis with the back of his hand, and his lips are able to touch the boy's buttocks. But it is not only the erotic that is tied in with the game; it is, moreover, paving the way for future contacts involving more extensive activities. Through "mothering" the contact is able to become more intensive (one can ask questions, encourage, feel sorry for, console, invite, etc.), and the "squeals" -- due to the obvious enjoyment involved -- will, in all likelihood, lead to further contacts being able to be made with the boy, in which one will likewise want to risk a "flight." In such a delightful game, it may be presumed that it -- in a repeat encounter -- can be used as a maintenance ritual, serving as both celebration and stimulation. To this extent, it has probably also become a "rewarding" game. Not least because it allows erotic needs to be satisfied backstage. This demands a high degree of dramaturgical discipline, but at the same time with the actor remaining free in his performance, and not getting carried away with his drama. Things do not always work out that way, however:

"Then one day I had talked him into getting into the water, and so I also still had a ball with me. Fortunately for me I was just able to blow it up. And, as I said, he was there alone. And so then we began playing, quite normally, yeah, raising a ruckus right there in the water. And the goofing around went so far that, although he was supposed to go home at seven, at eight o'clock, I believe, we were still in the water, since neither of us had a watch, neither of us looked at the clock." (Manfred: 17/169-179)

In this case, the actor himself gets so caught up in the game that he simply forgets about the problems that might crop up -- in this case, the time problem. He jumps into his role completely, without sufficient role-distance. The balance between obligatory and spontaneous engagement shifts in favor of the latter. Nevertheless, the extent of produced and maintained activity in the encounter is quite contextually effective. Apparently his great enthusiasm really only allows him to be devoted to the primary engagement. Thus the game becomes the most important determinant of his actions, thereby lending a certain intensity to the getting-acquainted encounter. In order for such an intensive contact to be able to come about the transformational power of the toy had to be considerable, thereby easing the transition from non-centered to centered interaction. Further narratives also speak to toys' transformational power during the getting-acquainted process.

"How did the contact come about? So one time I was getting out of the concrete swimming pool that I'd been in. I am inclined, for one thing, if it's just me, when several others are over there, I'll just join in the game. They're playing with the ball in the water, the ball happens to fly over at me, against my stomach, when one is standing in the water, against the stomach or the chest. I hurl it back, and call out: 'Throw the ball over here again,' for example, that is a possibility." (Frank: 1/61-69)

[102] In this case it is a question not of coming up with a game in the first place, but rather, of how one can become a part of it and keep it going. Boys who are playing to some extent provide the frame, into which it is a matter of "joining in." An expectational structure which is still incomplete; namely, just how one can insert oneself into the game needs to be filled out by a frame which indicates how an event (a ball flying against

the stomach or chest) can be understood within a given course (the wishes of those engaging in it). Here there is already a pre-existing situation, which is carried along further via the invitation to "throw the ball over here again." Therefore the interviewee has at his disposal a horizon of understanding vis-à-vis these boys; he shows his interest in playing with them. The ritual invitation is imbued with a hope of obtaining a confirmatory exchange. Consequently, he indicates to the boys playing how -- in the just-beginning, centered interaction -- they might look at him: as a potential partner. Because from the boys' point of view hitting the ball against the stomach or the chest might constitute a violation of one's personal space, the offer of a corrective exchange, to play together, is a way of canceling out and relieving any anticipation of blame on the boys' part. The interviewee absolves them of any blame, while at the same time also bringing himself into the game. Therefore, it is probably only with great difficulty that one will be able to avoid committing a rule-violation; but the pedophilic man has now been integrated into the game.

### Joking Around

Aside from games, joking around is another way of 'playing pretend.'

"Therefore it's a Hauptschule. [See explanation of different school types on pg. 48.] The most pointed remark was, and this is a younger Turk, who's 14, and who thinks that I should play the homosexual, and then he will, somehow or other, latch onto that. And then there was a conversation in the schoolyard, and he wanted to get a grade from me, a good grade, and said: 'I'll even give you a little kiss in return,' just being real silly. Then I said: 'But that's not enough,' and then he said, this other Turk then said: 'Of course, then I have more to offer, seven inches,' and so, [103] quite unequivocally (laughter). At the moment this is rather direct, because at some time or another I will take one up on such an invitation. And so everything is seen as being on a bit more of a joking-around level." (Karl: 1-2/69-81)

In this example as well, the frame supplied by the boy is seized on and complemented. And so expectations are camouflaged. Although the interviewee interprets the boy's remark as a joke ("just being real silly") he still latches onto it right away, bringing uncertainty and interactional strain into the goings-on, whereby he declines the offer as insufficient. Consequently, whereas on the one hand he cajolingly confirms the ritual of the jokingly polite offer, at the same time, regret is expressed via a ratification ritual and the offer is refused. Though he expresses the fact that he has gotten the joke, he nevertheless turns this into a new ratification ritual, now placing the ball in the boy's court ('But that's not enough'). The boy is now in a 'tight spot': whether or not to accept and ratify a changed circumstance. Apparently, however, he is not able to react to it so quickly, and another boy assumes the maintenance of the frame, whereby yet another joke is made. The interviewee interprets this to the effect that they are quite familiar with his sexual preference, which certainly is along the lines of homosexuality.

### Sports

There seems to be, as in competitive sports, an ongoing transition between playfulness and rule-based contests; only touching on sports as a formally organized activity.

"I was, the way we have always done it is that the winner stays in. So the winner remains in it. And I am pretty good at ping-pong. And so I've just been playing, am always in the game, and one time he was just the next one up. And so then I played with him, and also spoke with him, and just showed an interest in him. Then at one point, I said: 'I don't feel like playing any more,' and let the others have a go at it. [104] I think, of course, that only two people can play ping-pong, and at that point the others are just sitting on the bench, waiting. And naturally there is, then, a very good possibility that I'll be able to speak with him further." (Paul: 3/181-194)

For many reasons, sports -- in this case, ping-pong -- seem to offer convenient ways of establishing contact. The competition-frame is based on a clear rule-premise: "The winner remains in it." For testing the waters in terms of establishing contact, this explicit rule provides access to an exclusive two-person interaction, the player-pair. The prerequisite of a focused coming-together is furnished via the supplied central interaction. Undoubtedly, the actor does have to remain in the foreground, primary engagement, the game; however he is able, on the basis of his skill and certainty of victory -- "I am pretty good" -- to devote himself to his real desire, which is to get acquainted; consequently, he does not run the risk of getting carried away by the game. On the contrary: To a certain extent his dramaturgical discipline paves the way for setting the secondary engagement -- getting acquainted -- in motion. This happens so long as he uses his game-competency to his advantage, until the boy who interests him is the next one up. Now he can speak with him, and even make clear his interest in him, via anticipatory rituals. Furthermore, the stage of the ping-pong competition offers the advantage of being able to withdraw from the game without having to leave the location where the action is taking place. Going to a bench offers the possibility of continuing the conversation as well as stabilizing the contact.

#### Reading Aloud

In the following interviewee's narrative, reading aloud occurs within a ceremonial context. Something happens in ceremonies which is different from the day-to-day. It is not extensive imitation, but rather, an event at a particular moment in time that is represented and raised up. A ceremony stylizes an event, as the reported example of a bedtime story illustrates.

"Because I was just someone who he had gotten to know at the youth hostel. As of Monday, then, I was on semester recess, and had checked myself into the youth hostel, and moreover had -- which I was actually quite happy to do -- various books that can be read aloud, and they were part of a class which was on a field trip. And somehow or other I had gotten to know a couple of people, that was in the afternoon, and then I'd said: 'If you feel like it, I could even read a scary story or something to you at bedtime, if your chaperons don't mind.' And that was okay with them. And so then, every night, I just read some stories aloud to him. And then we just also like, we have the afternoon free, and should do something together, when I have the time and so on. And then he very enthusiastically writes home to his mother, you, I have met someone, can't he come with us on vacation sometime, and so on. Well certainly, and then, that actually happens quite quickly. And so I met him at Easter time, and then at Pentecost I was there, and in the summer he is away with me for two weeks." (Andreas: 7/445-467)



Here an action, going to bed, is lifted up and out of the usual pattern of events. It becomes stylized through the ceremony of reading aloud. The ceremony allows the actor to represent himself in his central role as narrator. Seizing the role of narrator shows that he is a man of action ("which I was actually quite happy to do"), his qualifications (moreover he has "various books that can be read aloud," e.g., even proper "scary stories"), and his ties to the role (he had, eventually, read to him repeatedly, "every night"). Via security in terms of self-representation, goal-security in the getting-acquainted process can also be attained. The interviewee appears to be certain of his competency, which his subsequent success confirms. And on top of that, the ceremony also functions as an accessibility ritual. Manifestations of sympathy and interest make a confirmatory exchange possible. The interviewee thereby attains additional security in terms of the question of how I should proceed.

### Testing Out

In another context, actions can be carried out which differ from their original purpose, in the form of tests. Much of the paving the way for contact arises from this kind of desire for practice. Here, experiences are able to be gathered, so to speak, within a sort of buffer zone. The effects of "true-to-life conditions" can be learned from a safe distance.

"And then one day he brought a friend along with him. And this friend just sat in the armchair, absolutely silent, and therefore not daring to say anything, and so I'm thinking: 'Oh God, what kind of wallflower do we have here?' But then a couple of days later, the doorbell rings. This same boy is standing there at my doorstep. I say: 'What brings you here, then?' (-) 'Yeah, we wanted to come over and see you.' And I say: 'Where's your friend, then?' (-) 'He'll be over in a minute.' (-) Well, I say: 'Then, come right on in.' And so we're inside, but the friend never shows up. But then this wallflower makes a 180-degree turn, yeah. He was practically making love to me, yes. Where did he learn that from? So, during our first encounter, we really hadn't discussed sex, but at some point the two had talked about it with each other, and now he wanted to try it out. And he was so good at it, it was no problem at all. You can't even imagine. (-) And so, when you really think about it. Yeah, right, he had originally come here, for God's sake, inaccessible to me: 'Consequently, I am an innocent party,' yes, compared with the friend, yeah. But now the friend had told him something, and he was curious, or even interested, and said: 'Oh, yeah, then maybe I have a chance to get involved myself.' And then he came over here, and because the friend wasn't there, who would have given him away, then he was able to get involved, yeah." (Harald: 23-24/558-586)

Though the boy was already acquainted with the man, the actual contact only occurred at the behest of the boy. According to the narrative, the boy sought out contact with him because he knew, through his friend, that there he would be able to sexually "try it out" himself. Although the two friends had obviously "talked about it with each other" in some way or another, it seemed important to him that he go over there by [107] himself, and sexually "get involved." The interviewee sees, as the reason for this, the boy possibly "[giving himself] away." So, the potential for practice provides the learners protection against a fear of the possible consequences of these sexual activities. In the practice frame man and boy create, so to speak, a cast of characters; they construct a common role, are instructed in close cooperation, and are bound together through mutual dependence and trust.

## Demonstrations

In a demonstration, an action is performed outside of its functional context, in order to provide some non-obligating insight into the actual course of this activity. In the following, "the proper way to make a fire" is demonstrated; a further example of paving the way for contact.

"One day, as I was walking along with a co-worker, I saw how a couple of kids were trying to start a fire. And, well, right, we go over there, and they immediately scatter, because here are these grown-ups coming over, probably to scold them. I say: 'Don't run away, there's no need to be afraid.' They cautiously come back, and I say: 'Is this supposed to be a fire?', and then I just show them the proper way to make a fire. So then, we sat even closer together. My co-worker had to get going. And then it started; and there was a small metal plate in the fire, and when they placed it on top, it started to sizzle. And they thought this was just terrific, and anyhow, I say: 'Well, that didn't do a whole lot -- we'd better piss on it or something.' Yeah, and then he too stands up, right, and just pisses on the plate." (Harald: 8/422-441)

The interviewee seizes upon the child's attempt to make a fire, in order to demonstrate this activity to him outside of the functional context; that is, in a play-modulation. He gives him some expert insight into how one goes about making a fire, outside the context of an earnest, goal-oriented activity. The further course of events also shows that making a fire can be fun, [108], as one tests out bringing it to a "sizzle." Once again the interviewee utilizes the demonstration mode; but now indirectly, verbally, as he merely suggests that one had better "piss on it or something." Via the demonstration frame, the man succeeds in establishing expectational security. He is able to ascertain how they are going to react to his demonstration. Whereas the children initially ran away, following the demonstration, the man sat "even closer together" with them. It was not only his announcement of reassurance, "Don't run away, there's no need to be afraid," but also his skill, sympathy, and interest, expressed through the demonstration itself, that contributed to the stabilization of the paving-the-way-for contact. The fact that what we have here is a situation of trust is also shown by the fact that a boy "pisses" into a fire in the presence of an adult who is a stranger to him. In a scene framed in this way, even the territory of a zipper is no longer taboo.

## Notices

Notices or documentations also allow for the establishment of contacts. Notices make it clear that what has taken place is really a phenomenon within a smaller, transformed world.

"Yeah, the conventional routes were actually ruled out; earlier it was even tested out quite normally, with notices at the school, in the newspaper, in the newspaper or through, through working with teachers and such. But this led nowhere, and then I, I just had a handbill printed up, had it reproduced, and then I was on the hunt (laughs), that is, I just planted myself where school let out, waded through the throng, and then I just distributed the handbills, and indeed, in such a way that it looked -- to the outside -- as if each person were receiving the handbill quite by chance. Yes, right, and yet, in truth, there was, of course, already a selection being made. And then, once I'd given out a handbill I usually tried to, to strike up a conversation. However that was heavily dependent on how I felt at a given moment; it took perhaps a couple of days, since I was afraid even to just speak to anyone,

and sometimes, I would then go up to someone quite brazenly, [109] who was walking towards me, and say: 'You, hello, I'd like to have you in my group'." (Armin: 4-5/263-285)

In order to meet boys for his freelance boy-scout group the interviewee makes use of a handbill which, among other things, illustrates and documents the group's activities. In addition to its framing effect, the document of course also functions, in many ways, as an accessibility ritual. First of all, with it, a showing of approachability is possible. By distributing the handbill, and via the potential eye contact that this entails, a centered interaction is able to be established. The social situation and spatial surroundings -- the school grounds as stage -- is transmuted into a specific social situation: He recruits new group members by using a "handbill" as a prop. On the addressee's side this occasion can be interpreted as a manifestation of interest; moreover in doing so he is also making a polite offer, and in addition, by mentioning it, one draws attention to one's own interests. The distribution of notices is carried out in the interstice between the front- and back-stages. In the front-stage, it is done "as if each person were receiving the handbill quite by chance"; in the back-stage, however, a "selection" was being carried out. But of course this only works to the extent that these endeavors actually lead to "conversation," because otherwise too much attention may be paid to secondary engagement, thereby rendering one unable to enter into primary engagement. Therefore, whereas on the one hand the façade has to keep its emotional composure, on the other, one's own internal rules of irrelevance must come into play.

#### Looking After

Here, the transformation consists of the fact that the motives for an action can, in part, go beyond the usual, whereas, at the same time, other aspects retain their customary contexts. An example of this would be the driver-role of a sports chaperon who escorts boys to away games, which offers the opportunity of establishing contact. The approach is put into a different context.

[110] "Once I was even in a sports club -- I mentored one of the kids. He was (-), he was in the soccer club, and its coach didn't have a car, I believe, and once he even asked me if I might like to drive to and from the away games, since they were always in need of a couple cars. And also because the parents didn't always have a car to drive on weekends. And so then sometimes, just by driving to the away games, I've even become acquainted with the entire team. And then something just evolved from there. Therefore, I even more or less turned into a careperson. And then I met a boy who was into wrestling, who was in a wrestling club, and in that case you even get paid when you, when you drive back from the away game, yeah." (Paul: 2/110-127)

The interviewee reaches beyond, so to speak, the usual ambit of a sports facilitator to obtain a higher status; whereas he initially makes himself available as a driver to and from away games, he then constructs from this situation a qualified role, makes himself indispensable, and finally, virtually makes himself available as a professional driver 'for hire.' The getting-acquainted motive and his interest in sports become one in the different context of a supplied activity which, indeed, represents a major foundation of his possibilities for establishing contact.



## Sponsorship

Whereas the foregoing interviewee placed himself within the context of a club driver, another interview partner transforms his readiness to get acquainted into the contexts of a sponsorship.

"In the course of my work I've become acquainted with a social services agency which funds a child-help center, which in turn had a Brazilian boy in its care. I learned about this right away, which was a good thing. It cost fifty marks; forty marks had been raised at the time. I had written to them, of course it was a crapshoot as to who you would get...A letter came, this little letter came, this little picture was there at the top of the sheet of [111] paper. It was love at first sight. I saw it right away, this is my Pablo, Pablo, thank God, wonderful." (Rudolph: 8/567-574, 583-589)

With sponsorship, the interviewee furthers his attempts to make contact within the context of charity. He makes use of an accessibility ritual, in which he manifests his interest through the polite offer of sponsorship.

## Bait

Besides offers of service and charitable endeavors one can, in a different context, also exercise one's power to attract via certain kinds of bait.

"With a watergun, this thing I'd bought for myself at the department store, and I'd gone to the outdoor swimming area with it, with this thing. I didn't even play with it at all at that point, because I'd sat myself down at the edge of the pool, and was holding the thing in my hand demonstratively, and was waiting for something to happen. In less than a half an hour I'd gotten acquainted with six, seven boys that afternoon. This is also a good swimming area, warm water, waterslides and so on, five different pools, just ideal." (Robin: 2/95-105)

Possessing the "watergun" toy lifts this man out of the frame of the typical swimming pool visitor. He himself underscores his highlighted role "demonstratively," as he says, whereby, on the one hand, he was "holding the thing in my hand," and on the other, "was waiting for something to happen." The unusualness of this situation did not, however, trip him up, in the course of which he, for example, began playing with the toy and started a game of 'pretend.' Rather, he stuck right to his elevated status. And so he turns the toy, himself, and the entire situation into a billboard advertising his readiness to make contact. The obvious unusualness of the situation tests even his special power to attract. The children are in a different context, magically drawn into the supplied situation; it took "less than half an hour."

[112] Another form of baiting, and putting things into different contexts, consists of making the most of his social prestige.

"And then somehow or other we are, so one would like (laughs), I no longer know, we are having a conversation and (—) well now, then somehow or other he showed up. And so then at the time I still had a really nice, I still had a Porsche; that was ten years ago. Well now, I believe (laughing), it makes me very sad, but still, this really did reel them in (laughs). And, well now, and then of course one only needs to say, you, over there, and then somehow or other one gets to talking about it, what kind of car do you have there, yes, yeah, a Porsche, and then we even ride around in it." (Mike: 8/530-540)

The "conversation" that comes about in the course of paving the way for contact is transformed into a different context, in which the interviewee adds another layer to the conversational frame. The personal façade is, via a prop brimming with prestige, elevated to a different context. The thereby supplied status simultaneously functions as an accessibility ritual; the boasting, showing off, and bragging is employed as an interest-eliciting obligingness. A polite invitation reinforces the accessibility gesture.

### 3. Frame Difficulties

Some pedophilic men run into problems in the getting-acquainted process. Oftentimes the meaning advertised via the context is either unable to be conveyed, or can be telegraphed only with difficulty. The encounter's interpretational frame would appear to be ambiguous. The interviewees are then unable to find any possible inroads for making an acquaintance. Furthermore, errors and difficulties can crop up when one is no longer able to rely on his own grasp on reality. Contradictions are noticed.

#### [113] Possibilities for Making Connections

At the initiation of an encounter, confusion and doubt can predominate when there is vagueness or uncertainty surrounding what is really going on. Because one has no interpretational frame at his disposal, or cannot find his way to one, the situation's constitutive action-plan also remains uncertain. The general difficulty of the situation leads to one being unable to see any possibilities for making a connection via which one would be able to carry the getting-acquainted process forward.

"So then, I've also experienced situations when one goes up to boys, in the city, on the streetcar, and so on. Many really don't react at all when you look at them. Others look away, or others notice that one finds them interesting but they find this to be unpleasant, then this is also clear. And then there are even those vague cases where one is constantly looking back, and the other party is perhaps uncertain, or one thinks to himself, oh, now you must actually do something, and so consequently odd ways of behaving crop up, for I often think to myself, then I would like to have a sign from the boy, but on the other hand I can also imagine that I'm asking too much, and that I am the one who must break the ice." (Karsten: 23/44-129)

There are "clear cases" and "vague cases" of receptivity to contact. In the clear cases the boy does not react at all, looks away, or shows that he finds it unpleasant. In the vague cases the reaction is not so definite; due to his constant glances back, the interviewee detects uncertainty on the boy's part. This does not, however, seem to be of such a nature as to rule out the establishment of contact. Rather, the uncertainty shows itself to be ambivalent: Neither encouragement nor rejection is to be read from this posture. What is missing, then, is even the possibility of making a connection on the child-addressee's side, without which the man is unable to continue to lay the groundwork. The conclusion the interviewee draws from that is that he alone can solve the problem, that he has to break the ice so to speak. Whereas in this case it is merely uncertainties that characterize the frame difficulties, there are [114] also attempts at laying the groundwork where neither unclarity nor uncertainty, but rather, a marked perceptual deficiency thwarts the making of contact. Here the interviewee sees no possibilities whatsoever for making a connection.

'Because I have to say, quite honestly, that I am really suffering a great deal, and I am feeling my years, the years are definitely flying by. And now I've already gone six years, without an encounter. And he has even told me, he says: 'Ame, that's just too long. That's too long. And so for a year, perhaps even two years, one can deal with that, but when more than two years go by, that is too long.' And I say: 'What should I do?' I (--) I myself have already wrestled with the question, if there's not some way or another, if one doesn't, over the course of years, that is, years without any encounters at all, that perhaps one eventually just stops noticing the signals that boys are giving out, and that somehow or other these totally disappear from one's field of vision.' (Ame: 12/176-193)

Obviously, in a getting-acquainted situation, one must be able to detect "signals" from boys in order to make contact. This ability is helpful in overcoming the vagaries and uncertainties of the situation. Admittedly, when one, as the interviewee says, has "gone six years without an encounter," this capability may appear to have been lost. Therefore the frame difficulty consists of the fact that this can lead to "a lack of practice" and experience, with the signals "disappearing from one's field of vision." One no longer sees any ways of making connections.

#### Misinterpretation

In the case of mistakes, though one believes oneself to be secure in one's frame, one is in fact proceeding based on false assumptions. This eventually leads to misinterpretations.

'One also just gets to know such boys, and naturally the area as well, and so on. And of course there was a certain, how should one put it, a certain impulse, very quickly, relatively quickly to go up to a proper German boy, because at the time I was of [115] the rather naive opinion that all of these boys, who were just sitting around in that area, were just waiting for somebody to come along and pick them up, but of course that was not the case. I am always getting let down by this kind of thing.' (Herbert: 1/67-77)

The interviewee is obviously committing a frame-error. There is a yawning gap between his own expectational posture and that of these boys. Whereas one tries, with difficulty, to clarify what is going on, in the case of mistakes, one is proceeding based on false assumptions. This leads to an incorrect view of things. And so one must see that his accessibility ritual, "picking up" boys from that area, was a mistake.

#### Contentiousness

Misinterpretations can lead to contentiousness. Man and boy frame the situation differently and have different interpretations of what is going on. The following, longer narrative passage is intended to explain an argument that occurred in the course of paving the way for contact.

'Then he came over to play. He was, how old was he? Eleven. He even climbed up a tree, even up a tree at that time. (--) He was simply lost in play, so I said: 'Well now, right, okay, you can even go up high, I'll make you the robber-leader.' This really didn't suit me at all. He gave me this funny look; well then. The location where the playground is, which is rocky, where it is really rocky and so on, is just a rock edge. Yeah, when we're under the tree again, then we're just sitting there, all four of us, on the rock edge. Then I say, to Torsten -- as brazen as he is he's already leaning his head on my shoulder. I say: 'So, do you feel like having a



coke?' Suddenly Torsten whispers in my ear: 'Hey, how come everybody has to go out for a coke? I'd like to have a coke just with you.' I say: 'Yeah, okay. But we have to come up with some excuse.' But they were only eight years old, and of course he was eleven. 'Ah, this, yeah, now this is a problem, of course we'd have to drive a really long ways to get a coke. Because of course you guys probably wouldn't be allowed to come along, I haven't even asked your mother.' Yes, okay, then they just accept this. Torsten and I set out for the [116] nearest tavern, have a coke, and then we leave the tavern, and anyhow we buy ourselves, no, we go, we go, first we go back to the playground. Then there are three tires hanging from chains, and Torsten sits on my lap and, being kind of silly, lays his head on my lap like so. Me: 'Boy, in a way I do like you.' He says: 'Yes, it is already clear to me, that you like me. I do not like you, but, how much money do you have on you?' I say: 'Oh, money, I really don't have any money on me.' But, (-) I did have money. I had seventy marks in my pocket. I say: 'But, in your opinion, how much money should I have on me then?' 'Well now, around seventy marks,' he says, (laughs), a smart one (-). I say: 'Nah, I haven't any money, but we could get ahold of an apple, and then we could hit it back and forth to each other. What do you feel like doing? What would you like to do, when we get together next time?' 'Yeah, a campfire.' And I say: 'Okay, then we'll meet on Saturday at 8 o'clock in the morning.' (-) Then I'll have found a spot in the country, and we'll build a campfire. Yup, the boy really does show up, and then we head out there. I say to him: 'So now I need to have a chat with you, and you'll either understand me, or you won't understand me. So, this, it has to do with what you recently did to me in, at the playground etc. He says: 'Yeah, take it easy, I understand everything,' he says. I say: 'Yeah, so, let's be clear about one thing: A lot of things are, for me, not about money, and they're either done of one's own free will, or not at all. And I, consequently, I would gladly be together with you, and it is, for me, actually not so important; therefore, I would even be happy, if we could simply be friends, okay?' (-) 'Yeah,' he says, 'okay.' Then we have, then he really has not, is not thinking the matter over. And now I say: 'Okay, I, let's still go somewhere and eat some apples, (-) yeah, and then I'll bring you home.' And so to, close to the door of the house, that is. (-) Yeah, and then we're facing each other, agree to get together again, also out-of-doors once again, and I propose that actually, we could even go to my place sometime. And then, at that point we had not yet gone to my place, but the following day we do go to my place, and make chocolate pudding and so on. I simply wanted to show him, therefore, to me it is, that to me the boy is the important thing, and that to me sex is actually, that, that is actually not the main thing with me, what's important to me is the boy." (Patrick: 15-16/237-298)

[117] After the boy had "lost" himself in the game of climbing a tree, he shows -- via a physical accessibility ritual -- interest in the man. As he lays his head on the man's shoulder, the latter feels flattered. For his part, in the narrative, he responds to this accessibility with a manifestation of sympathy: "brazen as he is." From the man's point of view, the boy reacts to the invitation, for the play-group to get a coke, somewhat conspiratorially. Through backstage whispers a cast is assembled which is cordoned off from the other players. However after having a coke, the at this point closed dramaturgical loyalty leads to difficulties; though the boy had previously, for a second time, shown his strong interest through a physical accessibility ritual, this time he does so by leaning his head on the man's lap. All of this obligingness apparently leads the man to make the remark: "In a way I do like you." At this point, without the man saying so in so many words, a latent quarrel breaks out, for the boy replies: "I do not like you, but, how much money do you have on you?" The

man attempts, with maintenance rituals, to go around the difficult situation, as he makes noises -- in the conversation that day -- about eating some apples, and also makes an effort at setting up another meeting. He places the ball in the boy's court, making it dependent upon what the boy feels like doing. With a repeated encounter, the frame-dispute certainly is addressed head-on by the man: "Now I need to have a chat with you." The man explains how he wishes to understand the contact. At the same time, he expresses to the boy that he wanted the contact to be based on friendship, not on money. He tries to reduce any misinterpretations via a corrective exchange. The boy's residual, quiet embarrassment is parried through a renewed invitation to eat some apples. Once again, agreement serves to reinforce the contact, and to steer it toward different paths. Making the chocolate pudding shows sympathy and interest; it is meant to underscore the fact that "sex is actually not the main thing." In this way, the man attempts to revivify the rule-violation by stressing accessibility rituals, and indeed, for one thing, through declarations to others by way of a symbolically-expressed change in the meaning of the contact. [118] In that way, the encounter is meant to take on a form which is acceptable to both parties.

#### 4. Frame Faultlines

Attempts to pave the way for contact can, however, misfire; the frame suffers a fracture, meaning that a given frame's guiding function is ill-suited to the situation because the pedophilic man discloses and reveals his identity to boys too quickly; that is, a meaning-generating and expectation-producing situation is unable to be established because the man proceeds in an uncontrolled and unchecked manner.

##### Revelations

During the process of paving the way for contact, one flirts with danger when one --as in the following example -- has problems with one's role representation and inappropriately reveals himself as a 'pedo.'

"And so right from the get-go, right away I told him, what the deal was. And he just took it all in. Consequently, a pretty long time went by before something got going." (Dirk: 17/466-470)

Obviously, the interviewee had improperly framed the getting-acquainted situation. The self-confession appears to have been inappropriate, because of course "a pretty long time went by before something got going." One could even say that he was too strongly engaged in the situation. The revelation had presumably caused the boy some difficulty. The latter offered no response which would have allowed for a quiet continuation of the interaction. The interviewee was not successful in putting up with the discrepancy between the obligatory engagement in sincere self-representation and an engagement that was suited to the actual situation. He "lets the cat out of the bag," "right away" disclosing to the boy "what the deal was."

##### [119] Disinhibitions

Situations run the risk of being knocked off-kilter when, for example, frames are down-modulated and self-control is relaxed.

"Yes, I had been abstinent for years, and I was also on probation, and things were even going well, for approximately a year-and-a-half, when I met this boy, and he acted in a very forward way, and I reacted to it. And so then it happened." (Fritz: 2/114-119)

Here the interviewee bemoans an inhibited response to this unmitigated disinhibition. The self-imposed distance could not be kept up, things got carried away, and "it happened." Just as frame-jeopardizing as down-modulation is up-modulation.

"I had just met him, and on the very first day, yeah, then it happened, that I invited him to America, because I, I had planned a trip to America and was just, at that point, collecting my thoughts, and then that evening, that same day that I met him, I go with him to his home and say to his parents: 'So now I bring your son home, and so, I've done something really stupid. So, without asking you, I've already invited him to America. He would be disappointed if you did not allow it.' And the father says: 'It's really quite out of the question.'" (Fritz: 17/413-424)

A further layer is immediately added to the initially innocent getting-acquainted frame. Even before expectational security is assayed, the stakes of the engagement are raised in such a way that the actor becomes flooded with a torrent of feelings, which he no longer even attempts to conceal. Although the intent of the accessibility ritual was undoubtedly to flatter the interactional partner, it actually gave rise not to any rule-guided confirmatory exchange, but rather -- via the extraordinary nature of the invitation -- to the violation of a basic rule of getting acquainted; the offer appears to be too pushy. The [120] corrective exchange with the parents is brought about via a request. One asks for permission to carry out an action which could potentially be regarded as a violation of etiquette. Through it, one signals the possible violative nature of his action, and asks for their consent. Whereas these events are framed by a more or less engaged defense, there are also getting-acquainted situations in which one goes on the offensive and immediately signals his sexual interests in the approach itself, though admittedly under circumstances and ways which would appear to jeopardize the frame anew.

"And so it was around 10 o'clock in the morning, and I had stopped by, I was at the pet shop and (-), well yeah, and then he looks over like so, and at that time I was in the habit of -- so of course one can even establish a kind of cover -- that is, placing my hand in my pants, in such a way that it looks like one is rubbing oneself under one's pants. And then one stands next to them like this, and to be sure, the boy will also have noticed this. Well now, and then he came over here, behind me, and then he was looking at some pictures, and then I accidentally bumped into him, and at that point this signal was sufficient in and of itself. And then we're walking down the stairs. And I'm behind him, and then we go into this hangar, in Karstadt, and there was this sort of log cabin that was on exhibit there. And so we're inside it, only I'm too afraid at that point to be able to do something, to do anything, though it would not have been a problem at all. And so there we are, yes, right, and then we part ways, initially, and then we're standing in the tent even, the two of us, since this was a display model. We're standing in the tent, yeah, in the tent; he was like fourteen or something. Consequently, all I would have had to do was to grab ahold of him, with the two of us in the tent. We had said nothing; we just looked at one another. And then we lost sight of each other." (Mike: 20-21/652-681)



Although it is true that here a playing-'pretend' module (hand in the pants) did give rise to a contact, the man's ongoing uneasiness lent a certain tenuousness to the situation. He did not manage his disinhibitions very well. The person concerned had indeed brought about an encounter; he was, to a certain extent, together with the boy, but he was not in the game. Because he appeared to be preoccupied with [121] how his actions would turn out, the situation was unable to be propelled forward and continued. Though it does -- from the perspective of the pedophile -- begin promisingly, it ends with a breaking-off.

## Everyday Frames, Their Rituals and Dramaturgy

### 1. Primary Frames

Primary frames are used, by the pedophilic men interviewed, principally for representations in which the day-to-day interactions between man and boy, outside of the context of the play-oriented being together, take shape. According to these men's statements, this part of everyday life is of a rather serious nature. Included here are, for one thing, conversations which constitute a large portion of the encounters. Moreover they speak of the household chores which also, in part, play a role in these get-togethers. Furthermore, in a number of the interviews, help with homework is alluded to. Some interviewees report that there emerges out of many friendships a common sphere of interest, a leisure-time project which principally determines the day-to-day interactions between man and boy. At the same time, some men recount a whole series of free-time activities which are not framed in particular ways.

#### Conversations

Some pedophiles report that the day-to-day being-together of man and boy is in fact not characterized by "great adventures"; rather, what stands at the center of their encounters is conversation.

"And so great adventures, day-trips, or even just going swimming for an entire day, I'd actually never done things like that with him. We've actually, our relationship was really just driven by the level of conversation, such that he just came over when there were problems, when something was bothering him and so on, he'd had some kind [122] of trouble at school, or something of that nature. And then I'd just tell him what he could and should do about it. That he was pretty much just between a rock and a hard place, and I simply told him how he could also carefully defend himself, who he should get into it with in a particular case, and things of that nature."  
(Dieter: 6/364-377)

The interviewee's image would appear to be that of a 'wise counselor.' In this way, in the primary frame, expectational security in the encounter is also established; he knows what the point of these situations is, and he also knows how he must present himself in order to ensure future encounters. Obviously the image of boys gets caught up in all of this, for their conversational level is clearly focused on solving problems, above all "trouble at school." Through his ritualistic giving of advice the man offers reassurance to the boy, thereby obviously winning his sympathy and approval as a helpful conversational partner, for "when there were problems," he could "just come over." Consequently, through the man's

accessibility ritual, everyday encounters between the two are afforded particular, reliable, and successful offers of assistance. The obvious success of the advice contributes -- in all probability -- to the fact that these encounters are repeated, and a certain continuity in the relationship is able to be attained.

In other conversations, what stand at the center of the encounter are not school-related problems, but rather, those problems which the boys are having with their parents.

"Consequently, I am also tuned into the needs and wants of these boys, have accompanied them to various festivals, have taken long walks with them or have gone with them on bike rides, and so quite normal, simple things, which one is actually supposed to do, if one has children. And of course they really enjoy this sort of thing. And of course they are also able to confide with me the problems that they are having with their parents. Sometimes they've cursed out their parents, which the parents won't stand for, and that [123] they just don't understand them. Whenever they've wanted to speak to their parents the latter would always be busy doing something else; oh, what did they want now, and so forth. They have noticed that their parents do not take their little problems, which they do have, seriously enough. Which are dismissed as trivial, while at the same time they simply have a sense that I take their problems very seriously, and will even mull them over, and that I will also discuss them with them, in which, even if it is, admittedly, only in these brief visits, which of course were usually only on weekends." (Jörg: 8-9/564-588)

Indeed, in the time spent together, apparently "normal, simple things" such as "long walks" or "bike rides" play, according to the man's account, an important role, of course in the first place in terms of a foundation of trust being able to be established with the children. It is not the activities, but rather, the "little problems" that are the primary frame of reference of the get-together, which lends it meaning. The interviewee sees himself as being in contrast to the parents, and is able to present himself as 'pedagogically competent,' since he enjoys the boy's trust. He makes use of the rule-violation and neglect committed by the parents, whereby he, to a certain extent, takes their place in a corrective exchange. Via accessibility rituals, manifestations of sympathy and interest are articulated. He takes the children's problems seriously, mulls them over, and speaks with them about them. A confirmatory exchange appears to have flowed from the corrective exchange. This is successful because the interviewee is able to revoke his role as an adult, and his dramaturgical performance is played out vis-à-vis role-distance. The primary frame of attentive listening procures the necessary expectational certainty of a successful engagement in the get-together.

Other narratives likewise emphasize the fact that it is not automatically the shared activities which characterize the being-together, but rather, the conversational atmosphere which constitutes the real importance of the encounters.

"Yeah, just traipsing around, something I know all about, anyhow, through the forest, and because it was more a matter of just shooting the breeze and being together than

it was of whatever activity." (Oliver: 14/214-217)

Therefore, in everyday life, the conversation does not always have to stick to specific problems such as school and parental conflicts, but rather, may also have no real frame-basis per se. Therefore, based on the situation of the encounter, a particular emotional readiness to communicate is required. Whereas in the preceding accounts offers of assistance were made, here, the joyful element of "shooting the breeze" characterizes the conversational encounter.

#### House- and School-Work

Also included in some of the pedophilic men's descriptions of the day-to-day routine of being together are joint projects having to do with hearth and home.

"Then you go out shopping together. Because in any event, it is very important to me that when he is here and also stays overnight, that we do everything together.

Whether it's a matter of going shopping, talking about what we're going to have to eat, or even preparing and then cleaning up after the meal, we do it all together.

(-) Ah yes, then he also has to help clean up. He does this willingly. Yes, right, then he gets assigned some small chores, which he then has to do. (-) And this goes, this he also does gladly." (Harald: 3/154-166)

In the presence of the pedophilic man, boys are not put in the role of guests or visitors. Making the boys part of attending to certain everyday household tasks de-hierarchizes a specific role-performance, and underscores the fact that an equal distribution of duties is simply a matter of course. Participating in the housework does not seem like a bothersome obligation; it is elevated to the status of an accessibility ritual, for the boy gets certain rights to participate in the decision-making of the household. By attending to housework, it is further emphasized that their get-togethers have moved out of the sphere [125] of the extraordinary, with their everyday routine even attaining a measure of trusted normality. This routinized, applied primary frame offers, therefore, the certainty of being able to foresee the course of their encounters, and with this, also being able to control them; a major dose of expectational certainty is thereby injected into day-to-day events. When boys and pedophilic men get together, attending to schoolwork often plays a role as well.

"Schoolwork is my forte. I've helped him with his math homework, he goes to a Realschule [see translator's note on pg. 48], and this is so fantastic, it's as if he were my own son. It isn't drudgery at all for us, not a bit. This gives us pleasure and excitement, because he brings his stuff with him, and then we practice a little, and then we enjoy each other's company." (Rudolf: 18/455-462)

In these everyday encounters as well, a measure of normality appears to have been attained. The obviously improving mathematical accomplishments are in fact due not to "drudgery," but rather, stem from regular contact with the man, at which point, according to the pleasure principle, a bit of practice is undertaken. The scholastic improvements can be traced back to the accessibility ritual of being helpful to boys. On both sides, success is confirmed via mutual pleasure. Moreover this appears to stabilize the relationship; learning success serves as a bond-strengthener. Man and boy once again find themselves in a confirmatory exchange.



"Yeah, we have, for example, even set up a beekeeping operation together. And this was also a lot of fun for him. This was, I had indeed [126] started this entirely from scratch, without, without really knowing anything about how to go about it; usually, someone only becomes a beekeeper when he takes it over from his father, at a point in his life when he has a great deal of energy. Consequently, whenever I was wanting, (-) to throw in the towel, and it became too much for me and so on, he would still urge me on, and by the same token, whenever he would get stung or whatever, although this is really painful for him, he still doesn't give up, because this is something that is his, and so, we've just done a lot of things together." (Daniel: 8/529-539)

Establishing a beekeeping operation offers not only a surface onto which an eccentric leisure-time experience may be projected, but also allows for the recursive referencing of a mutually-experienced operational arena. Man and boy, having "set up" something, are able to relate to a common 'history.' That such a free-time project has association- and stability-fostering effects is evidenced by the fact that the project's potential difficulties do not lead one to "give up." The common goal of the project should probably also be regarded as relationship-fostering. Man and boy have "started this entirely from scratch, without really knowing anything about how to go about it." The creation of a common point of reference functions here as a maintenance ritual; it can be used again and again as a way of celebrating and animating the relationship. The continuity provided by this primary interpretational frame carries them through uncertain expectations in relative expectational security, as the day-to-day get-togethers involving man and boy run their course.

Another interviewee reports on the establishment of a crafts workshop:

"What have we done? Well, I have this huge workshop with all kinds of tools. And together we've expanded it more with, in part, some real professional machines, indeed, all antique professional machines. And so I have a lathe from 1900 with adjustable belts, and he has an old planer, bandsaw, circular saw, milling machine, and of course will also have modern hand tools as well; we have set up a flea market together where we sell mostly handcrafts and technical things. And we've also made a lot of other, different kinds of things like toy models; we've made [127] large, useful items, built a workshop, built a large roof. Of course this was over and above everything. Because this was below a multi-story building it was always getting flooded, which was always setting us back; so consequently it took us two whole years to restore it, repair it, and so forth. A real Sisyphean task, a large lot which had to be put in order, with plants and leaves, raking in the autumn, for many weeks, and then with machines, jackhammer, a couple of hills on top of that, and everything else under the sun." (Karl: 6/371-393)

In this narrative as well, the association- and stability-fostering effect of this free-time project is clear. Not only, but above all, the restoration always being necessitated by flooding bound the two together over a long period of time. Via the mutually-shared experiential world of a workshop, man and boy are able to constantly signal to one another that they are 'like' one another, and share something in common. Moreover the relationship attains a certain homogeneity and continuity. Also, in this case, the leisure-time project functions as the maintenance ritual of a friendship relationship. The two participants obviously feel that they are united, in their day-to-day encounters, in a confirmatory exchange.

## Hanging Out

Many pedophilic men describe their encounters with boys as being quite chummy. Oftentimes, the get-together is characterized by a kind of routinized 'hanging out.' Habits provide the primary interpretational frame. When people have already known each other for a while, they know how things are going to go day-to-day. It is not always the new, but rather, the tried and true that determines the leisure-time activity between man and boy.

"Our everyday routine is (laughs), he comes over here quite often to play computer games. This is really right off the bat. Then I have to force him to do his homework. Because he either takes care of his homework, here, with me, or at home, with his mother; and so it's one of the two. And yeah, right, then we sit down in front of the computer, if the weather is bad, or we get up and play ping-pong, play soccer, [128] or just take a walk or whatever, go into town, walk around a bit, do some window-shopping or something, look at toys." (Thomas: 6-7/394-406)

The day-to-day is, in this narrative, embedded in a course-program of activities. First it is a matter of taking care of the "homework," and subsequently of free-time pursuits. The insistence on attending to the schoolwork suggests a relationship which is driven by the man's sense of responsibility. It is not only the free-time fun that is held to be important; while they are together obligations are also respected. In their leisure time, "computer games" obviously have an overarching importance, for "this is really right off the bat," and the reason why the boy comes over. Since he is "quite often" with the man, the fact that the boy is present and sticking around is, from the perspective of the interviewee, regarded as an indicator of the agreeableness of the encounter. Although he doesn't say so in so many words, his laughing can be interpreted as a confirmatory ratification of this friendship.

## Modulations

Many day-to-day encounters between man and boy are anchored within a modulative frame. Everyday encounters have, in the primary frame, a rather earnest tinge to them; codes are employed, principally in the service of meeting higher needs. Fun and games do in fact predominate in these get-togethers. And yet codes are to be found, for example, in witty and fantasy-filled conversations between man, and boy, moreover in their role-playing and animated 'happenings,' as they say, where one is allowed to get a little crazy. Exciting and adventuresome learning experiences are also embedded within a modulative frame, be they the reported meetings of and trips to the organizational scene, the discovery outings, or the car trips that the boys -- according to the statements of the men questioned -- are so eager to take part in.

## Fantasy Discussions

Whereas in the primary frame conversations have a serious and even occasionally problem-laden context, now, the serious crux and character of a conversation gets shifted to a facetious event. What is going on is something different from the usual. Though the boys' questions are indeed taken quite seriously, they are answered in such a way as to provide a stable, easy, and delightful frame to the encounter, as well as to inject some momentary, fantasy-tinged tension into the conversation.

"And I can sit together with him for hours at a stretch, just chit-chatting about various and sundry things. It isn't boring for either him or me, you understand, to just shoot the breeze. He asks me what I was like before, when I was his age, or what I was doing at that time, and so on. And then usually I give in, I come up with something or other, and then he asks the same question ten times in a row, and then I always try to cobble something together, but even when it's incoherent it isn't boring to him, and it's also not boring to me, for by then it's just a really intense exchange of signals, so to speak." (Oliver: 12/120-133)

The adult obviously gets a real 'kick' out of the ordinariness of the primary frame, just "chit-chatting about various and sundry things," as the interviewee puts it. Conversations are not just incidental, trivial, or unimportant, but rather, lend the get-together a particular meaning, extraordinariness, and uniqueness, for triviality only serves the situation-supportive easing into a modulative "shooting of the breeze." The interviewee latches onto an inconsequential conversational situation and builds on it through transformations, thereby propelling the interaction forward. Indeed, he responds to the boy's manifestation of interest in what the former had done during his own youth; and although he is initially embarrassed in the performance he does not lose the frame, and is in the position of being able to construct a story via fantasy play. Consequently, in the interaction, a change in the playfulness takes place. Playing 'pretend' props up the get-together, placing the focus on conversing with one another. [130] It says a lot for the capacity of the modulative conversation to drive things forward that "even when it's incoherent" no boredom crops up, and the fantasy play retains its integrity. Through this, both experience a confirmatory or, as the interviewee says, "intense exchange of signals."

### Role-Playing

Some of the interviewees report how, in their day-to-day being together with boys, they role-play people in various sorts of situations.

"Yeah, by train, arriving at the station, and the conductor says: 'Now arriving at such-and-such place, and please proceed quickly to the exits,' and 'Oh my gosh, where's my luggage?' An old lady: 'Oh, could you help me?' Someone comes up, a small child: 'Come here, can I show you something?' And the different people, and even in the train station there can be a lot going on, various things, which can also be properly played out, yeah, this is one of the possibilities." (Kurt: 5/304-313)

What is striking about this playfully applied 'pretend' modulation is that options for various game-directions and courses remain open ("Even in the train station there can be a lot going on"). Consequently, the interviewee had designed a course of play in which the greatest possible degree of flexibility is a given. The very breadth of this playful frame is precisely what confers expectational security to the encounter, for one can make way for various possibilities and avoid running the risk of easily getting stuck in a frame that is too narrow. Here the module affords, as in the fantasy conversation depicted, ongoing connection possibilities for a continuous course of interaction. The social situation of the game itself, the spatial environs of a train station, and the social occasion, the event of an arriving train, offers chances for embedding the course of the engagement within the broad scope of various confirmatory rituals: Interested questions, polite pieces of information and offers, reassurances, etc. are



possible; confirmatory accessibility [131] rituals are actually played out, which are in tune with the ethos of a selected social occasion. On the side of the pedophilic man there is, in addition, a considerable degree of role-distance brought to bear; he is in the position of producing a childlike self, thereby shifting himself to the boy's level, as is also explained in the following.

"Yeah, or one gives a look, and this glance, each knows from the other, then one just knows. This is a very intense contact, which sometimes is just a glance and nothing more, when at that point a glance is returned in this way, as per the saying: 'A penny for your thoughts.' Or something along those lines." (Kurt: 5/338-344)

It is through the "intense contact," as the interviewee says, but above all, in "just a glance," that it becomes clear that both play-partners are caught up in what they're doing, and are able to absolutely devote themselves to the primary engagement. This state fosters relationship-building: "Then one just knows." They thereby mutually ratify their actions. Obviously, on the side of the boy, the confirmatory exchange is also supported by manifestations of sympathy, for the glance obviously signals enjoyment of the game, when he gives expression to the phrase, "A penny for your thoughts." There are, in pedophilic men's descriptions of the day-to-day, role-playing modulations depicted in which even further layers are added to the 'let's pretend' frame. One can, perhaps, play as if one is participating in a contest, and this module can even be implemented within the documentary frame of a social performance, as is illustrated in the following description of a computer game.

"Everything is possible, and so like I said, this role-playing, these fantasy-, role-playing games are my absolute favorite. Not, there's a whole bunch (laughs), there's a whole bunch, so where one is with an entire party, there are five or six people, whom one just has to run through this fantasy world with, and then cast spells and fight against monsters and so on, but also, aren't famous or anything, and so it, it gets bigger and bigger.

Q: He likes this.

He likes it, yeah.

Q: But what's it like for you, so, is it amusing for you more because he finds pleasure in it, or because it makes you yourself happy?

It also makes me tremendously happy, yeah, yeah. [132] I am also a huge fan of computers, yeah, yeah, of course. And so it is our, one could say, our common hobby. So then we're both very enthusiastic, and so he also plays with great pleasure. There is even a computer store here in the area, where you can rent games, and so we'll rent at least one game a week, and then play it." (Thomas: 7/413-441)

In "fantasy/role-playing," whether it be recorded on paper or available at any time on the computer, the participants can pretend that they are "casting spells" or "fighting." Consequently, the goings-on consist of several frame-layers. What is characteristic of this play is that an act-course, which is consulted as a model, has neither to be stuck to precisely nor completely carried out. In these ways, a "fantasy world" can be created, to which new and different relationships of meaning can be added to the original model. This type of play unites man and boy in their day-to-day lives; it is, as the interviewee says, their "common hobby." The computer game, which they're "both very enthusiastic" about, apparently also reproduces, over and over again, the social occasion which maintains the

relationship. One game is rented per week. Through this regularity via habit, the encounter attains expectational security. The routinized play-module binds the pair together in a confirmatory exchange.

### Happenings

In their narratives, many interviewees emphasize extraordinary events and incidents over and above their day-to-day shared activities. These too are supported by the 'playing pretend' play-module, and are embedded in a social occasion. What is most characteristic of playful happenings is that the expansiveness of actions is placed front and center.

"Because we'd just picked up some stuff for a sort of picnic, and then we, then he purchased it. And he's practically bought everything but the [133] kitchen sink, (laughs) chips and a whole mess of stuff. And somehow or other, when we were at the lake and had just started to have something to eat, and had barely had a bite yet, and then he made this creation. He fashioned it on top of this kind of rock, where he dumped some chips, yogurt, and everything together, pouring cola on it thereafter, and it was then, I don't know, what do you call it, some kind of dish, which he could then offer to McDonald's as a worldwide top-seller, and then we sunk it or whatever. And really had also made things, which I actually had no part in, and so, wasting grocery items and so on, well yes, right, but it wasn't polluting per se, yeah, so we've just made and done things together, with a lot happening." (Daniel: 12-13/109-123)

In this narrative, the social occasion of a "picnic" is transmuted into a 'play pretend' module, in which the food, which was originally meant for the picnic, gets used for another purpose. The earnestness of a planned activity is converted into a fun game. The food, which in the primary frame has still fulfilled a particular contextual meaning ("picnic"), is transformed into something which is an imitation of the primary frame ("creation"), which can now, however, be seen by the participants as something different; namely, as a "worldwide top-seller," which one then "sinks." What is going on in the interaction now gets determined anew; it turns from a "picnic" into a "happening." The original meaning has, however, not only found a new context; at the same time, the new meaning is underscored by its expansiveness. The interviewee clearly highlights the goings-on as "a lot happening": The whole thing was then "fashioned," "dumped together," "poured," "offered," and "sunk," as he says.

Likewise, another interviewee reports how a primary frame appears in a new light via modulative expansion.

"So yeah, then I, for example, came up with an idea for something that I could do with boys, even those who live near us, nearby me, in the neighborhood. Yeah, we'd somehow or other met at some point or another, during the time of carvival, by chance, and then they wanted [134] to just celebrate like there was no tomorrow, yeah. And as I said, at that time I was still living with my old lady. Yeah, then at some point or another they turned up, bringing flowers and candles or tea candles or something like that, which they'd pinched from the church. I laughed so hard that I pissed myself. Bottle of wine and the whole nine yards. Yeah, and then we had a party (laughs). Rolling around, it's nice and dark (laughs). Well then, and this goes on for three days in a row, and in the meantime we do all kinds of shit, and then while rolling around, or at some point or another, they got an idea from a page of a magazine that they'd brought along with them, where the entire erotic spectrum

of offers was laid out, and so then they called up a couple, a couple of women and made dates (laughs) and things of that nature, and I of course was just having a great old time." (Dirk: 14/221-243)

In this narrative as well, out of an ordinary social occasion with a primary interpretational schema (here, a party) comes an extraordinary event whose expansiveness appears to increase. Obviously, for the interviewee, something different from the expected, ordinary party is going on here, because for him the get-together has become an affair in which he "laughed so hard that [he] pissed" himself, and "was just having a great old time," above all as the boys were pretending to respond to erotic ads in a magazine. Also to be seen here is the expansiveness of a boisterous mood, which makes the unusual play possible.

#### Group-Meetings/Trips

Other pedophilic men frame their day-to-day encounters with boys within the module of structured learning experiences, such as, for example, group get-togethers and outings sponsored by youth organizations, as the following example narrates.

"It began, yeah, it started off with us arranging ourselves in a circle, singing a song, saying a few words about where we were going, and at that point we usually headed out, either to some park or another, in order to let off a little steam, play, or go tree-climbing, or, to some old fort or something. Then we come back here, and so there are [135] a couple of building blocks, around which more and more group lessons take place. Not every, but several building blocks, such as perhaps building things, making drinking cups out of bamboo, like the ones that are sitting right back there, or we learn and sing songs, yeah, discuss current events, which now would be the gulf war or perhaps even the question of sex roles. We concern ourselves, therefore, with practical knowledge, what one needs as a boy scout, beginning with classic knots on up to ecologically conscious behavior in nature. (-) And then we are also concerned with cultural themes, yeah, because at the end of every scavenger hunt there's a cozier part, where we sit and eat supper together, where each of the boys always brings something along as a small contribution to the meal. Usually I have to contribute the lion's share, but that's okay. We eat together and talk at the same time. Or read something aloud, plan our next trip. And so this usually goes from about five in the afternoon until 8:00, 8:30 in the evening." (Armin: 11/709-23)

In this narrative, the get-togethers between the man and the boys are clothed in a ceremonial context. For the scavenger hunt, there are clear temporal references delimiting the scope of the game. Ceremonial brackets mark the beginning and end of the encounter; the singing game serves as the plan's opener, and the conclusion forms the cozy part with a shared supper. Moreover there are, in the meantime, always clear references indicating the subject and the location where the activities are supposed to play themselves out, be they outdoor physical activities or so-called "building blocks," as, for example, building things, discussions, practical knowledge, acquiring things, or the cultural themes which represent topics of discussion. Structuring via ceremonial frames allows the interviewees to face the get-togethers with greater expectational security, for the course of the engagement is, in large measure, determined by temporal, spatial, and thematic brackets. Furthermore, the get-together's activities are in tune with the ethos of a youth organization. Consequently, to a certain extent, a tone and course of action appropriate to the occasion is already a given;



the experiential world of the get-together affords the boys manifold [136] opportunities for learning experiences, be they via group lessons or on trips to which the interviewee alludes.

Just as in this interview, other pedophilic men outside of the organizational scene report a wealth of adventuresome learning experiences which are offered to boys on a mutual, day-to-day basis. Included among these are, for example, outings that are associated with multiple opportunities for discovery.

#### Discovery Outings

In everyday pedophilic encounters, outings are at the top of the agenda. It is certainly a prerequisite for a successful outing that it offers enough room and possibilities for playful discoveries and activities, as the following example of a tour of a mining museum shows.

"And so we were in there from 9:00 a.m. until 1:00 p.m. And of course then he scans the whole basket to assess how many people had gone down and how many came back up again, yeah, and indeed there were —

Q: Two missing.

Two had been missing all along. And indeed, for four long hours. I couldn't believe it. And at any rate, at some point or another a guard comes over and says: 'Yeah, say, what are you doing down here then?' And so, he couldn't believe it either. Yeah, we had been looking at all sorts of things. Consequently, the time just flew by. He was in the mining machines room, amidst these drills and he had, so then we'd even brought an entire sack of coal up with us, we'd picked some coal, and so, many people thought that we'd cracked or something. And then, to top it all off, we were in this extremely narrow seam. And therefore we really looked, so, I had light blue pants on, yeah, and we looked like pigs. But it was a lot of fun, yeah, yeah, it was a lot of fun to crawl around the conveyor belts. Everything was roped off, where you were not allowed to go. Nah, and so he says: 'Give me some help, I have to see what a conveyor belt looks like from the inside.' Yeah, then the heavy-duty borers. So then we looked back to see if they were even deep enough. And that meant using sticks to see whether they were even proper ones, if they were only there for decoration.

Q: So then, this was as much fun for you as it was for him. [137]

It was just as much fun for me. Above all, I did it too.

Q: But you would not have done it without him.

Nah, nah, that's true. Therefore there are things, which I experience with him in a practical way, which I also then experience, which consequently as a child I had not even done myself. Never before in my life had I been in a mine, you know? And soon we plan to visit a salt mine, a saltworks, which is somewhere we've been wanting to go to. I still have to find out where it is, and when it's open to the public.

Q: Because that was also a lot of fun.

Because it simply was a lot of fun. It was also, on top of everything else, a terrific experience. On top of everything else, he got to lug some coal out of there. And so then we rode in the elevator. Still, we very nearly took a drill along with us. We were looking at this drillhead, right in front of us. Because there was a shelf, which we had found somewhere or another, that is, on the way down there, it was by the road where the museum was, somewhere or other we found this shelf. Because there lay the whole drillhead, a diamond bit, round, and quadrangular heads. And of course at that point we inspected and checked out everything. And then he took the drill, then he rotated it one time, and something happened when it was turned on again. And we did all kinds of things like that. And so we had a real

The demonstration modules, as provided by the museum, are not merely viewed by the boy and in part by the man as well, as is typically expected of visitors, but are also placed within a context of hands-on experience. In the case of a run-down conveyor belt, for example, the boy must -- according to the interviewee's account -- "crawl around" it and see "what a conveyor belt looks like from the inside," or, heavy-duty borers are examined by them in order to see "whether they were even proper ones," and were not "only there for decoration." Here, tests and experiments are possible under conditions in which actual contact with the world is out of the question; events are shorn of their usual contexts and consequences. This is why the described museum-world is so redolent of adventure. The two -- man and boy -- are, moreover, obviously having fun, from which it may also be inferred that small rule-violations [138] on the boy's part, such as getting on the conveyor belt or picking up some coal, are corrected by orientational announcements by the man, which get ratified by forms of consent in a confirmatory exchange. He is even with him in an "extremely narrow seam," so that in the end they "looked like pigs." In this way sympathy and interest were shown and an accessibility ritual was directed at the boy. The small transgressions bound the participants together in even greater dramaturgical loyalty; they had to agree to remain quiet about it, thus representing a closed community which had, as the interviewee says, a "real mine adventure" that was not in the form of an ordinary museum visit, but rather, 'coded' in the form of a discovery circle, made up of multiple learning experiences.

#### Driving a Car

Other pedophilic men report boys being offered similarly exciting learning experiences, when it comes to boys wanting to learn how to drive.

"Of course they want to learn how to drive, since everybody goes on car trips. Jochen was just wild about it. And then I thought to myself, you should never have allowed yourself to get involved in it, because then there'll be no end to it. But then I caught a lucky break, because I had this old beetle, which had given up the ghost, and at that point was done for. Then I said: 'Don't get behind the wheel of the other one -- it's too difficult'; so I stuck to my guns on that." (Robin: 29/410-419)

"Which naturally is fascinating for any boy, if he's a little older, when he's fourteen or fifteen, when one goes out to a test track and lets him drive the car. And so today, when I think about the risk I was taking, although it was usually rather dark and so forth." (Mike: 18: 493-501)

The possibility of learning how to drive offers the boy a small thrill-experience. They are "just wild about it," and it is "fascinating" to them, as the interviewees say. Driving a car is tantamount to a [139] performance; under the protection of adults, boys are able to have an experience which, at their age, would otherwise be denied to them. It is obviously a bit difficult to maintain expectational security within this practice frame, "because then there'll be no end to it," or because one sees "the risk" that one "was taking." Consequently, the making available of a practice frame demands, from the man, a high degree of dramaturgical discipline. On the one hand he must be in control of his actions; on the

other hand, he has to remain free enough to be able to deal with any problems that might crop up. Because the tests and trials are not only shorn of their usual contexts and consequences, but are also granted to an age group which is normally excluded from such experiences, with the granting of an exercise frame, an accessibility ritual is simultaneously presented. The courteous offer as well as the experience itself raise the boy's status; he is brought into a confirmatory exchange.

### 3. Frame Difficulties

Frame difficulties crop up in day-to-day encounters between man and boy when the pedophilic man is unsuccessful in engaging with the boy's interests. One of the ways in which this manifests itself is when some men appear to have a dubious grasp of their own role, and are unsure as to what, to them, is in fact valuable about being together with boys on a day-to-day basis. Here, the pedophilic man shows himself to be uncertain as to whether he really wants boys to be part of his everyday life. Another way that frame-difficulties arise is when the men make situational mis-appraisals regarding the play-interests of boys. What goes wrong in this case is the frame-assessment of what the boy wants and intends at a given moment, as well as what is happening in the interaction itself. In addition, frame difficulties can also crop up when man and boy have different notions of various kinds of leisure-time interests.

#### [140] The Child's Level

The everyday frame of a pedophilic friendship gets into difficulties when the interviewee swings back and forth in terms of his belief in his own role. On the one hand day-to-day life is fun; and yet on the other hand one almost feels sorry for him, as is made clear in the following narrative.

"Yeah, so, there are things which just make me happy. And then, and these go to another level, to this child-level, anywhere where it's fun, anywhere where one can join in, and then, it is nice, but in the meantime, I'm also just at the point where I'm pretty frustrated. Oftentimes this moves to and from different levels that I just don't feel like going to. I'll gladly go into a bar, and to me it would be absolutely terrific if children would always be in a bar, that I would be able to drink with them, but of course this isn't the case, and therefore this, this is what bothers me so. That it just simply is not possible to construct (-) this sort of day-to-day life (-). I don't feel like running around some playground, or running after little children at some swimming pool, or anything along those lines. Therefore, for me, that would really stink. Not only, not only because of the risk that this would pose for me or even for the child, but really the whole situation."  
(Christian: 4-5/341-364)

The interviewee finds himself in frame difficulties because he allows ambiguities to seep into his understanding of his role, as well as his performance of it. It is true that his expectational security, which would in fact be able to be present in a shared, day-to-day routine between himself and a boy, is not unclear; only, to him, this shared day-to-day has, "in the meantime," become uncertain. As of this point in time, function-capable interpretive frames appear to no longer be available. He no longer has confidence in his understanding of reality, and doubts the clearly outlined possibilities as to which (day-to-day) role he is supposed to act out: one in which he enters into the "child-level," or one which approaches



the self-understanding of an adult. And so he wishes for different social situations and social occasions in which to get together [141] with children. A "bar," a place for adults, and "playgrounds," stand here in graphic contrast to one another. However the desired situations and occasions imply an engagement and an emotional status which does not seem to correspond to the world of the child, and finds expression in "drink." The interviewee's faith in being able to 'play along' in a child-role is shaken. He can no longer fully grasp his pedophilic role, which means that he is no longer in a position to see himself as fully embodying the (role) ideal. Furthermore, although it probably is the case that he does in fact possess the qualifications to be able to portray role-behaviors, the truth is that he "just doesn't feel like" binding himself to the role or actively engaging. The pedophilic role is no longer able to hold sway over him. A discrepancy between obligatory and spontaneous engagement opens up. He would much rather spontaneously devote himself to the adult role; in encounters with children, however, he is bound to the child role. He would prefer not to seem like a cynical performer who plays a role in the presence of children, but rather, wants to face them sincerely; but this would demand of him a childlike self, which he -- as he emphasizes again and again -- no longer "feels like." Because of this frame difficulty the interviewee's goal-security also gets lost, as he is supposed to integrate encounters between man and boy into his day-to-day life. He has become uncertain in his dramaturgical performance. He would much rather trade in the everyday scenic component of a "playground" for a "bar." And by the way, the role-doubt depicted is due not only to the "risks" that a pedophilic preference brings with it, given that constant dramaturgical discipline and care are required, but radiates from the "whole situation" of his life.

#### The Proper Course of Play

Whereas the frame difficulties in the above-presented narrative are attributable to problems of identity, other pedophilic men report difficulties which result from misassessments of the course of interaction in day-to-day encounters with boys.

[142] "And so I'm thinking of someone, who actually only very rarely wants to decide for himself how play is going to go, and consequently, play always takes a course in the direction of chaotic mishaps and so forth. And then that isn't as much fun for me. And I have also noticed that my ideas are just not well-received by him, because they were my ideas and not his own. Because then tension can arise, which even crops up at that point. And then, because he was also my friend, I would try to defuse the tension from the situation, to not generate any more tension." (Kurt: 7/451-462)

The interviewee underscores his erroneous beliefs vis-à-vis the proper assessment of a play-situation: "And I have also noticed that my ideas are just not well-received by him, because they were my ideas and not his own." Obviously he was so caught up in his own actions that, at first, he did not notice the emergence of potential problems. Because of this, a degree of expectational security is initially lost; this causes interactional tension. He attempts to redress the boy's wrongful disregard for his ideas in a corrective exchange. The interviewee sees that he has improperly concentrated on his own interests in the encounter, and is obviously endeavoring, via manifestations of respect, to offset the rule-violation, as he makes an effort to "defuse the tension from the situation."

## Different Interests

Because man and boy have different interests, it is oftentimes difficult to anchor their activities within a common frame. The interviewees report, for example, that very frequently the boys want to watch movies which the men are really not interested in. The routes which end up being chosen in order to deal with such conflicts are illustrated in the following two interview passages.

"Under certain circumstances I will say, whereas at other times I will not, that you're not allowed to watch such-and-such, but I'm sorry to say that I wouldn't even watch that myself. Oh, I don't care -- you can watch it if you really want to, but I myself wouldn't [143] watch something like that. It really wouldn't interest me if it's like a zombie movie or something; yeah, there actually are limits where I say, nah, I'm sorry, but I will not watch that." (Stefan: 5/322-330)

"And so I'll make the case, when we go to the movies; sometimes I'll decide, sometimes he will, because otherwise, I just wouldn't be prepared to be incessantly watching such horror films. At one point I said, now look: One time, I will go with you, but then the next time, you will go with me." (Herbert: 24-25/343-349)

Obviously the men more or less remain true to their principles; one without compromise, the other, to a rather more moderate degree. They want to portray themselves to boys in a sincere way. Apparently, there are also clear limits regarding to what extent one will allow oneself to get enmeshed in the boys' interests; this does not mean, however, that the boys' wishes are denied altogether ("I don't care -- you can watch it"). The interviewees encounter frame difficulties when avoidance rituals are employed which highlight the presence of a clear distance ("I myself wouldn't watch something like that"), or when an attempt is made to minimize any unwelcome surprises by pre-arranging how things are going to go ("One time, I will go with you, but then the next time, you will go with me"). But clearly, despite the difficulties and differences, the day-to-day interactions are not broken off, for they have not established unduly high expectations regarding shared interests. Sameness is not always to be strived for; on the contrary, there are areas where the differences are simply tolerated, provided there are still enough shared points of reference in their day-to-day lives.

## 4. Frame Faultlines

Frame faultlines seldom crop up in day-to-day get-togethers between man and boy. Obviously the interviewees are in a position to arrange their encounters in such a way that at least a passable frame can be found for any given activity. The few faulty frames which are detectable relate primarily to [144] play events, to which the pedophilic man is only able to gain either partial access or none at all.

### Not in the Game

Frame faultlines in the day-to-day goings-on between man and boy are characterized by the fact that no centered interactions are able to be brought about, but rather, only non-centered ones. Whereas the boy is in the game, the man merely looks on.

Q: "So then, what do you do -- do you join in?"

Nah, I have to, I'm always, I sometimes start laughing. 'Why are you laughing now?', he says.

Q: Yes, why?

(Laughs) Yeah, because I find this so amusing at the time.

Q: Yes, but what is the comical aspect about the boy playing with the cars?

Yeah, when he's so intently at play, and then doesn't notice, doesn't notice, and then I look at him, and sometimes I just have to laugh about it. I'm not laughing at him, but rather, because he can play so terrifically well." (Klaus: 6-7/395-412)

Man and boy are, indeed, co-present; but not in a centered, organizational form. No mutual act-frame has been established. The social occasion for the coming-together leads to the construction of differing meanings. Whereas the boy directs his engagement to play, the man is unsuccessful in joining in. His engagement is limited to observing the boy. He is unable to attune himself to the play event, although he does, to some extent, generate a situation-appropriate tone. He rather detaches himself, as he -- by laughing -- doesn't so much distance himself from the play but perhaps expresses his involvement in it. By playing along, he would presumably be confronted with a rule of which he is not convinced. On the other hand, by observing, he is put under a sort of spell, such that it elicits nothing less than 'astonishment' ("Because I find this so amusing"), and the tension must be discharged through laughter. [145]

Another interviewee reports an incident which gave rise to some embarrassment on the adult's part.

"Yeah, playing something or other, look around, I'd say once like so; I had, I had actually looked around more, but I'd also done it one time like that; perhaps this had been a bit too embarrassing for me. I don't know what he said at that point, but then I say, once, anytime, whenever I'm really involved in erecting something or other, together with him, and so on, because I've already done part of it, anyhow then he builds a spaceship, and at that point says to me: 'Right, anyhow, now you can build a space capsule,' and so on. Then I put together this space capsule. And then of course this feeling from earlier was already quite strong. But of course then I didn't have confidence in myself as far as the motor noise goes. Because then he probably would have looked at me a little, well now (laughs). Yeah, but anyway this was still a really fun time." (Fabian: 27/788-804)

What we obviously have here is a borderline case. On the one hand the interviewee is involved in the play ("Then I put together this space capsule"); on the other hand, he emphasized that he had "actually looked around more." The playing-together is infused with difficulties: "Motor noise" sets off the frame here, which is possible in a play situation. The interviewee tries to use role-distance to insulate and protect himself from being 'tainted' by the situation. He is also unsuccessful in maintaining an occasion-appropriate primary engagement, or in harmonizing his activities, in the truest sense of the word, with the ethos of the social occasion. This is apparently too "embarrassing" for him; he doesn't "have confidence" in himself, and detaches. The abrupt embarrassment reaction leads the interviewee to a ritual regression to the perspective of a boy. Such an exaggerated adaptation to a child-role makes him seem ridiculous in boys' eyes. Obviously his embarrassment does not disturb the course of play; for him personally, however, a frame faultline does arise, because a depicted self is confronted with a different self, and is not able to be harmoniously



united with it. The belief in one's own role has fissures. Although the bond, qualifications, and engagement for play-adequate dealings are indeed present, they are [146] not altogether convincing, so that a discrepancy arises between obligatory and spontaneous engagement, which the interviewee resolves in favor of his spontaneous feelings, as he shifts himself away from play.

## **Sexual Frames, Their Rituals and Dramaturgy**

### **1. Primary Frames**

In some of the narratives the interviewees have, of their own accord, depicted the transition to sexual events within the context of primary frames. Indeed they experience the increasing body-orientation as a marked act-sequence, with the sexual interaction also requiring specific means of communication between man and child; however in contrast to the more complexly-framed transformatory performances, here a primary interpretational schema suffices, given that the interviewees are, for the most part, confident in their actions. The primary frame is applied principally in three kinds of situations: firstly, in encounters which are embedded within longer-term relationships, in the course of which one has certainly already ascertained the boy's sexual wants and is thus able to proceed more self-confidently; secondly, in relationships which have already been in existence for a long period of time, in which a high degree of trust has been built up; and thirdly, in one-time, rather fleeting sexual contacts.

#### **Dependable Encounters**

There are encounters between man and boy which allow the man, based on certain circumstances, to be able to act confidently in terms of physical contact.

"Yeah, (-) so lately, so then lately, on an overnight weekend together, well now, if a boy is uninhibited, then it's for him, and if you're also taking a bath, then you get to know one another, how one looks, when one has nothing on. [147] Then there are no surprises. And if a boy is also sexually open, and you're laying in bed together, you like it, and you cuddle, then he automatically presses up against me, and I against the boy as well, with this sort of boy, which I especially like, that's how it is at that point, and then sexual reactions show up quite automatically. This means that he's just as sexually aroused as I am. And it is not unpleasant to him when you touch one another, where you have these fantastic sensations, and then you play with each other. It may well be that he had not yet experienced this intensity in this sense, but it is my experience that most of the boys whom I have gotten to know are very likely already aware of the fact that dicks aren't just for pissing, but that they can also be the source of some really nice sensations, to the point of it tickling in this really terrific way." (Kurt: 15-16/336-358)

First of all, spending the night together obviously offers opportunities for physical contact and sexual encounters. Furthermore, it appears to be advantageous for one to see his counterpart unclothed ahead of time, so as to rule out any potential "surprises." It is also especially important for one to become acquainted with boys who are sexually "open," and who "are very likely already aware of the fact that dicks aren't just for pissing,"

as the interviewee puts it. If the get-together proceeds under these expectation-meeting conditions, an interpretive frame can be applied which describes the goings-on in a sequence of 'an exchange of caresses, sexual arousal, sexual practices.' In this depiction, there is a certain air of being 'unspoiled by civilization.' It is -- which clearly emphasizes primary frames -- anchored not in pre-existing, original interpretations, but rather, in a "primary," and here, to a certain extent, "natural frame." The event-course, and above all the bodily reactions contained therein, are more or less depicted as 'purely physical.' Through "cuddling...sexual reactions show up automatically when you touch one another, where you have these fantastic sensations..."

But certainly, in order for a sexual encounter to be possible, further prerequisites still need to be enumerated.

"Because where I sleep, there is even enough room for someone else to also be able to sleep. And in addition, I also have yet other sleeping accommodations. When I put the question, 'And where would you like to sleep?', I glance over at such-and-such place, and there's also a spot here by me, then the reaction is always, 'I'll sleep here.' Since I basically sleep with nothing on, this tends to separate the wheat from the chaff. Either the boy finds it interesting, in which case he too undresses himself, or it strikes him as strange, in which case he leaves his pants on. Then perhaps the first weekend goes by with nothing happening at all. By the second weekend, he too leaves his pants off, and cuddles up to me. That's exactly how it is with boys -- the cards are laid on the table: If the situation is enjoyable, he will quickly respond accordingly. Without words." (Kurt: 17/433-449)

In spending the night together, certain territorial questions come up. They are, obviously, significant in terms of how one might expect things to proceed. It's a question of where they are going to sleep, of the sphere of action -- a shared bed or a different sleeping arrangement; and furthermore, of how they are going to sleep, of what will or will not cover their bodies -- with pajamas, or without. The man cloaks these questions in accessibility rituals. He makes the courteous offer to boys to personally select their own sleeping location, while at the same time drawing their attention to a place in his own bed. Because he sleeps in the nude, if the boy finds the offer "interesting," he too could take his clothes off. But the decision is entirely up to him. It is only when the boy has answered both territorial questions favorably, and has also signalled a desire for closeness by cuddling, that a sexual interaction can be initiated; it takes place, as was also reported in the previous text, within the depiction of a primary frame: "quite automatically" through "touching one another," and yet at the same time "without words," as is added here.

#### Longer-Term Encounters

In a relationship which, as in the following case, has been in existence for two years, a primary frame is also applicable to sexual goings-on. Whereas in the preceding narrative the sexual interaction ran its course "without words," the partners' greater degree of familiarity [149] with one another, as well as the sexual development of the boy in the relationship, obviously makes the exchange of verbal signals regarding the sexual events possible.

"Because the acom became a bit damp, and then it was already over with. Amidst his moaning, he hadn't even noticed that he'd had an orgasm. This was much quicker than

had sometimes been the case in the past. Then he said: 'Yeah, I'm ready.' So. And then I said: 'My God, you ain't seen nothin' yet!' And so on. Then later on, when he was 13, it was more pronounced. He himself experienced his orgasm as being stronger, yeah. Consequently he says: 'My God, it's gotten better or it lasts longer or, right, it keeps going. Or something like that.' The tone of his voice became, yeah, more strained; he breathed more deeply." (Manfred: 59/317-382)

Compared to the previously-reported narrative, in which the event had been described within the context of a primary-natural frame, since the sexual course was regarded as being purely physical, standing in the foreground now is a primary-social frame. Events do not run their course, as it were, 'unspoiled by civilization'; instead, the actors take deliberate action. Both are in primary engagement with the event, and communicate over the course of the engagement. Potential difficulties, wants, and preferences are immediately ratified in a confirmatory exchange. Pedophilic men who are in long-term relationships also describe their sexual practices in 'uncoded' terms. Clearly, when the two parties have known one another for a long time, modulations have a tendency to fall back to the primary frame.

"Well now, we've already done some more intense things, like blow jobs. Or, he likes getting his sack licked, and this and that. Massage his balls a bit, this and that. Then I knew — he'd gladly let himself get a blow-job. He thinks it's real nice; it makes him lustful. Then he places his hand on your head, to make sure you keep going. And afterwards it's very (...) like, we've known each other for two years now, which he also is just really happy about." (Manfred: 53/41-53) [150]

In this two-year-long relationship, "licking" and "blow-jobs" are characterized as "more intense things." The sexual event becomes depicted in a confirmatory exchange. According to the man, the boy ratifies the sexual practices with forms of consent, although he remains passive.

In a further narrative, with the physical contact and sexual interaction likewise being presented in the course-pattern of 'an exchange of caresses, sexual arousal, and sexual practices,' the pedophilic man wishes to engage in an activity which, admittedly, is not able to be realized.

"Yeah, and then it was just late, and then we have a little, which I know, we've just said to ourselves, ah, now we'll just, just lie down here. Anyhow, it's already late, and then he even spends the night here. Well now, and then we were in bed, and then we've lain down next to each other, naked, and, yeah, and then we mainly stroke each other, quite tenderly, and then there really aren't any boundaries anymore, but when, at some point or other, as always, the caresses become more intense, then, then it's not simply the body as a whole, but it's even the genitals, and therefore the penis and so forth. And of course it is already erect, already long-since, with both of us. Well now, and then, let's see, what shall we do in bed then. But there's one thing he doesn't go for, which I'm actually already accustomed to: fucking. He's said he won't do this. And then I'll say: 'Oh, come on, of course you will.' But he held firm. This is the most sacred part of his body, and (laughs) I am not allowed to enter his holy of holies. Perhaps later on, but, but for better or worse I have to respect this (laughs). Well then, for good or ill, I must respect this, because, because he simply didn't want to, in spite of several, very clear offers (laughs). But that's also a very beautiful thing." (Maximilian: 8-9/535-560)

The request to "fuck" the boy leads to an incident. The natural frame



depicted at the beginning of the narrative, in which the evolutionary course of the sexual encounter is, to a certain extent, determined ("then there really aren't any boundaries anymore"), it has to be complemented by a social frame-setting. [151] The flow of activity is interrupted by a point of information, which is meant as a correction. Even these two interactional partners have to communicate concerning the course of their engagement. However according to the interviewee's account the boy does not react to the incident with embarrassment, which means that the interaction or encounter is able to be resumed without serious difficulty. The incident seems to the boy, based on how the man tells it, to be something of an indirect ritual desecration ("his holy of holies"). The boy reacts to the verbal deflowering (de-masculinization) of a particular territorial envelope of the body in an obviously unoffended way, and is able, according to the interviewee's statement, to further respond.

#### One-Time Encounters

As to contacts in which a physical approach and sexual interaction are sought out at the location where the initial meeting takes place, the following is reported:

"Yeah, yeah then he noticed, therefore, that I was just eyeing him in this way, quite attentively. (-) What's he up to? He got out of the whirlpool, and of course glanced over to see whether I too was looking back. He already had a little erection in his, in his shorts, not, and also looked at me looking back at him. And then I glanced back at him again. And then he swam in this sort of large basin. Therefore I looked over then as well. Then he came right back, and sat down next to me. He sat down there, still at an appropriate distance, as was proper, not rushing things of course. Let's see, then he came a little closer, and there, under the water, no one would be able to see anything whatsoever. Well now, then you just push the legs apart a little, and then you brush up against the other knee. And, let's see, now the customary foreplay, like, just like adults would do. Therefore it's also no different. (-) Well now, and then you slide up, you linger there for a bit, on the thigh, and, let's see, he remains sitting there, quite still, and so this is always like, howdy, neighbor, I hear you callin'. And he slowly moves around, let's see, and then (---) and then he slowly turns around, and at this stage I just let my hand lay there. And he turns around, and quite accidentally of course, here comes his dick (laughs), it [152], naturally it comes right into my hand. Yeah, and you aren't supposed to think, that you should, why should I take my hand away; that doesn't even cross my mind. I, indeed, that was not my doing, but I also hadn't taken it away; but he could have, therefore, given the signal himself. So of course now it's time to do something. My hand lay consequently it lay so perfectly beautifully on his dick. And then you realize that it's actually pulling away. Right, well now, even that can be quite nice (laughs). Let's see, and then he comes, he sidles up even closer to me, nah, and then, well now, and then you have, you become even bolder, and then you actually think, o.k., so then you just go for it, then you grab ahold of his dick. And then, well now, and then everything was clear. Only, where to sneak off to now? In, and this other pedo, who of course must have been of like mind but nevertheless did not have a clue; but we ourselves at least were going to; so, the shower is sort of partitioned off, and therefore we wanted, at that point, to withdraw to the shower area. And yet another pedo followed us over there -- uh-huh. Consequently we had to shake him off (laughs). Therefore, I've also been successful by doing a bit of swimming and so on with them as well. So, there are also other times, where I perhaps lose interest a bit, where, where he's perhaps realized, this is probably not going to work out. Anyway, then I'm in the solarium with him, just

the two of us. Let's see, and, and then it happened in the solarium. And then we have, at that point we even go out to McDonald's or some place like that and have a snack, and so we even had a bite to eat. And, let's see, this was, then, just a one-time contact." (Mike: 11/682-46)

In contrast to carefully cultivated or committed relationships, in this case the pedophilic man is not able to rely on the bedrock certainties of an already-established contact and the familiarities of a friendship. Getting acquainted, sexual 'grooming,' and sexual interaction are all bound to a particular time and place. Whereas at other locations pedophiles would usually require a longer period of time, here, in the situation at hand, it does in fact come off. Therefore, vagaries and uncertainties must be overcome to a far greater extent than is the case in other situations. The interview passage makes it eminently clear just how expectational security is [153] attained. Again and again the interviewee reassures himself through constant reference to the experienced and noticed reactions and actions of the child. Other pedophiles undoubtedly do this as well, but they can do so only because they are able to develop the sexual aspects of a relationship over a longer period of time, integrating already explored experiential values and latching onto them. This sort of chronological stretching-things-out is not present here. It is actually unusual that a primary frame was chosen under these conditions. All of the other interviewees describe the physical 'grooming' and sexual contact predominantly within a modulative frame. But admittedly, they are also endeavoring to establish lasting relationships, and rarely aim for a one-time contact. However, it may be that it is precisely the context of a one-time encounter that makes it possible for one to proceed in an 'uncoded' manner. Eventual failures are, then, able to be chalked up to 'tough luck,' and do not occur within a context of high expectational pressure, which indeed would be focused on a possible relationship. The encounter has a rather carefree, not very committed character. And so right at the start the interviewee tries, via an "attentive look," to establish a centered interaction. At which point the boy acts out a rotating game of closeness and distance; he distances himself, looks back, comes back, and then moves in closer. The interviewee had attempted to maintain eye contact with the boy throughout the entire time. Obviously the man interprets the boy's sexual arousal as a manifestation of interest, above all when he returns and comes near him. The boy seems to have recognized the coded message for a primary frame: the intense stare, which signals sexual interest. Once the primary frame 'eye contact' was successful, another primary frame, the "foreplay...just like adults would do," could be selected. The touching was, according to his account, ratified by the boy ("he remains sitting there, quite still"). Once again, the interviewee portrays this as a ritualistic manifestation of interest ("howdy neighbor, I hear you callin'"). Whereupon the boy takes over -- according to the pedophilic man's account -- the sequencing of the sexual act-course. This is put, by him, into a modulative frame, [154] for the boy 'plays pretend': "accidentally of course, here comes his dick...right into my hand." The interviewee portrays himself as passive in this situation; the operational thread is relinquished to the boy. Although the pedophilic man does not take his hand away, he is not trying to make sexual contact; it is the boy, according to his account -- obviously an open question -- who gets something out of the situation. Several signals now indicate that the boy is obviously sexually interested: 1) He lays his penis on the man's hand; 2).

He has an erection; 3) He sidles up closer. The man infers, from these critical signals, that direct action is called for. He no longer merely makes a sexual offer, whereby he presents his hand, but instead, now he even grabs ahold; he touches the boy's penis. At this moment, however, an incident arises, for another pedophile is obviously threatening to disturb the get-together. However they are successful in overcoming the embarrassment caused by this unwanted stranger, and the sexual interaction resumes. Now the solarium is chosen as a backstage venue. Details about the sexual goings-on are, however, not provided. The one-time contact ends with a shared snack.

## 2. Modulations

Most of the interviewees who did describe physical contact and sexual occurrences used a modulative frame as the basis for their accounts. Moreover, this was mainly a matter of pedophilic men who were, no doubt, also striving for a lasting relationship with a boy; but they were on far shakier ground than those men who anchored the sexual interaction within a primary frame. Therefore, modulations were predominantly employed in the following four cases: Firstly, in order to assess the physical approach, especially when the boy's sexual needs and feelings were unclear, and one did not know how far one was able to go with one's sexual acts. Secondly, when man and boy first spend the night together ('the [155] first time'). Third, when it's an issue of deflecting the boy's sexual embarrassment; and fourth, in order to resolve any uncertainties and offer a ready space for sexual learning experiences.

### Physical Approaches

Before sexual interactions are able to be realized, in some of the pedophilic men's accounts it is, initially, principally an issue of the physical approach. Often this takes up more space in the narratives than do the sexual goings-on themselves. Among other things, this is probably due to the fact that, as the following example shows, a certain degree of one's erotic needs are able to be met via the 'grooming' process itself, as well as the fact that one is not at all certain about taking it -- or only very cautiously attempts to take it -- to the sexual level.

"Eleven years old and three months, to be precise. (-) And he's still not much older now, because this wasn't all that long ago. So he really, really liked to be affectionate. Consequently he had, and so at some point or another I just tried to get him to give me a kiss. And he went for it right away. Then I happily started this game with him, where I went so far as to say: 'I'm gonna get your tongue -- stick it out and I'll bite it off'; then he sticks it out; 'don't worry, I won't hurt you -- nothing will happen'; I grab his tongue. He goes along with all of it. I stick out my own tongue, and he grabs ahold of it. (-) At some point or another I said: 'So, kissing with the mouth slightly open, we can stick out our tongue at the same time, which we then did. This was really nice. And so in the evening, after all of the children have gone to sleep, and we are in bed, I go to him once again. I sit down on the edge of his bed, or partially even more or less lay there next to him. I push up his t-shirt and stroke his body. He was a little ticklish -- but not unduly so. He liked it, therefore, when I put my mouth on his nipples, and then tickled them with my tongue. He thought that having his nipples licked was terrific. Tickling, just, pleasant tickling, is something that I've done to him frequently, quite frequently even. And so then I have also -- as I said -- done some very



obvious petting; at one point or another I looked in his shorts, and pulled them up to see what was under them. And I already noticed that something was stirring in there of its own accord; not always, but frequently. Also, already at that point, already [156] joking around, that is, already having some fun, therefore, which clearly would have included his dick.

Q: What then?

Not through masturbation, that I haven't done, just so as to be sure, to be cautious, because of course to me this was, I don't know.

Q: So then what did you do for fun?

So, now I'm going to cut you right in two, starting from the nose, down to there. And one must cut right down through the middle. Therefore you have to arrange everything just so with your hand. So I have myself (-).

Q: Then you were able to touch as well as look at him.

Right, so something, this was already, later I masturbated him through his pants, until I really noticed that his dick was really hard.

Q: Through the pants, meaning, going into his pants or?

No, outside his pants, on the pants. To go into his pants I would have had to be able to pull them down, which he would have had nothing against. I could even have blown him, which I would have liked a lot better. (-)(Frank: 23-24/257-310)

The interviewee is obviously certain that the boy he is together with likes to be affectionate. However in order to strengthen this expectational certainty, as well as to attain more certainty vis-à-vis the physical approach, he sets the scene for playing 'pretend': "I'm gonna get your tongue." The two find themselves, due to the game, in the primary engagement of physical contact; the boy has ratified the man's play proposal, and also "goes along with everything," as the interview puts it. Again this becomes the occasion for an exchange of roles; the boy is supposed to grab the man's tongue. Even the modulation undergoes a role-exchange, which helps to maintain the interaction. In a subsequent step the pedophilic man attempts -- which is a fundamental characteristic of the modulated situation -- to enclose the increasing physical contact within a primary frame. He suggests that, by kissing with the mouth slightly open, they could stick out their tongues at the same time. Even this expansion of the frame-layer has an interactive aspect. Through step-by-step fine-tuning, the interviewee is obviously paving the way for testing out, later that evening in the boy's bed, [157] a more directly sexual approach. After he pulls up the boy's t-shirt, he strokes the boy's body. According to the pedophilic man's account, the boy enjoyed the "nipple-licking" and the "petting." When the man ascertains that the boy was getting an erection from this he tries, by playing 'pretend' ("now I'm going to cut you in two"), to include the genital area. The direct application of a primary frame, which -- in an analogy to play -- masturbation would have been, certainly didn't seem to him to be advisable. Cutting in two, "starting from the nose, down to there," allows for innocent touching, which leads, at a later point in time, to the boy being masturbated by him. At the same time, the boy still had his pants on, and also, the masturbation was carried on only up to the point that "his dick was really hard." Although the interviewee had made sure of his expectational certainty in manifold ways, it remained on the level of a kind of one-sided 'covert masturbation.' The sexual act is not the interaction's central focus; that is on the play-arrangement itself, not the masturbation. One might also think that the sexual activity looks like a secondary engagement that is the by-product of playful goings-on which, through a fine-tuning of the physical contact,

absorbs the interviewee's principal attention.

The following narrative makes clear that preparing for the physical approach is ascribed greater importance than the sexual event itself. That is, if the approach is successful, a sexual interaction occurs almost as a matter of course. However here the approach is not tied into the fulfillment of erotic needs, but rather, serves as a means of expressing sympathy. This contributes to an approach in which a sexual encounter, as in the following case, is obviously carried out in an 'innocent' way.

"To this extent, it came about because with many boys, it is either their wish -- when of course one is also staying overnight -- to also stake out their sleeping area close to me and lie next to me, or, [158] I, of my own accord, also have a desire that the boy lie next to me, or me next to him, and I've asked him to. This was certainly only the case at the beginning. Later on it was no longer necessary for me to ask him, do you feel like laying down with me, or close by me, or next to me, or something along those lines...Therefore, it's not like: Do you want to sleep with me, which then means: Do you want to sleep with me (laughs), but rather it means, first of all, do you know yet where you're going to be; anyway, of course you could lay right here, being very nonchalant now, and so quite innocently. But of course this does not automatically mean -- it is not compulsory for every boy who lays next to me to have sex with me; this is not inevitable. But this is, as a rule, how it turns out. Actually, what usually happens is that the boy asks me, Christoph, where are you going to be? I'll lay next to you, or is there even room? Slide over a little -- I want to be by you. That was typical. There were also a few cases where I myself took the initiative; but usually it was the other way around...And then what basically happens, which even takes place in the daytime, is that one just takes him by the arm, caressing and stroking him a bit. And then it is still merely a question of gradual stroking, I would say; in that way, from stroking, a sexual relationship develops. And so then this also plays itself out, one even strokes, one does it not just above the waistline, but strokes even lower. Occasionally the boy initiates this, but usually, I must admit, I am the one who seizes the initiative and takes this next step. Certainly not with those boys who reject it; but it is either accepted with good-humored toleration, which is also relatively rare, or it is received very positively, and is even reciprocated by the boy." (Christoph: 7/443-453; 8/496-512; 7/456-473)

The interviewee is the leader of a youth group. In their trips, which also include overnight stays, the sleeping arrangement in a large group-space acquires heightened importance. It results from the group leader's dramaturgical dominance. The elucidation of the accessibility ritual regarding who can "lay" by him, and particularly his rank, are part of his standardized expressive repertoire. There is a pecking order to the sleeping arrangements, [159] to personal space, so to speak. It establishes where one stands vis-à-vis a person of high status. What is going on here is something different from the usual, prosaic aspects of going to bed. The sleeping arrangements have a ceremonial relational frame. An action-decision, namely the question of sleeping arrangements, is lifted out of the customary course of events involved in going to sleep, filling out and stylizing an entirely new situation: communicating the sleeping arrangements for the night. Consequently, here, the ceremony modulates an event. This event fosters engagement. On both sides -- the man's, but, as the man describes it, above all the boy's -- expressions of interest must be exchanged. Polite offers ("do you know yet where you're going to be?" or "I

want to be by you") thus signal manifestations of accessibility and sympathy. In these ways, increasing physical contact is hinted at. For although the ritual expression "Do you want to sleep with me?" does not mean "Do you want to sleep with me," based on the interviewee's information this indeed is, "as a rule, how it turns out." The performance of the sexual interaction is, in the narrative, rendered in a primary relational frame: "taking him by the arm," "caressing," and "stroking" implicitly point to a successive sequence of sexual approaches to the genital area, for then it is "still merely a question of gradual stroking...in that way, from stroking, a sexual relationship develops," which does not stop at the "waistline." In the sexual interaction, which certainly must typically be initiated by the adult, one pays attention to signals which provide indications as to whether the goings-on meet with the partner's approval. The reactions range from "good-humored toleration" up to the most "positive" reactions, in which the boys exhibit "reciprocation."

There are, however, also approach attempts in which modulations do not immediately lead to physical closeness or even more sexual interactions. Nevertheless, the following narrative shows that the period of time devoted to making an approach is in fact regarded as a good investment, given that, without the creation of an atmosphere of trust, sexual interactions simply will not happen.

[160] 'One is able to notice, for example, with people who've just come up to me, yeah just, how they react to the subject of sexuality. Among them there are some boys who, yeah, I would say, conditioned by the insulated atmosphere that they come from, that sexuality is a relatively difficult matter, where one really doesn't talk about it. And I think, I have for example a few educational books lying around here, and which then get thumbed through, which then just provoke questions about the issue. Or of course right away they've, when they've seen that I have a video here, they've already asked, um, do you have, might you possibly have pornos or so forth, and could we take a look at them? And (-) yeah, I don't make a big secret of it. I do have them, and if they want to see them, and so we have an entire afternoon, where we've played monopoly here, put a porno on in the background...Of course it is my hope that somehow or other I would break through; but still, the inhibitions are strong. And so I simply try to foster an atmosphere among ourselves such that, at some point or another, they'll just trust themselves to do whatever they feel like doing at the moment. It hasn't happened yet, but this just takes time.' (Andreas: 12-13/70-87; 13/105-111)

Documentation modules such as educational books, which the interviewee has lying around and which boys are thumbing through, or porno videos which get asked about and which one looks at while playing monopoly, do not lead to physical or even sexual contact. Although questions concerning the topic of sexuality are elicited, according to the pedophilic man's account, the "inhibitions" against "trusting" themselves are too strong.

#### The First Time

Before the initial sexual experience between man and boy can come about what are also needed are preparatory interactions involving physical contact, which are brought about modulatively through gradually more intensive actions. It is, then, through this contact that the first shared sexual experience is able to be constructed.



"I believe that the touching came about, the, quite early on in the swimming pool, where he, thus for example, he clung to me, on my back, therefore with his arms wrapped around my stomach, and so he was on my back, and where I then noticed that he had an erection and had me there in my butt crack, and so was just sort of lying there right, right in my butt crack. And I, for my part, will also play the motorboat game, because, because, when one, therefore the, the, grasps the boy like this, one has him in front of himself, and the leg-, the one leg to the left, the other leg to the right, with one hand, holding the chest and the other right in the nape of the pelvic area. And then it's, right, because children's bodies aren't very wide, and I have a very long finger, (laughs) so consequently my finger is soon in close to the penis. And then I also have noticed that this was the case, and he is also enjoying this immensely, and so therefore he wanted to play motorboat over and over again and, and keep playing motorboat, changing directions as much as possible. And with all kinds of accelerations and, and braking and banking once again, and of course each time he wanted to be stimulated a little there, and so forth. Therefore our encounters in the swimming pool were very quick. And when he was able to spend the night here for the first time, what was it like then? That was an absolute circus. (—) Since I'd offered to let him stay here for the entire weekend, to spend the weekend here. ... Right, right, and then he was there, and so then, that entire first night, we got no sleep at all. So he constantly had the flashlight with him, under the bedspread, and consequently he explored me, all over. He wanted to know everything about me, and, and, and where was I, and had shined the light on every orifice, and this was madly lustful. It was insanely lustful. And so this curiosity about and towards, therefore, towards me.

Q: Did you also have an erect penis?

Yes, yes, yes. This totally turned me on.

Q: He he also touched it and brought that about properly?

Yeah, did he properly, in that sense, no; rather, he had only done so in the sense of discovery, therefore he wanted to know, what is this like then, and, aha, skin in back or, or in front, and, ah, isn't it a bit, aha, then this also had, indeed, already been digested. And then came the next thing, and so on. And then he very quickly wanted me to also touch him in such-and-such way. But exactly how things transpired at that point, chronologically, that I no longer remember, because of course he's been over here many times since then, and I can only say where we last left it. What ultimately transpired was that his interest in me, following these initial discoveries, was, [162] like, zero; however, he was always wanting me to do something to him, and so he wanted to just lie there, and when I then finally said, yeah, good night and, and had turned myself around, okay, when are you going to start something? He was being downright demanding, yeah, start something? Yeah, just suck or whatever. Then I said: 'Right, so I'm hearing, I think if, if, if, isn't it the case, that now I'm just some sort of sucking machine or something'; but there also has to be some sort of turn-on for me; consequently, when, then when, and that point, more often than not, I don't even do anything, nothing at all, because nothing is coming from his end." (David: 15/297-322; 16-17/391-433)

From the very first touches, the interviewee ascertains that the boy appears to be sexually aroused. Because the boy is clinging on to him, he feels the latter's erection. However in order to be absolutely sure ("then I also have noticed that this was the case"), he constructs a relational frame which makes touching the boy's genital area possible. The play modulation "playing motorboat" yields manifold results: The boy is, according to the man's account, "enjoying this immensely"; he wants to keep playing it over and over again, and in different variations (with "changing directions,"

"accelerations," "breaking," and "banking"). Moreover he even wanted "to be stimulated a little." Because, through the game, the interviewee was able to produce sexual arousal once more, he appears to now be far more certain as to the boy's desires. The interactive approach, transitioning to further sexual contact, seems to be a reliable one. Following this swimming-pool encounter, the boy has a sleepover with the man. They lay, for the first time, in bed with each other, and spend a night together. Because a heightened degree of physical contact between the two has already been attained, it is obviously now possible to pave the way for a seamless sexual encounter. The 'first time' is brought about in the form of a special performance. Moreover the boy uses a flashlight as a toy, in order to satisfy his sexual curiosity. "In the sense of discovery," as the interviewee says, he "had shined the light" all over him, under the bedspread. The boy's curiosity appears, on the one hand, to be immense, for every "orifice" is examined, and on the other hand, unremitting, given that "that entire first night, we got no sleep at all." This situation results in the interviewee [163] becoming extremely sexually aroused. Still, he does not deviate at all from his role of being a research subject, and does not drop out of the game by attempting to relieve his sexual arousal. Quite the contrary: His qualified grasp of his role -- that is, remaining passive -- makes it possible for him on the one hand to be 'spoken to' sexually, meaning that he is able to enjoy it, and on the other hand, to preserve dramaturgical discipline. Because by merely surveying the goings-on himself, he of course completely relinquishes the course of the engagement to the boy; eventually this will mean that he too will want to be stimulated.

The depicted relational frame of 'playing doctor' has some very playful features. What is characteristic of the course of play is that actions are neither precisely and constantly adhered to, nor are they completely carried out. Oftentimes, though a course of action is begun, it is also immediately broken off, started over again, or briefly interrupted. This was also the case here, given that the boy had terminated his series of tests: "...this also had, indeed, already been digested. And then came the next thing, and so on." This curiosity-driven eagerness strikes the interviewee as being "insanely lustful"; after the 'first time,' however, this euphoria diminishes, as he must reckon with the fact that, in the meantime, the active/passive roles have switched. He can no longer remain in his preferred, passive role, but is, rather, called on to do something. The boy no longer evinces any interest in making discoveries, but now is constantly calling upon the man to stimulate him. The interviewee experiences this as a rule-violation and a personal slight. An incident occurs. Because the pedophilic man finds that he is no longer in the same frame as the boy, he discusses his understanding of the situation with him. A corrective exchange does not seem to work. The interviewee merely states that at that point he himself often doesn't "do anything, because nothing is coming from his end."

Of course, the so-called 'first time' does not necessarily have to happen at night, although it does in the following narrative as well. A further example should make it clear how, after being together for a longer period of time, physical contact and the first sexual encounter are able to occur.

"So then of course I had, at some point during the night, done it just for myself,

therefore, thinking about other friends I'd done it with, but not with him, because of course one cannot, one can't make him masturbate, and also, in such a way that I don't make a big production of it, yet, I don't hide it from him either. It's just a matter of course, like, when I sleep alone. Then I thought, therefore this is something, which would have to be possible, if you're living together. Like of course even when you strip down to take a bath. You'd have to be in the bathtub. And one day I saw that he was masturbating, and so I caught onto that, and then I shoved my hand under the bedspread, and at the same time I helped him out. But he didn't actively concern himself with me; and so, he merely allowed it." (Fritz: 14/219-234)

Here the narrator proceeds based on the assumption that a sexual approach could be regarded as a rule-violation ("one can't make him"). The sexually suggestive situation, laying together with a boy in a bed at night, represents for him the difficulty of bearing the discrepancy between obligatory and spontaneous engagement. Because he wishes to see his role as being situationally adequate, the sexual approach should not appear obtrusive. For one thing, being too forward could be interpreted as ceremonial desecration. Therefore he utilizes an avoidance ritual, keeping his distance so that the boy's sphere -- above all his personal space -- is not violated. The calm continuation of the action is thereby preserved; therefore, the boy must provide signals of his sexual agreement. In order to bring this about, the virtual anticipation of a rule-infringement is converted into a corrective exchange, via which an attempt is made to solicit agreement. It is for this reason that he selects the relational frame of a demonstration module. With his mono-sexual activity he models an ideal run-through, the purpose of which is to make possible sexual activity either in his presence, or even involving him directly. This is carefully staged by him 'covertly.' That is, he tries, on the one hand, not to be too ostentatious about it, and yet on the other hand, not to hide it either. The masturbation is, to a certain extent, shifted to a secondary engagement; the primary engagement consists, of course, of attending to how the boy reacts to it. The interviewee is, therefore, interactionally self-conscious, for due to the potential [165] anticipation of some sort of incident, he is predominantly preoccupied with the issue of how the interaction will play itself out. He preserves his dramaturgical discipline; though it is indeed true that he signals interest via the secondary engagement, he is, nevertheless, on guard against getting carried away, and concentrates on the primary engagement. The demonstration module of masturbation functions, to a certain extent, as an anticipatory corrective exchange, whereby the interviewee implicitly requests sexual interaction. Though he is no doubt signalling its violative nature he is, at the same time, asking permission. Masturbation serves as a sort of orientation, which is meant to convey certain information to the interactional partner, in order, on the one hand, to remove any confusion ('you can masturbate here'), and on the other hand to correct, in this way, any potential false impressions ('you need not have any fear of me'). Moreover a show of respect is thereby made. Because it could be seen as an encroachment or a threat the interviewee signals, through monosexual gestures, that he has honest intentions. These interactive preparations should, in the final analysis, be interpreted as expressions of reassurance. The sexual interaction proper is only set in motion when the boy, via the critical sign of his masturbatory activity, ratifies the man's authority to engage in sexual behavior. Only now does he touch the boy.



## Embarrassment

There are narratives in which boys, according to the pedophilic men's accounts, initially react to the physical contact with embarrassment. Via a modulative relational frame, however, it is possible to deflect the embarrassment, and even -- as in the following example -- establish sexual interactions which are also reciprocated by the boys themselves.

"And so, at some point or another, it had been established that every night, as she was tucking him into bed, she gave him a massage. And at some point or other I also had caught on to this, and so forth. And so, I'd just casually asked him whether I might not be able to give him a massage. And at that point we were still in the living room. This was, at the same time, also the room where the [166] mother had been sleeping. And at that point he would always put himself to bed, and so on. Then, and I still remember this, he had these red Adidas shorts on, nothing else, and was laying there on his stomach. And so then I massaged his back. And I was already really into it, which is perhaps why I also had a really good sense of being able to connect with him. Yeah, and then at some point or other he turns himself over, and says: 'Right, and now, on the tummy' and so on, as if this were just completely normal for him, and so I massage him here and there, and so forth. And, (-) yeah, I don't even know, then it was just as if it has always been like that, him lying there on his back, and I don't even know (laughs), and somehow or other there was this eye contact, and because of that everything was crystal clear, we understood each other; I don't know how to describe it. At any rate, at that point, I massaged him on the stomach, a sort of rhythmic massage, a certain direction 'round the belly-button, that whole area, all that stuff. This was all very interesting, and so on. And then, the best thing was, he even asked because, somehow or other, he had something different in mind, and so at some point or other my hand is there, with my fingertips in his belly button, with the rest of, the back of my hand just a bit lower, and then at some point or other I also just noticed, that he consequently already had an erection and so on. And then, somehow or other, I even grinned, and then, at some point or another, he even turned a bit red; even so, somehow or other, he still managed to laugh about it. And then, as a joke, I simply asked: 'Right, should I even massage there as well?' Then he just broke out laughing, grinning so, but somehow or other still kept laying there, quite relaxed, or something like that. Not that he had somehow or other been frightened. And, yeah, and so at night, I had merely stroked him like so, anyhow with my hand flat, which he thinks is really terrific. And then, yeah, at some point or other we bid each other good night. And then, somehow or other, it went from top to bottom, and so forth. And then it was still a terrific night. And this was the first time. ... It was then, I don't know when, this was, this was in (-) February, I believe it was. So then I just sat there in bed, all night. And so then I'd massaged his back, and then he turned himself over and so forth, and then, this was somehow or other already a crazy routine, but one which, somehow or other, did not get carried away, but rather was, again and again, something really nice. And then somehow or other (-) he remains there like so (-), and so then he says: 'Yeah, I would also like to stroke you like that.'

Q: He said to you?

I would also like to stroke you like that. And then, yeah, I don't know, somehow or other (laughs) this did happen; I cannot even describe this feeling, since this had just always, somehow or other logically, been the stuff of my dreams. I have always thought, somehow or other, since an awful lot of things would have to go right, or there would have to be a very close bond there, the craziest prerequisites, before anything like that could happen anyway, and moreover, that I would have a totally good feeling and so on. And this was just exactly what happened. And this was really terrific, because somehow or other (-) then, I still remember, somehow or

other this was, so I was a little excited and so forth. And then, for this reason, everything has lasted for a bit longer. And then he just, at some point or other he even asks, still quite coyly: 'Yeah, is that still going on?' (laughs) And then, because there was also a fair amount of attention being paid to it, and so forth. And that was as far as it went, since he had -- and I of course found this to be rather unromantic -- he had turned the light on, and had to precisely examine everything for himself and so on. And then, somehow or other, he even said something along the lines of: 'Right, I'll put a new t-shirt on for you' and so on. And this was, somehow or other, completely casual. So anyway this was, yeah, like a really big deal for me, just, in my life." (Fabian: 20/547-596; 21/48-86)

The interviewee latches on to a social situation whereby the boy had obviously become accustomed to getting a nightly massage from his mother. This was translated, by the interviewee, into an accessibility ritual. The polite offer to be massaged by him is accepted by the boy; the interaction has thereby attained the status of a confirmatory exchange. The interviewee obviously believes himself to be qualified to dramaturgically carry out the event; he has experience in the area of massage. In the course of the event direct eye contact is made, which means, "because of that everything was crystal clear, we understood each other." At this point, the social event of a massage is added to the modulative level of a ceremonial relational frame, meaning that now, what is going on here is something different from an ordinary massage. The massage attains a sexualized level; the ceremonial frame is, moreover, overlayed with a being-placed-in-a-different-context module. During [168] the massage, the back of the hand traces the boy's genital area. The latter is sexually aroused, and the man confirms in ritual exchange, through his grins, his manifestations of sympathy and interest. The boy turning a bit red obviously signals abrupt embarrassment. However the interviewee does not let himself be thrown by this, but rather, takes the bull by the horns and makes a joke out of it, as he says, and asks whether he should "even massage there as well." The boy responds with obvious embarrassment, as he "broke out laughing, grinning so." The fact that the boy continues to lay there, relaxed, is taken by the man to mean that there is no lingering uneasiness. From that he infers the boy's agreement to be allowed to stroke his penis. Following this initial physical contact, the massage ceremony is regularly repeated. In subsequent encounters the tables are turned, with the boy himself becoming sexually active. Out of the ceremonially modulated frame he fashions a primary one, and says: "Yeah, I would also like to stroke you like that." The man is overwhelmed by this. He perceives the accessibility ritual as an enormous expression of sympathy and interest. Indirectly, however, he also furnishes himself with such rituals, for he proceeds based on the assumption that the strictest prerequisites must already be fulfilled before such a situation can be brought about. To a certain extent he is carried away by the event, such that his dramaturgical discipline is put at some risk. The excitement leads to a prolongation of the period of time during which he ejaculates. Because of this, the boy appears to revert to a secondary engagement; to him, it goes on for too long. Eventually the man frames the boy's reaction to the former's orgasm as a special performance within a practice modulation; he "had to precisely examine everything for himself." The boy's curiosity strikes the pedophilic man as a slight rule-violation. He feels a bit slighted, because the boy was "unromantic" and had "turned the light on." The rule-violation did not, however, interrupt the flow of the event. The ratification ritual, putting on a new t-shirt, is assessed by the

interviewee as a casual form of consent.

[169] A further, brief quote should help to verify the fact that specific modulations are employed in order to prevent embarrassment on the boy's part. Here the interviewee frames the event in a 'playing pretend' modulation, thereby paving the way for the possibility of sex, in his opinion, with a "little distance."

"Because he was naked, in bed, so then I knocked: 'Does the gentleman need anything?' (-) 'Who's there?' (-) 'The porter, hotel porter.' (-) 'Yes, come right in.' I turn the handle. But I couldn't get in, and then Robin and Jochen say in unison, this is gay; he doesn't like that; so therefore, you have to have a little distance." (Robin: 17/356-363)

#### Latitude

When the narratives focus on the sexual goings-on, the encounter is often placed within a practice frame. With the latitude which is made available by the man, a special sexual performance is possible; the boy is able to gather experiences under conditions which are removed from their customary contexts and consequences. Sexual curiosity, tests, experiments, and planning are permitted within this frame-modulation. The following interview illustrates this.

"Oh yes, it was a load of fun, yeah. This boy had, it was Sunday, late morning, I was still in bed, because I had only gone to bed at three o'clock that morning. And he had a key to my place. And, so you see, I have to tell you, that he had already come over a couple of times on Sundays. He always gets up very early, comes over here and makes breakfast. Then we do something together, which is also why he has a key. And so here he comes again, and he climbs right into bed with me. And, oh yeah, so first of all he sits down and chats with me, and there's also a little cuddling. And I myself am laying there, as I always do, naked in bed. And then he just started to tell me a little about sex talks in his classes. And then he also kept making a point of the fact that he had the feeling that his own penis was [170] growing and that he was also entering puberty, which was probably not yet the case. But he had, nevertheless, said this, and therefore has, again and again, steered the conversation towards this subject, and at some point or other got to talking about nudity. Then he says, yeah, I really don't think it would be bad at all to be naked, one would feel a lot freer, only, of course he couldn't do it at home. I say: 'Now please, you can, indeed, do it here,' and then he immediately took the opportunity to remove his jacket, or to give himself a little more freedom. And then he thinks, oh, it would actually be nicer to be stroked, and so then he undressed even further. And (-) then he says, yeah, he would, he had sometimes thought, it was nice, when he would stroke his penis himself. And so consequently it remained unspoken, so I, at any rate, felt that, what he was really asking was, can't you do it for me? Right, and then I did, and he even did this to me. And then we just cuddled for a while. And, moreover he kept saying, you could actually keep on doing it for hours, or the entire day, and also that he had never had so much fun -- it was just terrific. Yeah, then the phone rang, the call came, and then it all came to an end." (Amin: 21/17-59)

In this narrative, the avoidance and accessibility rituals go hand-in-hand. Whereas for the boy being naked at home is regarded as an avoidance ritual (injunctions, prohibitions, taboos), on the man's premises, and in his presence, it counts as an accessibility ritual. With this knowledge the



boy, as he visits the man on a Sunday morning, can pursue his interests. Because the man is still laying in bed, naked, it was obviously not difficult to spark a conversation about sex. In the man's account, the physical approach itself paves the way for the boy's conversational subject matter. From his perspective, the boy gives the signal for contact by steering the "sex talk" towards three themes: his penis, his puberty, and his being naked. The boy underscores that one would feel much freer if he were naked. He would not be able to go around naked at home. At this juncture the interviewee offers the boy some latitude; being naked thereby acquires the character of a special performance; it places a practice-mode at the boy's disposal, thereby providing the conditions under which experiences that would otherwise [171] be impossible are, in fact, possible, because in this context, they are shorn of their usual connections and consequences, of their true-to-life aspects. With the other, "you can, indeed, do it here," a ratification ritual is articulated which expresses the fact that the adult, in contrast to the boy's parents, will tolerate the situation, and that, in spite of this wish, nothing has changed in terms of his relationship to the boy. In these ways, dramaturgical loyalty becomes established in the encounter. The two form a closed ensemble. Through accessibility rituals and the preparation of a relational frame, in which -- removed from any actual contact with the world -- the boy is able to try out going around naked, the physical approach is established. Under these conditions, a sexual interaction commences in which the boy immediately takes the man up on his offer. The sequence, "freeing oneself," the desire "to be stroked," "to undress even further," eventually culminates in the boy's direct remark with regard to his masturbatory experiences. The man interprets this as an invitation for him to masturbate the boy himself. This is reciprocated by the boy to the effect that now he even masturbates the man. Both have confirmed themselves in their sexual needs, and conclude their sexual interaction with abundant caresses. According to the man's account, the boy would actually have liked this state of affairs to go on "for hours," had the phone not rung and the incoming call put an end to the interaction.

In other narratives, things do not automatically result in reciprocal sexual acts occurring. Rather, the boy wishes, as the following example shows, merely to have something demonstrated to him.

'Nah, that, he didn't want that, he didn't want that, but wanted, for example, that I show him how it works, jerking off and so forth. And then I was allowed to jerk off in front of him; this he wanted to see over and over again, yeah. Therefore, at that point I also just told him, what this is called and how it works and everything, because I had the impression, that his mother hadn't, that she hadn't explained this to him in a very rational way. And he was just [172], he was completely transfixed. And so he had looked at this more as an educational lesson, therefore, for a time, more in terms of an educational lesson. Of course, nevertheless, he wanted to see it again and again, and even found this to be really hot. And so one time, it took a bit longer, simply because I, this was just, when he was spending the night with me. Then he wondered: 'Say, is the tank empty now?' (laughs) Usually this would happen very quickly. Because I had simply allowed myself a bit more time than when I'd been with him at his place, that's for sure.

Q: And has he also, has he also jerked himself off?

Not when I was with him, I wasn't allowed to be there at the same time, no. But I was allowed to grab hold of it. And something he also found totally hot, was when,

when I put his dick in my mouth, and licked it and kissed it and so forth, this he also thought was fantastic." (Oliver: 31/698-33)

In this account the practice-module ("educational lesson") is performed with an additional frame-layer, the demonstration-module ("that I show him, how it works"); it enables a view of the course of a sexual practice. The encounter is in tune with the ethos of a social event ("At that point I also just told him, what this is called and how it works"). In these ways, expectational security regarding it is established, which is exactly what occurs and is occurring in the time immediately following that. There is obviously agreement on both sides regarding the role-distribution between teacher and pupil. On the one hand the boy wanted "to see" the demonstration "again and again"; on the other hand, the interviewee does not signal any dissatisfaction when he does not get sexually touched by the boy. Admittedly, at one point the primary engagement of demonstrative coaching appears to be at slight risk, as the man requires a longer period of time for the shown masturbation. The boy expressed impatience over the chronological delay of the performance, whereas the man is obliged to do some quick thinking. In this way the dramaturgical discipline of the performance could be at risk, because the pedophilic man no longer feels so free from his demonstration, and is possibly even getting carried away by it, such that dramaturgical problems, if they do crop up in a stronger form, are no longer able [173] to be overcome. What is interesting and striking is that, in spite of the repeated demonstration, the boy does not imitate this in the man's presence, but rather, needs his own territory and personal space for this; on the other hand, the sexual acts which the man performs on him are, obviously, accepted. According to the interviewee's account he appears to be curious and enjoys his sexual stimulation; however he refrains from engaging in a sexual performance of his own.

In the two preceding narratives, the latitude provided offered, with its possibilities for practice, frames for experimenting and learning. In a further account, it becomes clear that the latitude offers, above all, protection against a fear of still deficient abilities under true-to-life conditions.

"The boy sits down next to me on the bench and so forth, thinking this is really funny; this was a Turkish boy. So he would have had a sense of humor. So here's what happened. Me: 'Right, how are you feeling today, then?' Yeah, he knows this girl, he says. 'So you know this girl, then.' Yeah, he would like to do something with her and so forth. And he asks me, whether I too have already done something with a girl and so on. I say: 'Yes, I have,' and so forth. 'Right, and how was it then, what did you, how did you, what did you say to her then?' 'Yeah, I said to her, I asked her, whether she'd like to have coffee and so on, and, and whether she'd like to go to the movies with me, and so forth.' 'Right, and you did that. Oh, I'll do that with my girlfriend too.' I said: 'Of course, you mustn't go about this in exactly the same way that I did it.' 'Right, so what did you do with her after you went to the movies?' 'Yeah, so we're walking along together.' 'Okay, and, tell me, tell me more.' I told him everything. 'Yes and (...), we're just sitting next to each other on the bed,' I told him, and (-). 'Right, and so, yeah, and then did she take her clothes off and so forth?' I say: 'Yes, yes and' (-). And I just finished telling the whole story. 'Okay, and then did you sleep with her? Yeah, and so how was it then? What did it feel like?' I say: 'I don't know, so-so, I've no idea.' 'Okay, but, show me.' I say: 'Show you? Why come? Well there are, of course, too

many people around -- [174] I can't show you here.' (-) Then he says: 'Right, not here of course. Then, let's just go down to the river or something.' Well now, so we just go there, where, into the bushes where, where, where no one can see us, and so forth. Then I simply showed him, how it got stiff. (-) And then I even masturbated myself, which he wanted to see.

Q: You masturbated yourself?

Yes. Of course, he also had an erection. Well yeah, and then we went our separate ways. He had taken down my phone number, I had barely arrived home, when the phone rang, with him saying that I should come back right away.

Q: To the park again, or?

Yeah, again in (-)

Q: In the secluded part, or?

Well yes, in the park again, but only at first, yeah. (-) And we actually didn't do anything there. (-) And we told one another, everything that one would be able to do with a woman, because of course this was our original conversation, etc. Yeah, that, (-) just that, there are even women who will suck you off and so and so forth, and (-). I met him again the following day, he wanted to go to the library with me, wanted to go to the city library. And (-) we go there, (-) and first we play a game. So, one can borrow games there. He says: 'Right, what is it like then with, with a woman, when she sucks you off?' 'I don't know.' And he says: 'Right, let's go to the men's room.' 'You have to go to the bathroom?' He says: 'Yes.' He says, we should just go there together, because it's, it's a large men's room and so forth. Well now, I should do it to him one time. Right, so then I sucked him off. And (-) we've known each other for seven weeks now. He wants to learn something new every time. Therefore, he actually has little interest in me personally, etc. He's always wanting to learn a little more about sex." (Patrick: 11-12/709-10)

The encounter can be characterized as a progressive training event. According to the interviewee's account, the boy wants to obtain knowledge, in order to be able to "do something" with a girl. Any possible deficiencies should be able to be remedied by the man's informational head start. The opening conversation as well as the furnished occasion for chatting makes it easy for them to rely, in the encounter, on the expectation [175] that 'someone wishes to learn something here.' Their consequent interpretation of what is going on in the encounter eventually underscores this horizon of understanding. Here, rule-security is supplied via an interplay of accessibility rituals and manifestations of interest on the boy's part, and solicitation of interest on the man's. In response to the boy's interested questions, his own adventures and experiences are described. In these ways, a confirmatory exchange is achieved. The interaction resembles a 'question-and-answer game.' This makes it possible for the pedophilic man to attain more and more goal security, so that he is able to present himself, in the dramaturgical self-definition, as an expert. In the dramaturgical formation he idealizes his role, thereby causing the boy to accede to his requests of him. And so, experiences which would be incompatible with the idealization are screened out of the interaction. Due to the applied interactional structure, the two are successful in pushing back the conversational and informational reservations of the other, to the point that, eventually, even the envelope of the body itself no longer represents a tabooed boundary. Initially, moreover, though the boy remains excited, he is still passive, and merely uses the man's demonstration module for purposes of learning ("I even masturbated myself, which he wanted to see"); on the day immediately following that he does not just remain an observer, but rather, desires that the man in question "do it to him one



time." Admittedly, after a certain period of time the interest in being tutored evaporates, and the relationship ends.

### 3. Frame Difficulties

Physical approaches and sexual interactions are also accompanied by frame difficulties. Certainly, they crop up more rarely than one might assume. The reasons for frame difficulties lie in sexual goings-on which are 'too fast', 'too slow', 'too risky', or 'too obvious.'

#### [176] 'Too fast'

Although one does, hastily, bring about a sexual contact, due to the particular circumstances under which the way was paved for it an insufficient degree of trust has been built up, which can all too easily lead to irritations arising.

"Because I took the boy with me into the changing room. And then I just put my hand down his pants. He stood there quite still. At first it irritated me that he just stood there. And I hadn't gotten to his genitals; but I had already realized that he did want sexual contact. He himself then takes off his pants. Then he wanted to quickly put them back on, because he thought that I did not want any sexual contact. Right -- I'd not yet gotten to his genitals. Therefore, he wanted to quickly get dressed. But I didn't let him. I dried him off with the towel, and then I put my hand on his genitals. Yeah, and, as I said, then came the sexual contact. This first time, he still allowed himself to be kissed; the second time, no longer. ... He wanted me, he had grabbed me by the genitals, but as for sucking my dick, he didn't want to do that. Indeed, I've mentioned this a couple of times, but he has always merely pretended to do it." (Uwe: 9-10/612-629; 10/657-661)

In this passage, it becomes clear how frame difficulties can lead to interactional embarrassment. In an unpredictable event, then, one is predominantly preoccupied with the question of how the interaction will play out. Obviously the man was in too much of a rush to initiate the sexual interaction ("then I just put my hand down his pants"). First he notices the boy's sudden embarrassment in the face of his own, direct initiative. He offers no further reaction to the boy unzipping his pants, which would have ensured a calm continuation of the interaction; on the contrary, his reaction initially blocks the further course of events. This leads to irritation on the man's part, for the boy -- by going with him into the changing room -- had obviously contributed beforehand to the frame-clarification. What is unclear is no longer if, but rather, how the sexual interaction will be able [177] to come off; this remains a frame-difficulty in need of clarification. However, the boy's uncertain response to the man's genital touching provides a fresh opportunity to rethink the entire frame-setting. There no longer exists mere uncertainty, but also, further unclarity as to whether the boy is really ready for a sexual contact, especially since the pedophilic man "hadn't gotten to his genitals yet," as he said, and the boy was already reacting with uncertainty. Nevertheless, he held fast to his conviction that the boy probably did want to engage in the contact. Now underlying this is, above all, the fact that the boy is attempting, through an orientational announcement, to correct any false impressions, whereby he "himself then takes off his pants." Because the pedophilic man

obviously does not grasp this critical signal quickly enough, they do not arrive at a point of mutual understanding. Thereupon the boy quickly moves to put his pants back on. At this point the interviewee seems to realize that he is relying upon a faulty frame, for when he'd "not yet gotten to his genitals," the boy, for his part, must have interpreted this as an irritation. Thereupon the man seized the initiative anew. To a certain extent, via ratification, he makes it known that he has noticed the changed circumstances which he is now faced with. The drying and the touching can, for their part, be regarded as a form of consent to the boy's orientational announcement. Nevertheless, new difficulties arise, for the two no longer find themselves within the same frame of preferred sexual practices. The adult must resign himself to the boy's modulations, as well as his refusal to be kissed.

### 'Too slow'

Whereas in the foregoing narrative the man's rushed genital touching produces frame difficulties, what constitutes the frame difficulties in the following narrative is the fact that expectations remain uncertain for too long a period of time.

"Of course I had always hoped for this, that much is clear, so I don't think that I've held back from it, because, of course I would have liked to; [178] I also found it to be terrific and nice and all that. But I've always had scruples; you cannot, yeah, because later on he's seized by shock, I know, and, God knows what will happen, when you do something like that. Perhaps he will then react, run away screaming or something. (laughing) And otherwise, this probably would have been possible earlier on his side, if I had only trusted myself. He of course had not trusted himself, this much is clear, as he should have. But I had also not trusted myself. I had thought, before my finger really gets caught in it, for God's sake; that's why for me this is a lot, so, much too nice, therefore, to risk it." (Karl: 10/633-649)

The transition to sexual intimacy is characterized by confusion and doubt. The interviewee anticipates possible behavioral reactions on the boy's part. On the one hand, it remains unclear to him how the boy might actually respond to the sexual encounter ("God knows what will happen"); on the other hand, however, the situation strikes him as being merely uncertain. He sees clearly outlined reaction possibilities ("shock," "run away screaming") which, however, are probably not really taken seriously. The interviewee's laughing signals a distance from these potential reactions; nevertheless, "scruples" and insecurity remain. Though it is true that he is devoted to the primary engagement, he does not risk actually initiating anything. An occasion-appropriate engagement, which generates a certain degree of harmony and fluidity within the situation, is not able to be developed. Therefore, its intentions remain in the sphere of secondary engagement. Thus the two interactional partners appear to be 'passing by' one another, because otherwise, a sexual contact "probably would have been possible earlier"; the man merely would have had to seize the initiative. Therefore, through an imposed rule-observance, the irritation is furnished with avoidance rituals.

### 'Too risky'

In addition to imprudently hasty actions or deliberately waiting too long to initiate the sexual contact, it is also possible to simply make mis-assessments during the encounter, which in turn give rise to frame difficulties. This can lead to actions [179] which are 'too risky.' The following narrative shows how an attempt to resolve frame difficulties can result in a frame error. A man and a boy who have already previously had physical and sexual contact reunite for yet another encounter. The boy, who according to the interviewee's account has -- up until now -- been sexually involved with him within the modulation frame of 'training/practice' now wants to know "how a kiss goes."

"Yeah, so then I say: 'Now close your eyes,' and so it was more like a game, eyes, eyes closed, mouth open. And then I would just put a blade of grass in his mouth. Then he would also do this to me, and so on. And then, at some point or other, we just --

Q: What would you put in his mouth, when --  
Grass.

Q: Just grass?  
Yes.

Q: I thought it would have been your tongue.

Nah, grass. Initially, just grass. This was just the game. And then, at some point or other, I just gave him a kiss, and so on. And by that I mean, all the sudden, exactly like, therefore, like with a woman. Right, and then I'm just doing it with my tongue, for approximately thirty seconds or so, kissing him. And he enjoyed it. And then, on the following day, I wanted to see him again. And then he didn't know me anymore. So, somehow or other I had (==) right, and then I go up to him and say: 'Yeah, why, what's the problem now?' 'Yeah, there's no need to be sad, just because you've lost a friend.' And it just occurred to me, now he knew everything, thus, truly everything, that one can. Therefore, this just crushed me, and then he no longer wanted to. He wanted a woman. He had already said this shortly after the kiss: 'Yeah, that was really nice and everything, but with a woman, it's even nicer.' Yeah, that was the end of it. It had been interesting." (Patrick: 12-13/67-96)

An additional layer, in the form of a 'play-pretend' module, was added to the frame-process, which, until now, had characterized the sexual encounter as a practice modulation. A kiss, something which the boy wanted to learn about seems, from the perspective of the man in the sexual interaction, to be a highly sensitive, moving, and fragile practice, such that it is not right to carry it out [180] under the rubric of a special, practice performance, but rather, to ascribe it greater meaning. If distance indeed still can be maintained on both sides, in a relationship involving a sexual practice which is based on a primary learning interest, clear expressions of affection -- such as a kiss -- would appear to militate against it. In order to resolve such difficulties, to the extent that it is permitted to get this far, additional and careful checking is required. For this reason, 'playing pretend' here may be regarded as preparatory play for the real training. But the 'play pretend' module is itself in need of an additional layer. It will not do to play the kissing game right off the bat; rather, it is still a matter of investing things with a certain degree of mystery ("eyes closed, mouth open"). With the thus well-intentioned



experimental deception one is able to lead up to the kissing-practice, probably in order to ensure that the boy's expressed desire for practice is not permitted to give rise to any interactional strain; this is why the layers of the frame-process are set out here in such detail. Nevertheless, his efforts seem to misfire: It has been 'too risky,' even when the aforesaid pedophilic man merely cautiously repeats the boy's own actions. The grass game and the subsequent tongue-kiss lead - - even if the boy had "enjoyed" it, as the interviewee believed -- completely unexpectedly to a breaking-off of contact. The resulting incident gives rise to frame-difficulties on the interviewee's part ("Why? What's the problem now?") A corrective exchange occurs, whereupon he does not blame himself for his own actions, but rather, the boy is the one who excuses himself for the retreat. He too clearly finds himself in frame-difficulties. In the narrative, the man interprets this as wrongful behavior on the boy's part. Obviously the man has proceeded under false assumptions. This accounts for the boy's breaking it off, having released himself from a role of which he was not convinced.

A further form of 'too risky' behavior is when it is done quite consciously, as opposed to simply creeping in, as per the preceding case. The actions are organized in such a way that they involve the potentiality of a mis-assessment.

[181] 'Of course you can, you can cuddle with him a bit at that point, and so forth. But then when I, when one, so at one point I had, when I wanted to test the waters, wanted to know once and for all, how far one could go, so where, there also comes a point, where he says, cut it out, or whatever. One time I tried, a little bit in his private area there, to explore around there a bit with my hand. He brushed my hand away (-), then he said: 'I've already told you, that there, that it's no-go.' And then I said: 'My dear, I apologize (laughs), of course what I meant, I should have gone somewhere else.' Then I said, I say: 'I apologize, I apologize, my dear, of course I hadn't intended to do that.' But (-). 'Yeah, yeah, I already know,' he said, 'you just wanted to test out whether that was okay.' And then I said: 'Well now, I certainly would like to try this out, of course I wanted to see, whether perhaps, perhaps you might have changed your mind in the meantime,' or something along those lines. 'No,' he says, 'I haven't.' (-)" (Ame: 6/439-466)

In this narrative, the transition to sexual contact obviously leads to repeated mis-framing. Apparently the interviewee had already made an attempt to sexually approach the boy. Though the boy had not allowed this, the man still had some question, and so he once again risks testing "how far one could go." In order to resolve these frame difficulties, he attempts to manually "explore around" the boy's genital area. This desire, which is moored to a primary frame, leads to an incident. As he disregards the already-exhibited negative reactions on the boy's part, he ignores the latter's rejection; the renewed attempt strikes the boy as pushiness, given that the expected courtesy has been omitted. Because the boy has signalled that the different parts of his body are, in varying ways, to be protected against being touched, the transition from allowed cuddling to unauthorized touching of the genitals has to be regarded as a violation of territorial integrity. Following the incident are the corrective actions of apologizing and

explaining. With the apology, the interviewee expresses his attitude of repentance; with the explanation, he means to change his wrongful behavior in this regard. An offensive act [182] is converted into one which can be regarded as acceptable. He points to extenuating circumstances ("Perhaps you might have changed your mind in the meantime"). Obviously the interviewee has moved into a frame in which he has erred yet again.

'Too obvious'

Arguments represent a further dimension of frame difficulties. In the following narrative, man and boy find that they are obviously no longer in the same frame. Although they do not quarrel explicitly about their differing interpretations of the situation there are still lingering frame-difficulties in the encounter, which leave the interviewee dissatisfied because he is being 'too obvious.'

"And then simply just, (-) yeah the, the (-) really strong rejection of physicality. Actually, now it's not even a matter of whether I'm going to live out my sexuality; for me this is still, still completely on the back-burner. But when I do have a young friend, I would also like to take him by the arm and things of that nature (-) or stroke his head, etc. But whenever, at some point or other, one sits next to me, though I have explained to him how it is with me, he still asks all sorts of questions and so forth. So then you have this long, drawn-out discussion about it. It is not as if I do all the talking or something, so based on the motto, eh, of course I wouldn't have thought that about you, but of course he has also asked questions and so on, how does that work and, and why, and things like that. Consequently, one has already openly discussed it at that point. And then just, nevertheless, the next thing he says is, no, just stop grabbing me. Because somehow or other I've always thought, there are just like two things in his head, which he hasn't put together, and which he also does not want to put together anyhow. That somehow or other he thinks, Dieter is a really good guy, who I can shoot the breeze with, and when I have problems, then we can even work them out together, but of course, he is gay." (Dieter: 10-11/668-11)

In this narrative, the frame difficulties are already apparent at the level of the physical approach. Man and boy no longer find themselves in the same frame. In order to potentially [183] resolve divergent interpretations of reality, the interviewee places the encounter within the primary frame of self-disclosure. This clear orientational announcement was apparently enough to make the frame susceptible to problems. Although the personal confession is openly discussed, the action-thread associated with it cannot be re-wound.

Massive and offensive arguments are practically inevitable when one is able to regard an encounter not as a pedophilic love-relationship but rather -- as in the following case -- as a business relationship. In this case, one is even able to proceed in an 'obvious' manner. Consequently, on the one hand, an attempt is made to smooth over difficulties; therefore, in business relationships, one risks conflict and open strife, because they obviously occur under divergent frame-conditions.

"I, quite simply, expect more than, too. When I know, he's selling himself,

then this is quite normal. Then, right, because initially I didn't have feelings for him then, and so this doesn't even mean anything, not really expecting a lot from him. (--) Because anything else would be wishful thinking. If I were to say that therefore he only uses me to get off, I can get myself off, I don't need to send for anybody.

Q: Are there, differing expectations, in such contacts? Whoever sells himself must reckon with the fact that he also has to do something for it. This is quite simple, whether this is a child or not. Can it be pretty brutal for kids anyway? No. I can't, I have never believed that was possible.

Q: Now, in what respect, what do you mean by extortion?

Well now, certainly, 50 or 100 marks, and usually then they still don't even want to do anything for it, that's what's crazy about it." (Klaus: 25-16/279-305)

Apparently, purchasing contacts makes attaining goal-security simple. The dramaturgy of self-representation does not require any sensitive checking. There is no need either for a particular image to be cultivated, nor for a certain value to be placed on expressive control. Because the relationship is based on an exchange, dramaturgical loyalty in the encounter [184] is able to be presumed. In addition to dramaturgical relief, this type of sexual relationship offers the advantage of not requiring any intimate, ritual, confirmatory exchanges in order to be able to regulate the coming-together based on rule-bound behaviors. The primary frame is sufficient, in and of itself, to give meaning and structure to the encounter. It provides ready-made delineations as to how events may be interpreted in a given context. With the 'business relationship' frame, one must not fall back on a previous interpretation. As such, it is used to provide certainty as to what is supposed to happen in the encounter and what one can expect. This 'entry frame' can, however, lead to difficulties in actual sexual interactions, thereby permitting uncertainty to creep in with regard to expectational divergence vis-à-vis the intensity of sexual practices, as the just-cited example shows.

#### 4. Frame Faultlines

Frame faultlines in physical contact and during sexual interactions originate, in the first place, from insufficient belief in one's own role. The interviewees do not know how they are supposed to frame the encounter; moreover, they lack the rituals for rule-guided action. The greatest problems lay in the dramaturgy of their behavior. Because they have scarcely any concrete ideas regarding how they would like to direct the course of events, they are unable to give an action-facilitating, in-character performance. Although they do make an effort to be engaged in their role, they are not successful in actually grasping it. A discrepancy exists between individual and role, between being and doing. With this role-distance, they attempt to absolve themselves of the 'taint' associated with the situation. This is the context in which the subsequent frame faultlines arise.

#### Establishing Roles

The interviewee portrays himself, in the narrative, as being outside of a framed event. It is only through the initiative of the boy that [185] his pretense of indifference is no longer able to be maintained, and he now joins in the goings-on. He is, therefore, insufficiently prepared to establish a situation-adequate role.



"Because, for example, the following scene took place: I was visiting with him again, it was in the middle of winter, I believe, it had even snowed. And he had this telescope, a pretty large one. And by all means, then, he wanted to look at the stars that night, and indeed, it was pitch-black outside. Right, good. We go out to the backyard, and he closes the shutters in front of the door. I thought, what should I do now. So I set the thing up and look through it. I'm looking at the moon, and suddenly I notice that he's giving me a kiss. So therefore, setting the scene so that, yeah, as to guarantee, insofar as possible, where no one would be able to see us. (-) At the same time, I have to say that he, consequently with this whole area of sexuality, he probably also had difficulties of his own. Even, also not entirely uninhibited. Then too, he was always depending upon such settings-of-the-scene." (Dirk: 17/470-488)

The interviewee is obviously not prepared for physical contact. It is not his initiative, but rather, the boy who makes the move on him. He is not successful in constructing a primary engagement out of the event; the romanticism of star-gazing. This is, instead, initiated by the boy. However the interviewee interprets the course of the engagement as faulty, because to him it looks like "inhibited" behavior. He places it within the context of an unexpected incident; according to his account, the boy acts out of 'abrupt' embarrassment, since forms of direct physical contact are not being selected; instead, "settings-of-the-scene" are necessary. What implicitly lay behind that is the vague rule that the only people who appear to be dependent upon settings-of-the-scene are those who have difficulties of their own with sexuality. The interviewee fails to realize that he himself reacts to the interaction in an embarrassed manner. Whereas he himself is really not in a position to drive the action forward in the situation, through physical contact, the boy is apparently expressing his own personal interests. The interviewee obviously either cannot accept this ritual, or, he depicts himself as being surprised that he has stumbled into the incident in these ways. He is unable to adequately grasp his role, [186] even on the backstage of the goings-on, where "no one would be able to see..." He neither commits himself to an action-initiating role, nor demonstrates his specific qualifications for carrying out a ritualistic commitment to a confirmatory exchange. His actions remain passive; he exhibits role-distance, thereby avoiding being 'tainted' by the situation, instead of trying to make the most of it.

#### Driving Roles Forward

In the following account, the situation swings the other way. Here the constructed role admittedly cannot be pulled off, which breaks the frame apart.

"I hadn't said anything. He had brought the subject up. But so then, consequently: 'I want to, but yet I don't want to,' or, 'I don't trust myself,' or whatever. And, yeah, and then it rained. Therefore this was no sunny day, where consequently, as it were, with the rain, relatively few people were out and about. And then we were, this, going in a little into the thick underbrush and (-) and he just takes his pants off. And, yeah, I still hadn't had any experience with this sort of thing. And I did not find it to be particularly nice. And he probably also did not find it to be especially so. And he has, (-) his groin was splayed out like this, and so then he looks back and up at the sky. And I don't yet even realize, that it has just started raining. (-)

Because he even had some droplets on his face. And then came just this whole, yeah, this vision which, even as a kid, had, as it were, tortured me. So now one is the ultimate, now one is a monster or something. Consequently I'd thought, who's crying now, and, you are the big criminal, and so forth; I'd become seized by this deathly fear. And at that point I simply asked him: 'Aren't you having fun?' Or something along those lines. 'Nah'; consequently, he was not having all that much fun. And then we just stopped. And, yeah, therefore he had not cried or anything." (Philipp: 13/188-212)

Obviously, the interviewee's faulty grasp of his role ("I still hadn't had any experience with this sort of thing"), as well as the boy's lack of clarity in terms of making his own wishes be known ("Consequently: 'I want to, but yet I don't want to'"), contribute to the frame-fissure of the sexual encounter. [187] Furthermore, the social situation seems to have been opted for under extremely unpropitious circumstances. On the one hand, by selecting a backstage venue (thick underbrush on a rainy day, where there will be few passers-by) provides security for the encounter as far as the pedophilic man is concerned. On the other hand, the raindrops on the boy's face cause an incident, thereby down-modulating the sexual encounter. At the same time, the role is not able to be pulled off. Actually, from the perspective of the interviewee, although the situation should be "particularly nice," it now slips away from him; it takes on a serious character, with the frames, so to speak, taking on an additional layer. The incident causes the interviewee to become self-conscious. Self-doubt and internalized stigmatization overshadow the encounter. Via a statement, he attempts to initiate a corrective exchange. The interaction is thereupon broken off.

#### Maintaining Roles

In the following narrative, the person concerned is unable to ensure a smooth continuation of the interaction. He sets strict limitations on his own conduct, which leads to him not being able to maintain his role. Therefore, a sexual encounter does not take place.

"I just, there was this internal brake. I thought to myself, 'Whoa, just a minute, hold on, you shouldn't go any further.' I believe, I was merely holding him by the arm and stroking his face, and all of a sudden there was an inner stop, and 'Come now, you should not go any further, this could be dangerous'." (Naxos: 2/107-112)

Although physical contact has been achieved, the interviewee is unable to parlay this into the primary engagement of actual sexual activity. He is unable to rise to the occasion. His emotional composure is the casualty of being overly-engaged in precautionary measures. His self-consciousness paralyzes him, with his attention thereby being directed, in particular ways, towards he himself. Obviously his belief in his own role is now at risk, given that he may regard being completely caught up in his play as a problem. The interviewee resolves [188] the discrepancy between obligatory and spontaneous engagement via an obligatory reticence; he blocks his own behavior, thereby breaking up the interaction.

#### Separation Frames, Their Rituals and Dramaturgy

## 1. Primary Frames

Pedophilic men are faced with the certain knowledge that, at some point or another, their relationships will come to an end. What concerns many interviewees is not so much the fact that a separation will occur, but rather, how it occurs. What is striking is that they get through the separation process completely without any transformational interpretive frames. Whereas in other fields of activity the pedophilic man typically sets the stage for, structures, and guides the encounters, the separation process is predominantly in the boy's hands. He is the actor who executes the separation. The prevailing assumption that the man would come to regard the boy as 'too old,' and therefore would separate from him, was not able to be confirmed; rather, it is the boy who separates from the man. The interaction is, therefore, also to be understood in terms of primary, pre-existing interpretive frames; it dispenses with any and all transformations into different aspects of reality. Insofar as one can tell, act-oriented interpretations of what is actually going on are sufficient. Frame difficulties and frame faultlines are, nevertheless, in evidence; however, they are rarer than the use of primary frames in which mutual detachment, despite many separation pains, is carried out in a manner more likely to be harmonious than conflict-laden. The separation process is characterized, on various levels, by high expectational security. The experienced pedophile knows -- localized in the primary frame -- how a separation will go: in the first place, he knows the signs of a forthcoming separation; secondly, he leaves the decision to separate to the boy; thirdly, he does not 'make a scene' if and when the boy wishes to separate; and fourthly, he tries, following the separation, to remain friends with him. On the basis of these experience-bound premises, the primary frame of [189] separation events may be understood and interpreted in terms of a course which has already been mapped out.

### Signs

There are, based on the information provided by these pedophilic men, very specific signs when a boy intends to separate. When the other partner notices these signs, he begins to prepare himself for a rather rapid end to the relationship.

"At one point I think, now it is slowly coming to an end; formerly I'd visited him pretty often, and he used to call me a lot, and I was over there quite often; but then I simply notice that we're growing apart more and more. The things that are important to him are not important to me, like, for example, discos and girls or his clique, which is now going in the direction of a rocker clique, where I am really not very into that. And then I just notice, that there's not much coming out from him; consequently, he had already said that this year, he wanted to vacation with someone else, no longer with me, or I just notice, when letters from me practically remain unanswered, when at Christmas, nothing comes. I just notice, the interest wanes." (Andreas: 33-34/156-171)

"It happened slowly, over a month or so. He stops by again, then he stays for quite a while, and then he comes once more. Then things go badly, he doesn't keep his appointments. And so it is, and when he no longer keeps his appointments, then I know that it's ending, that soon he'll no longer come at all." (Uwe: 22/683-689)



The described signs leave no doubt in the interviewees' minds that their relationships are about to come to an end. They prepare for this, and do not go against the boy's will vis-à-vis the relationship. The separation process is typically described as a "slow end." It is usually not a matter of a final, abrupt line being drawn, but rather, of them "growing apart." A slow end can be interpreted in two ways: For one, there is a certain plausibility in assuming that relationships whose [190] detachment processes are chronologically drawn-out must have been based on commitment and personal intimacy. Whereas distant relationships may be called off more quickly, the end of close relationships is usually a lengthy process. Moreover, one could presume, therefore, that this process occurs slowly because there are difficulties inherent in separating. However, as we shall see further below, this is not the case.

What is indicative of an impending separation is, according to the accounts of the men interviewed, an ever more apparent lack of reciprocity in the relationship: The boy establishes other priorities and divergent interests arise, thereby causing a diminishment of the relationship's continuity as well as reliability. Many pedophilic men find themselves faced with the fact that "things that are important (to the boy) are not important to me," as one of them puts it. If one wishes to retain one's equanimity in the face of such signs, instead of separating in a way that is quarrelsome or conflict-laden, one must, according to the interviewee's statements, observe two rules above all else: First, the decision to separate is the boy's to make, and second, do not 'make a scene' in front of the boy regarding his intention to separate.

#### Decision

With few exceptions, pedophilic men report that the decision to separate lay with the boy. One interviewee describes this rule-cum-ritual as follows:

"The upshot of this, is that, I had actually come to the realization, that one should only let oneself get involved with young people in this way, if one is prepared to maintain it, to do it until the boy himself wants to break it off, wants to call it quits. That it is, therefore, very problematic for a twelve- or thirteen-year-old to suddenly be pushed out the door. And when people say, consequently you have now become too old for me, now I can't be with you anymore, perhaps even occasionally, where, for the boy, it is the most important thing, because he's entering puberty, which is now the most critical time, and of course his sexual interests intensify, and to then push him away, because he has the first hairs on his sack and so forth, this, I can honestly say, I do not understand, because I [191] believe, that loving someone, whether we're talking about a boy or whomever, really cannot end with that, or for that reason, because a boy has, somehow or other, gotten a couple of hairs on his sack. Of course one does not love him merely, because he doesn't have any hairs."  
(Herbert: 3/180-213)

The anticipatory frame of the chronological limitedness of a pedophilic relationship is tied into self-imposed obligations with regard to the types and ways of separating. Part and parcel of the pedophilic role is being able to wait for the boy to initiate the separation. One thereby

makes the most of an accessibility ritual which underscores the position of the boy in the relationship. It would be tantamount to a rule-violation if one were to disregard this obligation. What is implicitly being expressed here is that the boy should not have to bear the burden of a separation which he did not want and may have had no part in bringing about. On the other hand, at this point the asymmetry of such relationships becomes clear. Whereas the boy himself still feels 'strongly united,' the man may already be experiencing a 'slight distance,' albeit masked by paternalistic deception. However, the interpretive frame that is applied here seems to be more strongly anchored in the primary frame of an action-guiding premise (the boy decides) than in the transformative power of an invention, which looks like paternalistic deception. Moreover, this does not require the pedophilic man to act contrary to his own nature. The interviewee emphasizes that "loving someone...cannot end...because a boy has, somehow or other, gotten a couple of hairs on his sack. Of course one does not love him merely, because he doesn't have any hairs." This means that the pedophile is able to proceed sincerely in his dramaturgy, and does not have to give any kind of cynical performance, for attaining the goal of an 'optimal separation' means being able to anticipate possible asynchronous separation requirements. However, there are also cases where, although the boy himself has been wanting to separate for some time, the pedophilic man has, as yet, no intentions of doing so. In this case a second rule comes into play -- also located in the primary interpretive frame -- which is that, when the decision is made, one should pay attention to how one separates oneself.

[192] "I've experienced it this way, that my own sexual interest has lasted longer than the sexual interest of my former little friend, who has then become bigger, where to me anyway it was already clear that he, thus in his character, that sooner or later he will want a very intensive sexual contact with a girl, and in fact does this, sooner than I would have liked...Since I myself have tried, I hope, I will also be successful in this, tried, to act like a friend, therefore no scenes, no drama, no jealousy or any kinds of tricks. Going away for the weekend you have to take me with you, and there we'll make plans to do this and that. I believe, this wouldn't have gotten me anywhere, because, then the situation is, what you have then is, wanting to go to bed with someone who's thinking about their girlfriend, who no longer has a boner, that's not my thing, which is fine." (Kurt: 26/312, 329)

When there are clear signs of an impending separation (e.g., contact with girls), it holds true here as well that the initiating decision on the boy's part is to be respected, even when one -- as in this case -- would like to remain together longer with the boy. At the same time, the interviewee himself desires authentic relationships: "what you have then is, wanting to go to bed with someone who's thinking about their girlfriend, who no longer has a boner, that's not my thing." Interwoven with the acceptance, that the boy will decide when it's time to separate, is a motto in the pedophilic man's behavioral repertoire, which says, to be emotionally reserved in separations: "no scenes, no drama, no jealousy or any kinds of tricks." The dramaturgy of the pedophilic role, which asks how I wish -- in this case, in the separation -- to proceed is, therefore, tied to two obligations. For one, the obligation to let the boy make the decision to end the

relationship, and secondly, the pedophilic man's commitment to not lose his expressive control over the end of the relationship. Both bind the pedophilic man to his role. In the meantime he obtains goal-security, for by paying attention to this separation dramaturgy, he can be certain that the separation will be ratified in a confirmatory exchange, and that no unexpected incidents will be provoked. Even if these separation rituals are adhered to by most of those interviewed, personally coming to terms with a separation shows different facets.

### [193] Coming to Terms

For many interviewees, separation does not occur seamlessly. Again and again, this draws a line through their whole lives.

"It is always even a little death. It is always like, I say, always the, the people, who have a marriage, who simply part following a long, more<sup>or</sup>less intense life, after a couple of decades, and then one partner dies, right, then the partnership ends, and then their life is also mostly over. This is a great cycle. A pedophile, who has such intense relationships, which, which inside a half a year, can attain a depth and an intensity, like I believe, many heterosexual people would not even be able to imagine, what kind of depth this can have, what kind of intensity it can have, which is just experienced in a kind of time lapse. This is a very, can be a very brief phase, perhaps half a year, perhaps two years, and then something dies. This is like being re-born. You, you must, the pain, you feel the pain of loss, of separating, yeah, and sometimes friendship remains, and sometimes you lose track of one another entirely." (Mark: 10-11/666)

The interviewee sees coming to terms with separation in contrast to that of a heterosexual married couple. Whereas this can be viewed as a "great cycle" in their relational lives, since a separation usually seems sudden and unforeseeable, and oftentimes also only occurs due to the death of one of the partners, pedophiles experience, as it were, many small cycles. They come together and separate more often, since the relationship is chronologically delimited, and the separation is foreseeable. With this reality in mind, the limited time attains "a depth and an intensity" which seeks to equal that of a married couple. The end of the relationship must thereby seem all the more painful: "It is always even a little death." Whereas the married couple has a chance of 'living out' their relationship in an ultimate sense, the pedophile rushes through the states of a relationship in a kind of "time-lapse," as he says, since there is not a lot of time. This is what constitutes the tragedy, but also the aforementioned "intensity," of these relationships. One "feels the pain of loss, of separating," and yet, also regards oneself as "being re-born."

Other interviewees -- admittedly, a much smaller number -- experience the separation in a less sorrowful, but almost, matter-of-fact manner.

"The end is by no means, it is not dramatic at all, but rather, one then accepts the fact that they no longer want it. For one thing, at that point they are also at a, at a stage where they are, therefore, little-by-little, no longer able to arouse me, you know? One still does it of course, but one, they are at a stage, where one says: Ah, well now, right, you, you therefore have to turn to others now. But this still does not mean that you break off contact, but



rather, one says, okay, I no longer want this. Well now, right, then one just no longer carries on in that area, but rather, one then drives the car, and still goes here and there, plays soccer, perhaps getting to know other boys through that, because of course wherever there are older boys, there are more younger ones nearby." (Mike: 25-26/291-305)

This pedophilic man also underscores the fact that one must accept the end of a relationship. Certainly for him, there appears to be a consonance between the decline in his own interest ("where they are, therefore, little by little, no longer able to arouse me") and the child's withdrawal ("the fact that they no longer want it"). These stages are, for him, signals indicating that he has to "turn to others now." He approaches the cycle in a much more pragmatic way. Whereas the other interviewee speaks of a "little death," here, merely a brief "ah, well now, right" is registered. In the end, therefore, he also sees the equally positive signs of a new beginning; that is, when it still does continue to exist, non-sexual contact with the boy offers possibilities for forming new relationships through him. The interviewee underscores the fact that the end of the sexual relationship does not inevitably mean dissolving the relationship altogether. Here also, the decision made by the boy to end the sexual relationship ("I no longer want this") must be accepted, even if only in order to have a chance, as the interviewee says, of being able to carry on the relationship in a different "area." Leisure-time and day-to-day encounters fashion, therefore, the frames for further encounters, which can also be used to establish new contacts. A large [195] number of interviewees discussed the theme of the friendship continuing, after the sexual aspect of the relationship has ended. There is, presumably, some consolation in the hope -- and even the often proven true experience -- that following the end of a sexual relationship, friendly contact will still be able to continue to exist; such a situation of course again signals manifestations of sympathy and interest, and gives rise to the understanding that <sup>not</sup> being together sexually must not be interpreted as an aversion to or disregard for who one is as a person. Rather, one construes the sexual contact as an exchange which confirms their friendly solidarity.

### Lasting Friendships

The vast majority of the pedophilic men reported that their friendships continued on.

"I've had a relationship for five years now. Even today the boy still comes over -- he's now twenty-two; so, this is more of a friend relationship. There's no more sex, but we are friends, yeah. You know, it leaves, all these years, it of course leaves a big mark on you. There are so many things in common, that one has experienced, which, which, which put their stamp on you." (Manfred: 5/229-238)

"With some, a long-standing friendship has already grown out of it in the meantime, fifteen years.

Q: And the contact is also fairly regular, at regular intervals etc., consequently, not like every three years or something?

No, no, quite regular. One lives in the same city as me. Because we see each other nearly every week. We at least call each other twice, three times a week,

and tell one another this and that. We also exchange opinions, and even plan out what we might be able to do together. Together, meaning, he with his girlfriend and me with my young friend, when one is there." (Kurt: 22/77-93)

As was already made clear in the descriptions of everyday life, it is also evident here that pedophiles' interest in and engagement with boys does not simply expire when the interactions are no longer determined by the sexual goings-on. Many interviewees [196] continue their encounters with the boy after the sexual aspect has ended. Again, they describe their relationship to the boy as being a "friend relationship," which can, now and then, even be long and rather intensive. Obviously the solidarity-fostering "things in common," of which the interviewee speaks, bind them together. Again and again, they provide new opportunities for articulating manifestations of accessibility. Maintenance rituals, like regular telephoning or meetings, animate the relationship and produce a confirmatory exchange. But even when the sex in the encounter has come to an end, this does not mean, for example, that tenderness would no longer have a role to play in a long-standing friendship.

"Today he's thirty years old, is a father and is, we are still affectionate with one another. Anyhow we of course have nothing, we wouldn't even be able to start anything major in bed. He is quite normal, a normal hetero. Women suit him. But as for, I am the only man, whom he could and wants to give a kiss to. He has, he even says, otherwise I have no, no man, no man is really attractive to me, but with you it's different. Then, somehow or another I have feelings of affection or whatever. What that says to me, is that he's a thirty-year-old hetero." (David: 43/70-78)

Three things are obviously important to the interviewee: For one, the boy in the pedophilic relationship appears to have developed into a quite normal heterosexual man; second, he has not turned away, and even today, as a "thirty-year-old" man, still maintains contact. In particular he experiences, as an accessibility ritual, the fact that he would be "the only man whom he could and wants to give a kiss to." In this way, the interviewee implicitly underscores his successful grasp -- and carrying out -- of his pedophilic role. The boy is "normal," does not shun further contact, and is even in the position, even as an adult man, to be able to show affection.

Certainly, some interviewees do report that, even when the 'sexual time' in the friendship has already long since passed, sexual encounters can still happen.

[197] "Yeah, I've had boys, with whom I've even slept, when they were eighteen, nineteen; they still came, had long-since had girlfriends. They simply came to me once again. And this was wild (laughs). Although I actually, really had zero interest in them, somehow or other then of course it happens, because I still liked them enough, and because I wanted to please them, since this was a bit adventurous, to still let oneself get involved in it, at that point. So, one of them even came over once months later, riding very far on his motorcycle. Meanwhile, he had gone far out of his way, just to come over for one night, chat a little, and then have sex with me." (Mark: 10/643-656)

In relationships of equals, for this interviewee, sexual activity is still possible even when the boy has reached an age at which the man is no longer sexually attracted to him, provided that the boy has still not made the decision to end the sexual relationship. As he sees it, the reason for this is that he "still liked him enough"; again he approaches him with accessibility rituals and manifests his sympathy and interest, whereby he "wanted to please him" by having a sexual liaison with him. Obviously, there is no strict age limit at which the sexual aspect of a pedophilic encounter must come to an end. Given that the friendship has formed out of the encounters, then sexual interactions remain possible, even when the boy has long since grown to become an adult man. And even on the boy's side -- according to the interviewee's statements -- there may still be some sexual interest, though they had "long since had girlfriends." Consequently, at least in the descriptions of the primary frames, detachment processes and separations would appear to be extremely fluid. This is no hard and fast line, and further encounters are not automatically ruled out; 'follow-up' contacts, advancing to a friendship, are frequent, and tenderness, now and then even including sex, has an important position within that.

## [198] 2. Frame Difficulties

Only in a few cases are the separation events described by the pedophilic men as difficult. Though many do indeed expect the boys to break it off, some are, nevertheless, emotionally unprepared for this. Therefore it is not so much a question of confusion and doubt when separation becomes apparent; here, the interviewees do trust their understanding of reality. What there is, instead, is unclarity and uncertainty regarding whether one is emotionally strong enough to handle the break-up, and how it will actually go for them in the future. One has problems with the detachment phase. It appears problematic to him, because there is scarcely any expectational certainty as to what will happen in the future. The effects of separation can, therefore, only be interpreted with difficulty. Other pedophiles find themselves in an erroneous frame, when the boy unexpectedly breaks off the relationship. Obviously, they have been laboring under false assumptions as to the end of their being-together. They misassess what is happening on the boy's side vis-à-vis the separation. Sometimes, disputes even arise during the separation process. If the pedophile enters into a new friendship too quickly, without the boy being able to effectively extricate himself from the old relationship, jealousy problems crop up. The two once again find that they are not in the same frame.

### Detachment Problems

Frame difficulties arise in the separation phase above all when the boy does not draw a visible and unequivocal dividing line, and no appropriate interpretive frame is able to be found as to whether the relationship still exists or not. The ambivalent situation makes the detachment process difficult.

"Now of course, the last time, (-) therefore with my previous friend, we had also been together for exactly three years. And then when the break-up came, it was actually on pretty bad terms. Consequently, it is not automatically the case, that things are on this kind of harmonious level, that he would now have a



girlfriend, and now just [199] seeks a new way of life with her, but rather, this is, somehow or other, so (-), yeah, you simply no longer see one another, or see each other less. Therefore, and this is just a bit frustrating, that now you actually have to disconnect emotionally, or down-shift, and just, you're obliged to re-think things a bit, how things are going, what is going on. And (-) perhaps ask yourself, whether you might meet someone new and so forth. And this is, with me at the moment, just, something of an upheaval phase. That consequently I, this is not automatically becoming clear, even partially." (Dieter: 1/58-76)

According to the interviewee's account, there would not be any difficulties with the separation process if the boy "would now have a girlfriend, and now just seeks a new way of life with her." So the situation would certainly not appear to be a clear one. It is true that he does have clarity concerning the boy's intention to separate: "You simply no longer see one another, or see each other less." However because no clarifying word is heard, and they are obviously still seeing one another, even if much less, there is uncertainty as to what is really going on now. The ambivalent situation is, therefore, construed by the pedophilic man as an intention to separate. At the same time, it is again problematic when one is still unable to adequately emotionally respond to the "upheaval phase," because one has "to disconnect emotionally, or down-shift." Whereas the primary engagement actually requires interactions which are concerned with the separation, one is still preoccupied, in the secondary engagement, with holding onto the relationship. Nevertheless, while staring the separation-event in the face, the interviewee is completely unprepared to face it.

#### Break-Up Attempts

Though pedophiles do foresee the fact that one day a boy will break off the relationship, there are obviously situations where this point in time gets transgressed. One is, then, scarcely prepared for separation, and experiences the end as a massive break-up attempt. Because an end is no longer reckoned with, one believes the events to have been correctly framed, and must eventually fess up to one's frame-error.

[200] "I was together with my friend; this was really no problem. He has grown older with me. This was, therefore, absolutely no problem. Consequently, even after such a long time, I hadn't reckoned on the fact that he would then break it off, since he'd never availed himself of the opportunity earlier. Therefore, he never had any intentions of breaking it off. For my part, I still had to act, when once or twice we went on vacation somewhere or other, like I never had any ambitions toward him. Of course this is difficult, when one has a boy like this, who attaches himself to you so early on (-). That he could then, at some point or another, break it off. I'd always had that in the back of my mind. Only now, no longer. That time was past. Above all, because we'd also intended to do so much together and had really built something, and then it happens: His interests had changed completely." (Karl: 4-5/274-289)

The interviewee is obviously faced with a frame-error: "Consequently, even after such a long time, I hadn't reckoned on the fact that he would then break it off, since he'd never availed himself of the opportunity earlier." His expectational certainty collapses. Indeed, there were sufficient reasons -- even caused, in part, by him -- that would have

enabled the boy to put more distance between them. However since there is no reaction to this, and moreover because they were also obviously together for quite a long time, and had even "built something," he sees himself as being in a confirmatory exchange with the boy. The reckoned-on separation ("That he could then, at some point or another, break it off, I'd always had that in the back of my mind") is again disposed of as a possibility ("Now, no longer, that time is past"). Through the various forms of consent, the relationship appears to him to be ratified. All the more reason why the boy's "breaking it off," of which the interviewee speaks again and again, has the character of an unexpected incident, which obviously cannot be resolved through any corrective exchange.

In addition to faulty framings, disputes can also occur during the separation process, when man and boy frame the separation differently. But this takes place only in a very small number of cases. In the preceding example the initiative for the separation came from the boy; in the following case, it is taken by the pedophilic man.

[201] "Because I'm reminded of one time, where of course, somehow or other it ended very tragically, or unpleasantly. A boy, who was together with me from nine years of age on, who was then 14, 15. In the meantime, his successor had approached me personally. He was 11, I was with him constantly, and despite this older friend's willingness, to practically bow out for the benefit of the younger one, he, the older boy, had not managed to actually do so, because of course he was still hanging on to me. And then there were, consequently, serious problems. Problems of the sort, that he was even obstinant and aggressive, and yes, was constantly arguing with me and the group. And then he had even, somehow or other, yeah, more or less left the group in disappointment when he was 15, 16 years old. And I think, the young man had, in the meantime, gotten married. Years later we worked everything out through conversations and so forth, where, in and of itself, an intense, human relationship then grew out of that. The sexual relationship was, for him, then, also long-since past. But at that time he still told me, how hard and bitter it had been for him at the time, because he, even as a 15-, 16-year-old, still loved me, improbable as that was. But I was just no longer in a position to be able to reciprocate this relationship." (Christoph: 27/338-363)

Obviously, the interviewee made a frame error. Following a five-six year friendship with a boy in a youth organization, he wrongly interprets "this older friend's willingness, to practically bow out for the benefit of the younger one." For hidden behind the signalled readiness were, of course, all kinds of problems surrounding the detachment. The boy appears to interpret the friendship-change as an attempt to break up their pedophilic friendship. After all, he is "aggressive," and is "constantly arguing" with the man. The boy must experience his friend's reaction to him as a ritual desecration; embarrassed reactions -- coming after the continuous discomfort -- crop up, and indeed, it even appears to come to a head, at which point the boy is no longer able to hide his disappointment, and correspondingly, gives expression to it. This incident seems to repeat itself. The boy leaves the group in disappointment. Only years later is a corrective exchange brought about.

### [202] 3. Frame Faultlines

There are separation processes which do not come off so gently and relatively free of conflict, as we have discussed things, until now, predominantly within a primary interpretive frame. Above all in brief and one-time encounters, the act of separation can misfire and experience a faultline. Afterwards, the participants have no further contact with one another whatsoever. In such encounters, pedophilic men are unsuccessful in establishing expectational security vis-à-vis the separation process. They have no structure-creating, action-guiding orientation for establishing a frame for whether, when, and how a separation is to be carried out. They are, rather, surprised by it. Particularly likely to lead to faultlines in the separation-event is a lack of expressive control. This exhibits itself, for one, in the fact that, though the pedophilic man does realize that his relationship is under strain, he is no longer able to balance things out and simply detaches, or, he stumbles into moments of awkwardness in a risky situation, thus bringing about the end of the encounter. Furthermore, frame faultlines can arise when problems in expressive control cause the encounter to see-saw in such a way that the separation still remains to be concluded.

#### Lack of Dramaturgical Discipline

One can fall into a spell of one's own expressive control, when one suddenly questions the dramaturgical loyalty of one's interactional partner. In such a predicament, one is at risk of having one's dramaturgical discipline slip away. In the following example, a frame faultline occurs because, all of the sudden, the pedophilic man simply detaches himself. A "whole bunch of alarm bells" go off to the interviewee, as he says, after he has had a sexual get-together with two boys for the second time. Although the boys are interested in having another encounter, the man wants to break off contact right away, and rid himself of the strain in his conversations.

[203] 'Yeah, somebody blabs a secret about you, not, and one day I'll find myself in the pokie.

Q: You also told them this?

Yes, yes.

Q: Did you have the sense, that you could also say this to them?

Yes, yes, I realized, they really had no idea, how dangerous this is, for me. For they themselves this is, of course, not dangerous at all, but it is for me. I have told them, how, what is at stake for me, professionally, and have also told them, if I, if these contacts were to land in court, I would rather kill myself than go through that.

Q: So how did they respond to that?

At first they were quite shocked, that something, which they had experienced as nice, or at least not as, as disgusting or detestable, that this could have such consequences for some people. Because of course at first they were just dumbfounded, right? Therefore, I don't want to say, shocked, that is of course too extreme; I don't want to say, that consequently it was a shock, this for a minute there not knowing, what one, what one should do, not, but initially dumbfounded, speechless. And so, and then we talked some more about this. They couldn't do that, kill themselves. They immediately made reference to, killing



themselves; this they could not do. Right, so then they asked more about it; how would you do it then? I said, if it came to that, then I would, of course have my car there, therefore I would get into, get into the car, and drive off a pier at high speed, right. Nothing else would really do it right off, since poison, for example, is not, this is, therefore death by poisoning is, this I knew, in almost every case they would still just rescue you. And I wouldn't want to put others at risk because they neglected to provide assistance. On account of, or that others would blame themselves; for example, throwing oneself in front of a train. Then there's the engineer, who starts worrying and everything; no. I discussed this whole thing with them." (Werner: 1-2/1-45)

The encounter comes to an abrupt end because the boys tell their parents about the man's intention to commit suicide. Inquiries bring the backstage get-togethers into the light of day; the police get notified. It is not the sexual goings-on but rather the [204] suicide threat that has annoyed the boys and brought about the end of the relationship. Due to the man's detaching of himself, a self-fulfilling prophecy is, to a certain extent, set in motion. Obviously he is not in the position of being able to properly assess the sexual encounter with the boys; he wrongly frames it, and sees precariousness where -- at least to any significant extent -- it does not exist. Due to his virtual anticipation, and above all due to the then lacking dramaturgical discipline, the frame collapses. He is unable to emotionally untie himself from his performance and overcome possible problems from a distance, should they arise. He gets carried away by his own conduct, and above all, his own suppositions ("Somebody blabs a secret about you....and one day I'll find myself in the pokie"). He holds back too little, and commits the rule-violation of pushiness ("I would rather kill myself, than go through that"). The interviewee sees that he has, thereby, brought about acute embarrassment on the boys' part ("at first they were quite shocked"); however he does not attempt to smooth over the incident to some extent via a corrective exchange, but rather, confirms and even reinforces his intentions, as he describes -- in graphic detail -- how he would kill himself.

#### Lack of Dramaturgical Care

Also part of effective expressive control, in addition to the certainty of having a loyal interactional partner as well as the ability to give a disciplined performance, is preparing for the encounters with foresight and planning. If one acts, in this regard, in a clumsy manner, one may end up provoking a frame faultline.

"I have indeed for some time now, I have, therefore, only met children from group homes. And they usually bring two or three others along with them. Then later on you meet the entire home (laughs), although I personally have never wanted them to bring two or three along with them. I have always said: 'Always come alone, then nobody can give you away.' But no, then they encounter a friend there, who certainly would not betray them, and bam, it happens again." (Klaus: 15-16/311-320)

[205] The interviewee does not take any dramaturgical care. He gives up his goal-security, how he would actually like to proceed. Although the pedophilic man has told the boys, "Always come alone, then nobody can give you away," he still allows boys to bring other boys along with

them. He disregards his implicit rule, that, the fewer participants there are to an encounter, the fewer possibilities there will be for mistakes and difficulties. Instead of sticking to an avoidance ritual and ruling out group contacts, he ratifies, in confirmatory ways, the bringing-along of boys' friends. This accessibility ritual, which is not imbued with dramaturgical care, leads to the interviewee stumbling into a frame faultline which, at the same time, is associated with separation ("bam, it happens again").

A lack of dramaturgical care can also lead to a situation escalating, being thrown into upheaval, and eventually, to separation. An argument, as in the following case, can get carried away, leading to serious consequences and even separation. Because the interviewee has not adequately prepared himself for such an incident, he is confronted with a frame faultline.

"And then, in the middle of the argument, he went crazy. He yelled at me, using some harsh words. (--) And then this went so far, that he stormed out. Therefore, he more often runs away in the middle of an argument, then sits himself down somewhere or other and sulks. Then he expects me to come back, that I should go over and console him or something. This was always his trick. Then I go down, but I can't find him. This was around 10 o'clock at night. I searched everywhere. A half an hour went by, then there really wasn't anything left for me to do, now I have to phone the parents and tell them what's happening. After an hour, I'm still searching everywhere, I've looked high and low, in the whole neighborhood. I had the mistaken notion, I'd let him walk out (--) instead of, when it, in as far as, putting him in the car and bringing him home, because I thought, he'll just sit down somewhere and sulk. Yeah, yeah, and then I made the call. The mother: 'We know, he's already here, he was brought home by strangers.' This was a bad sign. But things were still going fairly smoothly. This ended with the parents telling him: [206] 'Yeah, we don't want this any more, for Robin to come over, you only quarrel with him anyway,' thinks the mother, which really isn't right (-), and then the relationship was ended, in the span of a single day, by the parents." (Robin: 15-16/235-263)

The social occasion for the separation is an argument, which is not able to be kept under control over the course of the man's engagement, and is thus thrown into upheaval. With the boy not reacting to the argument as was expected, namely, storming out, "sulking," and awaiting the man's consolation, but instead being brought home by "strangers," the whole situation boils over. The boy's parents put an abrupt end to the relationship, "in the span of a single day." The cause of the frame faultline lay in the fact that the expectational certainty as to how the boy will respond to arguments no longer obtains. The otherwise customary ritual of 'reconciliation' can no longer be used, because the boy has abandoned the relied-upon interpretive frame. Though the man still has, in the back of his mind, some further rules regarding how he actually should have proceeded ("Putting him in the car and bringing him home") in order to minimize the possible consequences of the argument and keep it under control, his expressive control slips away from him ("mistaken notion"), and he underestimates the incident's impact. He wants to correct his mistake, whereby he tries to explain things to the boy's parents. However a corrective exchange can no longer be brought about, because the parents are no longer open to his explanations.

## [207] Summary

In this study, an attempt was made to analyze pedophilic men's self-described reality within the rubric of Goffman's interactional order. The aim was to represent the up-until-now unknown interactional course between man and boy. The study concerned itself exclusively with extra-familial, manifestly non-violent sexual contacts; it was gender-specifically focused on the man-boy interaction. Laid out as a descriptive exploration, it was intended to find out 'what goes on' when man and boy meet. For this purpose, forty intensive interviews were conducted. It was presumed that the interviewees would be able to report on their experiences with boys under fourteen years of age. The interviewed men belong to various age groups and social milieus. This was a 'dark number' study. In order to learn more about previously unknown interactions, priority was given to studying contacts which were not the subject either of criminal proceedings or psychiatric practice. In the conversations the interviewees gave accounts, above all, of the becoming-acquainted process, the day-to-day, the sex, and the dissolution of a pedophilic friendship or encounter.

The described interactions were compiled with a particular eye to the fragility of interactions, thereby requiring the establishment of a system of 'classification.' The empirical application of Goffman's interactional order made it possible to render the interactional events between man and boy understandable. But in order to do this, it appeared necessary to first reconstruct the interactional order. Proceeding based on the primary context of frame analysis, this author's extant publications were expounded upon, [208] thereby furnishing a conceptual schema under which the various phases and areas of pedophilic interaction could be interpreted in a consistent way. This model is based on the notion that an expectation-oriented (frame), rule-guided (ritual), and goal-defined (dramaturgy) assessment of the situation allows the interaction to be constructed in such a way as to grant the highest possible degree of act-security. In these ways, uncertainty is reduced and order is brought to the interactions.

The interviewees' clear interest in establishing a relationship with a boy led to detailed accounts of the act-course. From them emerged a picture of the interactional structures, which explains how, despite the heterogeneity of the act-contributors and the huge gradient between man and boy, an interaction is in fact able to arise. The central question reads: By means of which frame, ritualization, and frame-processes is an interaction established, and moreover, how are uncertainties and unclarities overcome?

A hallmark of these processes is careful action on the pedophilic man's part, in the course of which he is constantly reassuring himself vis-à-vis the boy's expected and actual actions and reactions. Pre-existing frames provide an initial orientation to the situation. The provisional expectational certainty is enhanced through ritual, which announces how the framed events are to be staged in an adequate and rule-guided manner. Furthermore, one's own goal-ideas are incorporated into the frame-process. The available rituals and one's own dramaturgy must be



harmonized with one another. To a certain extent then, via recursive conclusion, the provisional frame is referenced and checked to see whether it is suitable and functional. Accordingly, primary frames and transformations of the primary frames are selected -- above all modulations and fabrications -- which are particularly suitable for Goffman's analysis. The manifold transformations are not to be regarded as exceptions, peculiarities, accidents, or moral violations of the interaction, but instead represent the interaction's rule-structure. Nevertheless in the selection of the frame, in spite of ritualistic and dramaturgical checking, [209] difficulties and faultlines can arise. A corrective exchange, in which a renewed ritual and a dramaturgical performance can be combined, may be able to resolve the problem. The fabrications set forth by Goffman are regarded, in this study, as foils for the common assumption that it could only be due to 'deceit' that the pedosexual is able to achieve violence-free success with a child. This study came to the conclusion that the interactions described by the interview partners are not based on 'deception.' It is, rather, that through the actors' 'modulative dexterity,' several concurrent realities are able to be made consistent with one another.

In the following are some remarks on course- and action-areas:

#### Contact Frames

In part, man and boy meet one another without the benefit of particular "key situations." In the primary frame, well-placed greetings, requests for information, questions, and glances scarcely need refer to pre-existing meanings. The rituals of the primary frame alone propel events forward, for rule-customs furnish the more or less expectation-secure orientation that a greeting will be returned, a request for information will be granted, a question will be answered, and a glance will be reciprocated. These ritual announcements mark a change in the degree of accessibility; they turn the non-centered interaction into a centered one. At the same time, the pedophilic man can still behave in a way that is, for the most part, distanced, covered, and reserved. These opening conventions of an encounter of course still do not generate any dramaturgy, i.e., goal-security with regard to continuing the interaction. It is merely a prerequisite for it. In order to keep things going, modulations are extraordinarily important in the pedophilic act-course. They only produce an 'identity suspension,' which turns co-present actors into 'interactional partners.'

How are motivations which make the contact more intensive brought about? One central conclusion, which can safely be relied upon, is that it is not the pedophilic man but rather the boy who furnishes the frame within which the interaction takes place. The supplied frame is [210] picked up by the man and expanded into additional layers. In addition to that the man must represent himself in his role, for he is challenged to construct an event, a social occasion with which he gets 'taken up' into the frame. Therefore, a successful modulation is contingent upon the successful construction of a dramaturgy: The role suited to the modulative frame at the time must be understood; the scenery, the façade, and the props have to be in harmony. Some modulations, and how they find application, should be mentioned at this juncture by way of example: the play-frame in the swimming pool, when one imitates a

helicopter take-off in the water; the competition-frame, when one, with table tennis, attains a greater depth of contact via the rule "the winner stays in"; the ceremony of reading to someone, when one presents "scary stories" every evening at bedtime; demonstrations which, outside of their functional context, provide insight into an event, when one shows how to "make a fire." It bears repeating that not every one of these scenes is suitable for every pedophile; likewise, that one must master the transformational power of the to/at issue, which eases the transition to the centered interaction and supplies the horizon of understanding for 'what is going on.' If the pedophilic man is in the position of being able to take up the given frame and, through his dramaturgy, further frame it, the interaction is turned into a confirmatory exchange. Moreover it becomes clear, in the narratives, just how significant accessibility rituals are in such situations. They signal sympathy towards and interest in the boy, because one draws near to his reality. This has the consequence, in turn, that the boy finds the man interesting. These are the ways in which contact comes about; in renewed encounters, the modules function as maintenance rituals. You get together once again, or agree to do so at such-and-such time; the contact and interaction continue. The module serves, then, as a way of celebrating and animating what has already been experienced.

Some interviewees underscore the fact that to them, in the getting-acquainted situation, it all comes down to assessing whether the boy 'suits' them. That is, according to the information they provide, it would not make any sense to establish a contact which threatens to become problematic [211] because, for example, interests are too divergent, or, the boy exhibits characteristics which the man would have a hard time dealing with (e.g., the 'too quiet' or 'too hyper' boy). Potential frame-difficulties might, therefore, arise all too quickly when, for example, the boy challenges the man's accessibility too strongly, and thus feels himself to have been misunderstood. Frame faultlines occur in contact-initiating situations when the man reveals himself to the boy as a 'pedo' and makes a confession about himself. Then the response is one of embarrassment, such that a calm continuation of the interaction is no longer guaranteed. What is clear is that it is predominantly the adult, building on boys' pre-existing frame, who initiates contact. Promises, persuasion, and presents are, admittedly, not necessary for this purpose, and are rejected by the interviewees as a means to that end. Moreover, sex does not yet play a role at this juncture.

### Everyday Frames

The interviewed men report that in repeated encounters, a great deal of time is spent together. Activities along the lines of innocent, everyday tasks create a frame within which boys become better acquainted with their 'manner' and attitudes. Likewise, it bears emphasizing here that the pedophilic man sticks to the boy's pre-existing frame. Within the primary frame are localized, above all, the many conversations which the boy wishes to conduct with the older person, since he has ascertained that he -- particularly with his school problems and his problems at home -- can trust the adult, and can expect a posture of helpfulness from him. Seemingly more important than the actual content of the exchange is the talking with another person itself, as an

experience of mutual reference and common action. Furthermore, day-to-day necessities such as house- and school-work, as well as certain common hobbies, are central to the everyday frame. Because of the routine of ever-recurring requests on the boy's part, the question as to which occasion-appropriate primary engagement must be made in the encounters is a foreseeable one. Expectational security is, thereby, established. At the same time, the regularities [212] of this frame serve as a maintenance ritual for the making of new 'dates' over and over again. The get-togethers thereby attain continuity and stability; a measure of day-to-day normality is achieved. One is able to look back upon some commonalities, and make mutual reference to them. Recourse to communicative things that have worked in the encounter thereby becomes possible. Certainly a prerequisite for these day-to-day get-togethers being imbued with expectational security and regularity is for the adult to be able to adapt himself, in his dramaturgical organization, to these frames; this would mean expressions of reassurance and a posture of helpfulness vis-à-vis the boy's problems, or the ability to keep generating ever-new projection surfaces; again, a common hobby would be attractive in this vein.

Besides the primary frame-setting, day-to-day events are determined primarily via modulations. They are applied when it is a question of adding a certain 'wrinkle' to day-to-day events. Above all, cheerful and exciting activities are reported in connection with this. For example, conversations such as asking about the adult's childhood get turned into a playful event. Something different from the usual is going on here, and the conversation, heretofore easy and delightful, has some moments of suspense, which constitute the incentive for being together. The man also binds himself to the boy's frame here, adding additional layers to it; this occurs, likewise, in the large amount of shared role-playing, which modulates reality. This 'play pretend' module makes it possible, to some extent, to be able to steer an encounter towards secure expectations, for the hallmark of 'fantasies and role-playing' is that various options are able to be kept open for the course of play. This of course requires 'play-competency,' an ability to engage in dramatic formation, in order to be able to change the modulative frame based on one's own ideas, but also based on the ideas of the boy, within the 'play.' Furthermore, a certain rule-directed, accessibility-ritual-bound way of playing is required on the man's part, [213] so that the boy does not exit the 'play.' Therefore, he frequently takes on an expository role; that is, the boy's desires take priority. At the same time, a non-hierarchical role-relationship is often striven for; the man shows that he is 'like' the boy. This presupposes that the adult is in a position to be able to see him as an adult person, who is devoted to him in particular ways. Otherwise, the thereby-signalled accessibility ritual would overshoot itself, and the interaction would be put at risk. The interviewed men evince an extraordinary ability to shift themselves in these modulations. In addition to fantasy- and role-playing, day-to-day life between man and boy is characterized by exciting experiences, thrill-events. Here, through modulative expansions, actions take on a new light. By the same token, unusual outings offer a certain kind of thrill-effect, for example, when one goes into a mining museum on a discovery outing; there, experiments and tests are possible under conditions in which



actual contact with the world is walled off. Frame difficulties crop up in everyday situations when, for one, the pedophilic man is not successful in getting involved in the boy's own interests. Men are then unable to develop any dramaturgy, and are unclear as to whether they are even supposed to enter into the 'child's level.' It turns out to be difficult for them, despite their being enthusiastic to be with a boy, to distance themselves from their adult role. Frame faultlines can even arise, when the man does not manage 'to be in the game' with a boy, and it appears to be too embarrassing for him, for example, to join in making certain play-related 'noises.' But certainly, only a few interviewees in this study had problems along these lines.

### Sexuality Frames

In laying the groundwork for sex, the pedophilic man -- as in no other field of human activity -- needs to have the greatest possible degree of clarity and certainty as to whether anything sexual does or does not 'go'; and if it does, when, where, and how it should take place. Therefore, what is particularly significant here is simply the frame of bodily contact. [214] In the narratives, oftentimes this takes up more space than the sexual events themselves. But this is probably also due, among other things, to the fact that it is through the sexual paving-the-way itself that some degree of one's erotic needs are already able to be met. In part the man contents himself with being fulfilled in this way; in part, out of caution, he is unable to go any further. Expectational security is, with regard to the laying of the groundwork, established predominantly through modulations. The primary frame finds application only in those encounters which are classified as 'secure,' have already lasted for a longer period of time, or even have only occurred one time. The following are regarded as reliable signs that sexual contact is a possibility: the boy repeatedly spending the night with the man; no sense of unease vis-a-vis the nude body (for example, when they have already seen one another unclothed in the shower or in the bathtub several times now); and knowing that the boy is sexually 'uninhibited' (meaning, when he has, for example, already talked about his own masturbation experiences). If these prerequisites are met, sexual contact could occur during the next sleep-over, which admittedly requires one to repeatedly make sure of various things well in advance. What must be clarified are -- in Goffmanesque terminology -- territorial questions relating to the self. It is a question of where to sleep, of the "box" -- together in one bed, or separately; and furthermore, how to sleep, of the "covering" -- clothed or unclothed; and finally, whether the boy 'cuddles' or not, whether or not he approaches the man's "personal space." Moreover if the boy evinces clear genital arousal, one may be sure that one can initiate sexual activities. According to the information provided by the men interviewed, this is predominantly linked to mutual stroking and masturbation. Once relationships have continued on for a longer period of time, oral-genital contact by the man, upon the boy, becomes an additional sexual practice. Indeed, the boys are happy to allow themselves to be stimulated, though they themselves usually remain passive. In one-time contacts, the boy's desire for sexual activity must be made very explicit. The signals have to be unequivocal and unmistakable. For example, one interviewee reports that, following a slow approach at a swimming pool, the boy touched the palm of the man's hand under water with his erection. [215]

However, one-time encounters, and encounters of this nature, constitute the exception. On the contrary, pedophilic men want longer-term relationships, in which the sexual contact obviously comes about only through modulations.

Physical contact and sexual goings-on are modulatively tied-together: affectionately-tinged 'playing pretend,' sleeping-place assignment ceremonies, educational books, which function as documentation modules, and suggested demonstrational modules of solo-sexual activity as well as possibilities for carrying out special performances form frames within which further events are harmonized. If the boy responds positively to the framing of the situation, the expectational orientation is assured through additional modulative layers. At the same time, things are slowly turned in the direction of actual sexual activity. Rarely is this the central object of the interaction; rather, what stands at the focus is the modulative arrangement. Observing and touching are integral components of the module; they are part of the frame, the ceremony, or the special performance. Moreover the sexual activity becomes more evident when the boy himself becomes sexually active, and signals his need to explore things along the lines of discovery. This is particularly the case in the experimentation and testing frame. To a certain extent, when given some latitude or breathing room, the boy is able to gather experiences under conditions which are shorn of their customary contexts. Mutual masturbation, partly or even only demonstrated by the man, constitutes the sexual practices. In order to pull the modulations off, it is important that the pedophilic man proceed in a rule-directed manner, and achieve a confirmatory exchange. Because the reference frame for pedophilic events mainly encompasses playful on up to training-oriented aspects, the man must be able to deal with the implicit rule-assumption that actions in the course of play and practice are, oftentimes, neither precise and constant, nor are they completely carried out. Sometimes an act-course is begun, but is also immediately broken off, started over, or briefly interrupted. This demands great, accessibility-ritual-facilitating skill; in this way, the frame is able to set the course of the boy's engagement.

[216] In their dramaturgical formation, a high degree of discipline is demanded of pedophiles. Even when more spontaneous action is required of him, he must remain flexible, in order to be able to overcome any possible problems. A goal-determined assessment of the situation always demands this ability to control oneself. Frame difficulties and frame faultlines arise, then, whenever these implicit rules, and dramaturgical self-control, are not adhered to. Then the interviewed pedophilic men proceed in a way that is 'too fast,' 'too slow,' 'too risky,' or even, 'too obvious.' A situation-appropriate engagement, which produces a certain degree of harmony and activity within the frame, is then unable to be entered into.

### Separation Frames

Pedophilic men know about the inevitability of the dissolution of their relationships. An anticipatory frame of chronological limitedness is, therefore, also predominantly undertaken within a primary frame, dispensing with any sorts of transformations. In terms of the separation, the interviewed men shift to expectationally-secure frames.

Self-imposed obligations, which are tied into rituals, indicate the nature and ways in which one separates oneself. For one, the pedophilic man holds himself to the commitment that it is the boy who makes the decision about the end of the relationship; for another, he sees himself as being 'required' to not lose his expressive control. One does not try to hold on to the relationship against the boy's will. The expectation-oriented frame is, therefore, tied into rituals which demand a certain dramaturgy. In a separation event of this kind, one has the certainty that going one's separate ways will be ratified in a confirmatory exchange, and no unexpected incidents will arise.

Many interviewees describe the separation as a slow process. Certain signs on the boy's part allude to it. The boy establishes other priorities (peer group, the first girlfriend); continuity and reliability in the relationship are left behind. Nevertheless, friendship-based contacts do, oftentimes, continue on. Moreover sexual contacts can [217] resume once more, if one feels like it, even though the 'boy' has now reached an age at which the 'pedophilic attraction' has actually worn off. Obviously there is no fixed age-limit that determines the end of a pedophilic friendship. Many interviewees see in the friendship-oriented connection a clear manifestation of sympathy, for the continued contact gives occasion to the interpretation that the get-togethers cannot be interpreted as an aversion to and a slight towards who they are as people. Quite the contrary, the greater the ease of ingress and egress, the more the persistence -- now and then even including 'follow-up contact' -- is understood as interest in one's own person. Moreover, the interviewed men emphasize the fact that the boys have developed into "entirely normal heterosexual men." Frame difficulties show up only with a few interviewees, who have problems with the upheaval phase because they have a sense of unclarity and uncertainty as to whether or not the boy now wishes to separate. The in part ambivalent posture of the boy causes difficulties for them. No suitable interpretive frame is able to be found for the detachment process. Frame faultlines crop up when the pedophilic man, due to a lack of dramaturgical discipline and care, finds no suitable frame for his encounter, and either suddenly detaches himself or gets himself into a dangerous situation, which is often associated with the relationship's dissolution. Admittedly, only a few interview partners are able to report such cases. To the contrary: At the end of the interview there was, oftentimes, even an offer to be able to conduct an interview with the man's 'former boy.'

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1-22.



## TRANSLATOR'S NOTES:

Astute readers may notice that there is some overlap between the materials in this book and those in the Lautmann translation. This is because these two books are based on the same data set, comprised of interviews of forty boy-attracted pedophilic men. (Lautmann also includes a number of girl-attracted men.)

In the present work (Hoffman), 34 discrete names are listed in association with the numerous interview sections quoted. (Therefore, six of the boy-attracted men appear not to have been quoted in this book.) Although, as the author states, these names are in fact pseudonyms, each one (for example, "Andreas") does appear to refer to one specific person. Now, seven of the persons who were quoted were cited just one time (Christian, Jörg, Maximillian, Philipp, Werner, and Karsten); the remaining 28 were cited two or more times. Making a list of the pages that each of these persons appear on, I then compared each of the quotes relating to that one person with each other. I found that by doing so, a more complete picture was able to emerge of who these men are. Therefore, I thought it would be a good idea to go ahead and gather each of these men's quotes together, so that the reader might also be able to get a richer sense of who these men are:

### Andreas

"Because I was just someone who he had gotten to know at the youth hostel. As of Monday, then, I was on semester recess, and had checked myself into the youth hostel, and moreover had -- which I was actually quite happy to do -- various books that can be read aloud, and they were part of a class which was on a field trip. And somehow or other I had gotten to know a couple of people, that was in the afternoon, and then I'd said: 'If you feel like it, I could even read a scary story or something to you at bedtime, if your chaperons don't mind.' And that was okay with them. And so then, every night, I just read some stories aloud to him. And then we just also like, we have the afternoon free, and should do something together, when I have the time and so on. And then he very enthusiastically writes home to his mother, you, I have met someone, can't he come with us on vacation sometime, and so on. Well certainly, and then, that actually happens quite quickly. And so I met him at Easter time, and then at Pentecost I was there, and in the summer he is away with me for two weeks." (pg. 104)

"One is able to notice, for example, with people who've just come up to me, yeah just, how they react to the subject of sexuality. Among them are some boys who, yeah, I would say, conditioned by the insulated atmosphere that they come from, that sexuality is a relatively difficult matter, where one really doesn't talk about it. And I think, I have for example a few educational books lying around here, and which then get thumbed through, which then just provoke questions about the issue. Or of course right away they've, when they've seen that I have a video here, they've always asked, um, do you have, might you possibly have pornos or so forth, and could we take a look at them? And (-) yeah, I don't make a big secret of it. I do have them, and if they want to see them, and so we have an entire afternoon, where we've played monopoly

here, put a porno on in the background...Of course it is my hope that somehow or other I would break through; but still, the inhibitions are strong. And so I simply try to foster an atmosphere among ourselves such that, at some point or another, they'll just trust themselves to do whatever they feel like doing at the moment. It hasn't happened yet, but this just takes time." (pg. 160)

"At one point I think, now it is slowly coming to an end; formerly I'd visited him pretty often, and he used to call me a lot, and I was over there quite often; but then I simply notice that we're growing apart more and more. The things that are important to him are not important to me, like, for example, discos and girls or his clique, which is now going in the direction of a rocker clique, where I am really not very into that. And then I just notice, that there's not much coming out from him; consequently, he had already said that this year, he wanted to vacation with someone else, no longer with me, or I just notice, when letters from me practically remain unanswered, when at Christmas, nothing comes. I just notice, the interest wanes." (pg. 189)

### Armin

"Yeah, the conventional routes were actually ruled out; earlier it was even tested out quite normally, with notices at the school, in the newspaper, in the newspaper or through, through working with teachers and such. But this led nowhere, and then I, I just had a handbill printed up, had it reproduced, and then I was on the hunt (laughs), that is, I just planted myself where school let out, waded through the throng, and then I just distributed the handbills, and indeed, in such a way that it looked -- to the outside -- as if each person were receiving the handbill quite by chance. Yes, right, and yet, in truth, there was, of course, already a selection being made. And then, once I'd given out a handbill I usually tried to, to strike up a conversation. However that was heavily dependent on how I felt at a given moment; it took perhaps a couple of days, since I was afraid even to speak to anyone, and sometimes, I would then go up to somebody quite brazenly, who was walking towards me, and say: 'You, hello, I'd like to have you in my group'." (pg. 108)

"It began, yeah, it started off with us arranging ourselves in a circle, singing a song, saying a few words about where we were going, and at that point we usually headed out, either to some park or another, in order to let off a little steam, play, or go tree-climbing, or, to some old fort or something. Then we come back here, and so there are a couple of building blocks, around which more and more group lessons take place. Not every, but several building blocks, such as perhaps building things, making drinking cups out of bamboo, like the ones that are sitting right back there, or we learn and sing songs, yeah, discuss current events, which now would be the gulf war or perhaps even the question of sex roles. We concern ourselves, therefore, with practical knowledge, what one needs as a boy scout, beginning with classic knots on up to ecologically conscious behavior in nature. (-) And then we are also concerned with cultural themes, yeah, because at the end of every scavenger hunt there's a cozier part, where we sit and eat supper together, where each of the boys always brings something along as a

small contribution to the meal. Usually I have to contribute the lion's share, but that's okay. We eat together and talk at the same time. Or read something aloud, plan our next trip. And so this usually goes from about five in the afternoon until 8:00, 8:30 in the evening." (pg. 134)

"Oh yes, it was a load of fun, yeah. This boy had, it was Sunday, late morning, I was still in bed, because I had only gone to bed at three o'clock that morning. And he had a key to my place. And, so you see, I have to tell you, that he had already come over a couple of times on Sundays. He always gets up very early, comes over here and makes breakfast. Then we do something together, which is also why he has a key. And so here he comes again, and he climbs right into bed with me. And, oh yeah, so first of all he sits down and chats with me, and there's also a little cuddling. And I myself am laying there, as I always do, naked in bed. And then he just started to tell me a little about sex talks in his classes. And then he also kept making a point of the fact that he had the feeling that his own penis was growing and that he was also entering puberty, which was probably not yet the case. But he had, nevertheless, said this, and therefore has, again and again, steered the conversation towards this subject, and at some point or other got to talking about nudity. Then he says, yeah, I really don't think it would be bad at all to be naked, one would feel a lot freer, only, of course he couldn't do it at home. I say: 'Now please, you can, indeed, do it here,' and then he immediately took the opportunity to remove his jacket, or to give himself a little more freedom. And then he thinks, oh, it would actually be nicer to be stroked, and so then he undressed even further. And (-) then he says, yeah, he would, he had sometimes thought, it was nice, when he would stroke his penis himself. And so consequently it remained unspoken, so I, at any rate, felt that, what he was really asking was, can't you do it for me? Right, and then I did, and he even did this to me. And then we just cuddled for a while. And, moreover he kept saying, you could actually keep on doing it for hours, or the entire day, and also that he had never had so much fun -- it was just terrific. Yeah, then the phone rang, the call came, and then it all came to an end." (pg. 169)

## Arne

"Because I have to say, quite honestly, that I am really suffering a great deal, and I am feeling my years, the years are definitely flying by. And now I've already gone six years, without an encounter. And he has even told me, he says: 'Arne, that's just too long. That's too long. And so for a year, perhaps even two years, one can deal with that, but when more than two years go by, that is too long.' And I say: 'What should I do?' I (--) I myself have already wrestled with the question, if there's not some way or another, if one doesn't, over the course of years, that is, years without any encounters at all, that perhaps one eventually just stops noticing the signals that boys are giving out, and that somehow or other these totally disappear from one's field of vision." (pg. 114)

"Of course you can, you can cuddle with him a bit at that point, and so forth. But then when I, when one, so at one point I had, when I wanted to test the waters, wanted to know once and for all, how far one could



go, so where, there also comes a point, where he says, cut it out, or whatever. One time I tried, a little bit in his private area there, to explore around there a bit with my hand. He brushed my hand away (-), then he said: 'I've already told you, that there, that it's no-go.' And then I said: 'My dear, I apologize, (laughs), of course what I meant, I should have gone somewhere else.' Then I said, I say: 'I apologize, I apologize, my dear, of course I hadn't intended to do that.' But (-). 'Yeah, yeah, I already know,' he said, 'you just wanted to test out whether that was okay.' And then I said: 'Well now, I certainly would like to try this out, of course I wanted to see, whether perhaps, perhaps you might have changed your mind in the meantime,' or something along those lines. 'No,' he says, 'I haven't.' (-)" (pg. 181)

### Christoph

"To this extent, it came about because with many boys, it is either their wish -- when of course one is also staying overnight -- to also stake out their sleeping area close to me and lie next to me, or, [158] I, of my own accord, also have a desire that the boy lie next to me, or me next to him, and I've asked him to. This was certainly only the case at the beginning. Later on it was no longer necessary for me to ask him, do you feel like laying down with me, or close by me, or next to me, or something along those lines...Therefore, it's not like: Do you want to sleep with me, which then means: Do you want to sleep with me (laughs), but rather it means, first of all, do you know yet where you're going to be; anyway, of course you could lay right here, being very nonchalant now, and so quite innocently. But of course this does not automatically mean -- it is not compulsory for every boy who lays next to me to have sex with me; this is not inevitable. But this is, as a rule, how it turns out. Actually, what usually happens is that the boy asks me, Christoph, where are you going to be? I'll lay next to you, or is there even room? Slide over a little -- I want to be by you. That was typical. There were also a few cases where I myself took the initiative; but usually it was the other way around...And then what basically happens, which even takes place in the daytime, is that one just takes him by the arm, caressing and stroking him a bit. And then it is merely a question of gradual stroking, I would say; in that way, from stroking, a sexual relationship develops. And so then this also plays itself out, one even strokes, one does it not just above the waistline, but strokes even lower. Occasionally the boy initiates this, but usually, I must admit, I am the one who seizes the initiative and takes this next step. Certainly not with those boys who reject it; but it is either accepted with good-humored toleration, which is also relatively rare, or it is received very positively, and is even reciprocated by the boy." (pg. 157)

"Because I'm reminded of one time, where of course, somehow or other it ended very tragically, or unpleasantly. A boy, who was together with me from nine years of age on, who was then 14, 15. In the meantime, his successor had approached me personally. He was 11, I was with him constantly, and despite this older friends's willingness, to practically bow out for the benefit of the younger one, he, the older boy, had not managed to actually do so, because of course he was still hanging on to

me. And then there were, consequently, serious problems. Problems of the sort, that he was even obstinant and aggressive, and yes, was constantly arguing with me and the group. And then he had even, somehow or other, yeah, more or less left the group in disappointment when he was 15, 16 years old. And I think, the young man had, in the meantime, gotten married. Years later we worked everything out through conversations and so forth, where, in and of itself, an intense, human relationship then grew out of that. The sexual relationship was, for him, then, also long-since past. But at that time he still told me, how hard and bitter it had been for him at the time, because he, even as a 15-, 16-year-old, still loved me, improbable as that was. But I was just no longer in a position to be able to reciprocate this relationship." (pg. 201)

**Daniel**

"Yeah, we have, for example, even set up a beekeeping operation together. And this was also a lot of fun for him. This was, I had indeed [126] started this entirely from scratch, without, without really knowing anything about how to go about it; usually, someone only becomes a beekeeper when he takes it over from his father, at a point in his life when he has a great deal of energy. Consequently, whenever I was wanting, (-) to throw in the towel, and it became too much for me and so on, he would still urge me on, and by the same token, whenever he would get stung or whatever, although this is really painful for him, he still doesn't give up, because this is something that is his, and so, we've just done a lot of things together." (pg. 125)

"Because we'd just picked up some stuff for a sort of picnic, and then we, then he purchased it. And he's practically bought everything but the [133] kitchen sink, (laughs) chips and a whole mess of stuff. And somehow or other, when we are at the lake and had just started to have something to eat, and had barely had a bit yet, and then he made this creation. He fashioned it on top of this kind of rock, where he dumped some chips, yogurt, and everything together, pouring cola on it thereafter, and it was then, I don't know, what do you call it, some kind of dish, which he could then offer to McDonald's as a worldwide top-seller, and then we sunk it or whatever. And really had also made things, which I actually had no part in, and so, wasting grocery items and so on, well yes, right, but it wasn't polluting per se, yeah, so we've just made and done things together, with a lot happening." (pg. 132)

**David**

"Yeah, so at any rate I will play, almost always quite gladly. I, I am an old gamesman, and there are some party games which I prefer to start out with, for example 'the funhouse,' on up to games in which one can really engage them, and consequently in which I gladly get into the bathtub for example, even right away, as I've already mentioned previously, motorboat, play motorboat, or play helicopter. This is, of course, also lusty because, in playing helicopter, he must therefore lay down low in the water, and so then I grasp him between the legs, reach up through and hold his chest, place one of his legs to my left, the

other to my right, then I go under, so that we are once again on the same level, completely shift him towards me, so that his bottom is right here, and then I again go up over the water and, and hold him so, and he has to be stretched out like this, since his legs are at my shoulders, and I hold him like this, And then I rotate my own body, yeah, I rotate myself on my axis, and this produces huge squeals, because of course the water rattles him when he splashes it along the waves with his hand, so that it skips along, just like water-skiing. It is an awful lot of fun, and above all else they very quickly become very dizzy. And then one lets them into the water again, uh huh, then of course one must again mother them a bit, so that they, so that they can regain their balance. This is, consequently, a very rewarding game. Moreover one can, thereby, start up a nice motor. And so when, when it is on the surface, then brrrrrrr, then one can thus blow right into his bottom, [100] yeah, blow right into there, brrrrrm, and then they let loose with a squeal, yeeeeeee, and then, terrific game. And so playing helicopter is just fantastic." (pg. 99)

"I believe that the touching came about, the, quite early on in the swimming pool, where he, thus for example, he clung to me, on my back, therefore with his arms wrapped around my stomach, and so he was on my back, and so was just sort of lying there right, right in my butt crack. And I, for my part, will also play the motorboat game, because, because, when one, therefore the, the, grasps the boy like this, one has him in front of himself, and the leg-, the one leg to the left, the other leg to the right, with one hand, holding the chest and the other right in the nape of the pelvic area. And then it's, right, because children's bodies aren't very wide, and I have a very long finger, (laughs) so consequently my finger is soon in close to the penis. And then I also have noticed that this was the case, and he is also enjoying this immensely, and so therefore he wanted to play motorboat over and over again and, and keep playing motorboat, changing directions as much as possible. And with all kinds of accelerations and, and braking and banking once again, and of course each time he wanted to be stimulated a little there, and so forth. Therefore our encounters in the swimming pool were very quick. And then he was able to spend the night here for the first time, what was it like then? That was an absolute circus. (-- ) Since I'd offered to let him stay here for the entire weekend, to spend the weekend here. ... Right, right, and then he was there, and so then, and so then, that entire first night, we got no sleep at all. So he constantly had the flashlight with him, under the bedspread, and consequently he explored me, all over. He wanted to know everything about me, and, and, and where was I, and had shined the light on every orifice, and this was madly lustful. It was insanely lustful. And so this curiosity about and towards, therefore, towards me.

Q: Did you also have an erect penis?

Yes, yes, yes. This totally turned me on.

Q: He also touched it and brought that about properly?

Yeah, did he properly, in that sense, no; rather, he had only done so in the sense of discovery, therefore he wanted to know, what is this like then, and, aha, skin in the back or, or in front, and, ah, isn't it a bit, aha, then this also had, indeed, already been digested. And then came the next thing, and so on. And then he very quickly wanted me to also touch him in such-an-such way. But exactly how things transpired



at that point, chronologically, that I no longer remember, because of course he's been over here many times since then, and I can only say where we last left it. What ultimately transpired was that his interest in me, following these initial discoveries, was, [162] like, zero; however, he was always wanting me to do something to him, and so he wanted to just lie there, and when I then finally said, yeah, good night and, and had turned myself around, okay, when are you going to start something? He was being downright demanding, yeah, start something? Yeah, just suck or whatever. Then I said: 'Right, so I'm hearing, I think if, if, if, isn't it the case, that now I'm just some sort of sucking machine or something'; but there also has to be some sort of turn-on for me; consequently, when, then when, and at that point, more often than not, I don't even do anything, nothing at all, because nothing is coming from his end." (pg. 161)

"Today he's thirty years old, is a father and is, we are still affectionate with one another. Anyhow we of course have nothing, we wouldn't even be able to start anything major in bed. He is quite normal, a normal hetero. Women suit him. But as for, I am the only man, whom he could and wants to give a kiss to. He has, he even says, otherwise I have no, no man, no man is really attractive to me, but with you it's different. Then, somehow or another I have feelings of affection or whatever. What that says to me, is that he's a thirty-year-old hetero." (pg. 196)

## Dieter

"And so great adventures, day-trips, or even just going swimming for an entire day, I'd actually never done things like that with him. We've actually, our relationship was really just driven by the level of conversation, such that he just came over when there were problems, when something was bothering him and so on, he'd had some kind [122] of trouble at school, or something of that nature. And then I'd just tell him what he could and should do about it. That he was pretty much just between a rock and a hard place, and I simply told him how he could also carefully defend himself, who he should get into it with in a particular case, and things of that nature." (pg. 121)

"And then simply just, (-) yeah the, the (-) really strong rejection of physicality. Actually, now it's not even a matter of whether I'm going to live out my sexuality; for me this is still, still completely on the back-burner. But when I do have a young friend, I would also like to take him by the arm and things of that nature (-) or stroke his head, etc. But whenever, at some point or other, one sits next to me, though I have explained to him how it is with me, he still asks all sorts of questions and so forth. So then you have this long, drawn-out discussion about it. It is not as if I do all the talking or something, so based on the motto, eh, of course I wouldn't have thought that about you, but of course he has also asked questions and so on, how that works and, and why, and things like that. Consequently, one has already openly discussed it at that point, And then just, nevertheless, the next thing he says is, no, just stop grabbing me. Because somehow or other I've always thought, there are just like two things in his head, which he hasn't put together, and which he also does not want to put

together anyhow. That somehow or other he thinks, Dieter is a really good guy, who I can shoot the breeze with, and when I have problems, then we can even work them out together, but of course, he is gay." (pg. 182)

"Now of course, the last time, (-) therefore with my previous friend, we had also been together for exactly three years. And then when the break-up came, it was actually on pretty bad terms. Consequently, it is not automatically the case, that things are on this kind of harmonious level, that he would now have a girlfriend, and now just [199] seeks a new way of life with her, but rather, this is, somehow or other, so (--), yeah, you simply no longer see one another, or see each other less. Therefore, and this is just a bit frustrating, that now you actually have to disconnect emotionally, or down-shift, and just, you're obliged to re-think things a bit, how things are going, what is going on. And (-) perhaps you ask yourself, whether you might meet someone new and so forth. And this is, with me at the moment, just, something of an upheaval phase. That consequently I, this is not automatically becoming clear, even partially." (pg. 198)

### Dirk

"And so right from the get-go, right away I told him, what the deal was. And he just took it all in. Consequently, a pretty long time went by before something got going." (pg. 118)

"So yeah, then I, for example, came up with an idea for something that I could do with boys, even those who live near us, nearby me, in the neighborhood. Yeah, we'd somehow or other met at some point or another, during the time of carnivale, by chance, and then they wanted [134] to just celebrate like there was no tomorrow, yeah. And as I said, at that time I was still living with my old lady. Yeah, then at some point or another they turned up, bringing flowers or candles or tea candles or something like that, which they'd pinched from the church. I laughed so hard that I pissed myself. Bottle of wine and the whole nine yards. Yeah, and then we had a party (laughs). Rolling around, it's nice and dark (laughs). Well then, and this goes on for three days in a row, and in the meantime we do all kinds of shit, and then while rolling around, or at some point or another, they got an idea from a page of a magazine that they'd brought along with them, where the entire erotic spectrum of offers was laid out, and so then they called up a couple, a couple of women and made dates (laughs) and things of that nature, and I of course was just having a great old time." (pg. 133)

"Because, for example, the following scene took place: I was visiting with him again, it was in the middle of winter, I believe, it had even snowed. And he had this telescope, a pretty large one. And by all means, then, he wanted to look at the stars that night, and indeed, it was pitch-black outside. Right, good. We go out to the backyard, and he closes the shutters in front of the door. I thought, what should I do now. So I set the thing up and look through it. I'm looking at the moon, and suddenly I notice that he's giving me a kiss. So therefore, setting the scene so that, yeah, as to guarantee, insofar as possible, where no one would be able to see us. (--). At the same time, I have to

say that he, consequently with this whole area of sexuality, he probably also had difficulties of his own. Even, also not entirely uninhibited. Then too, he was always depending upon such settings-of-the-scene." (pg. 185)

**Fabian**

"Yeah, playing something or other, look around, I'd say once like so; I had, I had actually looked around more, but I'd also done it one time like that; perhaps this had been a bit too embarrassing for me. I don't know what he said at that point, but then I say, once, anytime, whenever I'm really involved in erecting something or other, together with him, and so on, because I've already done part of it, anyhow then he builds a spaceship, and at that point says to me: 'Right, anyhow, now you can build a space capsule,' and so on. Then I put together this space capsule. And then of course this feeling from earlier was already quite strong. But of course then I didn't have confidence in myself as far as the motor noise goes. Because then he probably would have looked at me a little, well now (laughs). Yeah, but anyway this was still a really fun time." (pg. 145)

"And so, at some point or another, it had been established that every night, as she was tucking him into bed, she gave him a massage. And at some point or other I also had caught on to this, and so forth. And so, I'd just casually asked him whether I might not be able to give him a massage. And at that point we were still in the living room. This was, at the same time, also the room where the [166] mother had been sleeping. And at that point he would always put himself to bed, and so on. Then, and I still remember this, he had these read Adidas shorts on, nothing else, and was laying there on his stomach, And so then I massaged his back. And I was already really into it, which is perhaps why I also had a really good sense of being able to connect with him. Yeah, and then at some point or other he turns himself over, and says: 'Right, and now, on the tummy' and so on, as if this were just completely normal for him, and so I massage him here and there, and so forth. And, (-) yeah, I don't even know, then it was just as if it has always been like that, him lying there on his back, and I don't even know (laughs), and somehow or other there was this eye contact, and because of that everything was crystal clear, we understood each other; I don't know how to describe it. At any rate, at that point, I massaged him on the stomach, a sort of rhythmic massage, a certain direction 'round the belly-button, that whole area, all that stuff. This was all very interesting, and so on. And then, the best thing was, he even asked because, somehow or other, he had something different in mind, and so at some point or other my hand is there, with my fingertips in his belly button, with the rest of, the back of my hand just a bit lower, and then at some point or other I also just noticed, that he consequently already had an erection and so on. And then, somehow or other, I even grinned, and then, at some point or another, he even turned a bit red; even so, somehow or other, he still managed to laugh about it. And then, as a joke, I simply asked: 'Right, should I even massage there as well?' Then he just broke out laughing, grinning so, but somehow or other still kept laying there, quite relaxed, or something like that. Not that he had somehow or other been frightened.



And, yeah, so at night, I had merely stroked him like so, anyhow with my hand flat, which he thinks is really terrific. And then, yeah, at some point or other we bid each other good night. And then, somehow or other, it went from top to bottom, and so forth. And then it was still a terrific night. And this was the first time. ... It was then, I don't know when, this was, this was in (-) February, I believe it was. So then I just sat there in bed, all night. And so then I'd massaged his back, and then he turned himself over and so forth, and then, this was somehow or other already a crazy routine, but one which, somehow or other, did not get carried away, but rather was, again and again, something really nice. And then somehow or other (-) he remains there like so (-), and so then he says: 'Yeah, I would also like to stroke you like that.'

Q: He said to you?

I would also like to stroke you like that. And then, yeah, I don't know, somehow or other (laughs) this did happen; I cannot even describe this feeling, since this had just always, somehow or other logically, been the stuff of my dreams. I have always thought, somehow or other, since an awful lot of things would have to go right, or there would have to be a very close bond there, the craziest prerequisites, before anything like that could happen anyway, and moreover, that I would have a totally good feeling and so on. And this was just exactly what happened. And this was really terrific, because somehow or other (-) then, I still remember, somehow or other this was, so I was a little excited and so forth. And then, for this reason, everything has lasted for a bit longer. And then he just, at some point or other he even asks, still quite coyly: 'Yeah, is that still going on? (laughs) And then, because there was also a fair amount of attention being paid to it, and so forth. And that was as far as it went, since he had -- and I of course found this to be rather unromantic -- he had turned the light on, and had to precisely examine everything for himself and so on. And then, somehow or other, he even said something along the lines of: 'Right, I'll put a new t-shirt on for you' and so on. And this was, somehow or other, completely casual. So anyway this was, yeah, like a really big deal for me, just, in my life." (pg. 165)

Frank

"How did the contact come about? So one time I was getting out of the concrete swimming pool that I'd been in. I am inclined, for one thing, if it's just me, when several others are over there, I'll just join in the game. They're playing with the ball in the water, the ball happens to fly over at me, against my stomach, when one is standing in the water, against the stomach or the chest. I hurl it back, and call out: 'Throw the ball over here again; for example, that is a possibility.'" (pg. 101)

"Eleven years old and three months, to be precise. (-) And he's still not much older now, because this wasn't all that long ago. So he really, really liked to be affectionate. Consequently he had, at some point or another I just tried to get him to give me a kiss. And he went for it right away. Then I happily started this game with him, where I went so far as to say: 'I'm gonna get your tongue -- stick it out and I'll bite it off'; then he sticks it out; 'don't worry, I won't hurt you

-- nothing will happen'; I grab his tongue. He goes along with all of it. I stick out my tongue, and he grabs ahold of it. (-) At some point or another I said: 'So, kissing with the mouth slightly open, we can stick out our tongue at the same time,' which we then did. This was really nice. And so in the evening, after all of the children have gone to sleep, and we are in bed, I go to him once again. I sit down on the edge of his bed, or partially even more or less lay there next to him. I push up his t-shirt and stroke his body. He was a little ticklish -- but not unduly so. He liked it, therefore, when I put my mouth on his nipples, and then tickled them with my tongue. He thought that having his nipples licked was terrific. Tickling, just, pleasant tickling, is something that I've done with him frequently, quite frequently even. And so then I have also -- as I said -- done some very obvious petting; at one point or another I looked in his shorts, and pulled them up to see what was under them. And I already noticed that something was stirring in there of its own accord; not always, but frequently. Also, already at that point, already joking around, that is, already having some fun, therefore, which clearly would have included his dick.

Q: What then?

Not through masturbation, that I haven't done, just so as to be sure, to be cautious, because of course to me this was, I don't know.

Q: So then what did you do for fun?

So, now I'm going to cut you right in two, starting from the nose, down to there. And one must cut right down through the middle. Therefore you have to arrange everything just so with your hand. So I have myself (-).

Q: Then you were able to touch as well as look at him.

Right, so something, this was already, later I masturbated him through his pants, until I really noticed that his dick was really hard.

Q: Through the pants, meaning, going into his pants or?

No, outside his pants, on the pants. To go into his pants I would have had to be able to pull them down, which he would have had nothing against. I could even have blown him, which I would have liked a lot better." (pg. 155)

## Fritz

"Yeah, I had been abstinent for years, and I was also on probation, and things were even going well, for approximately a year-and-a-half, when I met this boy, and he acted in a very forward way, and I reacted to it. And so then it happened." (pg. 119)

"I had just met him, and on the very first day, yeah, then it happened, that I invited him to America, because I, I had planned a trip to America and was just, at that point, collecting my thoughts, and then that evening, that same day that I met him, I go with him to his home and say to his parents: 'So now I bring your son home, and so, I've done something really stupid. So, without asking you, I've already invited him to America. He would be disappointed if you did not allow it.' And the father says: 'It's really quite out of the question.'" (pg. 119)

"So then of course I had, at some point during the night, done it just for myself, therefore, thinking about other friends I'd done it with,

but not with him, because of course one cannot, one can't make him masturbate, and also, in such a way that I don't make a big production of it, yet, I don't hide it from him either. It's just a matter of course, like, when I sleep alone, Then I thought, therefore this is something, which would have to be possible, if you're living together. Like of course even when you strip down to take a bath. You'd have to be in the bathtub. And one day I saw that he was masturbating, and so I caught onto that, and then I shoved my hand under the bedspread, and at the same time I helped him out. But he didn't actively concern himself with me; and so, he merely allowed it."

**Harald**

"And then one day he brought a friend along with him. And this friend just sat in the armchair, absolutely silent, and therefore not daring to say anything, and so I'm thinking: 'Oh God, what kind of wallflower do we have here?' But then a couple of days later, the doorbell rings. This same boy is standing there at my doorstep. I say: 'What brings you here, then?' (-) 'Yeah, we wanted to come over and see you.' And I say: 'Where's your friend, then?' (-) 'He'll be over in a minute.' (-) Well, I say: 'Then, come right on in.' And so we're inside, but the friend never shows up. But then this wallflower makes a 180-degree turn, yeah. He was practically making love to me, yes. Where did he learn that from? So, during our first encounter, we really hadn't discussed sex, but at some point the two had talked about it with each other, and now he wanted to try it out. And he was so good at it, it was no problem at all. You can't even imagine. (-) And so, when you really think about it. Yeah, right, he had originally come here, for God's sake, inaccessible to me: 'Consequently, I am an innocent party,' yes, compared with the friend, yeah. But now the friend had told him something, and he was curious, or even interested, and said: 'Oh, yeah, then maybe I have a chance to get involved myself.' And then he came over here, and because the friend wasn't there, who would have given him away, then he was able to get involved, yeah." (pg. 106)

"One day, as I was walking along with a co-worker, I saw how a couple of kids were trying to start a fire. And, well, right, we go over there, and they immediately scatter, because here are these grown-ups coming over, probably to scold them. I say: 'Don't run away, there's no need to be afraid.' They cautiously come back, and I say: 'Is this supposed to be a fire?' and then I just show them the proper way to make a fire. So then, we sat even closer together. My co-worker had to get going. And then it started; and there was a small metal plate in the fire, and when they placed it on top, it started to sizzle. And they thought this was just terrific, and anyhow, I say: 'Well, that didn't do a whole lot -- we'd better piss on it or something.' Yeah, and then he too stands up, right, and just pisses on the plate." (pg. 107)

"Then you go out shopping together. Because in any event, it is very important to me that when he is here and also stays overnight, that we do everything together. Whether it's a matter of going shopping, talking about what we're going to have to eat, or even preparing and then cleaning up after the meal, we do it all together. (-) Ah yes, then he also has to help clean up. He does this willingly. Yes, right, then



he gets assigned some small chores, which he then has to do. (-) And this goes, this he also dopes gladly." (pg. 124)

**Herbert**

"One also gets to know such boys, and naturally the area as well, and so on. And of course there was a certain, how should one put it, a certain impulse, very quickly, relatively quickly to go up to a proper German boy, because at the time I was of [115] the rather naive opinion that all of these boys, who were just sitting around in that area, were just waiting for somebody to come along and pick them up, but of course that was not the case. I am always getting let down by this kind of thing." (pg. 114)

"And so I'll make the case, when we go to the movies; sometimes I'll decide, sometimes he will, because otherwise, I just wouldn't be prepared to be incessantly watching horror films. At one point I said, now look: One time, I will go with you, but then the next time, you will go with me." (pg. 143)

"The upshot of this, is that, I had actually come to the realization, that one should only let oneself get involved with young people in this way, if one is prepared to maintain it, to do it until the boy himself wants to break it off, wants to call it quits. That it is, therefore, very problematic for a twelve- or thirteen-year-old to suddenly be pushed out the door. And when people say, consequently you have now become too old for me, now I can't be with you anymore, perhaps even occasionally, where, for the boy, it is the most important thing, because he's entering puberty, which is now the most critical time, and of course his sexual interests intensify, and to then push him away, because he has the first hairs on his sack and so forth, this, I can honestly say, I do not understand, because I [191] believe, that loving someone, whether we're talking about a boy or whomever, really cannot end with that, or for that reason, because a boy has, somehow or other, gotten a couple of hairs on his sack. Of course one does not love him merely, because he doesn't have any hairs." (pg. 190)

**Karl**

"Therefore it's a Hauptschule. [See explanation of different school types on pg. 48.] The most pointed remark was, and this is a younger Turk, who's 14, and who thinks that I should play the homosexual, and then he will, somehow or other, latch onto that. And then there was a conversation in the schoolyard, and he wanted to get a grade from me, a good grade, and said: 'I'll even give you a little kiss in return,' just being real silly. Then I said: 'But that's not enough,' and then he said, this other Turk then said: 'Of course, then I have more to offer, seven inches,' and so, [103] quite unequivocally (laughter). At the moment this is rather direct, because at some time or another I will take one up on such an invitation. And so everything is seen as being on a bit more of a joking-around level." (pg. 102)

"What have we done? Well, I have this huge workshop with all kinds of tools. And together we've expanded it more with, in part, some real

professional machines, indeed, all antique professional machines. And so I have a lathe from 1900 with adjustable belts, and he has an old planer, bandsaw, circular saw, milling machine, and of course will also have modern hand tools as well; we have set up a flea market together where we sell mostly handicrafts and technical things. And we've also made a lot of other, different kinds of things like toy models; we've made [127] large, useful items, built a workshop, built a large roof. Of course this was over and above everything. Because this was below a multi-story building it was always getting flooded, which was always setting us back; so consequently it took us two whole years to restore it, repair it, and so forth. A real Sisyphean task, a large lot which had to be put in order, with plants and leaves, raking in the autumn, for many weeks, and then with machines, jackhammer, a couple of hills on top of that, and everything else under the sun." (pg. 126)

"Of course I had always hoped for this, that much is clear, so I don't think that I've held back from it, because, of course I would have liked to; [178] I also found it to be terrific and nice and all that. But I've always had scruples; you cannot, yeah, because later on he's seized by shock, I know, and, God knows what will happen, when you do something like that. Perhaps he will then react, run away screaming or something. (laughing) And otherwise, this probably would have been possible earlier on his side, if I had only trusted myself. He of course had not trusted himself, this much is clear, as he should have. But I had also not trusted myself. I had thought, before my finger really gets caught in it, for God's sake; that's why for me this is a lot, so, much too nice, therefore, to risk it." [pg. 177]

"I was together with my friend; this was really no problem. He has grown older with me. This was, therefore, absolutely no problem. Consequently, even after such a long time, I hadn't reckoned on the fact that he would then break it off, since he'd never availed himself of the opportunity earlier. Therefore, he never had any intentions of breaking it off. For my part, I still had to act, when once or twice we went on vacation somewhere or other, like I never had any ambitions toward him. Of course this is difficult, when one has a boy like this, who attaches himself to you so early on (-). That he could then, at some point or another, break it off. I'd always had that in the back of my mind. Only now, no longer. That time was past. Above all, because we'd also intended to do so much together and had really built something, and then it happens: His interests have changed completely." (pg. 200)

Klaus

Q: "So then, what do you do -- do you join in?

Nah, I have to, I'm always, I sometimes start laughing. 'Why are you laughing now?', he says.

Q: Yes, why?

(laughs) Yeah, because I find this so amusing at the time.

Q: Yes, but what is the comical aspect about the boy playing with the cars?

Yeah, when he's so intently at play, and then doesn't notice, doesn't notice, and then I look at him, and sometimes I just have to laugh about it. I'm not laughing at him, but rather, because he can play so

terrifically well." (pg 144)

"I, quite simply, expect more then, too. When I know, he's selling himself, then this is quite normal. Then, right, because initially I didn't have feelings for him then, and so this doesn't even mean anything, not really expecting a lot from him. (--) Because anything else would be wishful thinking. If I were to say that therefore he only uses me to get off, I can get myself off, I don't need to send for anybody.

Q: Are there, differing expectations, in such contacts?

Whoever sells himself must reckon with the fact that he also has to do something for it. This is quite simple, whether this is a child or not. Can it be pretty brutal for kids anyway? No. I can't, I have never believed that was possible.

Q: Now, in what respect, what do you mean by extortion?

Well now, certainly, 50 or 100 marks, and usually then they still don't even want to do anything for it, that's what's crazy about it." (pg. 183)

"I have indeed for some time now, I have, therefore, only met children from group homes. And they usually bring two or three others along with them. Then later on you meet the entire home (laughs), although I personally have never wanted them to bring two or three along with them. I have always said: 'Always come alone, then nobody can give you away.' But no, then they encounter a friend there, who certainly would not betray them, and bam, it happens again." (pg. 204)

Kurt

"Actually, given this backdrop of opportunities of various kinds, one usually cannot count on certain key situations arising. It could even be an encounter with someone who's just come into town. That someone asks me for directions, or I ask someone else for directions, because I take a fancy to him, and I get the sense that it might be nice to get to know him. And then I try to find out, based on the situation, whether it is possible to establish contact, or if it is not possible. For example, it is not possible when the parents remain close by, and keep a very close eye on their little ones. In such a situation, it wouldn't make any sense to walk up to someone and ask him a question, something that could be a possible opening for establishing contact." (pg. 95)

"Yeah, by train, arriving at the station, and the conductor says: 'Now arriving at such-and-such place, and please proceed quickly to the exits,' and 'Oh my gosh, where's my luggage?' An old lady: 'Oh, could you help me?' Someone comes up, a small child: 'Come here, can I show you something?' And the different people, and even in the train station there can be a lot going on, various things, which can also be properly played out, yeah, this is one of the possibilities." (pg. 130)

"Yeah, or one gives a look, and this glance, each knows from the other, then one just knows. This is a very intense contact, which sometimes is just a glance and nothing more, when at that point a glance is returned in this way, as per the saying: 'A penny for your thoughts.' Or something along those lines." (pg. 131)



"And so I'm thinking of someone, who actually only very rarely wants to decide for himself how play is going to go, and consequently, play always takes a course in the direction of chaotic mishaps and so forth. And then that isn't as much fun for me. And I have also noticed that my ideas are just not well-received by him, because they were my ideas and not his own. Because then tension can arise, which even crops up at that point. And then, because he was also my friend, I would try to defuse the tension from the situation, to not generate any more tension." (pg. 142)

"Yeah, (-) so lately, so then lately, on an overnight weekend together, well now, if a boy is uninhibited, then it's for him, and if you're also taking a bath, then you get to know one another, how one looks, when one has nothing on. [147] Then there are no surprises. And if a boy is also sexually open, and you're laying in bed together, you like it, and you cuddle, then he automatically presses up against me, and I against the boy as well, with this sort of boy, which I especially like, that's how it is at that point, and then sexual reactions show up quite automatically. This means that he's just as sexually aroused as I am. And it is not unpleasant to him when you touch one another, where you have these fantastic sensations, and then you play with each other. It may well be that he had not yet experienced this intensity in this sense, but it is my experience that most of the boys whom I have gotten to know are very likely already aware of the fact that dicks aren't just for pissing, but that they can also be the source of some really nice sensations, to the point of it tickling in this really terrific way." (pg. 146)

"Because where I sleep, there is even enough room for someone else to also be able to sleep. And in addition, I also have yet other sleeping accommodations. When I put the question, 'And where would you like to sleep?', I glance over at such-and-such place, and there's also a spot here by me, then the reaction is always, 'I'll sleep here.' Since I basically sleep with nothing on, this tends to separate the wheat from the chaff. Either the boy finds it interesting, in which case he too undresses himself, or it strikes him as strange, in which case he leaves his pants on. Then perhaps the first weekend goes by with nothing happening at all. By the second weekend, he too leaves his pants off, and cuddles up to me. That's exactly how it is with boys -- the cards are laid on the table: If the situation is enjoyable, he will quickly respond accordingly. Without words." (pg. 147)

"I've experienced it this way, that my own sexual interest has lasted longer than the sexual interest of my former little friend, who has then become bigger, where to me anyway it was already clear that he, thus in his character, that sooner or later he will want a very intensive sexual contact with a girl, and in fact does this, sooner than I would have liked...Since I myself have tried, I hope, I will also be successful in this, tried, to act like a friend, therefore no scenes, no drama, no jealousy or any kinds of tricks. Going away for the weekend you have to take me with you, and there we'll make plans to do this and that. I believe, this wouldn't have gotten me anywhere, because, then the situation is, what you have then is, wanting to go to bed with someone who's thinking about their girlfriend, who no longer has a boner, that's

not my thing, which is fine." (pg. 192)

"With some, a long-standing friendship has already grown out of it in the meantime, fifteen years.

Q: And the contact is also fairly regular, at regular intervals etc., consequently, not like every three years or something?

No, no, quite regular. One lives in the same city as me. Because we see each other nearly every week. We at least call each other twice, three times a week, and tell one another this and that. We also exchange opinions, and even plan out what we might be able to do together. Together, meaning, he with his girlfriend and me with my young friend, when one is there." (pg. 195)

## Manfred

"Then one day I had talked him into getting into the water, and so I also still had a ball with me. Fortunately for me I was just able to blow it up. And, as I said, he was there alone. And so then we began playing, quite normally, yeah, raising a ruckus right there in the water. And the goofing around went so far that, although he was supposed to go home at seven, at eight o'clock, I believe, we were still in the water, since neither of us had a watch, neither of us looked at the clock." (pg. 101)

"And so we were in there from 9:00 a.m. until 1:00 p.m. And of course then he scans the whole basket to assess how many people had gone down and how many came back up again, yeah, and indeed there were --

Q: Two missing.

Two had been missing all along. And indeed, for four long hours. I couldn't believe it. And at any rate, at some point or another a guard comes over and says: 'Yeah, say, what are you doing down here then?' And so, he couldn't believe it either. Yeah, we had been looking at all sorts of things. Consequently, the time just flew by. He was in the mining machines room, amidst these drills and he had, so then we'd even brought an entire sack of coal up with us, we'd picked some coal, and so, many people thought that we'd cracked or something. And then, to top it all off, we were in this extremely narrow seam. And therefore we really looked, so, I had light blue pants on, yeah, and we looked like pigs. But it was a lot of fun, yeah, yeah, it was a lot of fun to crawl around the conveyor belts. Everything was roped off, where you were not allowed to go. Nah, and so he says: 'Give me some help, I have to see what a conveyor belt looks like from the inside.' Yeah, then the heavy-duty borers. So then we looked back to see if they were even deep enough, And that meant using sticks to see whether they were even proper ones, if they were only there for decoration.

Q: So then, this was as much fun for you as it was for him. [137]  
It was just as much fun for me. Above all, I did it too.

Q: But you would not have done it without him.

Nah, nah, that's true. Therefore there are things, which I experience with him in a practical way, which I also then experience, which consequently as a child I had not even done myself. Never before in my life had I been in a mine, you know? And soon we plan to visit a salt mine, a saltworks, which is somewhere we've been wanting to to go. I still have to find out where it is, and when it's open to the public.

Q: Because that was also a lot of fun. Because it simply was a lot of fun. It was also, on top of everything else, a terrific experience. On top of everything else, he got to lug some coal out of there. And so then we rode in the elevator. Still, we very nearly took a drill along with us. We were looking at this drillhead, right in front of us. Because there was a shelf, which we had found somewhere or another, that is, on the way down there, it was by the road where the museum was, somewhere or other we found this shelf. Because there lay the whole drillhead, a diamond bit, round, and quadrangular heads. And of course at that point we inspected and checked out everything. And then he took the drill, then he rotated it one time, and something happened when it was turned on again. And we did all kinds of things like that. And so we had a real mine adventure that day." (pg. 136)

"Because the acorn became a bit damp, and then it was already over with. Amidst his moaning, he hadn't even noticed that he'd had an orgasm. This was much quicker than had sometimes been the case in the past. Then he said: 'Yeah, I'm ready.' So. And then I said: 'My God, you ain't seen nothin' yet!' And so on. Then later on, when he was 13, it was more pronounced. He himself experienced his orgasm as being stronger, yeah. Consequently he says: 'My God, it's gotten better or it lasts longer or, right, it keeps going. Or something like that.' The tone of his voice became, yeah, more strained; he breathed more deeply." (pg. 149)

"Well now, we've already done some more intense things, like blow jobs. Or, he likes getting his sack licked, and this and that. Massage his balls a bit, this and that. Then I knew -- he'd gladly let himself get a blow-job. He thinks it's real nice; it makes him lustful. Then he places his hands on your hand, to make sure you keep going. And afterwards it's very (...) like, we've known each other for two years now, which he also is just really happy about." (pg. 149)

"I've had a relationship for five years now. Even today the boy still comes over -- he's now twenty-two; so, this is more of a friend relationship. There's no more sex, but we are friends, yeah. You know, it leaves, all these years, it of course leaves a big mark on you. There are so many things in common, that one has experienced, which, which, which put their stamp on you." (pg. 195)

## Mark

"It is always even a little death. It is always like, I say, always the, the people, who have a marriage, who simply part following a long, more or less intense life, after a couple of decades, and then one partner dies, right, then the partnership ends, and then their life is also mostly over. This is a great cycle. A pedophile, who has such intense relationships, which, which inside a half a year, can attain a depth and an intensity, like I believe, many heterosexual people would not even be able to imagine, what kind of depth this can have, what kind of intensity it can have, which is just experienced in a kind of time lapse. This is a very, can be a very brief phase, perhaps half a year, perhaps two years, and then something dies. This is like being re-



born. You, you must, the pain, you feel the pain of loss, of separating, yeah, and sometimes friendship remains, and sometimes you lose track of one another entirely." (pg. 193)

"Yeah, I've had boys, with whom I've even slept, when they were eighteen, nineteen; they still came, had long-since had girlfriends. They simply came to me once again. And this was wild (laughs). Although I actually, really had zero interest in them, somehow or other then of course it happens, because I still liked them enough, and because I wanted to please them, since this was a bit adventurous, to still let oneself get involved in it, at that point. So, one of them even came over once months later, riding very far on his motorcycle. Meanwhile, he had gone far out of his way, just to come over for one night, chat a little, and then have sex with me." (pg. 197)

Mike

"Indoor pool, jacuzzi; six, four or so people in the pool. Over there, across from me sits a boy who's just as pretty as a picture, pretty as a picture. Older, yes, thirteen, yeah, this -- later on he told me thirteen. So, I was sitting across from him. Therefore I looked over at him with great interest, very attentively, very; I always have a quite provocative, which I have used frequently, a provocative glance." (pg. 97)

"And then somehow or other we are, so one would like (laughs), I no longer know, we are having a conversation and (--) well now, then somehow or other he showed up. And so then at that time I still had a really nice, I still had a Porsche; that was ten years ago. Well now, I believe (laughing), it makes me very sad, but still, this really did reel them in (laughs). And, well now, and then of course one only needs to say, you, over there, and then somehow or other one gets to talking about it, what kind of car do you have there, yes, a Porsche, and then we even ride around in it." (pg. 112)

"And so it was around 10 o'clock in the morning, and I had stopped by, I was at the pet shop and (-), well yeah, and then he looks over like so, and at that time I was in the habit of -- so of course one can even establish a kind of cover -- that is, placing my hand in my pants, in such a way that it looks like one is rubbing oneself under one's pants. And then one stands next to them like this, and to be sure, the boy will also have noticed this. Well now, and then he came over here, behind me, and then he was looking at some pictures, and then I accidentally bumped into him, and at that point this signal was sufficient in and of itself. And then we're walking down the stairs. And I'm behind him, and then we go into this hangar, in Karstadt, and there was this sort of log cabin that was on exhibit there. And so we're inside it, only I'm too afraid at that point to be able to do something, to do anything, though it would not have been a problem at all. And so there we are, yes, right, and then we part ways, initially, and then we're standing in the tent even, the two of us, since this was a display model. We're standing in the tent, yeah, in the tent; he was like fourteen or something. Consequently, all I would have had to do was to grab ahold of him, with the two of us in the tent. We had said nothing; we just

looked at one another." (pg. 120)

"Which naturally is fascinating for any boy, if he's a little older, when he's fourteen or fifteen, when one goes out to a test track and lets him drive the car. And so today, when I think about the risk I was taking, although it was usually rather dark and so forth." (pg. 138)

"The end is by no means, it is not dramatic at all, but rather, one then accepts the fact that they no longer want it. For one thing, at that point they are also at a, at a stage where they are, therefore, little-by-little, no longer able to arouse me, you know? One still does it of course, but one, they are at a stage, where one says: Ah, well now, right, you, you therefore have to turn to others now. But this still does not mean that you break off contact, but rather, one says, okay, I no longer want this. Well now, right, then one just no longer carries on in that area, but rather, one then drives the car, and still goes here and there, plays soccer, perhaps getting to know other boys through that, because of course wherever there are older boys, there are more younger ones nearby." (pg. 193)

Oliver

"Usually, so far, I have observed that it does not work terribly well if you, as an outsider, now for example go to a playground or something like that. Consequently, right now I have some real reservations, as it were, about going in 'cold' as an outsider, going in there and saying, 'Hi, hello, can I join in?' Because meanwhile, I no longer feel like a boy myself, such that I would be able to do so easily and naturally, And why should I go to the playground, when that doesn't work? But the outdoor pool is another story, 'cause I can just plop myself down there, and they're running by, and you see one of them who you know, and so on and so forth, and along the way you also become acquainted with others; that does work." (pg. 98)

"Yeah, just traipsing around, something I know all about, anyhow, through the forest, and because it was more a matter of just shooting the breeze and being together than it was of whatever activity." (pg. 123)

"And I can sit together with him for hours at a stretch, just chit-chatting about various and sundry things. It isn't boring for either him or me, you understand, to just shoot the breeze. He asks me what I was like before, when I was his age, or what I was doing at that time, and so on. And then I usually give in, I come up with something or other, and then he asks the same question ten times in a row, and then I always try to cobble something together, but even when it's incoherent it isn't boring to him, and it's also not boring to me, for by then it's just a really intense exchange of signals, so to speak." (pg. 129)

"Nah, that, he didn't want to do that, but wanted, for example, that I show him how it works, jerking off and so forth. And then I was allowed to jerk off in front of him; this he wanted to see over and over again, yeah. Therefore, at that point I also just told him, what this is called and how it works and everything, because I had the impression,

that his mother hadn't, that she hadn't explained this to him in a very rational way. And he was just [172], he was completely transfixed. And so he had looked at this more as an educational lesson, therefore, for a time, more in terms of an educational lesson. Of course, nevertheless, he wanted to see it again and again, and even found this to be really hot. And so one time, it took a bit longer, simply because I, this was just, when he was spending the night with me. Then he wondered: 'Say, is the tank empty now?' (laughs) Usually this would happen very quickly. Because I had simply allowed myself a bit more time than when I'd been with him at his place, that's for sure.

Q: And has he also, has he also jerked himself off?

No when I was with him, I wasn't allowed to be there at the same time, no. But I was allowed to grab hold of it. And something he also found totally hot, was when, when I put his dick in my mouth, and licked it and kissed it and so forth, this he also thought was fantastic." (pg. 171)

## Patrick

"Then he came over to play. He was, how old was he? Eleven. He even climbed up a tree, even up a tree at that time. (--) He was simply lost in play, so I said: 'Well now, right, okay, you can even go up high, I'll make you the robber-leader.' This really didn't suit me at all. He gave me this funny look; well then. The location where the playground is, which is rocky, where it is really rocky and so on, is just a rock edge. Yeah, when we're under the tree again, then we're just sitting there, all four of us, on the rock edge. Then I say, to Torsten -- as brazen as he is he's always leaning his head on my shoulder. I say: 'So, do you feel like having a coke?' Suddenly Torsten whispers in my ear: 'Hey, how come everybody has to go out for a coke? I'd like to have a coke just with you.' I say: 'Yeah, okay, But we have to come up with some excuse.' But they were only eight years old, and of course he was eleven. 'Ah, this, yeah, now this is a problem, of course we'd have to drive a really long ways to get a coke. Because of course you guys probably wouldn't be allowed to come along, I haven't even asked your mother.' Yes, okay, then they just accept this. Torsten and I set out for the [116] nearest tavern, have a coke, and then we leave the tavern, and anyhow we buy ourselves, no, we go, we go, first we go back to the playground. Then there are three tires hanging from chains, and Torsten sits on my lap and, being kind of silly, lays his head on my lap like so. Me: 'Boy, in a way I do like you.' He says: 'Yes, it is already clear to me, that you like me. I do not like you, but, how much money do you have on you?' I say: 'Oh, money, I really don't have any money on me.' But, (-) I did have money. I had seventy marks in my pocket. I say: 'But, in your opinion, how much money should I have on me then?' 'Well now, around seventy marks,' he says, (laughs), a smart one (---). I say: 'Nah, I haven't any money, but we could get ahold of an apple, and then we could hit it back and forth to each other, What do you feel like doing? What would you like to do, when we get together next time?' 'Yeah, a campfire.' And I say: 'Okay, then we'll meet on Saturday at 8 o'clock in the morning.' (-) Then I'll have found a spot in the country, and we'll build a campfire. Yup, the boy really does show up, and then we head out there, I say to him: 'So now I need to have a chat with you, and you'll either



understand me, or you don't understand me. So, this, it has to do with what you recently did to me in, at the playground etc. He says: 'Yeah, take it easy, I understand everything,' he says. I say: 'Yeah, so, let's be clear about one thing: A lot of things are, for me, not about money, and they're either done of one's own free will, or not at all. And I, consequently, I would gladly be together with you, and it is, for me, actually not so important; therefore, I would even be happy, if we could simply be friends, okay?' (--) 'Yeah,' he says, 'okay.' Then we have, then he really has not, is not thinking the matter over. And now I say: 'Okay, I, let's still go somewhere and eat some apples, (-) yeah, and then I'll bring you home.' And so to, close to the door of the house, that is. (-) Yeah, and then we're facing each other, agree to get together again, also out-of-doors once again, and I propose that actually, we could even go to my place sometime. And then, at that point we had not yet gone to my place, but the following day we do go to my place, and make chocolate pudding and so on. I simply wanted to show him, therefore, to me it is, that to me the boy is the important thing, and that to me sex is actually, that, that is actually not the main thing with me, what's important to me is the boy." (pg. 115)

"The boy sits down next to me on the bench and so forth, thinking this is really funny; this was a Turkish boy. So he would have had a sense of humor. So here's what happened. Me: 'Right, how are you feeling today, then?' Yeah, he knows this girl, he says. 'So you know this girl, then.' Yeah, he would like to do something with her and so forth. And he asks me, whether I too have already done something with a girl and so on. I say: 'Yes, I have,' and so forth. 'Right, and how was it then, what did you, how did you, what did you say to her then?' 'Yeah, I said to her, I asked her, whether she'd like to have coffee and so on, and, and whether she'd like to go to the movies with me, and so forth.' 'Right, and you did that. Oh, I'll do that with my girlfriend too.' I said: 'Of course, you mustn't go about this in exactly the same way that I did it.' 'Right, so what did you do with her after you went to the movies?' 'Yeah, so we're walking along together.' 'Okay, and, tell me, tell me more.' I told him everything. 'Yes and (...), we're just sitting next to each other on the bed,' I told him, and (-). 'Right, and so, yeah, and then did she take her clothes off and so forth?' I say: 'Yes, yes and' (-). And I just finished telling the whole story. 'Okay, and then did you sleep with her? Yeah, and so how was it then? What did it feel like?' I say: 'I don't know, so-so, I've no idea.' 'Okay, but, show me.' I say: 'Show you? Why come? Well there are, of course, too many people around -- [174] I can't show you here.' (-) Then he says: 'Right, not here of course. Then, let's just go down to the river or something.' Well now, so we just go there, where, into the bushes where, where, where no one can see us, and so forth. Then I simply showed him, how it got stiff. (-) And then I even masturbated myself, which he wanted to see.

Q: You masturbated yourself?

Yes. Of course, he also had an erection. Well yeah, and then we went our separate ways. He had taken down my phone number, I had barely arrived home, when the phone rang, with him saying that I should come back right away.

Q: To the park again, or?

Yeah, again in (-)

Q: In the secluded part, or?  
Well yes, in the park again, but only at first, yeah. (--) And we actually didn't do anything there. (-) And we told one another, everything that one would be able to do with a woman, because of course this was our original conversation, etc. Yeah, that, (-) just that, there are even women who will suck you off and so and so forth, and (--). I met him again the following day, he wanted to go to the library with me, wanted to go to the city library. And (-) we go there, (-) and first we play a game. So, one can borrow games there. He says: 'Right, what is it like then with, with a woman, when she sucks you off?' 'I don't know.' And he says: 'Right, let's go to the men's room.' 'You have to go to the bathroom?' He says: 'Yes.' He says, we should just go there together, because it's, it's a large men's room and so forth. Well now, I should do it to him one time. Right, so then I sucked him off. And (-) we've known each other for seven weeks now. He wants to learn something new every time. Therefore, he actually has little interest in me personally, etc. He's always wanting to learn a little more about sex." (pg. 173)

"Yeah, so then I say: 'Now close your eyes,' and so it was more like a game, eyes, eyes closed, mouth open. And then I would just put a blade of grass in his mouth. Then he would also do this to me, and so on.

And then, at some point or other, we just --

Q: What would you put in his mouth, when --  
Grass.

Q: Just grass?

Yes.

Q: I thought it would have been your tongue.

Nah, grass. Initially, just grass. This was just the game. And then, at some point or other, I just gave him a kiss, and so on. And by that I mean, all the sudden, exactly like, therefore, like with a woman.

Right, and then I'm just doing it with my tongue, for approximately thirty seconds or so, kissing him. And he enjoyed it. And then, on the following day, I wanted to see him again. And then he didn't know me anymore. So, somehow or other I had (--) right, and then I go up to him and say: 'Yeah, why, what's the problem now?' 'Yeah, there's no need to be sad, just because you've lost a friend.' And it just occurred to me, now he knew everything, thus, truly everything, that one can.

Therefore, this just crushed me, and then he no longer wanted to. He wanted a woman. He had already said this shortly after the kiss:

'Yeah, that was really nice and everything, but with a woman, it's even nicer.' Yeah, that was the end of it. It has been interesting." (pg. 179)

Paul

"Oh yes, since there are numerous possibilities for that. And so they are to be found, for example, in the bigger cities, in ping-pong parlors or soccer grounds, thus any areas where boys are always playing like soccer or ping-pong. And then one just joins in. Therefore, sometimes things are more favorable when there are already some boys there and no one is really off by himself; one simply asks whether one might be able to join in. And then, this is usually the case, yeah. And then one is able to see, by playing soccer -- and of course one also sees this in

other games -- how the boys play, and also their character, and so it is at play that a person shows his true colors. And actually, it is always a very good sign when one has spent a whole hour playing football. Then you will already be able to sort things out a bit, as to whether you can forget about it or what. And whoever is, then, of interest, one can arrange to do something else with them, or even set a date, and then come to an agreement with them, yeah." (pg. 96)

"I was, the way we have always done it is that the winner stays in. So the winner remains in it. And I am pretty good at ping-pong. And so I've just been playing, am always in the game, and one time he was just the next one up. And so then I played with him, and also spoke with him, and just showed an interest in him. Then at one point, I said: 'I don't feel like playing any more,' and let the others have a go at it. [104] I think, of course, that only two people can play ping-pong, and at that point the others are just sitting on the bench, waiting. And naturally there is, then, a very good possibility that I'll be able to speak with him further." (pg. 103)

"Once I was even in a sports club -- I mentored one of the kids. He was (-), he was in the soccer club, and its coach didn't have a car, I believe, and once he even asked me if I might like to drive to and from the away games, since they were always in need of a couple cars. And also because the parents didn't always have a car to drive on weekends. And so then sometimes, just by driving to the away games, I've even become acquainted with the entire team. And then something just evolved from there. Therefore, I even more or less turned into a careperson. And then I met a boy who was into wrestling, who was in a wrestling club, and in that case you even get paid when you, when you drive back from the away game, yeah." (pg. 110)

## Robin

"With a watergun, this thing I'd bought for myself at the department store, and I'd gone to the outdoor swimming area with it, with this thing. I didn't even play with it at all at that point, because I'd sat myself down at the edge of the pool, and was holding the thing in my hand demonstratively, and was waiting for something to happen. In less than a half an hour I'd gotten acquainted with six, seven boys that afternoon. This is also a good swimming area, warm water, waterslides and so on, five different pools, just ideal." (pg. 111)

"Of course they want to learn how to drive, since everybody goes on car trips. Jochen was just wild about it. And then I thought to myself, you should never have allowed yourself to get involved in it, because then there'll be no end to it. But then I caught a lucky break, because I had this old beetle, which had given up the ghost, and at that point was done for. Then I said: 'Don't get behind the wheel of the other one -- it's too difficult'; so I stuck to my guns on that." (pg. 138)

"Because he was naked, in bed, so then I knocked: 'Does the gentleman need anything?' (-) 'Who's there?' (-) 'The porter, hotel porter.' (-) 'Yes, come right in.' I turn the handle. But I couldn't get in, and then Robin and Jochen say in unison, this is gay; he doesn't like that;



so therefore, you have to have a little distance." (pg. 169)

"And then, in the middle of the argument, he went crazy. He yelled at me, using some harsh words. (--) And then this went so far, that he stormed out. Therefore, he more often runs away in the middle of an argument, then sits himself down somewhere or other and sulks. Then he expects me to come back, that I should go over and console him or something. This was always his trick. Then I go down, but I can't find him. This was around 10 o'clock at night. I searched everywhere. A half an hour went by, then there really wasn't anything left for me to do, now I have to phone the parents and tell them what's happening. After an hour, I'm still searching everywhere, I've looked high and low, in the whole neighborhood. I had the mistaken notion, I'd let him walk out (--) instead of, when it, in as far as, putting him in the car and bringing him home, because I thought, he'll just sit down somewhere and sulk. Yeah, yeah, and then I made the call. The mother: 'We know, he's already here, he was brought home by strangers.' This was a bad sign. But things were still going fairly smoothly. This ended with the parents telling him: 'Yeah, we don't want this any more, for Robin to come over, you only quarrel with him anyway,' thinks the mother, which really isn't right (-), and then the relationship was ended, in the span of a single day, by the parents." (pg. 205)

### Rudolph

"In the course of my work I've become acquainted with a social services agency which funds a child-help center, which in turn had a Brazilian boy in its care. I learned about this right away, which was a good thing. It cost fifty marks; forty marks had been raised at the time. I had written to them, of course it was a crapshoot as to who you would get...A letter came, this little letter came, this little picture was there at the top of the sheet of [111] paper. It was love at first sight. I saw it right away, this is my Pablo, Pablo, thank God, wonderful." (pg. 110)

"Schoolwork is my forte. I've helped him with his math homework, he goes to a Realschule [see translator's note on pg. 48], and this is so fantastic, it's as if he were my own son. It isn't drudgery at all for us, not a bit. This gives us pleasure and excitement, because he brings his stuff with him, and then we practice a little, and then we enjoy each other's company." (pg. 125)

### Stefan

"Occasionally, one even becomes acquainted because one lives in the same neighborhood, and always conveys a friendly 'hello.' This is also a tried and true method, something I am quite familiar with. Consequently, I only know boys from my neighborhood whom I see again and again, smile at, say 'hello' to, and so on." (pg. 94)

"Under certain circumstances I will say, whereas at other times I will not, that you're not allowed to watch such-and-such, but I'm sorry to say that I wouldn't even watch that myself. Oh, I don't care -- you can watch it if you really want to, but I myself wouldn't [143] watch

something like that. It really wouldn't interest me if it's like a zombie movie or something; yeah, there actually are limits where I say, nah, I'm sorry, but I will not watch that." (pg. 142)

Thomas

"Our everyday routine is (laughs), he comes over here quite often to play computer games. This is really right off the bat. Then I have to force him to do his homework. Because he either takes care of his homework, here, with me, or at home, with his mother; and so it's one of the two. And yeah, right, then we sit down in front of the computer, if the weather is bad, or we get up and play ping-pong, play soccer, [128] or just take a walk or whatever, go into town, walk around a bit, do some window-shopping or something, look at toys." (pg. 127)

"Everything is possible, and so like I said, this role-playing, these fantasy-, role-playing games are my absolute favorite. Not, there's a whole bunch (laughs), there's a whole bunch, so where one is with an entire party, there are five or six people, whom one just has to run through this fantasy world with, and then cast spells and fight against monsters and so on, but also, aren't famous or anything, and so it, it gets bigger and bigger.

Q: He likes this.

He likes it, yeah.

Q: But what's it like for you, so, it is amusing for you more because he finds pleasure in it, or because it makes you yourself happy?

It also makes me tremendously happy, yeah, yeah. [132] I am also a huge fan of computers, yeah, yeah, of course. And so it is our, one could say, our common hobby. So then we're both very enthusiastic, and so he also plays with great pleasure. There is even a computer store here in the area, where you can rent games, and so we'll rent at least one game a week, and then play it." (pg. 131)

Uwe

"Because I took the boy with me into the changing room. And then I just put my hand down his pants. He stood there quite still. At first it irritated me that he just stood there. And I hadn't gotten to his genitals; but I had already realized that he did want sexual contact. He himself then takes off his pants. Then he wanted to quickly put them back on, because he thought that I did not want any sexual contact. Right -- I'd not yet gotten to his genitals. Therefore, he wanted to quickly get dressed. But I didn't let him. I dried him off with the towel, and then I put my hand on his genitals. Yeah, and, as I said, then came the sexual contact. This first time, he still allowed himself to be kissed; the second time, no longer. ... He wanted me, he had grabbed me by the genitals, but as for sucking my dick, he didn't want to do that. Indeed, I've mentioned this a couple of times, but he has always merely pretended to do it." (pg. 176)

"It happened slowly, over a month or so. He stops by again, then he stays for quite a while, and then he comes once more. Then things go badly, he doesn't keep his appointments. And so it is, and when he no longer keeps his appointments, then I know that it's ending, that soon he'll no longer come at all."