

**"This much-needed compilation goes beyond the usual narrow views to shed critical light on the broad spectrum of man-boy love and its place in ancient and contemporary societies. The various authors use historical, social, and clinical approaches to consider unproblematic as well as problematic relationships. There is a unique emphasis on individual rights and collective responsibility."**

Joan A. Nelson, EdD, MA, Psychologist/Clinical Sexologist in private practice, San Francisco, California

**Male Intergenerational  
Intimacy:  
Historical,  
Socio-Psychological,  
and Legal Perspectives**



SOCIAL SCIENCES  
PHILOSOPHY & RELIGION

**Male Intergenerational  
Intimacy:  
Historical,  
Socio-Psychological,  
and Legal Perspectives**

AUG 14 1991

Theo Sandfort, PhD  
Edward Brongersma, JD  
Alex van Naerssen, PhD  
Editors

R 301.4158 M2455 002

*Male Intergenerational Intimacy: Historical, Socio-Psychological, and Legal Perspectives* was simultaneously issued by The Haworth Press, Inc., under the same title, as a special issue of *Journal of Homosexuality*, Volume 20, Numbers 1/2 1990, Theo Sandfort, Edward Brongersma, and Alex van Naerssen, Editors.

Harrington Park Press  
New York • London

ISBN 0-918393-78-7

Published by

Harrington Park Press, 10 Alice Street, Binghamton, NY 13904-1580  
EUROSPAN/Harrington, 3 Henrietta Street, London WC2E 8LU England

Harrington Park Press is a subsidiary of The Haworth Press, Inc., 10 Alice Street, Binghamton, NY 13904-1580.

*Male Intergenerational Intimacy: Historical, Socio-Psychological, and Legal Perspectives* was originally published as *Journal of Homosexuality*, Volume 20, Numbers 1/2 1990.

© 1991 by The Haworth Press, Inc. All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, microfilm and recording, or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher. Permission does not extend for any services providing photocopies for sale in any way. Printed in the United States of America.

Cover design by Marshall Andrews.

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Male intergenerational intimacy: historical, socio-psychological, and legal perspectives / Theo Sandfort, Edward Brongersma, Alex van Naerssen, editors.

p. cm.

"Simultaneously issued by the Haworth Press, Inc. under the same title, as a special issue of *Journal of homosexuality*, volume 20, numbers 1/2 1990."

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 0-918393-78-7 (alk. paper)

1. Pedophilia. 2. Homosexuality, Male. I. Sandfort, Theo, 1953-. II. Brongersma, Edward, 1911-. III. Naerssen, A. X. van.

[DNLN: 1. Paraphilias. 2. Sex Offenses. WM 620 I613]

HQ71.158 1990

306.77—dc20

DNLN/DLC

for Library of Congress

90-5286

CIP

**CONTENTS**

- Foreword: The Debate on Pedophilia 1  
*Gunter Schmidt, PhD*
- Man-Boy Relationships: Different Concepts for a Diversity of Phenomena 5  
*Theo Sandfort, PhD*  
*Edward Brongersma, JD*  
*Alex van Naerssen, PhD*
- Pederasty Among Primitives: Institutionalized Initiation and Cultic Prostitution 13  
*Gisela Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg, PhD*
- The Thera Inscriptions—Ritual or Slander? 31  
*Edward Brongersma, JD*
- The Historic Origins of Penal Statutes Concerning Sexual Activities Involving Children and Adolescents 41  
*Martin Killias, PhD*
- Man-Boy Friendships on Trial: On the Shift in the Discourse on Boy Love in the Early Twentieth Century 47  
*Thijs Maasen, PhD*
- Boys in Art. The Artist and His Model: Ferdinand and Hector Hodler. A New Approach. 71  
*Will H. L. Ogrinc, PhD (Cand.)*
- Ephebophilia and the Creation of a Spiritual Myth in the Works of Ralph Nicholas Chubb 103  
*Tariq Rahman, PhD*
- 'The Main Thing Is Being Wanted': Some Case Studies on Adult Sexual Experiences with Children 129  
*Chin-Keung Li, PhD*

ISBN 0-918393-78-7

Published by

Harrington Park Press, 10 Alice Street, Binghamton, NY 13904-1580  
EUROSPAN/Harrington, 3 Henrietta Street, London WC2E 8LU England

Harrington Park Press is a subsidiary of The Haworth Press, Inc., 10 Alice Street, Binghamton, NY 13904-1580.

*Male Intergenerational Intimacy: Historical, Socio-Psychological, and Legal Perspectives* was originally published as *Journal of Homosexuality*, Volume 20, Numbers 1/2 1990.

© 1991 by The Haworth Press, Inc. All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, microfilm and recording, or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher. Permission does not extend for any services providing photocopies for sale in any way. Printed in the United States of America.

Cover design by Marshall Andrews.

#### Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Male intergenerational intimacy: historical, socio-psychological, and legal perspectives / Theo Sandfort, Edward Brongersma, Alex van Naerssen, editors.  
p. cm.

"Simultaneously issued by the Haworth Press, Inc. under the same title, as a special issue of *Journal of homosexuality*, volume 20, numbers 1/2 1990."

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 0-918393-78-7 (alk. paper)

1. Pedophilia. 2. Homosexuality, Male. I. Sandfort, Theo, 1953-. II. Brongersma, Edward, 1911-. III. Naerssen, A. X. van.

[DNLM: 1. Paraphilias. 2. Sex Offenses. WM 620 I613]

HQ71.L58 1990

306.77 - dc20

DNLM/DLC

for Library of Congress

90-5286

CIP

## CONTENTS

- Foreword: The Debate on Pedophilia 1  
*Gunter Schmidt, PhD*
- Man-Boy Relationships: Different Concepts for a Diversity of Phenomena 5  
*Theo Sandfort, PhD*  
*Edward Brongersma, JD*  
*Alex van Naerssen, PhD*
- Pederasty Among Primitives: Institutionalized Initiation and Cultic Prostitution 13  
*Gisela Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg, PhD*
- The Thera Inscriptions — Ritual or Slander? 31  
*Edward Brongersma, JD*
- The Historic Origins of Penal Statutes Concerning Sexual Activities Involving Children and Adolescents 41  
*Martin Killias, PhD*
- Man-Boy Friendships on Trial: On the Shift in the Discourse on Boy Love in the Early Twentieth Century 47  
*Thijs Maasen, PhD*
- Boys in Art. The Artist and His Model: Ferdinand and Hector Hodler. A New Approach. 71  
*Will H. L. Ogrinc, PhD (Cand.)*
- Ephebophilia and the Creation of a Spiritual Myth in the Works of Ralph Nicholas Chubb 103  
*Tariq Rahman, PhD*
- 'The Main Thing Is Being Wanted': Some Case Studies on Adult Sexual Experiences with Children 129  
*Chin-Keung Li, PhD*

✓ Boy-Lovers and Their Influence on Boys: Distorted Research and Anecdotal Observations <i>Edward Brongersma, JD</i>	145
✓ Man-Boy Lovers: Assessment, Counseling, and Psychotherapy <i>Alex van Naerssen, PhD</i>	175
✓ A Model for Group Counseling with Male Pedophiles <i>Gertjan van Zessen, PhD (Cand.)</i>	189
✓ Tolerance at Arm's Length: The Dutch Experience <i>Jan Schuijjer, MA</i>	199
✓ Understanding Childhood Sexualities <i>Ken Plummer, PhD</i>	231
✓ Man/Boy Love and the American Gay Movement <i>David Thorstad, MA</i>	251
The Study of Intergenerational Intimacy in North America: Beyond Politics and Pedophilia <i>Gerald P. Jones, PhD</i>	275
COMMENTARY	
✓ Objectivity and Ideology: Criticism of Theo Sandfort's Research on Man-Boy Sexual Relations <i>Robert Bauserman, BS</i>	297
Response to Bauserman <i>David Finkelhor, PhD</i>	313
Response to the Bauserman Critique <i>David A. Mrazek, MD, MRC Psych.</i>	317
BOOK REVIEWS	
<i>Paidika: The Journal of Paedophilia</i> <i>Reviewed by Vern L. Bullough, PhD</i>	319

<i>Loving Boys: A Multidisciplinary Study of Sexual Relations Between Adult and Minor Males, Volume 1</i> , by Edward Brongersma <i>Reviewed by Ken Plummer, PhD</i>	320
<i>Boys on Their Contacts with Men: A Study of Sexually Expressed Friendships</i> , by Theo Sandfort <i>Reviewed by Vern L. Bullough, PhD</i>	323



ALL HARRINGTON PARK PRESS BOOKS  
ARE PRINTED ON CERTIFIED  
ACID-FREE PAPER

## ABOUT THE EDITORS

**Dr. Theo Sandfort** is a social psychologist and Co-Director of the AIDS research program of the Department of Gay and Lesbian Studies of the University of Utrecht. Dr. Sandfort has done research in the field of sexual development and pedophilia. He is the author of "Boys and Their Contacts with Men," a study among 25 boys involved with sexual relationships with older men. Dr. Sandfort received his doctoral degree from the University of Utrecht.

**Dr. Edward Brongersma** is Director of the Brongersma Foundation which collects published literature and private documents relevant to the scientific study of child sexuality and pedophilia. He has written extensively on sexological topics, especially pornography and pedophilia. Dr. Brongersma studied law at the University of Amsterdam.

**Dr. Alex van Naerssen**, a psychologist and experienced counselor in the field of sexology, is Research Coordinator of the social sexology section of the Department of Clinical Psychology and Health at the University of Utrecht. Dr. van Naerssen has written articles on homosexuality, sado-masochism, pedophilia and other uncommon sexual desires.

**Male Intergenerational  
Intimacy:  
Historical,  
Socio-Psychological,  
and Legal Perspectives**

## Acknowledgement

This collection was supported in part by a grant from the Kalos Kagathos foundation and Mr. Bruce S. Hopping, its chairman.



## Foreword: The Debate on Pedophilia

Gunter Schmidt, PhD

University of Hamburg

Pedophilia is one of the taboo topics in sex research. Sexologists carefully skirt and avoid the subject as much as possible; when they take it up they do so in conformist, moralizing, and faint-hearted tones. This attitude has a long tradition. In his immensely long and comprehensive work on homosexuality, Magnus Hirschfeld, who fought so indefatigably and courageously for the rights of homosexuals, only dedicates a couple of lines to pedophiles and then only uses standard phrases: pedophiles merely form a "subgroup" (Nebengruppe) of homosexuals who "undoubtedly have the most unfortunate sexual leanings" (Hirschfeld, 1917-1920, p. 213 and Hirschfeld 1920, p. 281). He does not say a word about the misery and persecution suffered by this "subgroup," although he so clearly perceived and combated it on behalf of the "maingroup."

Little has changed since then; there is still a tendency to draw the line at pedophilia and ostracize pedophiles, as the politics of the gay movement reveal. Solidarity only goes so far and stops where one's own interests and reputation might be at stake (Thorstad, 1990). This means that the "subgroup" is—just as in Hirschfeld's day—left to the mercy and hypocrisy of society at large. For many sex researchers and gay activists, a "decent" homosexual starts at the "age of consent" laid down by the state. These age limits are far

---

Dr. Gunter Schmidt is Professor of Sex Research, Abteilung für Sexualforschung, der Psychiatrischen und Nervenlinik, University of Hamburg, Martini-strasse 52, D-2000 Hamburg 20, Federal Republic of Germany. Correspondence may be addressed to the author at the above address.

This article, originally in German, was translated by Jane Wiebel, PhD.



too high in most societies; they aim to protect young people from *their own* sexual wishes than from sexual exploitation.

This volume is to be welcomed as a courageous attempt to break with bad tradition. One wonders which other publication in our field would be bold enough to make such a move. Of course the taboo still makes itself felt here (one could hardly expect otherwise): the underlying tone of many of the contributions is defensive and cautious; occasionally one comes across the euphemism of "intergenerational intimacy"; pedophilia is often presented as a particularly ardent form of paternal love and pedophiles as selfless helpers, aiding the children to discover and enjoy their sexuality. One sometimes has the impression that pedophilia is allowed to be anything as long as it is not *sexual*, an attempt to deny that pedophilia, just like other forms of loving, is first and foremost a physical affair, involving lust, sensuality, passion, and desire. To suggest otherwise is, as Martin Dannecker remarked, "a monstrous denial of the sexual wishes" of pedophiles and nothing but apologetic kitsch (Dannecker, 1987, p. 79).

Speaking of pedophilia in the strict sense (i.e., sexual relationships between adults and prepubescent children—in contrast to relationships between adults and adolescents), there are two particular aspects which deserve our special attention because they make pedophile relationships particularly risky: First, the crucial and incontrovertible fact that in such relationships the adult and the child involved are not on an equal footing and the adult always has the upper hand. Because of this power differential, it is an illusion to suppose or hope that such a relationship is or can turn into a loving partnership between equals (a state of affairs which is rare in partnerships of any kind). The danger of exploiting the partner—in this case the child—by ignoring its needs and wishes, i.e., childish needs and wishes, is particularly strong in pedophile relationships, even where no physical force or pressure is involved. Being in a position of authority and power does not inevitably result in exploitation, but it all too often does. Children are subject to much pressure, not only from pedophiles, as the evidence on parental interference and abuse shows. Since there are far more parents than pedophiles, the power exerted by parents is potentially greater, and the havoc caused to their children's sexual development far more

frequent, even where no sexual abuse is involved. All this, however, does not alter the fact that a pedophilic relationship can all too easily have a repressive effect on the child.

This becomes clearer when we turn to the second special aspect. In the 1930s, Sandor Ferenczi pointed out that there is a fundamental difference between an adult's and a young child's sexual wishes, and that this difference becomes blurred in a sexual relationship between an adult and a child, at the child's expense (Ferenczi, 1972). Ferenczi describes "the linguistic confusion between adult and child," the "disparity between the child's tender erotic wishes and the adult's passionate desires" (Ferenczi, 1972, p. 312). Ferenczi maintains that children do not crave genital sex with adults and that if they submit to it, it is often to win the adults' love and attention. Ferenczi warns, "if during the phase when the children long for tender affection, *more love* or love of a *different kind* is forced on them than they want, this will have just as pathogenic consequences as *denying them* love, which has so often been mentioned" (Ferenczi, 1972, p. 310).

The lack of equality between the partners and Ferenczi's theory of the incompatibility of adults' and children's sexual wishes are two essential aspects in the debate on pedophilia. "The right of children and adolescents to sexual activity (which pedophiles often and rightly claim) does not include the right of the adult to the sexuality of the child," as Günter Amendt puts it (Amendt, 1982, p. 142). And yet these aspects, provided one discusses them seriously, without any persecutory zeal and without defensively attempting to minimize them, are not enough to enable us to judge individual cases of pedophilia.

A person's age, or the difference in age between the partners, says too little about the nature and quality of their relationship to justify making laws against such partnerships merely on the strength of this information. Pedophile relationships are extremely varied, despite their common features, too varied to allow us to use the term "sexual abuse" as a synonym without being guilty of discriminating against and defaming a whole group of people.

There are, even where no physical force or pressure is exerted, relationships which are exploitative, damaging, and blind to the child's needs; there are also relationships in which children realize

that the adult is in a weak position because of the law and use this power in a blackmailing fashion. And there are successful pedophile relationships which help and encourage the child, even though the child often agrees to sex while really seeking comfort and affection. These are often emotionally deprived, deeply lonely, socially isolated children who seek, as it were, a refuge in the adult's love and for whom, because of their misery, see it as a stroke of luck to have found such an "enormously nurturant relationship," in John De Cecco's words (De Cecco, 1988, p.10).

It looks as though children who are not emotionally deprived are, so to speak, "immune" to the advances of an adult seeking sexual contact. Each individual case must be looked upon on its own merits and, for this reason the threat to make all pedophile acts punishable by law can barely be labeled civilized; on the contrary, it is unjust, for it implies the discrimination and persecution of a minority and should be abolished.

#### REFERENCES

- Amendt, G. (1982). Nur die Sau rauslassen? Zur Pädophilie-Diskussion. In V. Sigusch (Ed.), *Die sexuelle Frage.*, [The sexual question]. (pp. 141-167). Hamburg: Konkret Literatur Verlag.
- Dannecker, M. (1987). Bemerkungen zur strafrechtlichen Behandlung der Pädosexualität. In H. Jäger and E. Scorsch (Eds.), *Sexualwissenschaft und Strafrecht* [Sex research and the law]. (pp. 71-83). Stuttgart: Enke Verlag.
- De Cecco, J. (1988). Interview. *Paidika. The Journal of Paedophilia*, 1 (3), 2-10.
- Ferenczi, S. (1972). Sprachverwirrung zwischen den Erwachsenen und dem Kind. In S. Ferenczi, *Schriften zur Psychoanalyse. Band II* [Essays on psychoanalysis, volume II] (pp. 301-312). Frankfurt a.M., Fischer (First published in 1933).
- Hirschfeld, M. (1917-1920). *Sexualpathologie. 3 Bände.* [Sexualpathology., 3 volumes] Bonn: Marcus und Weber.
- Hirschfeld, M. (1920). *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes.* [The homosexuality of men and women] (2nd edition). Berlin: Marcus.
- Thorstad, D. (1990). Man/boy love and the American gay movement. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 20(1/2), 251-274.

## Man-Boy Relationships: Different Concepts for a Diversity of Phenomena

Theo Sandfort, PhD

University of Utrecht

Edward Brongersma, JD

Brongersma Foundation

Alex van Naerssen, PhD

University of Utrecht

#### INTRODUCTION

In contemporary Western society, intimate and sexual relations between men and boys are considered as immoral, unlawful, psychologically deviant and damaging to the boys involved, regardless of the emotional contexts in which they occur. By almost exclusively studying these relationships as forms of sexual abuse, the social sciences have narrowed our view of this subject. The current social climate makes it rather difficult to look at these relationships in an objective way.

---

Dr. Theo Sandfort is Co-Director of the research program of the Department of Gay and Lesbian Studies at the University of Utrecht, Netherlands. Dr. Edward Brongersma is a lawyer and Director of the Brongersma Foundation for the research into the sexuality of youth. Dr. Alex van Naerssen is Research Coordinator of Social Sexology at the Department of Clinical Psychology and Health at the University of Utrecht, Netherlands.

Correspondence should be addressed to Dr. T. Sandfort, Department of Gay and Lesbian Studies, University of Utrecht, P.O. Box 80140, 3508 TC Utrecht, Netherlands.

Although historical and anthropological sources show a lot of instances of intimate involvement between men and boys, the wealth of material on these relationships is often simply not known or, if known, is suppressed or neglected. Even nowadays, man-boy relationships are not uncommon. As in homosexuality, man-boy sexuality occurs and not seldom in a context in which both partners consent, even in societies that strongly condemn. In these relationships a diversity of feelings are or can be expressed: affection, attachment, desire, domination and submission, masculinity and femininity. The way these relationships are realized is, of course, limited by the rejecting attitude and the sanctions of society. Men who feel attracted to boys have to legitimize their feelings toward themselves as well as towards society.

Against this background, the purpose of this special volume is twofold: first, we want to contribute to the documentation of the diversity of phenomena held together under the label of man-boy relationships or man/boy love; second, we want to further the discussion about the place of man-boy relationships in contemporary Western society.

The contributions we brought together come from a variety of fields, not seldom beyond the limits of the editors' own specific scientific discipline. The authors don't see man-boy relationships as necessarily pathological. This collection of articles should not be considered as an exhaustive treatment of the subject. With this issue we hope to establish a climate in which a less emotional and a more open and scholarly discussion of these phenomena is possible.

*Man-boy relationships* is a concept which we believe encompasses divergent phenomena. Judged on outer appearances, these phenomena have some resemblances: in every society men and boys are in one way or another involved with each other. However, differences between the phenomena become clear when one looks at the social functions of these relationships, cultural and juridical regulations, and the ways in which in some relationships the sexual desires are experienced and expressed. For example, for us it is difficult to understand what feelings were involved in and what meanings were attached to the ancient relationships we used to call *Greek Love*.

As the position of boys in society and the view about sexuality

change, the phenomenon acquires different forms and contents. Even if the Renaissance was inspired by classic antiquity, the relations of artists like Da Vinci or Celini with their boyfriends were not the same as those between the Emperor Hadrian and his Antinous. So the statement "Man/boy love is from all times and all places," frequently used in defense of such relationships, is only true if we neglect the profound diversity that these relationships assume. Besides, even within a given period and culture the attitudes of men who experience attraction to boys vary.

The diversity of the phenomena is reflected in related concepts conceiving man-boy relationships. These concepts are: pedophilia, neophilia, philopédie, pederasty, ephebophilia, hebephilia, Greek love, pedagogical eros, man/boy love, and intergenerational sex. The meaning of all these terms differs slightly, partly in coherence with the age limit of the persons to whom attraction is experienced and with the gender.

All these concepts are relatively new and have their own history. The meaning of these terms is not constant but has changed over time. For instance, pederasty has been used as synonymous with homosexuality; likewise, the meaning of the concept of homosexuality has changed over time.

The meanings and connotations attached to concepts also differ depending on the social climate in which they are used. In The Netherlands, where homosexual contact with minors from the age of sixteen is allowed, pedophilia became a well-accepted term to denote feelings of attraction to persons up to the age of sixteen. Adopted by those who promote the liberation of man-boy relationships, this term doesn't have the negative medical connotations common in the United States. In the United States, pedophilia, as one of the sexual disorders in DSM III-R, is much more associated with psychiatry.

The choice of a particular label is not without consequences. It gives a particular representation of the phenomenon, stressing certain features above others. In the psychiatric use of *pedophilia*, the phenomenon is represented as a (pathological) individual proclivity, characterizing people instead of relationships, with much stress on the sexual aspect of these feelings; the boys involved and their possible motives disappear from the picture. In *man/boy love* the



unproblematic affectional side of the phenomenon is stressed, suggesting reciprocity or even symmetry between the parties involved; it is understandable that boy-lovers in the United States adopted this term to further their goals. The choice of labels is never without political grounds or consequences. These labels also have consequences for the people who use them for their own self-understanding and influence the way they deal with their desires and express feelings.

Some of the labels obscure the phenomenon to which they refer. So, because intergenerational sex is also applicable to sexual contacts between young and old adults, it gives man-boy contacts a less dangerous outlook. The same applies more or less to Greek love. This term is used to show that the interest in children is not only sexual but entwined with the so-called pedagogical eros, to the intention of the adult to guide a boy on his path life and to further his development. Although man-boy relationships can have pedagogical benefits, it is clear that these pedagogical intentions are not by definition inherent in sexual interest in children. If Greek love is used to stress the platonic component and to disguise the sexual aspect, the term is misleading.

In this collection several labels are used alternatively. The context in which the labels are used will elucidate their contemplated meaning.

The way in which concepts related to man-boy relationships are currently used, is not suitable for understanding historical examples and cultural practices classed under the concept of man-boy relationships. Without intending to be exhaustive, we brought together some historical and anthropological examples from different times and places.

Gisela Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg discusses the institutionalized forms of man-boy sexuality in societies where these contacts are accepted under certain specified, culturally-scripted conditions. Within these societies, the sometimes close bonds between men and boys fulfill a distinct, accepted and integrated societal function. They were part of religious practices or initiation rites, making someone a *real* man. These forms of man-boy relationships correspond to a distinct view of social reality in which manhood, sexuality, sperm, and divinity have specific meanings.

It is not always easy to detect the meaning of historic instances of man-boy involvement. This is shown in the ongoing discussion about the inscriptions found on the face of a rock on the Greek island of Thera. Edward Brongersma summarizes this discussion and argues why the inscriptions shouldn't be seen as vulgar pornographic graffiti but a testimony to ritualistic sacred acts with a clear sexual component.

Not only do practices of man-boy involvement and attitudes toward it change over time and place but the position of children also changes, in line with the development of society. Martin Killias develops the theory that the introduction of an age of consent into the penal codes, a rather recent phenomenon, unthinkable in a former phase, was provoked by the changed position of children in society. If the achievement motivation in a society is accentuated and the educational standards rise, the age of consent consequently rises.

Much closer to our contemporary experience than the man/boy sexuality in primitive societies are the man-boy friendships based on the concept of pedagogical eros. In the first decades of this century, the idea of pedagogical eros had been propagated by the German teacher Wyneken. As shown by Thijs Maasen, the various reactions to his conviction for acts of vice with minors shed light on the prevailing viewpoints then being held with regard to man-boy friendships. As a result of these discussions, the Platonic model of these friendships came to be replaced by a medico-sexological model which still dominates the current views on man-boy involvement.

In the *Zeitgeist* at the beginning of this century, the concept of pedagogical eros was not restricted to man-boy relationships. It also expressed the promise of and belief in a new world. This is shown in the study by Will Ogrinc, in which a new approach to the study of *the boy in art*, a theme to which serious attention scarcely has been paid, is developed. He describes the manner in which the Swiss artist Hodler depicted his son in a series of paintings, and he analyzes the symbolism of pedagogical eros behind it.

Ralph Nicholas Chubb, a writer, painter and boy-lover inclined to spiritualism, is the object of a study by Tariq Rahman. Analyzing his writings, Rahman shows how Chubb created an exonerative

myth to reconcile his sexual interest with his desire for spiritual fulfillment. Chubb's conception of his sexual orientation is an example of a self-definition by a boy-lover not yet influenced by the psychiatric discourse.

Although the psychiatric conception of pedophilia influences how contemporary boy-lovers look at themselves, they still create their own personal view of their desire and its history. Some divergent personal conceptions are described by Chin-Keung Li, who analyzed the personal accounts of pedophiles to find out how these individuals understand themselves and how they construct their sexuality. Current scientific research in general doesn't stay that close to the pedophile's experience. According to Edward Brongersma, in his contribution on *Boy-lovers and their influence on boys*, current research is all too often unreliable for several reasons: one can often learn more about man-boy relationships from novels. Based on anecdotal observations, Brongersma shows the potential influences a pedophile relationship can have for a boy.

On a theoretical level, pedophilia has become an exclusive sexual orientation, classified as one of the sexual disorders. This assumption dominates the diagnosis and the treatment of *pedophiles*. We don't exclude the possibility that in some cases pedophile practices result from a pathological development, as, in fact, can happen in all sexual orientations. However, we believe that a lot of the problems people with pedophile desires are confronted with result from societal rejection. So, in the contributions of Alex van Naerssen and Gertjan van Zessen on individual and group treatment, a different viewpoint is taken. A distinction is made between identity and relationship problems. The pedophile identity formation is viewed as parallel to the homosexual's, a process in which a person goes through several cognitive phases to define himself as a sexual, emotional, and intellectual being. One of the relationship problems discussed is that at different ages sexuality can have different meanings for the partners. This can make it difficult to express and cope with it.

Characteristic of our contemporary society is the disapproval and rejection of man-boy relationships. However, even in our times, one can observe differences in the attitudes of people, groups and societies. In this respect The Netherlands, next to some Third

World countries, is often seen as a paradise for boy-lovers, or, depending on the perspective taken, as a Sodom and Gomorrah. In fact, the climate in The Netherlands used to be more tolerant. Penalties for men who have had sex with people below the age of sixteen are less severe in The Netherlands than those meted out in the United States for the same behavior. In his contribution to this issue, Jan Schuijjer explores the possible causes for this more accepting climate in The Netherlands and describes the Dutch juridical debate on the age of consent.

As Kenneth Plummer shows in his more theoretical contribution, the contemporary discussion about pedophilia and child sexual abuse rests upon uncritical and underdeveloped concepts of childhood sexuality as dangerous or pleasurable. Plummer develops the social *constructionist* alternative to these unreflected views and sketches some central dimensions which guide the child's scripting of the sexual world.

Boy-lovers, especially after they began to organize themselves, also experienced rejection from other stigmatized groups, which from historical points of view can also be seen as potential allies. This applies to the gay-movement, especially when it doesn't conceive its goals solely as promoting its own interests, but as part of a broader personal and sexual liberation. In The Netherlands the national gay organization, the COC (Cultureel Ontspannings Centrum, Cultural and Recreational Centre), declared pedophilia to be a gay issue. In the United States the gay movement and the boy-lovers are less close to one another. David Thorstad documents the collisions that have taken place in the United States between the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) and several branches of the gay movement and also shows the cooperation between both movements.

It is difficult to predict what will happen in the future with respect to man-boy relationships, child sexuality, the position of children in our society. Will pedophilia become a lifestyle for some people, based on their personally designed sexual orientation? Will society allow people to adopt such a lifestyle, or will society persist in seeing them only as child molesters? Can sexual involvement between adults and children be only conceived as child sexual abuse, or will the professionals and the public come to realize that there are

various kinds of intimate involvement between adults and children and that distinctions between voluntary involvement and forced involvement can be made? Will children get more possibilities to construct their own sexualities, unrestricted by parents, professionals, the church, and pedophiles?

Questions like these are hard to answer. Discussion and thinking about these topics should continue. By bringing together contributions, showing historical and ethnological examples of man-boy involvement, and documenting and discussing the current situation, we want to stimulate this discussion.

In a contribution which closes this special issue, Gerald Jones presents his ideas about the possible role the social sciences could play. By criticizing the contemporary narrow focus on child sexual abuse and its often biased literature, supportive of popular beliefs, he proposes a much broader approach, which could help to understand more accurately the diversity and possible benefits of intergenerational intimacy. This special volume can also be seen as an attempt in that direction.

## Pederasty Among Primitives: Institutionalized Initiation and Cultic Prostitution

Gisela Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg, PhD

Federal Republic of Germany

**SUMMARY.** For several reasons it is difficult to find examples of pederastic practices in historical and ethnological sources. Besides the social taboo, these practices have always been mixed up with other forms of sexual contact. However, existing material shows pederastic practices in primitive societies as initiation rituals for male youth. Several examples of institutionalized pederasty, especially from the area of Papua-New Guinea and Melanesia are described. These practices, with a clear societal function, are part of a distinct outlook on life and only superficially resemble the man-boy relationships we can observe today. In other parts of the world, pederastic practices were forms of prostitution. Taking place in a religious context, it was also a different form of prostitution than the one we commonly know. Both forms of man-boy involvement attempt to attain assimilation through physical contact. In these practices sexuality serves purposes other than sexual satisfaction and procreation.

In the study of history we are on fairly firm footing as long as we can make use of written records. Even though the material might be meager, we have the actual observations of the people being studied—or at least those of contemporary witnesses or people who lived close to the period when these ethnic groups flourished. Thus to no small degree we are acquainted with pederastic practices in a

---

Dr. Gisela Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg is an ethnosociologist and publicist. Correspondence should be addressed to Dr. Gisela Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg, Grevelsbergerweg 17, D 5307 Wachtberg-Villip, Federal Republic of Germany.

© 1991 by The Haworth Press, Inc. All rights reserved.



number of the higher non-European cultures (for example, those in the "fertile crescent," the Orient in general, India, Burma, Japan and South America). Because the documentation resides in rather out-of-the-way places, or the records are written in antic or old Oriental languages, this information is not normally available to non-specialists since there are virtually no translations. Often, too, we discover, quite by accident, vital information in records dealing with quite different matters which would seem to have little relevance to pederasty.<sup>1</sup>

The difficulties are compounded when we turn to the pre-literate cultures, the groups and tribes which are described as "primitive," a classification which cannot always ethnologically be followed. With them, the sources are almost always to be found in the opinions and reports of members of our own culture, and they thus reflect all our own ethnocentric ideas and standards.<sup>2</sup> As a result, there is very little information about pederasty and related themes from ethnologically-interesting regions because, for many centuries these themes were, in our culture, socially taboo.<sup>3,4</sup>

#### **TABOO AND INTELLECTUAL CONFUSION AS IMPEDIMENTS TO RESEARCH**

The problems described above are certainly not small, and they are magnified by the fact that in almost all ethnological literature, even in some contemporary studies, the behavior correctly termed "pederasty" (analogous to what existed in ancient Hellas) has almost never been considered a separate phenomenon or even a problem. It was always seen as the same as or related to homosexual conduct between adults, transvestism/transsexualism, hermaphroditism or eunuchism. Thus, reading the texts, it is almost always nearly impossible to establish what kind of sexual behavior that author actually had witnessed in each case.<sup>5</sup> And, of course, most older reports about pederasty (or behavior understood as such) were heavily weighted with value judgments. Unfortunately, the object of many of these reports seems to have been to stress the moral abomination so that little or no space was left to describe the reprehensible conduct itself.<sup>6</sup> Even modern ethnologists do not always

treat the phenomenon of pederasty with the same absence of prejudice which characterizes their judgment of other primitive customs.<sup>7</sup>

Small wonder, then, considering our own Occidental morality, that pederasty, like every other form of sexual behavior at variance with our standards, was nowhere tolerated during the period of colonialism, i.e., for no less than 500 years. It was intentionally persecuted and, where possible, eliminated. And this is another reason why we have so little trustworthy information about pederasty among primitives: the custom had been already exterminated before real scientific ethnological research (then called "anthropology") began in about 1880. The small number of reports which contain information on the subject deal with periods during which the colonial conquests had not yet been completed—and it is just these reports which are not "scientific" in the modern sense. And they could hardly be so, for their authors were usually traders, missionaries, ship or military commanders, or simply adventurers who often found it difficult simply to set down their observations adequately and comprehensibly, even if we concede that they desired to do so, in light of the sexual taboos which existed at the time throughout Europe.<sup>8</sup>

Educated people had for many years, certainly since the 17th century, some knowledge about ancient man-boy love. This was one important reason why all homosexual behavior was classified and described as "pederasty." People, since the advent of modern times, wished to replace the judgmental, impolite word "sodomy" with a newer one that was less emotionally charged.<sup>9</sup> This often led to grotesque misrepresentations.<sup>10</sup>

When we analyze existing material taking the above into account, we find foreign observers, in their descriptions of "pederasty," mentioning sex between male individuals of different ages more frequently than transvestism/transsexualism (which arise clearly in a religious context, with the participants explicitly stressing that one of them actually is not male and must be considered, socially, as female).<sup>11</sup> Extensive records of the former only really exist in connection with initiation rituals of male youth.<sup>12</sup>

The existence of astonishingly similar initiation rituals in ancient Europe suggests that there must have been some kind of societal forces more or less at work universally. For all practical purposes,

we can exclude the possibility of cultural contacts considering the enormous distances involved between, for example, Melanesia and Sparta.

### EXAMPLES OF INSTITUTIONALIZED PEDERASTY OUTSIDE OF EUROPE

Most reports of institutionalized pederasty among primitives which can be said to be absolutely valid are from the area of Papua New Guinea and Melanesia.<sup>13</sup> All of these practices are so strikingly similar that, for non-ethnologists, it is quite sufficient to describe their general pattern, which is what we will do in this paper.

Two reasons are given by members of these tribes to explain why pederastic behavior is necessary for the initiation into manhood of young males. They are independent of each other but both are founded on tribal circumstances which, in the final analysis, are socially determined. In the eyes of the participants themselves, it is a matter of belief, both in the sense of real religious conviction and of acceptance of tribal traditional manners and customs, as right.

The first reason, or complex of concepts, is that boys would "always be small" if they didn't go through these pederastic rites. Put the other way around, small boys are made into big strong men through pederasty. This is conceptualized in quite concrete form: the non-initiated will actually remain children, will therefore stay through all their lives in this inferior position, will be unable to marry and procreate children of their own, nor be fit to be warriors. Aspiring initiates firmly believe this.

The second motive for pederastic practices during initiation is the nearly universal belief in these regions that boys before their initiation belong exclusively to their mothers. They are thus regarded as part of the female population. In practice this means that the small, still-to-be-initiated boy is treated as a woman: he is allowed to take part in exclusively female rituals, perform female tasks without suffering ridicule, has contact with ancestors specially venerated by the women. All of this comes to an end when he starts his initiation, a process which often extends over many years. At first, logically, the new initiates are treated by their initiators as if they were women. It is even believed that pederastic contacts with them could

result in pregnancy, and sometimes, as when some internal disease such as helminthiasis causes an abnormal bloating of the abdomen, chalk is administered to produce an abortion. The people in these tribes believe that the essential purpose of pederastic contacts is to supply sperm. Sperm nourishes the still "female" body of the boy which now must be transformed into the body of an adult warrior. Originally the boy's body was made from the mother's body fluids: during pregnancy from her blood and later from the milk from her breasts upon which he feeds for several years.

Parents take great care in the selection of a suitable "godfather" for their son, i.e., a man of high repute. Through this relationship a close social link is established between the godfather and the boy and his family, a connection best described by the German word *Wahlverwandschaft* (congeniality). At the end of the period of initiation, the godfather receives a gift of recognizance in the form of pork. A rich family might even give him a whole pig. The gift is acknowledgment of the fact that the man has given up to the boy his own physical vigor in the form of sperm (in these regions, animal protein is rather scarce in the food supply). The gift of meat is in compensation for this sacrifice. During the course of the initiation, the boy lives like a child in the home of his godfather. There is no jealousy between the boy and the godfather's wife, who takes care of him as if he were one of her own children. The godchild must help his godmother in all ways: he gathers wood, helps cultivate the yam garden, fetches water, etc. At the same time he becomes very close to the godfather's own children. From this point on he is considered these children's brother: marriage between him and one of the daughters would be considered incest and is strictly taboo. Since the godfather is responsible for the care and welfare of his godson through the period of initiation, all parents try to obtain godfathers for their sons who have a lot of prestige and who can thus improve their sons' positions socially. This tendency may have led to influential chieftains taking on multiple godsons, a practice which carries with it the potential of abuse and exploitation, which is how the natives themselves viewed it. Originally it was acceptable and legal for one man to be godfather of two or three boys simultaneously, but this was never the rule.

The belief that without ingesting sperm boys would be small for



the rest of their lives, remain forever children and thus be unable to marry and become warriors, may seem ridiculous to us, but it certainly was not just an excuse to practice pederastic rites. The system does not apply to girls: since they can remain girls and don't have to become warriors, there is no need to ingest sperm during their initiation.<sup>14</sup>

In analyzing this custom, we must always keep in mind that the adult participants in pederastic intercourse are in no way homosexuals or pederasts in the sense we use these words, especially since only those who had completed the initiation themselves were considered adult and thus able to enter into marriage. For many years boys enthusiastically anticipate this period of majority. Premarital intercourse is strictly prohibited for both sexes. All godfathers are married men; only people with really serious physical or mental handicaps remain bachelors in these regions. The godfathers have regular coital intercourse with their wives, and on certain occasions with the wives of other men. A number of Western observers have written at some length about the various promiscuous heterosexual customs of tribes like the Marind Anim.<sup>15</sup> The mother-child bond must seem so essential to the people of these tribes (remains of maternalistic cultural elements undoubtedly contribute to this) that they feel a second begetting is indispensable in the process of initiation. By means of this second begetting they hope to repress the maternal influence, previously predominant, so thoroughly that the boy can finally be allowed to be integrated into the partizan of the village. Socially considered, the initiation constitutes his "second birth" into the tribe. It is assumed that from the start of his initiation period the boy has forgotten everything he had heard, seen or in any way experienced as a little child in his close association with his mother and other female relatives.

Between godfathers and godsons there is a bond of intimate friendship; the boys must obey their godfathers' beck and call; the godfathers have to instruct them in such vital matters as hunting, waging war and religion. If one of the couple dies during the initiation period, he is mourned by the other as if he were a close relative. If the death occurs during a battle or a fight, the other is obliged to take revenge. Ideally, the godfathers at any given time in a village come from the same group of recently-initiated young

men, on the average between 20-25 years of age and newly married. They have only small children or none at all, and so the god-child, for both the godfather and his wife (in these tribes women do all the agricultural tasks) is a real help and an economic asset. The young godmother treats the boy like either a younger brother or her own son, slips nice tidbits of food into his hands, plaits his complicated head-dress, etc.

Obviously, it would make no sense to view the initiation pederastic practices of primitives in the same way we do paedophile relations in our own culture. We are dealing here with an ancient outlook on life, internally logical and consistent, the roots of which go back to the early history of mankind. Everywhere we see traces of the struggle to conquer the overgrowth of maternalistic cultural elements by the paternalistic society. Characteristically, it is generally supposed in these regions that the women are devoid of culture and at the same time we see myths about creation focused upon female creators.<sup>16</sup> Pederasty in initiation is therefore not a mishmash of obscurely obscene activities, but a relic of ancient cosmology wherein pederasty was only one element among many others but considered equally important. Among those were, as previously mentioned, strict observation of premarital chastity in both sexes, the belief that women were devoid of culture, the occasional necessity for promiscuous sexual intercourse and many other practices not belonging in the sexual sphere like, for example, head-hunting.

The situation is somewhat similar among the Australian "aborigines," but, again, direct comparisons with Western paedophilic relations are impossible. The pederastic aspect is no longer present in initiation rituals and is only hinted at in gestures or recalled in myths.<sup>18</sup> Here, too, we can discern an ancient maternalistic layer which still exists in rudimentary form. For example, can we consider it pederasty in the "classic" sense when an adolescent who has undergone the so-called "mica" operation, the purpose of which is to transform his penis into a vagina, has intercourse with a not-yet incised maturing boy in such a way that the latter "copulates" in the incised penis (the "vagina") of the adolescent?<sup>19</sup> Obviously not. What we here discern is the manifestation of some vague ancient idea that the male body should be made to resemble the female, an idea which we are no longer able to define precisely.

Easier to interpret are the relationships in which a boy who has not yet been initiated fulfills for some period of time both the social and sexual functions of a spouse to an older boy who has already passed through the first stages of initiation. This was often the case in Australia where males had to wait a long time before they were permitted to take a female wife.<sup>20</sup> A number of researchers considered this a means of reducing birth rates, but this sounds rather like a rationalization. Such male "substitute wives" had to stem from the same clan (totem) from which the adolescent must later chose his wife.

There are reports about similar practices among black African tribes, but they appear to be less reliable.

### PEDERASTY AND PROSTITUTION

In some regions of the world—the Middle East, large parts of Northern (Berber) Africa and especially the Far East—child prostitution of both sexes existed, and still exists to some extent today, although transformed.<sup>22</sup> During times of great economic stress, destitute parents sold little girls and handsome little boys to children's brothels or interested private persons. In the case of boys, this was usually only a long-term lease for they regained their (often only relative) freedom as soon as they passed puberty and lost their suitability for the brothel business.<sup>23</sup>

There is a gradual transition from this to the modern form of prostitution which I believe is based on sheer misery. Until well into the 1950s the professional dress of young hustlers often resembled that of female prostitutes: showy, brightly-colored female costumes, vivid make-up, an abundance of cheap trinkets. This is most frequently encountered in those regions where, in former times, cultic transvestism and prostitution were common as part of shamanistic religious practices or the cult of omnipotent female deities of the *Magna Mater* type.<sup>24</sup> Presumably, it was in studying these cultures that earlier observers came to consider pederasty and transvestism identical phenomena among the primitives. All sexual intercourse involving an adult man and a half-grown boy is technically "pederasty." But we must be careful not to view this in an ethnocentric way. In the opinion of the parties concerned, there was

no question that the male prostitute although clearly characterized by his dress as female being a boy: socially he was a girl.<sup>25</sup> We are dealing with a custom, formerly founded on religion, and now profaned as well as secularized.<sup>26</sup> Transvestite, often castrated, male cult ministers serving female deities at the side of their female counterparts performed sexual intercourse with the worshippers because they were seen as representatives of the goddess and such contact was considered beneficial and a blessing. Here once again we see a survival of the ancient era of matriarchy. During copulation with the representative of the goddess, her benign influence was conveyed to the faithful.

Between pederastic acts in the context of initiation rites such as we described in Papua-Melanesia and Australia, and the above-mentioned cultic customs in the service of a female deity (now absolutely obsolete), there are profound differences as well as resemblances. Both have tended to make observers regard these rather differently-motivated and differently-structured same-sex relationships as identical. They resemble each other in that both attempt to attain assimilation through physical contact: in the one case the assimilation of the energetic omnipotence of the adored goddess by the believer, in the other case the attainment of the external appearance and psychological properties of the fully adult man of his tribe by the immature, still "female" initiation candidate. The difference lies in precisely what the candidate or the temple priest desires to assimilate. Transvestism and the formerly perhaps quite common, today rather rare castration of the young temple priests are attempts to assimilate female characteristics, and the quasi-successor of modern times, the penniless effeminate proletarian boy of the Asiatic metropolises, does the same. In Melanesia, on the contrary, it is the essence of the fully adult man, the warrior, which must be assimilated.

In all these cases sexuality is made to serve purposes and aims other than sexual satisfaction and procreation. Indeed it is put to purely social purposes. For centuries, Western culture has been unaware that sexuality, independent of its procreative function, can be an agent favoring social integration or, as in the case of transvestism/transsexualism, solving conflicts of gender roles. This is why



the relevant ethnological literature contains only badly distorted descriptions of, or is completely silent on, this phenomenon.

In the case of sexual contacts in cultic service, we can discern submerged religious elements which disappeared thousands of years ago from the high cultures of Asia and the ancient Orient. We see traces in the appearance of "cynaedes" (jugglers, dancing actors and, at the same time, male prostitutes), legitimate successors of the male cultic prostitutes of European antiquity. They were to be encountered around the Mediterranean, from Italy to Syria, from the Maghreb to the Straits of Gibraltar and in many African regions. They must have been dispersed all over Asia for they also appeared in Ancient China.<sup>27</sup> Always, there was the connection with a female deity, sometimes explicit, sometimes only indirectly discerned, growing in the course of time ever weaker and paler. An important part of the cult of such goddesses had always been the temple dance and the cult theater, along with the cult servants abandoning themselves sexually to the worshippers—thus the cultivation of music and dance by the cynaedes. The Latin root from which our word "obscene" derives has no connotation of indecency: activities in the open ("scene"), partly hetero-, partly homosexual, which were an element of religious ritual and thus sacred. Since already in republican Rome the word had begun to take on a negative quality, it seems that the Indo-Germanic Romans were uneasy with the symbiosis between sex and cult, and between sex and art, which they encountered in the original population of their recently conquered country of immigration.<sup>28</sup>

Only Christianity, Islam, and, in China, Confucianism (respectively patriarchally oriented religions and social system) managed to exterminate finally the orgiastic cults of the kind here described. The Stoic school and the ascetic tendencies which developed later in Hellenism were already leaving these behind. In many regions, however, the "cynaede" type of performer/dancer/prostitute survived for centuries as a quasi-subcultural relict. Today the only single remaining indication of femininity is prostitution (true of modern poverty prostitution in many Third and Fourth World countries, formerly colonized by whites): outsiders usually don't recognize it as such, or they consider it a sort of joke: a single earring where it is not customary for males to wear one, a little dash of make-up, one

female garment among otherwise normal male dress, a female necklace.

I would like to stress once again that this analysis fits less well than it did in former times, for male and female prostitution have undergone many changes in the last decades as a result of the rapid erosion of culture in the countries discussed in this paper.

One consequence of the cultural changes brought about by the white man's rules was that the "natives" invented quite unexpected solutions to the resulting problems. Where colonial governments prohibited female prostitution—a phenomenon strongly rooted in manners and customs although not institutionalized through cult practices—they diverted their sexual expression to the prostitution of boys and adolescents. The boys themselves were not consulted: they simply had to obey their fathers or their masters, who were the recipients of all benefits, financial or otherwise.<sup>29</sup>

#### **PEDERASTY AS AN ELEMENT OF PRIMITIVE CULTURE**

In Papua-Melanesia, in Australia and Africa sexual intercourse was occasionally practiced by two youths, one of them possibly a few years younger than the other.<sup>30</sup> Frequently they were brothers or cousins. This practice was regarded as a sort of sexual safety valve, as in these tribes it was important to maintain a girl's premarital chastity because heterosexual copulation was thought to damage the health of young men and was thus extremely dangerous. Homosexual pederasty, on the other hand, was considered harmless. Such relations, however, were by no means institutionalized; they simply occurred within the context of unquestioned tribal customs.

There was a rather different evolution of pederastic customs in Japan. Literature from the feudal period bears witness to the existence of child prostitutes who were presented by their masters as medicine vendors, etc., but who were really objects on sale to pederastic clients.<sup>31</sup> As grown-ups they turned to other trades, and if they continued to prostitute themselves they did so on their own behalf. Quite independently from this, there existed passionate, often romantically colored, love relationships between knights and their young pages. Originally these were based on social condi-

tions. At first they were a kind of homosexual emergency solution, but gradually such relationships became customary, ennobled and idealized. Members of the Samurai class (knights) were often unable to raise the necessary money to obtain a wife and maintain an expensive household, the same was true for young peasant boys. In ancient Japan the farm was always inherited by the eldest son. Younger boys, then, either had to become servants of their older brothers or try their luck elsewhere, and this they frequently found at the side and under the loving protection of a Samurai who economically was often little better off than they themselves, so that their fortune really consisted only in his honor and his physical strength. Once this custom had become established as an honored institution, soon even those Samurai or barons who could financially have supported a household and several wives came to prefer male love affairs to relations with women. The devotion of the page to his knight echoed the Samurai's vassal loyalty to his prince (Daymio). These were not relationships in which both partners enjoyed the same rights. The Samurai could start to favor another page, just as the Daymio—possibly for political considerations—could dismiss his disgraced Samurai. Traditionally the page's heart was broken when his master withdrew his love; it was not unusual for the Samurai, on his dismissal by the Daymio, to commit suicide, especially if his dismissal was unjust.

In an old Japanese collection of exclusively male-male love romances (some of them tragic and extremely cruel), we find a few which seem to have originated in China and were "Japanized" during a period when the Japanese were imitating the Chinese way of life, which they considered superior to their own.<sup>32</sup> Here the relations are entirely private and individualistic.

In general, we can say that what is reported about private pederasty hardly exceeds the anecdotal. This is as true with the primitives as in the case of those non-Western cultures about which we have only the sketchiest observations on the subject. Of course, we can hardly expect much information, since, as we have seen, everything was done by the people to prevent the foreign investigator (and, for that matter, every other foreigner) from gaining real insight into intimate matters concerning his "research objects."

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

When we analyze reports about pederasty in primitive cultures and non-European high cultures written while those societies were still pretty much culturally intact, the following picture emerges. By far the greater number of instances of "pederasty" should be classed as institutionalized pederasty, that is, pederastic practices integrated into initiations, or as transvestism and/or pseudo-transsexualism, often practiced by adults. What we have said about institutionalized pederasty also applies to similar ancient European rituals.

The habitual misapplication of the term "pederasty," as we have seen in the second section of this paper, suggests that there are many more reports of "institutionalized pederasty" than ever existed in fact.

Reports on the existence of pederasty among primitives and ancient non-European high cultures resemble similar reports on other sexual aspects of these societies in that one recognizes that the prohibitive and restrictive point of view of the researcher, to the Westerner so seemingly evident and natural, is not at all so for the "research subjects" themselves. Other people have other morals.

We may learn from such observations to recognize the surprising plasticity of human sexual behavior in general. Mankind can be enormously enriched if, during our study of other people we learn to see, as if in a gigantic open-air museum, how much greater is the margin for possible human conduct than we had previously and mistakenly believed, imbedded as we were in our prejudices, imprinted by "the white man's way."

## NOTES

1. As an example we might mention the old collection: Burton, Richard F. (1885) *A plain and literal translation of the Arabian Nights entertainments*, now entitled *The book of the Thousand Nights and a Night with introduction, explanatory notes on the manners and customs of Moslem men and a terminal essay upon the History of the Nights*, Benares.

2. Exceptions are Arabian accounts of journeys made in earlier times, for example Renaudot, Eusebe: "Anciennes relations des Indes et de la Chine, de deux voyageurs Mahometans, qui y allerrent dans le neuvième siècle; traduites

d'arabe: avec des remarques sur les principaux endroits de ces relations, Paris, 1718.

3. A general picture can be found in Clellan S. Ford and Frank A. Beach: "Patterns of Sexual Behavior," New York, 1951, which includes an extensive collection of material. Also see Karsch-Haack, Ferdinand (1901) *Uranismus oder Päderastie und Tribadie Bei den Naturvölkern*. In: *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Homosexualität*, Jg. II, Leipzig.

(1906) *Forschungen Ueber gleichgeschlechtliche Liebe*. Erster Band: *Die Mongoloiden*. Erste Abteilung: *Das gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der ostasiatischen Kulturvölker: Chinesen, Japaner, Koreer*, München.

(1911) *Das gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Naturvölker*, München.

4. The causes and consequences of this emplacement of taboo are described at some length in my book: "Tabu Homosexualität. Die Geschichte eines Vorurteils," Frankfurt/M., 1981.

5. For example, the old explorer who, writing in about 1790, said that among the Aleuts of Unalashaka, "the sexual impulse had degenerated into boy-love." This "pederasty," however, manifested itself in sexual activities with young boys who had been intentionally feminized in every respect and so socially filled the role of young girls. That is, they were dressed like women, their beards, when they appeared, were depilated: even the skin around their mouths was tattooed in female fashion. If we consider the report as a whole and do not take phrases out of context, the "pederasty" is inseparably linked to an (already partially secularized) regional institution of transsexual shamanism. (Joseph Billings: "Geographisch-astronomische Reise nach den nördlichen Gegenden Russlands und zur Untersuchung der Mundung des Kowima-Flusses, der ganzen Küste der Tschutschken und der zwischen dem Festlande von Asien und Amerika befindlichen Inseln. Auf Befehl der Kaiserin von Russland, Katharina der Zweiten, in den Jahren 1785 bis 1794 unternommen vom Kapitän Joseph Billings und nach den Original-Papieren herausgegeben von Martin Sauer, Sekretär der Expedition. Aus dem Englischen Uebersetzt, Berlin, 1802, p. 195.)

6. Good examples of this are found in Richard Parkinson's "Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee," deutsche Ausgabe Stuttgart, 1907; equally James Wilson: "Missions-Reise in das südliche stille Meer, unternommen in den Jahren 1796, 97, 98 mit dem Schiffe Duff." In: "Magazin von merkwürdigen neuen Reisebeschreibungen," 21 Bd., Berlin, 1800.

7. Margaret Mead: *Mann und Weib*. Das Verhältnis der Geschlechter in einer sich wandelnden Welt, Hamburg, 1958, p. 180. There she interprets the pederastic initiation rites of the Marind-Anim Papua tribe in a most curious way. Following rather blindly one of the older ethnologists (Paul Witz), she links it, without much justification, with cannibalism.

8. For example in Steller, G.W.: *Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamschatka, dessen Einwohnern, deren Sitten, Namen, Lebensart und verschiedenen Gewohnheiten*. Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1774. Steller observed the institution of transvestite shamanism without realizing what he had witnessed.

9. Concerning the evolution and formation of the European-Western notion

of sodomy see Gisela Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg "Homosexualität," op. cit., p. 13, 20 f., 42f, 205, 212-215, 258, 274, 276, 280f., 283f., 299, 303, 305f., 308f., 313f., 318, 320, 325, 329, 333, 337, 339, 361f., 367, 380, 392f., 406.

10. The prudish and obfuscating substitution of the term "boy-love" for the traditional notion of "sodomy" resulted in the disappearance of sanctions against female homosexuality from German law.

11. Strictly speaking, we might better qualify this statement, because the boy to be initiated and the adolescents of the tribes concerned are really considered girls by the fully initiated males, and are treated by them as such. (Non-initiated boys are commonly put at the disposition of visitors from outside of the village, just as are wives. This is simply considered good manners. The wishes of the "loaned" individual are not considered.)

12. Extensive analysis and interpretation of most of this material can be found in Gisela Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg: "Männbarkeitsriten. Zu institutionellen Päderastie bei Papuas und Melanesiern," Ullstein Materialien in 35066, Berlin, 1980; compare also Gilbert Herdt: "Guardians of the Flutes: Idioms of Masculinity," New York, 1980, as well as my criticism of this work (which was published at the same time as my own book) to be found in: "Anthropos," 77.1982, 1. 250ff.

13. Of course, not only institutionalized pederasty exists but also private homosexuality between adults. As for how much pederasty may once have existed outside of the initiation rites, this cannot be determined from examination of the rather few surviving sources. It is definitely known that there were sexual taboos, for example the strict prohibition of premarital intercourse for both sexes. It would also be quite wrong to suppose that all of the numerous tribes in this area practiced pederastic rites during initiation. It should be pointed out to non-ethnologists that in gardening cultures such as we are dealing with here there is usually a large degree of sexual freedom; laws prohibiting all expressions of what we in Western society have for centuries called "sodomy" are quite unknown in Papua Melanesia.

14. With respect to the cultural interpretation presented here, especially concerning the myths of these particular tribes, see Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg (1980), p. 124, Chapter 8.

15. Baal, J. van (1934) *Godsdienst en Samenleving in Nederlandsch Zuid-Nieuw-Guinea*, Amsterdam (Diss.)-(1966) *Dema. Description and Analysis of Marind-Anim Culture*, The Hague.

16. Schlesier, Erhard (1953) *Die Erscheinungsformen des Männerhauses und das Klubwesen in Mikronesien*. 's-Gravenhage.-(1959) *Die melanesischen Geheimkulte*, Göttingen.

17. A concrete example of this can be clearly seen in the Kiwai Papua creation story (Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg, 1980, p. 102-110).

18. Spencer, Baldwin, and Gillen, F.J.: "The Northern Tribes of Central Australia," London, 1904, p. 498.

19. Strehlow, C.: "Die Aranda- und Loritja-Stämme in Zentral-Australien," part 4, vol. 1, section 1., p. 1-103, and section 2, p. 1-78, in: "Veröffentlichungen aus dem Städtischen Völkermuseum," Frankfurt/M., 1915: *Klaatsch*,



H.: "Some Notes on Scientific Travel amongst the Black Population of Tropical Australia in 1904, 1905, 1906," in "Adelaide Meeting of the Australian Association for the Advance of Science," Jan. 1907, p. 5: Purcell, B.H.: "Rites and Customs of Australian Aborigines," in: "Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie," 1893, p. 287: A. G. B. Ravenscroft: "Some Habits and Customs of the Chingales Tribe," Trans. of the Royal Society of South Australia, Adelaide, 1892, Vol. XV: P. W. Schmidt and P. W. Koppers: "Völker und Kulturen," Regensburg, 1924.

20. Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg (1980), p. 59.

21. Italo Signorini: "Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia," Anno Dodicesimo, 3, 1971, Roma; Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg (1980), p. 59ff.

22. Concerning the whole problem see Gisela Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg: "Der Weibmann. Kultischer Geschlechtswechsel im Schamanismus. Eine Studie zu Transvestition und Transsexualität bei Naturvölkern," Frankfurt/M., 1984.

23. Oliver Statler: Japanese Inn. Toyko, 1961, p. 158ff. The information presented there is taken from the old report of Engelbert Kaempfer: "Reise von Nagasaki an den kaiserlichen Hof nach Jedo," In the only edition I was able to consult of this work, unfortunately: Reisen in Nippon, Verlag der Nationen, Berlin, DDR, 1969 the specific passage was on page 180 mysteriously left out; thus I must rely upon secondary sources.

24. This rather vague geographic description is intentional. Models of male prostitution mentioned here still show, when closely analyzed, traces of their connection to cults of major or minor female deities. They are to be found in regions where for centuries these cults have not been tolerated as well as where they existed, practically, intact, until the end of the Second World War, as, for example, in remote area of Burma and Indonesia.

25. Old and more recent examples are to be found in Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg (1984) p. 107-129.

26. A particularly striking example from the 19th Century India is told by John Shortt: "Kojahs of Southern India," in: "The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland," vol. II, London, 1873.

27. On these subjects in general see Gisela Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg (1984), p. 92ff. which gives numerous examples and contains a detailed bibliography of sources.

28. See, for example, the peculiar characteristics of the mysterious "Catamitus" in M. Mayer: Mythistorica III: Catamitus. In Hermes, Zeitschrift für class. Philologie, Berlin 1892, vol. 27, part 4, p. 510-515. Karl Otfried Müller: Die Etrusker, Stuttgart 1877, p. 50ff., 262, 353.

29. See the example given in Davenport, William (1965) Sexual Patterns and their regulation in a society of the southwest Pacific. In: Frank A. Beach (Ed.): Sex and Behavior, New York/London.

30. Arnold van Gennep noted already in Africa the relationship between socially tolerated homosexuality and pederasty on the one hand and the imposition of restraints on certain conditions for heterosexual intercourse on the other. ("Les rites de passage," Paris, 1909). Examples for Papua Melanesia can be found in

Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg (1980), p. 55ff. as well as an indication of sources (Malekula, Big Nambas).

31. Bibliography to be found in Oliver Statler, op. cit.

32. Saikaku Ihara: "Comrade Loves of the Samurai," translated by E. Powys Mathers, Tokyo, 1972.

33. See, for example, Saikaku, op. cit., p. 83: where one reads that wild tigers howl while the lovers meet at night. Tigers exist in China, but not in Japan.

## REFERENCES

- Baal, J. van. (1934). Godsdienst en samenleving in Nederlandsch Zuid-Nieuw-Guinea. Amsterdam. (1966). Dema. Description and Analysis of Marind-Anim Culture. The Hague.
- Billings, J. (1802). Geographisch-astronomische Reise nach den nördlichen Gegenden Russlands und zur Untersuchung der Mundung des Kowina-Flusses, der ganzen Kuste der Tschktshen und der zwischen dem Festlande von Asien und Amerika befindlichen Inseln. Auf Befehl der kaiserin von Russland, Katharina der Zweiten, in den Jahren 1785 bis 1794 unternommen vom Kapitän Joseph Billings und nach den Originalpapieren Herausgegeben von Martin Sauer, Sekretär der Expedition. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt. Berlin: Oehmigke.
- Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg, G. (1980). Mannbarkeitsriten. Zur institutionellen Päderastie bei Papuas und Melanesiern. Berlin: Ullstein. (1981). Tabu Homosexualität. Die Geschichte eines Vorurteils. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer. (1982). Männliche Verhaltens- und Ausdrucksstile. Anthropos 77, 250-253. (1984). Der Weibmann. Kultischer Geschlechtswechsel im Schamanismus. Eine Studie zur Transvestition und Transsexualität bei Naturvölkern. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer.
- Burton, R. F. (1885). A plain and literal translation of the Arabian Nights Entertainments, now entitled The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night. With introduction, explanatory note on the manners and customs of Moslem men and a terminal essay upon the history of the Nights. London: Burton Club.
- Davenport, W. (1965). Sexual patterns in a Southwest Pacific Society. In F. A. Beach (Ed.), Sex and Behavior. New York: Wiley.
- Ford, C. S., & Beach, F. A. (1951). Patterns of Sexual Behavior. New York: Harper.
- Gennep, A. van (1909). Les rites de passage. Paris.
- Herd, G. (1980). Guardians of the Flutes. Idioms of Masculinity. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Kaempfer, E. (1969). Reisen in Nippon. Berlin (DDR): Verlag der Nationen.
- Karsch-Haack, F. (1901). Uranismus oder Päderastie und Tribadie bei den Naturvölkern. Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen III, 72-181. (1906). Forschungen über gleichgeschlechtliche Liebe. Band I die Mongoloiden. Abteilung 1: Das gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der ost-asiatischen Kulturvölker: Chinesen

- Japaner, Koreer. München: Seitz & Schauer. (1911). Das gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der naturvölker. München: Reinhardt.
- Klaatsch, H. (1907). Some Notes on Scientific Travel amongst the Black Population of Tropical Australia in 1904, 1905, 1906. In Adelaide Meeting of the Australian Association for the Advance of Science 1907, 5.
- Mayer, M. (1892). *Mythistoria III: Catamitus*. Hermes, Zeitschrift für classische Philologie 27, 4, 510-515.
- Mead, M. (1955). *Male and Female*. New York: Mentor Books.
- Müller, K. O. (1877). *Die Etrusker*. Stuttgart.
- Parkinson, R. (1907). *Dreissig Jahre in der Sudsee*. Stuttgart.
- Purcell, B. H. (1893). Rites and Customs of Australian Aborigines. *Berhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*, 28.
- Ravenscroft, A. G. B. (1892). Some habits and Customs of the Chingalee Tribe. *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia*, XV.
- Renaudot, E. (1718). *Anciennes relations des Indes et de la Chine, de deux voyageurs Mahometans, qui y allerent dans le neuvième siècle, traduites d'arabe*. Paris.
- Saikaku, I. (1972). *Comrade Loves of the Samurai*. Translated by E. Powys Mathers. Wiesbaden: Horst Erdmann.
- Schlesier, E. (1953). *Die Erscheinungsformen des Männerhauses und das Klubwesen in Mikronesien*. 's-Gravenhage.
- Schmidt, P. W., & Koppers, P. W. (1924). *Volker und Kulturen*. Vol. 1. Regensburg.
- Shortt, J. (1873). *Kojahs of southern India*. The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, II.
- Signorini, I. (1971). *Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia*, XII, 3.
- Spencer, B. & Gillen, F. J. (1904). *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*. London.
- Statler, O. (1961). *Japanese Inn*. Tokyo.
- Steller, G. W. (1774). *Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamschatka, dessen Einwohnern, deren Sitten, Naman, Lebensart und verschiedenen Gewohnheiten*. Frankfurt und Leipzig.
- Strehlow, C. (1915). *Die Aranda- und Loritja-Stämme in Zentral-Australien*. Veröffentlichungen aus dem Städtischen Völkermuseum Frankfurt am Main, IV, 1, 1, 1-103 and IV, 1, 2, 1-78.
- Wilson, J. (1800). *Missions-Reise in das Südliche stille Meer, unternommen in den Jahren 1796, 97, 98 mit dem Schiffe Duff*. Magazin von merkwürdigen neuen Reisebeschreibungen, XXI.

## The Thera Inscriptions — Ritual or Slander?

Edward Brongersma, JD

Brongersma Foundation

**SUMMARY.** Inscriptions carved in a rock on the Greek island of Thera and dating from the 6th or 7th century BC have homosexual contents. Originally considered a testimony to ritual sacred acts, they were described by Marrou (1956) and Dover (1978) as vulgar pornographic graffiti. Arguments against this view and in favor of the formal ritual interpretation are proposed. A final explanation is suggested, conforming to local customs and the general conceptions of ancient Greek boy-love.

Thera (also known as Santorini) is a Greek island in the Cyclades archipelago in the Aegean sea, some 128 miles from Athens. On a clear day from its highest point Crete can be seen in the far distance to the south. Once an active volcano, some time around the second millennium before Christ it suffered an extremely violent eruption, covering the other islands of the group with a thick layer of pumice and causing enormous seismic sea waves. It was one of nature's major catastrophes as far as Western man was concerned: many historians (others have disputed this) have postulated that it was this explosion and these "tidal" waves that brought the Minoan civilization on Crete to its abrupt end.

---

Dr. Edward Brongersma, a lawyer, was Principal Scientific Officer at the Criminological Institute of University of Utrecht, and for over 18 years was a Member of the Senate (Upper House of the Netherlands States General), where he was Chairman of the Permanent Committee for Justice. In 1979 he founded the Brongersma Foundation for research into the sexuality of youth. Correspondence should be addressed to Dr. E. Brongersma, Tetterodeweg 1, 2051 EE Overveen, Netherlands.

About 1100 BC what was left of the east side of Thera, a 300-metre high caldera wall rising out of the deep (and still hot and poisonous) waters of the Aegean, was once again occupied and fell under the influence of Sparta and its Doric culture. The chief deity was Apollo Karneios, the ram god, to which was attached a male fertility cult (Marinatos, 1976; Scholte, 1958).

Johann Friedrich Hiller von Gärtringen, an archaeologist excavating the ruins of the old city in the first years of this century, came across, in the temple district just beneath the centre of the town, a number of curious inscriptions carved into solid rock. They were some 50 to 70 metres away from the temple of Apollo and not too far from the sanctuaries of Zeus, Kures, Chiron, Athena, Ge and Artemis (Bethe, 1907, p. 450). Authorities are now in agreement that they date from the 6th or 7th century BC.

They deal, in part, with sexual activities and are quite outspokenly sexual. The most frequently quoted runs: (ton deina) nai ton Delphinion h(o) Krimoon te(i)de oiphe paida Bathukleos adelpho(n) de tou deina, which means: "By the (Apollo) Delphinios, Krimon had sex here with a boy, the brother of Bathykles."

There are other, similar texts: "Pheidippidas had sex," "Timagoras and Empheres and I had sex," "Krimon had sex with Amotion here" (Dover, 1978, p. 123). Other texts on the same rock refer to dancers. Names are also carved in the rock—it is not clear whether of an "eromenos" (a boy loved by a man), a dancer or a boy-dancer—followed by the word "agathos" (good) (Patzer, 1982, pp. 86-87). Illustrations of some of these inscriptions can be seen in Licht (1926, II, p. 178) and in Moll (1921, p. 385).

Hiller von Gärtringen, their discoverer, interpreted the sexual inscriptions as testimony to sacred acts. Bethe (1907, p. 450) concurred, as did Freimark (1909, p. 95), Licht (1926, Erg. p. 206), Robinson & Fluck (1937, p. 22), Jeanmaire (1939, quoted by Buffière, 1980, p. 58), Vanggaard (1969, p. 19), Bullough (1976, pp. 100-101), Borneman (1978, p. 601), Patzer (1982, pp. 84-87) and Sergeant (1984, p. 141). This view was first disputed in 1948 by H.I. Marrou in his *"Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité."* With respect to the texts quoted above, he wrote, "These seem to me to be no more than the kind of indecent wallscratches to be found in Pompeii: Hic ego cum veni futui; fututa sum hic. . . None

of the arguments that have been used seems to me to be sufficient to transform affairs such as these into religious ceremonies marking the ephebe's entry into the brotherhood of man" (English translation by George Lamb, 1956, p. 376). K.J. Dover, in his scholarly work *Greek Homosexuality* arrived at the same conclusion: "These utterances should not be regarded as solemn declarations of sanctified erotic relationships, but as boasts, effusions and slanders of a kind familiar to us, seven centuries later, from the walls of Pompeii; recalling Athenian graffiti, we should not imagine that Krimon, or whoever wrote no. 537, was on very friendly terms with the Bathykles over whose brother he triumphed" (1978, p. 123). Bremmer (1980, p. 283) finds Dover's argument convincing, although he recognises the solemnity of the invocation to Apollo and its tie to the initiation ceremony—an untenable view! The contemporary French scholar of Greek antiquity, Buffière (1980, pp. 57-59), is undecided between these opposing interpretations.

Opinions differ already about the significance of the word here translated as "to have sex with." Dover (1978, p. 123) says it "is neither as slangy as 'screw' nor as coarse as 'fuck,' for it occurs in the laws of the Cretan city of Gortyn, but it is a very blunt word for sexual intercourse." In Gortyn law, rape of a woman was described as "oiphein by force." According to Patzer (1982, pp. 85-86) however, the word "does not sound vulgar but has a purely objective meaning and could be rendered with 'to have sexual contact.'" Borneman judges that the word was used only in the context of ritual intercourse between priests and women, or between priestesses and men and that its Attic equivalent "opuein" means "to have lawful sex" (1978, p. 601). This at least is the translation given by the lexicographer Hesychios in the 5th Century (Vanggaard, 1969, p. 19). We should keep in mind that "oipholis" and similar sounding words mean salacious or randy and that "oiphos" means penis (Vorberg, 1932, p. 406). This would seem to justify rendering "oiphein tina" as (lustfully) using his penis upon somebody.

It seems to me that this whole dispute about the degree of bluntness or vulgarity in the choice of the word "oiphein" loses its point if we realise that the distinction between vulgar and decent terms for sexual anatomy and physiology is applicable only in a civilization



like ours which is hostile to sexuality. In scholarly publications such as *The Journal of Homosexuality* authors tend to use Latin or Greek terms because they sound less direct than the four-letter words of popular speech. If looking at another person was considered obscene we certainly would not talk in polite company about "an eye"; rather we would call the organ "oculus." The vulgar Dutch terms for penis (three-letter words!) were once considered quite proper and available for literary use; they only became vulgar when sex came to be regarded as something secret and indecent.

In this respect our culture is exceptional. In most societies an open, positive attitude is observed towards sex, thus there is no reason why a direct sexual reference must be avoided by educated persons. When a man of Pompeii scribbled on a brothel quarter wall, "Hic ego cum veni futui," this can only be rendered as "I came here and fucked." The writer of this "vulgar" graffito, however, used the same verb "futurare" as Martial (on 42 occasions!) and Catullus (32, 8: "novem continuas fututiones") (Vorberg, 1932, pp. 203-204; Pierrugues, 1908, pp. 232-233).

So Krimon "used his penis lustfully on a boy, the brother of Bathykles," and his declaration is preceded by the exclamation "Nai ton Delphinion": "By Apollo Delphinios." Bethe (1907, p. 450) translated this exclamation, "On this sacred spot and invoking Apollo Delphinios." Certainly this is making it sound too sacred. But must the exclamation be reduced to the rather meaningless level Dover suggests (1978, p. 123) by referring to "the Greek use of oaths" and comparing it to our common speech interjections, "God," "Christ" and "Jesus"?

Even if Dover (ibid.) is right that we must not overrate "most (Greek) people's reverence for sacred places," there is a lot to be said for not putting the Thera inscriptions on par with the erotic graffiti in Pompeii. The inscriptions are restricted to that one particular quarter of the city devoted to the cults of the gods, where the sacral element predominates. The rock into which these words are carved is a structural element of a terrace which apparently was used for sacred dances and for people attending religious services. On another rock nearby many names of the gods are chiselled. The setting, then, is quite different from the brothel quarter of Pompeii. Here, in Thera, the invocation of a deity would seem less likely to

be merely gratuitous. Moreover, elsewhere proofs are also found of a steady relation between Apollo Karneios and boy initiation (Sergent, 1984, p. 140).

But the deciding argument, it seems to me, is the size and number of the characters used in this exclamation. In a letter to me (22 April, 1983), Dover, with some justice, observed, "To us, incising words on a rock is 'strenuous,' but at the time of the Thera inscriptions, when the use of papyrus was only beginning and people did not carry ink round with them, incision was commonplace." But even if we accept this, one cannot dispute that carving fifteen characters (n-a-i-t-o-n-d-e-l-ph-i-n-i-o-n) in solid rock, and carving them so deeply that they are still clearly readable after 26 centuries, is quite a lot of work. The more so, since the characters are "so large" (Marrou, 1956, p. 376), "of enormous size" (Bethe, 1907, p. 450). Would any person in his right mind set himself such a heavy task just to add a senseless exclamation to a frivolous, insulting or boasting text?

The inscription does not mention the name of the boy himself: he is simply identified as the brother of a certain person. This gives us the impression of greater distance from the fact, something more official, and thus honourable. We should keep in mind that allowing a man to use his body sexually was in itself certainly not dishonourable to a boy. A boy might be too young for it, or he could give in to an unsuitable lover, or he could ask for money for sex, or he could be too old to submit to the passive role in anal intercourse, but apart from these corruptions he was not dishonoured by having sexual relations with a man. It was not demeaning to state publicly that he had done so. The situation is nicely defined by Strato (*Anthologia* XII, no. 228):

If a blooming boy sins at an age of inexperience, this carries more disgrace to the friend who seduced him than to himself. If a boy submits his body after his season for such things is past, his willingness is twice as disgraceful to him as to his tempter. But there is a time when it is shameful no more and not yet, and that now is exactly the case, Moiris, with you and me.

It is interesting to find an equivalent attitude in one modern primitive culture. Edward L. Schieffelin, in describing boys' initiation rituals among the Kaluli of the Papua Plateau in Papua New Guinea, mentions institutional pederastic homosexual intercourse with some of the older bachelors. When a boy reaches the age of about ten or eleven, his father chooses a suitable partner to inseminate him. "Out of fourteen youths and boys at Wogole 'bau a,' two were regarded as too small to be ready for homosexual activity, and two considered themselves too big and resisted it" (1982, pp. 162-163 and 117).

To a Greek boy of the proper age, having many suitors, many men running after him and trying to win his favours, was an honour: it increased his self respect (Koch-Harnack, 1983, p. 145). In Crete, only a short distance from Thera, a boy was considered "kleinos" (celebrated) after he had lived for some time with his adult lover; he wore special clothes to show that he had earned this distinction (Dover, 1978, p. 189; Buffière, 1980, p. 55; Patzer, 1982, pp. 72-73; Sergent, 1984, pp. 24-53).

Likewise, practising boy-love did not dishonour an adult man. Aischines, while attacking Timarchos in a public speech, accuses his opponent of sexual debauchery and prostitution. But Aischines himself openly avows that he has loved, and still loves, boys. He hangs around gymnasia. He tells of the insults and blows he occasionally receives in the course of his pursuit of boys, which we can take as proof that his advances are not purely platonic. If he attacks Timarchos it is because Timarchos persisted in submitting to passive anal intercourse after he grew into a young man—and moreover asked money for his favours. Aischines, on the contrary, has always been the active partner with a boy, and has never prostituted himself.

The situation is well described in a poem, mostly ascribed to the poet Theognis of Megara (end of the 6th Century BC) in his plea to a beloved boy. "To thee that grantest it my suit bringeth honour, and to me that desire it no disgrace. I beseech thee, by my parents, fair lad, have respect unto me and grant me favour" (Fragm. 1329, transl. Loeb Edition).

The Thera texts, then, dealing as they do with a commonly prac-

ticed sexual activity between man and boy, have no intrinsic characteristics which allow us to interpret them as insult or slander.

Where names, most probably of boys, were inscribed in the Thera rock without reference to any specific activity, they are sometimes accompanied by the adjective "agathos" (the good) or "aristos" (the excellent). Robinson and Fluck in their *A Study of Greek Love Names* point out that there is an "astonishing agreement with the chronology of the kalos name in Athens, a synonymous and therefore logically contemporary phenomenon. The kalos name, a product of the sixth century emotional ecstasy in Athens, has the same significance as in the Thera inscriptions. (...) For the most part the inscriptions consist of a proper name and the Doric adjective agathos, but in one of them (I.G., XII, 3, p. 549) we have (...) kalos, an occurrence of the usual Attic lover's cliché, which suggests that it has the same force as the more usual Doric agathos on the island. (...) But here, as in Attika, there is obvious proof that both imply eroticism. (...) The contemporaneity of the Thera inscriptions with the first appearance of the kalos-name on Attic vases might also be suggested by the fact that the very character of the scenes of Attic pottery of the time is in perfect accord with what we have seen to be the essentially physical significance of the island inscriptions: as, before the tone of the vase-scenes had been subdued down into the polite, non-committal, 'conversational' groups of men and boys, prevalent in the fifth century, that same sentiment had first been expressed in the actual paederastic symplegmata so common on vases in the first decades after the middle of the sixth century and so hinted at on Thera's rocks at the same time" (1937, pp. 22-24).

On the Attic vases, "kalos" (beautiful) was written in praise of a boy, while at the same time these vases depict erotic scenes, such as a man with an erection touching the genitals of a boy, or a man having intercrural or anal intercourse with him. (Reproductions are to be found in the books of Dover, Koch-Harnack, Marcadé and Vorberg.) "Kalos" was evidently meant as an appreciation of the boy's qualities as "eromenos," the boy who is loved by a man. On Thera the inscription might also refer to the boy's dancing skill, for the terrace by the rock was the scene of ritual dances (Patzner, 1982, p. 85).

The Spartans brought to Thera their "gymnopaideia" in honour of Apollo Karneios (Scholte, 1958, p. 995). Athenaios writes in his fourteenth book that all boys ("paides") participating in the gymnopaideia danced completely naked ("gymnos")—hence the name—and that the boys made graceful leaps with their bodies, interrupting their motions with soft gesticulations of their hands and enchanting movements of their feet in imitation of fighting and wrestling. One inscription reads, "Enpedokles inscribed this and danced for Apollo" (Freimark, 1909, p. 95—who gives an incorrect translation). Here the invocation of Apollo's name is indisputably pious.

Hundreds of years later someone added to the inscriptions on the rock " pornos" (male prostitute) and "Demetrios kinaidos" (Demetrios is passive in anal intercourse). Both are clearly intended as insults (Robinson & Fluck, 1937, p. 22).

But the original inscriptions of the sixth century seem only intended to acclaim and praise the boys as lovers and dancers and not to vilify or slander them. When, centuries later, a boy's wrestling school was constructed at this spot, the builders took no pains to obliterate these large sexual inscriptions which must have been clearly visible to all the young male students.

There is another dissimilarity between the Thera inscriptions and the Pompeii graffiti with which Marrou and Dover seek to compare them. In Thera there was an effort to beautify the script, make it elegant. Sometimes the engraver is not the same person who proclaims his exploits but is a more or less experienced stone-cutter whose name is also legible, as "X engraved this," just as sometimes today we see the name of a stone-mason in small characters on a tombstone or monument upon which he has chiselled the commemorative text (Patzner, 1982, p. 86). This, again, is difficult to reconcile with the concept of a spontaneous "dirty joke." It suggests a more monumental interpretation of the inscriptions.

If we regard "Nai ton Delphinion" of the Krimon inscription not as a senseless interjection but as an invocation to the god for whom the locality was sacred, it becomes possible to suggest an additional motive for the carving of this famous text.

On a rock beside Thera's only well, an inscription has been discovered which reads, "Aglotheles, son of Enipantidos and Lakarto,

was victor in the first staphylodromos" (Scholte, 1958, p. 995). This shows that Thera, a colony of Sparta, had adopted the Spartan ritual of the Staphylodromos to close its gymnopaideia.

The gymnopaideia took place once a year, after the wine harvest in September, in honour of Apollo, protector of all that is good and beautiful (Scholte, *ibid.*). At Sparta it was the one occasion at which foreign visitors were admitted, and they came in multitudes to see the naked boys perform their dance (Schlimmer & de Boer, 1920, p. 295). At the end, on a full moon night, a young boy, naked but for a garland of raisins ("staphulis"), sprinted away. He was allowed a head start, but then a group of older boys (ephebes) came after him in a foot race ("dromos"). If they managed to overtake the boy, this was seen as a happy omen for the city (Sergeant, 1984, p. 143). The first ephebe to catch up with him and bring him down possessed him on the spot (Scholte, *ibid.*).

Could not Krimon have been the winning ephebe in such a contest, proud to proclaim his victory over the staphylodromeus, a boy, the brother of Bathykles? And all under the aegis of Delphinian Apollo, the god presiding over this ritual?

Positive proof we'll never have, as so often in archaeology. But this conjecture at least covers all known facts.

## POSTSCRIPT

Since I wrote these lines, I have visited the spot: a steep and arduous ascent over very rough ground, amidst a howling wind, brought me to the top of the promontory at an elevation of over 1100 feet. Here lie the ruins of the temple of Apollo Karneios, the terrace where the naked boys once danced, and the rock wall with the inscriptions. I wonder whether Marrou or Dover ever were there. Examining the site and considering the setting as a whole, it seemed to me quite unlikely that this place—at the time when everything was intact—would have been chosen for engraving obscene or insulting graffiti. At some distance from the temple district are the ruins of the ancient town. Its inhabitants were not prudish. One of them adorned the façade of his home with the engraving of a big phallus and the text "for my friends."



## REFERENCES

- Bethe, E. (1907). *Die dorische Knabenliebe—Ihre Ethik und ihre Idee*. Rheinisches Museum für Philologie 62: 438-475.
- Borneman, E. (1978). *Lexikon der Liebe—Materialien zur Sexualwissenschaft*. Frankfurt am Main: Ullstein.
- Bremmer, J. (1980). *An Enigmatic Indo-European Rite: Paederasty*. *Arethusa* 13: 2, 279-298.
- Bullough, V. L. (1976). *Sexual Variance in Society and History*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Buffière, F. (1980). *Eros adolescent—La pédérastie dans la Grèce antique*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Dover, K. J. (1978). *Greek Homosexuality*. London: Duckworth.
- Freimark, H. (1909). *Okkultismus und Sexualität*. Leipzig: Leipziger Verlag.
- Koch-Harnack, G. (1983). *Knabenliebe und Tiergeschenke*. Berlin: Mann Verlag.
- Licht, H. (1926). *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands*. Dresden: Paul Aretz Verlag.
- Marcadé, J. (1965). *Eros kalos*. Genève: Nagel.
- Marinatos, S. (1976). *Kreta, Thera und das mykenische Hellas*. München: Hirmer.
- Marrou, H. I. (1956). *A History of Education in Antiquity* (translated by G. Lamb). London: Sheed and Ward.
- Moll, A. (1921). *Handbuch der Sexualwissenschaften*. Leipzig: Vogel.
- Patzer, H. (1982). *Die griechische Knabenliebe*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
- Pierrugues, P. (1908). *Glossarium eroticum linguae latinae*. Berlin: Barsdorf.
- Robinson, D. M., and Fluck, E. J. (1937). *A Study of the Greek Love Names*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press.
- Schieffelin, E. L. (1982). *The Bau A Ceremonial Hunting Lodge*. In Herdt (ed.) *Rituals of Manhood*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Schlimmer, J. G., and Boer, Z. C. de (1920). *Woordenboek der Grieksche en Romeinsche Oudheid*. Haarlem: Bohn.
- Schulte, H. (1958). *Gids voor Griekenland*. Amsterdam: de Lange.
- Sergent, B. (1984). *L'homosexualité dans la mythologie grecque*. Paris: Payot.
- Vanggaard, Th. (1969). *Phallós*. København: Gyldendal.
- Vorberg, G. (1932). *Glossarium eroticum*. Stuttgart: Julius Püttmann.

## The Historic Origins of Penal Statutes Concerning Sexual Activities Involving Children and Adolescents

Martin Killias, PhD

University of Lausanne

**SUMMARY.** This paper is based on in-depth historical and sociological research (Killias, 1979) exploring the conditions under which societies forbid sexual activities between persons under a certain age, where age is the only criterion for prohibition.

The laws of ancient Rome fixed the minimum ages for marrying at 14 years for boys and 12 for girls. During the Middle Ages there was no minimum age. The minimum age was left up to nature: anybody who had attained physical maturity could marry.

Since law and morality were firmly welded together, any conduct prohibited by Christian morality could—at least in principle—be punished by the secular or clerical authorities. Lawful satisfaction of sexual needs was only possible in marriage or prostitution. Adultery, bigamy, incest, sodomy, rape and abduction were criminal. But sexual activities with children not falling into one of these categories were not considered unlawful. If a child was willingly involved in the commitment of a sexual crime, such as sodomy, the child was not seen as the victim of the adult partner but as a participant and therefore equally punishable. The adult received, at least in principle, the same punishment he would have received for com-

---

Dr. Martin Killias is Professor of Criminology at the University of Lausanne (Switzerland). Correspondence may be sent to the author at the Institut de police scientifique et de criminologie, University of Lausanne, Place du Chateau 3, CH-1005 Lausanne, Switzerland.

mitting his crime with another adult; he was not punished just because his partner was a minor. The child was protected exactly as an adult was protected—against being the unwilling victim of rape or indecent assault. This system persisted long after the Middle Ages.

An interesting case which illustrates this situation is that of a priest by the name of Johann Arbogast Gauch, who for ten years (1735-1744), while serving as village parson in the former principality of Fürstenberg (Germany), had sexual relations with a number of boys and a few girls. The sexual acts were restricted to masturbation and, with the girls, displaying of the genitals. Some of the children were willing participants; many seem to have resisted at first but were compelled to give in. It seems that the whole village had been well aware of what had been going on, but for a long time nobody interfered. After ten years, i.e., after a change on the throne of Fürstenberg, however, Gauch was finally prosecuted and sentenced to death. The children were kept in a subterranean prison for several months and the boys, as accessories to the crimes, were beaten and whipped. The oldest of the boys barely escaped death sentences. The girls only received ecclesiastical penalty for unchaste behavior. Since the sexual activities in which they had been involved were heterosexual, they were thus not considered as being too serious.

Later in the sixteenth century, the authorities became more and more diligent in prosecuting people for extramarital relations. They claimed, of course, to be inspired with solicitude for maintaining morality, but their real concern was with the misery caused by overpopulation. Society became more and more openly antagonistic to sexuality in general. The Reformation, stressing Old Testament teachings, gave impetus to this trend. Nudity disappeared from public places; bathing became less popular. A society with a shortage of consumer goods, and hostile to consumption, began to oppress the sexuality of its members, and especially the sexuality of the poor, with extreme severity. This evolution illustrates the close connection between the sexual and economic standards of society, with the latter influencing the former.

In England and under continental "common law" which prevailed before 1800 in France, Italy and Germany, there was no legal prohibition of sexual activities among or with persons over the age

of puberty where age was the only criterion for proscription. There were many other rules restricting sexual behavior but—with the sole exception of the protection of immature girls—their purpose was not to protect young people from moral corruption, in contrast to many of the rules of contemporary criminal law.

During those times the social position of juveniles was quite different from what it is today. In general, everyone who was obviously no longer a child was considered an adult; in other words, everyone over puberty (the age of about 14) was admitted to adult social roles. Thus there were no "children" who had already passed the pubertal threshold, as there are today. Therefore, dispositions involving sexual abuse of individuals younger than some given age were almost never prosecuted. The only exceptions, and these were rare, were some categories of juveniles in the upper social classes.

If rape and abduction of girls and young women (under 25) were strongly forbidden, it was not to protect their personal liberty; rather, just as in Biblical times, it was to protect the power of their fathers over them. A girl, then, was quite unprotected if she did not live under the actual supervision of her father. Moreover, this protection did not extend to lower class girls, and if the guilty person was of high rank he was never prosecuted. Thus these dispositions served mainly to protect the interests of wealthy upper-class fathers against seduction of their daughters by servants, teachers and other individuals of inferior status. Here, again, we can observe that economic considerations prevail.

With the dispositions to protect female honour so very restricted, it would have been unthinkable, even early in the nineteenth century, to render heterosexual contacts with boys criminal. Heterosexual activities did not blemish the honor of a boy, but in the case of homosexual activities, the boy was committing a crime.

Later in the nineteenth century, however, youth was "discovered" as a distinct period of life. During the first decades, because of economic development and the increasing demand for skilled and well-trained manpower, the education sector began to expand rapidly. Although schooling was hardly an invention of the nineteenth century, it increased in duration and extended itself into all classes of society. The result was the emergence of a clearly demarcated,

quasi-infantile social role for juveniles; they were increasingly excluded from production (with, for example, the prohibition of child labor) and from all other relevant spheres of adult society (political rights, criminal responsibility, military service, etc.). Most important was the raising of the age of consent for marriage, and therewith the exclusion of juveniles from legitimate reproduction. Paralleling these developments, the age of sexual consent was raised in nearly all the Western countries, and sections of the law concerning "statutory rape" were also extended to include indecency, protection of male juveniles, etc.

How did these legal changes come about?

It can be assumed that sexual activity in youth will be placed under a taboo: (a) if young people are forced into playing a role which is different from that of adults and which implies social immaturity; (b) if this role does not include the possibility of socially acceptable procreation; (c) and if sexuality is only socially accepted where its aim is procreation.

The longer young people are considered to remain in this state of social immaturity, the longer their sexuality will be taboo. We can also assume that the more firmly young people are fixed in this specific position, the easier it will be for society in cases of illegal activities to shift the blame onto the adult or older partner exclusive.

Switzerland's 25 cantons can be used as a very instructive sample to test the assumed correlation between the development of the educational system and the criminal laws which deal with sexual activity among or with young people. At the end of the nineteenth century they were extremely heterogeneous both in quality of education and in those sections of criminal law which dealt with sexual offenses. For those years at the turn of the century, the correlation is actually very high between the age of consent and the criminalization of sexual behavior among or with adolescents on one hand, the development and quality of the school system on the other hand, the latter being generally considered as the best available indicator of the degree of segregation of juveniles from adult life. In other words, cantons with highly developed educational systems tended to also have very rigid statutes concerning the sexual protection of juveniles, i.e., a rather high age of consent. This correlation sur-

vives when control variables are introduced, such as industrialization and the percent of Protestant population.

In pre-industrial societies, the sexual activities of youth are less suppressed than those of adults in modern societies. Sexuality is taboo in modern societies until a person has attained a certain age, usually older than in early industrial societies. In the pre-industrial societies, the responsibility for sexual relations rests upon both partners, regardless of their age. In modern societies, the older partner carries the entire burden of responsibility if the younger partner has not yet attained a specified age. Besides, the prosecution of offenders against these new, legally formulated taboos imposed upon the sexuality of children and adolescents becomes increasingly independent of initiative by the family and is increasingly a task of the authorities.

This practice of suppressing sexuality, so well suited to the mentality of pre-industrial and early industrial societies with their low productivity and consequent demands for economy and renunciation of consumption, becomes of doubtful value in post-modern society with its increased means of productivity. Once it was a civic virtue to reduce consumption as far as possible; the exigencies of our time, on the contrary, are immediate and extensive satisfaction of ever-renewed, artificially inflated needs. Under these conditions the suppression of sexual needs no longer serves a social purpose. Consequently, the satisfaction of sexual desire becomes integrated into the general culture of increased consumption, a culture of performance and achievement.

Besides, the general availability of efficient contraceptives has weakened the traditional link of sexuality, procreation and marriage. Therefore, the exclusion of adolescents from adult life, and particularly from marriage and legitimate procreation, no longer necessarily implies the oppression of all forms of sexual behavior among and with juveniles. Accordingly, we may expect a general tendency to reduce the age of consent. It remains to be seen whether this hypothesis holds true. So far, no such legislative change has occurred in Europe. The lowering in some countries of the age of consent for homosexuality, making it identical with that for heterosexual activities, appears instead to be due to an altered opinion about homosexuality rather than to a reappraisal of youth sexuality.



But it seems that cases involving sexually mature and consenting juveniles below the age of consent are more frequently dropped than twenty years ago.

#### REFERENCE

- Killias, M. (1979). *Jugend und Sexualstrafrecht*. [Adolescence and Penal Law in Relation to Sexual Activities] Bern: Paul Haupt.

## Man-Boy Friendships on Trial: On the Shift in the Discourse on Boy Love in the Early Twentieth Century

Thijs Maasen, PhD

Schorer Foundation  
Amsterdam

**SUMMARY.** Ideas on man-boy friendships prevailing in early 20th century Germany are analyzed in this paper. The friendships based on the concept of pedagogical Eros, as propagated by Gustav Wyneken (1875-1964) in his Wickersdorf Free School Community, are presented as an example. Wyneken's conviction in 1921 for acts of vice with minors and the diverse reactions in the homosexual and youth movements and the popular press shed light on the viewpoints then held regarding these friendships. As a result of this confrontation, the Platonic model was superseded by the medico-sexological model which has continued to dominate thought on man-boy friendships up to the present day.

Friendships between German youth leaders and boys were thrown into an unfavorable light during the first decades of this century: they were increasingly seen as homosexual relationships. Advocates of such friendships, especially in the youth movement and the movement for educational reform, defended them as a form of "pedagogical Eros," a reciprocal erotic bond between a charis-

---

Dr. Thijs Maasen is Psychologist at the Schorer Foundation in Amsterdam and Researcher at the Gay and Lesbian Studies Department of the University of Utrecht. Requests for further information can be sent to Dr. Thijs Maasen, Voetboogstraat 7, Amsterdam 1012 XK, Netherlands.

The author would like to thank Michael Dallas for translating the article.

matic teacher-leader and a boy, a relationship which, in keeping with the Platonic tradition, they considered to be endowed with special educational qualities. In intimate companionship with his teacher, the boy was initiated into a "higher world" embraced by art and philosophy.<sup>1</sup>

I will trace the ways in which man-boy friendships in early 20th century Germany came to be viewed as homosexual friendships and fell into disfavor because of the prevailing anti-homosexual climate. I hope to show what the concept of pedagogical Eros meant to its proponents and how they used it in defense of man-boy friendships.

These questions can be answered by following the debate on pedagogical Eros which developed around Gustav Wyneken (1875-1964), an educational reformer who was one of the foremost champions of pedagogical Eros and boy love in Germany during the first quarter of the century. Wyneken was taken to court in 1921 because of his attempts to incorporate erotic friendships in the Free School Community (*Freie Schulgemeinde*) which he had founded some years earlier. At his trial he defended these friendships as a form of pedagogical Eros, thereby precipitating scores of widely divergent reactions in the press, youth movement, and homosexual and male-friendship organizations. Many of these reactions will be detailed in order to distinguish the various ideas on pedagogical friendships prevalent at the time.

The Platonic model of boy love had long served as a basis for appeals for man-boy friendships, particularly in 18th and 19th century Germany, where a general interest in classical Greek antiquity prevailed among intellectuals and artists.<sup>2</sup> Toward the end of the 19th century, however, a medico-psychiatric model became popular. Boy love was defined by the new model as a sexual deviation under the name of "paedophilia erotica."<sup>3</sup> I will further address how the debate on pedagogical Eros surrounding Wyneken's conviction illustrates a shift in the discourse on boy love. His trial in 1921 took place at a time when differing views on man-boy love clashed.

I will consider Gustav Wyneken's ideas on pedagogical Eros and then show how the accusations against Wyneken came about and describe society's reactions to the trial. In closing I will return to the

question of the extent to which the trial and the reactions to it can be related to changes in the discourse on boy love.

## GUSTAV WYNEKEN'S CAREER AS AN EDUCATOR

### Background

Gustav Wyneken was born in Stade, near Hamburg, on March 19, 1875, the son of a Lutheran minister.<sup>4</sup> Having first obtained a degree in theology under the auspices of the Hanoverian State Church in 1897, he completed his doctoral thesis in philosophy one year later, and then went on to study German language and literature and classical philology at Berlin. Contrary to his original intentions, he spent a good part of his life in education. Following his years in Berlin, Wyneken came into contact with the Country Home School Movement (*Landerziehungsheimbewegung*) through its founder Hermann Lietz (1868-1919). This movement of educational reformers (*Reformpädagogogen*) set up many "home schools" which were guided by a "back-to-nature" philosophy. Wyneken became devoted to this movement, at first as a teacher and soon thereafter as leader of the Ilsenburg Home School, the first school Lietz set up in 1898. There were many splinter groups in the Country Home School Movement, the most important of which was led by Wyneken himself. In 1906 he led a resistance group against Lietz, who was considered too conventional. On September 1, 1906, the Wickersdorf Free School Community was founded for about 20 boys and girls 12 years and older. It would later develop into an international community of about 100.

### The Free School Community

Paul Geheeb and Gustav Wyneken ran the school, located outside Wickersdorf on a plateau in the Thuringian Forest. The school buildings were situated over 2000 feet above sea level, surrounded by a ring of mountains. This sequestered site was meant to encourage a distinct community life and to guarantee the pupils a great measure of freedom.

The "school community" was governed by representatives of parents, teachers, and pupils, and these groups jointly made deci-



sions regarding instruction. Wyneken termed the school a "self-educating community." Older pupils were entrusted with special care of younger "charges." Sports, play, dance, and music were essential elements in the cultivation of the pupils, and, due to the superb talents of several music instructors such as August Halm and Martin Luserke, a distinct artistic style developed. Rivalry between Wyneken and Geheeb, however, led to conflict in 1910, and the latter resigned to start the Odenwald School.

### **Wyneken's Influence in the Youth Movement**

After Geheeb's departure Wyneken was replaced by Martin Luserke as leader of the school at Wickersdorf, but as chairman of the Association of Free School Communities, Wyneken continued to exert influence there. He also propagated his ideas in journals such as *Die Freie Schulgemeinde* and *Der Anfang*, in which writers such as Hans Blüher and Walter Benjamin also published. Through Blüher, Wyneken came into contact with the Wandervogel, a youth movement which originated around the turn of the century in Berlin-Steglitz in resistance to the teachers' authority in the disciplined German schools and to urban life in general. Soon boys 12 to 19 years old, from many cities, were making their exodus into "unspoiled" nature under the leadership of older youths.

The youth movement in Germany reached a peak on October 13, 1913, when the great Free German Youth Meeting was held on the Hohe Meissner, a mountain near Kassel. Wyneken was one of the speakers, along with other prominent movement leaders, who spoke on behalf of the young. Wyneken was convinced that a confluence of the Wandervogel and the Free School Communities would lead to a new "youth culture." He believed that the youth movement would find fulfillment in the Free School Community, because the School provided a guarantee for the fertile interchange of "spirit" (*Geist*) and "youth."

### **"Comradeship" as Initiation Ritual**

In his book *Schule und Jugendkultur* [School and youth culture], published in 1913, Wyneken enunciated the educational method of

the Free School Community. He attacked the authoritarian discipline offered by the traditional school and rejected both the nuclear family and the state as providers of education. The family limited curiosity to its own horizons, while the state was guided by political interests. Only intellectuals were qualified to initiate the youth into culture. As procreators of art and science united in the Free School Communities, intellectuals could realize the school's aim "to attain, conserve, and ultimately perhaps create culture," as Wyneken stated in the school's first annual report.

The Free School Community introduced the erotic bond between a leader and a boy as an educational principle, in this way accommodating the boy's desire:

to be loved by a man he admires, to follow this man, to belong to him, to be allowed to share in his life . . . the man who understands his longings, the man to whom he can give his love because he feels love radiating from him, the man who opens his heart to him, who shares his life with him, who becomes for him the symbol of a higher, godly life,

as Wyneken (1921, pp. 48-49) wrote in his essay *Eros*. The "leadership" (*Führerschaft*) represented spiritual beauty and wisdom, while the "disciples" or "followers" (*Jüngertum, Gefolgschaft*) emanated the beauty of youth.

In the school the pupils were to choose a teacher with whom they formed a "comradeship" (*Kameradschaft*). A personal friendship and erotic bond took shape; the initiation into the "world of the spirit" was realized. One spoke of "belonging to each other," "living together," and "maturing under the eyes of the master."

Wyneken shared with Stefan George (1868-1933) the ideal of cultivation of youth to a "new nobility" (*neuer Adel*). The friendship circles in Wickersdorf exhibited a clear affinity to George's "circles of disciples" and his friendship cult. Both drew their inspiration from Plato's *Symposium*, where pedagogical Eros was acclaimed.<sup>5</sup> For them the roots of German culture lay in Greek antiquity.

uity—George spoke of “neo-Hellenism” (*das neue Griechentum*) and Wyneken of “paiderastia.”<sup>6</sup>

### PEDAGOGIC EROS IN DISREPUTE

With the fall of Imperial Germany in World War I and the consequent shift in the political climate that ushered in the Weimar Republic, Wyneken became an adviser to the Ministries of Culture in Berlin and Munich. While he held this position he tried to inaugurate a number of radical education reforms. His ultimate aim was to introduce the school community principle throughout Germany and make religious education no longer obligatory. In Prussia, several of these measures became law, but in Bavaria his reform proposals met with major objections. Wyneken also attempted to set up old unoccupied castles as “youth refuges,” but his negotiations got nowhere.

The opposition to his plans in Bavaria became increasingly more acute, and during the 1920s public lectures by Wyneken were prohibited even in Munich because the authorities feared rioting. By 1919 the ministry found itself unable to support his reform proposals, whereupon Wyneken resigned. He was given the opportunity to resume his post as leader of the Wickersdorf school after a nine-year absence.

### The Scandal at Wickersdorf

Wyneken reassumed leadership of the Free School Community in 1919, against the wishes of some teachers. They viewed him not only as an uncompromising person who was difficult to work with, but also as a representative of outdated ideals from the early years of the school. Some teachers left upon his return. Wickersdorf was divided into several camps, and this made it a hotbed for conflicts.

The return to “his” school, so adamantly desired by Wyneken, was to be short-lived. On October 6, 1920, he was forced to resign again, accused of having had homosexual relations with boys in his friendship circle. Shortly after the first rumors arose, a statement repeating the allegations was circulated through the school. It was

drafted by assistant teacher Kurt Hoffmann and signed by the boys. Wyneken was accused of homosexual relations with two boys, Heinz Herrmann and Viktor Behrens.<sup>7</sup>

Hoffmann's allegations caused much commotion in the Free School Community. Most teachers and pupils sided with Wyneken, and Hoffmann was accused of treachery—an attempt to get rid of Wyneken. The leadership of the school set up a commission of inquiry to investigate the allegations. The interrogation of the boys focused on the question of whether sexual motives had been involved in two instances in which Wyneken, who was nude, had embraced the boys who were also nude. The statement had referred to “sexual relations,” “touches,” “homosexual relations,” and “coitus” (*geschlechtlicher Verkehr, Berührungen, homosexueller Geschlechtsverkehr, Coitus*). The boys were asked the minutest details regarding the circumstances under which the embraces had taken place. The commission decided, however, that no sexual motives had been involved and that the accusations against Wyneken were unfounded.

Moreover, the boys had not made use of sexual concepts of their own accord—Hoffmann had presented them with a ready-made document to be signed. They hadn't even known what was meant by “homosexual relations,” and the word “coitus” was also unknown to them. It was true that Wyneken had embraced them in the nude, but, the commission concluded, he had not done so with any sexual intentions.<sup>8</sup>

The Free School Community subsequently affirmed its confidence in Wyneken and asked him to again assume leadership of the school. By means of a petition the teachers protested the attempts to undermine Wyneken's position and that of the Free School Community. Although the petition did reaffirm the importance of pedagogical Eros, it rejected on principle any sexual interaction between teachers and pupils within the Community.

Wyneken filed a libel suit against Kurt Hoffmann in Rudolstadt. He alleged that Hoffmann had acted out of political motives, having contrived a plan to destroy Wyneken's life work. He accused him of putting the boys up to making libelous statements.

### Parents' Reactions

The allegations soon became known to the parents, many of whom lived in Berlin. The leadership of the Free School Community therefore arranged a parents' meeting on October 24 in Wickersdorf to discuss the commission's findings and to reassure them.

At the parents' meeting, the acting head of the school, Martin Luserke, read a number of letters from concerned parents and went on to recount what had happened. The discussion centered on the questions of whether the erotic friendships at Wickersdorf made the boys homosexual, what the nude embraces had involved, and whether sexual motives played a part. Several parents expressed concern. Parents who sympathized with Wyneken urged solidarity: the children had purposely been sent to the Free School Community to receive an anti-bourgeois education. Also discussed were the distinction between pure and unnatural friendship and between sexuality and eroticism, and the importance of pedagogical Eros in the youth movement. Teachers argued that the pure friendships in Wickersdorf had wrongly, from "urban perspectives," been associated with homosexual relationships. In the Free School Community these had an educational function.

In a joint statement, the parents and the leadership of the school rejected the allegations against Wyneken. The allegations had unjustly thrust a sexual consciousness upon the school. The effect that this forced perception of sexuality was to have on those concerned, however, was expressed as follows:

Trust and tenderness were seen to have been violated by treachery, and because of the insinuations that have been made, everyone in the school will therefore be expected to exercise a certain abstinence in this direction in the time to come.<sup>9</sup>

Restraint was the word. The statement went on to urge parents not to withdraw their children from the school, and confidence was expressed in Wyneken.

### "Proof" of a Sexual Motive

The legal proceedings that Wyneken had instituted against Kurt Hoffmann boomeranged. The public prosecutor decided to take not Hoffmann but Wyneken to court. He was indicted on February 8, 1921, in the court at Rudolstadt. The indictment read:

I hereby charge Dr. Gustav Wyneken that he, in several separate incidents in Wickersdorf, Saalburg, and Berlin between the summer of 1919 and 1920, as teacher did commit acts of vice with his pupils of minor age, and to wit a) Viktor Behrens, 17 years of age, of Berlin b) Heinz Herrmann, 12 years of age, of Friedrichshagen.<sup>10</sup>

Petitions filed by the lawyer Anton Gänssler and by Wyneken and the Free School Community to dismiss the case were to no avail.

The trial took place on August 30, 1921, and aroused great public interest. Despite protests by Wyneken, the court decided to hold the trial behind closed doors on the grounds that an open sitting would present a threat to public morals.

Pupils, parents, and teachers were subpoenaed as witnesses. The questioning focused primarily on whether sex acts had occurred on two occasions in Wyneken's interaction with the boys. The defense witnesses (many of those called were not admitted) stressed that the intimate modes of interaction at issue in the trial formed part of the new educational relationships in Wickersdorf. They lauded Wyneken's educational qualities.

At the end of the lengthy sitting, the judges came to totally different conclusions. The contested embraces were placed entirely in a sexual light in their ruling. They pointed out that Wyneken had kissed one of the boys on the mouth and induced him to undress and that the boy had done so because he was totally under the influence of the accused.

One of the embraces was described as follows: "They both reclined onto a bed, they embraced each other there and lay wrapped in each other's legs, the accused kissed Behrens on his mouth and face, caressed him and pressed him to his body." The court viewed this as proof of a sexual motive, and this was explicitly underscored by the passage which followed: "The genital of the accused lay at



this time on the youth's abdomen."<sup>11</sup> In the second incident involving such an embrace, according to the ruling, it was even clearer that sexual gratification had taken place. Wyneken denied this and provided a different reading of what had happened.

### *A Spiritual Bond*

Erotic friendships, including embracing and kissing, were placed by Wyneken in another light. He denied any sexual motive whatsoever, calling it a misunderstanding to try to subsume pedagogical Eros under the concept of "sexuality."

If one conceived Eros from a sexual perspective, as the prosecutor had done during the proceedings, then Eros could only be seen as an aberration in the sex drive or a physical deviation. Wyneken wrote in *Eros* (1921),

So let it be clearly said: we are speaking here of a form of love in the sense of the Greek concept of Eros, as we will provisionally designate it. We are not speaking of the sex drive. Bourgeois ignorance habitually combines the sexual classification or derivation of paiderastia with a value judgment: it is abnormal, thus something pathological, and therefore a human deficiency. What standard is being used to measure here? (p. 5)

With this court ruling, bourgeois society was taking its stand against the new educational relations in Wickersdorf, he concluded.

The interrogations had been directed exclusively at "presumed" sexual motives, leaving the educational context out of the picture. The boys had been suggestively influenced by the questioning. What for the boys who loved him had been a "supreme and sacred youth experience" had now become stained by "crude grilling from a 'sexual' angle by strangers" (Wyneken, 1921, p. 40). The words on which the indictment was based had been put into the boys' mouths, and after such interrogations they could no longer view their pure friendships with an open mind. They had been saddled with a conscious homosexual perception. Although Wyneken did not condemn homosexual love, he distinguished it emphatically from pedagogical love. The first was aimed at sexual gratification, the second was not. Wyneken introduced in *Eros* the term "paid-

erastia" for pedagogical Eros in order to distinguish it from "pederasty" (by which he meant sexual relations between men and youths). By paiderastia Wyneken (1921) understood:

love for youths, Eros directed at youths. That is not the same, however, as that which one today calls same-sex love (*gleichgeschlechtliche Liebe*). It involves . . . a man's erotic ties to youths, . . . and, reciprocally, these youths' erotic ties . . . to a man. (p. 3)

Wyneken justified this erotic bond between a man and a youth by pointing to the cultural significance of a Platonic education. The "spiritually determined bond" was of growing importance in the pedagogical relationship between youth leaders and boys in the new youth culture.

In defending himself Wyneken expounded upon the meaning of "nudity" and "intimacy" within the educational atmosphere in the Free School Community. Being nude together meant standing open to one another. Intimacy was a logical consequence of the friendly comradeship between teachers and pupils which was alien to prevailing teacher-pupil relationships. Kissing and embracing were a part of such friendships, and Wyneken was therefore not averse to a certain measure of sensuality.

### *Pedagogical Eros Convicted*

The court had not been convinced by Wyneken's plea. The judges had found his actions contrary to a proper teacher-pupil relationship, setting their view against Wyneken: "Actions of this sort are in no way suited for exerting educational influence."<sup>12</sup>

Whatever good intentions Wyneken might have had, the ruling went on, it was proven that he had sought sexual gratification in the two embraces. An educator and gifted man such as Wyneken should have known better. As additional argument for rejecting his plea, it was asserted that he had acted contrary to "popular consciousness" (*Volksbewusstsein*) and had violated "common sentiments of shame and morality." He was sentenced to one year in prison plus court costs. Wyneken appealed the decision.<sup>13</sup>



### REACTIONS IN THE GERMAN PRESS

Between 1920 and 1922, 150 articles on the scandal and trial appeared in German newspapers. They reflected public opinion on Wyneken's conviction. The volume and nature of journalistic attention for the subject make it clear that Wyneken was an influential and controversial person, of whom many had something to say. And so the pedagogical Eros debate extended far beyond the walls of the small Free School Community.

#### Sexual Pathology

Scores of papers copied the first published report from the bourgeois-liberal *Vossische Zeitung* on October 31, 1920, that followed the original allegations. This article reported that Wyneken had "abused two of his pupils." Even before an official accusation had been made, most papers had already placed the incidents in a sexual light. The Free School Community and Wyneken attempted to counter this with pedagogical arguments. Editorials opposing Wyneken jeered that one of the foremost pioneers of school reform had "morally derailed." The Free School Community had now been "immorally raped by her lord and master!! O prophet, O prophet, deep is thy fall!," an example from the conservative paper *Das Bayerische Vaterland* on November 9, 1920.

Critics depicted Wyneken as a dangerous seducer of youth. They pointed to how much damage this "fanatical school reformer" had already brought about; it was high time he vanished from public life. Political parties and progressive magazines were reproached for having supported him. The scandal was seized upon by *Das Bayerische Vaterland* (November 9, 1920) to denounce the whole movement for educational reform: "Now that . . . the father of school communities may be put in jail, we warn once again: The devil take this reform drive! Leave the schools in peace! Leave the old intact!" The compulsion to innovate was depicted especially by this paper as a form of sexual pathology: "Your dissatisfaction, your compulsion to overthrow and to better, it all just stems from your abnormal daintiness, your sexual or some other sort of neurasthenia!" *Der Bayerische Kurier* (September 1, 1921) accused Wyneken of "unclean activities."

Fiercely critical press reactions were also prompted by a petition in Wyneken's support adopted in 1921 by the First National Congress for Sexual Reform on Sexological Foundations. Because of this petition, the entire congress was deemed a public threat by *Das Deutsche Tageblatt* (September 29, 1921). It showed "how all our most vital German cultural treasures are to be eaten away at the foundations, from the inviolable monogamous marriage right down to the family itself."

#### Political Liquidation

Newspapers that were generally on Wyneken's side denounced the fact that the trial was being held behind closed doors. How could the public form a judgment on what had happened? Some argued that sensational articles on the topic had now been made unavoidable.

Numerous papers supporting Wyneken adopted the standpoint of the Free School Community that what was happening was a political liquidation of Wyneken, with sexual insinuations used as a means to that end. According to the left-wing Berlin newspaper *Die Freiheit* (August 31, 1921) the trial was a matter not only of the personal destruction of Wyneken, but also of the Free School Community, which was a thorn in the side of reactionaries with their "school of the rod" (*Prügelschule*). "Their snooping has indeed succeeded in arousing mistrust in Wyneken's method and even in staging a trial." The trial was now being gratefully seized upon to stifle attempts at educational innovation.

Sympathetic papers reported similar, less publicized scandals in other Home Schools in which educators were dismissed or schools were closed. A few articles even feared that the whole Country Home School Movement was being threatened by the trial. The *Leipziger Volkszeitung* (October 5, 1921) and the *Berliner Tageblatt* (October 6) reported on a mass meeting on October 4 in Central Theater in Leipzig, held to protest Wyneken's conviction. Some 1500 young people denounced the trial, using the motto "Taking a Stand on the Conviction of Gustav Wyneken." They viewed the trial as an attack on the gains of the youth movement.

One of the speeches was entitled "The Pedagogical Meaning of Eros."

### REACTIONS IN YOUTH MOVEMENT PUBLICATIONS

Many periodicals in the youth movement published reactions to Wyneken's trial, but not all of them took his side. Initially, the largest papers, such as the pacifist, left-wing *Junge Menschen*, the Wandervogel magazine *Der Zwiespruch*, and the Free German Movement paper *Freideutsche Jugend* unequivocally rejected Wyneken's conviction and stood firmly behind him. They condemned the trial with terms such as "sex gossip" and "political liquidation." *Freideutsche Jugend* in December, 1921, called on young people to show their support and protest, for "Gustav Wyneken convicted means for all members of the youth movement that they have been convicted with him." And *Der Neue Bund* warned of impending danger for every youth leader: "If the Rudolstadt trial should become a precedent, every educator, every youth leader who lives with his boys can meet Wyneken's fate."

Soon afterward, however, protests against appeals for unconditional support could be read in the same papers. Sexual suspicions were not merely a "political instrument." Skeptics in the youth movement first wanted to know exactly what had happened. Who knew Wyneken's actions? wondered one writer in *Junge Menschen* (no. 20, October, 1921): "We don't know what their nature was, whether they were in harmony with his work and his book." In *Freideutsche Jugend* (no. 10, October, 1921) Wyneken was called a "shrewd wordmonger of unbelievable vanity," and in *Der Zwiespruch* (September 16, 1921) one writer condemned him outright: "If we protest against it, we befoul ourselves." A seemly silence was more appropriate than a loud protest. Even a genius could take a false step, critics argued.

In *Eros*, Wyneken had expressly distinguished pedagogical Eros from homosexuality. Nevertheless, *Vivos Voco* (December, 1921) found that his appeal contained an "affirmation of man-to-man Eros," just as had been the case with Blüher. Uncritically preaching love for one's own sex had the effect of poison in the youth movement. Many a youth with a normally developed emotional life

would, under Wyneken's influence, "succumb to an inversion of his intellectual and subsequently his emotional life," wrote *Der Pfeil* on October 10, 1922.

It was clear from the publications of the youth movement that because of the dramatic trial, the movement could no longer avoid confronting the issue of pedagogical Eros. Whether or not one wanted to defend Wyneken, one was forced to take a stand and consciously reflect on man-boy friendships. Some who felt that pedagogical Eros was indispensable for the youth movement had less far-reaching conceptions of it than Wyneken. One commentator, for example, in *Der Zwiespruch* (March 17, 1922), rejected "indulgent Eros" and "erotic-sexual love" in favor of a "creative Eros" and "ethical-religious love" in which "spiritual affinity" and mutual "affection" were paramount. The psychologist Eduard Spranger (1928), in an essay entitled "Eros," took his stand against Wyneken's *paiderastia*, deeming it too sensual; he instead defended a spiritual variant.

### STANDPOINTS OF HOMOSEXUAL ORGANIZATIONS AND MALE-FRIENDSHIP SOCIETIES

The debates over pedagogical Eros in the youth movement at the beginning of this century cannot be considered without taking into account the views of "homosexuality" held by homosexual organizations and male-friendship societies. The notion of "homosexuality" as a "sexual variant" was propagated, for example, by the Scientific Humanitarian Committee (*Wissenschaftlich-Humanitäres Komitee*), founded in 1897 by the physician Magnus Hirschfeld and whose membership numbered 5,000 by 1905. One of the foremost objectives of the organization was the repeal of Paragraph 175 of the German penal code, under which "homosexual acts" were punishable. To this end the Committee addressed a petition to the Reichstag, signed by thousands of prominent doctors, scientists, and politicians. Hirschfeld based his campaign for equal rights for homosexuals on a biological theory of a "third sex"—the homosexual as "intermediate type" (*Zwischenstufe*). Inborn homosexuality posed no danger of seduction and should be recognized. Such notions were disseminated in scholarly circles in the *Jahrbuch für*

*sexuelle Zwischenstufen* [Yearbook for Intermediate Sexual Types], a scientific journal first published by the Committee in 1899.

The debate surrounding Wyneken, occasioned by the trial of 1921, did not go unnoticed by the Committee. Wyneken's distinction between pedagogical Eros and "homosexuality," and in particular his critical stance regarding the medical approach to "homosexuality," were not appreciated. Dr. Arthur Weil, who reviewed Wyneken's book *Eros* in the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* (no. 1, January, 1922, pp. 17-23), delivered a prelude to the Committee's stand by attacking Wyneken's contempt for the medical profession and thus for the medically oriented Committee. According to Weil, Wyneken failed to realize that medical scholarship on sexuality was just experiencing a major turning point. Instead of denouncing the medical viewpoint of an "innate third sex," which formed the basis of the Committee's campaign for equal rights for "homosexuals," Wyneken would be better advised to devote his energy to the campaign. When equal rights were achieved, Weil argued, the bias against pedagogical Eros would disappear.

Committee staff member, Kurt Hiller, who was especially active in the campaign against Paragraph 175, attacked Wyneken fiercely for his aloofness toward "homosexuality." Hiller, who had at first sent Wyneken a declaration of sympathy, pointed in *Die Neue Generation* (no. 5, June, 1922, pp. 179-83) to the "favorable press" that Wyneken had been able to enjoy in democratic circles. Wyneken failed to see how much this could be directly attributed to "the fruits of decades of efforts at enlightenment by that very movement . . . which he for his part thrusts away from him, and how much he indirectly owes to a man whom he so despises as Magnus Hirschfeld." Hiller called Wyneken self-centered and arrogant and expressed deep disappointment in him. This just could not be the attitude of a socialist, let alone that of an aristocrat, Hiller concluded.

Another organization that defended male-to-male love, the Community of the Special (*Die Gemeinschaft der Eigenen*), responded positively to Wyneken's stand. The Community had been set up in 1903 by Adolf Brand, drawing adherents from the readership of the "magazine for male culture" entitled *Der Eigene* [The Special One]. Compared to the much larger Scientific Humanitarian Com-

mittee, this society undertook few activities on a political level, concentrating instead on cultural gatherings.

The Community of the Special identified largely with Wyneken's views on pedagogical Eros and looked back to classical Greek antiquity to defend boy love. The Community likewise adopted a critical stance toward the medical theory embraced by the Scientific Humanitarian Committee. Its concurrence with Wyneken's contempt for the medical approach was expressed in its periodical *Die Gemeinschaft der Eigenen* (no. 4, 1921): "What this man has done is a sublime and noble symbol of an alliance of love which bears only a superficial likeness to 'abnormal' sexuality" (p. 2).

The theme of pedagogical Eros was not unknown to the magazine *Der Eigene*. Pictures of youths assuming classical Greek poses were published, among them nude photographs by Wilhelm von Gloeden, romantic Jugendstil drawings by Fidus, and pictures of Wandervogel boys. The theories of doctors such as Hirschfeld on a third sex were ridiculed in *Der Eigene*. The "homosexual" as "intermediate type" was for Brand and his confederates a product of the urban subculture, an effeminate caricature. The "noble" experience of boy love could amount to no more than degeneration or pathology when judged from the medical viewpoint.

In Wyneken's defense the Community of the Special pointed to the political nature of the trial against him. Wyneken, like Oscar Wilde, had become the victim of bourgeois propriety. *Die Gemeinschaft der Eigenen* (no. 4, 1921) expressed full understanding of Wyneken's standpoint and his ideas on pedagogical Eros as a "spiritually determined bond":

And they live with him communally, they share with him their everyday lives, keeping his room in order, for example; but they also work with him, read with him, go on excursions together, participate in sports, and so forth. . . . That a much warmer tone, a more heartfelt relationship, something like an intimate friendship grows, really just goes without saying. (p. 2)

These are words that Wyneken himself could have written.



### THE PLATONIC MODEL VERSUS THE SEXOLOGICAL MODEL

To what extent can the debate surrounding Wyneken's trial be understood as a manifestation of changes occurring at the turn of this century in the discourse on boy love?

From various quarters, pedagogical Eros was understood in sexological terms—in the original statement drafted by Hoffmann; in the discussion on the parents' day in the Free School Community; in the Rudolstadt court ruling; and in the diverse reactions to Wyneken's conviction appearing in numerous publications. The sexual perception that emerges in these commentaries cannot be seen in disjunction from a broader societal setting in which a medico-psychiatric conceptualization of sexuality was taking shape, in which a growing "sexual consciousness" and a new interest in sexuality were becoming manifest.

This "new interest" in sexuality had been noted in 1909 by the physician Albert Moll in his book *Das Sexualleben des Kindes* [The sexual life of the child], especially with regard to abnormal, perverse sexuality and sex drives. In this connection Moll cited Sigmund Freud's *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* from 1905 and the pioneer work by Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1886), *Psychopathia Sexualis*.

Moll adopted Krafft-Ebing's term "paedophilia erotica," by which was understood a sexual inclination (conscious or unconscious) on the part of adults toward children. Moll (1909) specially applied this term to the rearing of children. Adults charged with raising children were not always conscious of pedophilic feelings, according to him:

In part it is an undefined urge directed towards children which is operating here and which is partly responsible for interest in educating them. I have seen cases in which a sort of mania to educate and instruct was present, which upon closer analysis could be recognized as sexual interest in children. (p. 212)

In a later essay entitled "*Homosexualität und sogenannter Eros*" [Homosexuality and so-called Eros], Moll (1928) addressed Wyneken's ideas explicitly. He noted that some educators and psycholo-

gists saw something special in Eros that differentiated it from sexuality. Having read Wyneken's (1921) book, *Eros*, in which this distinction was likewise made, Moll (1928) concluded: "Wyneken does not at all contest that this in the end culminated in the homosexual genital act" (p. 137). To Moll, Eros was clearly a sexual phenomenon. The propagation of such views as his placed pedagogical Eros in jeopardy, because from a sexological point of view, it quickly came to be understood as a "rationalization" of sexual motives.

As has been shown, this sexual perception was not limited to medico-psychiatric circles, but was likewise voiced by the Scientific Humanitarian Committee. Its strategy was based on a medico-psychiatric conception of "homosexuality" as a "third sex," an innate sexual variant. Wyneken's aloofness with regard to the Committee's approach shows how much he wished to keep pedagogical Eros outside of any sexological interpretation. Hirschfeld (1914) exhibited in *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes* [Male and female homosexuality] great skepticism toward friendships involving eroticism that one refrained from calling (homo)sexual.

That friendship which is friendship but not friendship, homosexual feeling but not really homosexuality, presents itself as a thing justly deserving the name of half-breed, of unhealthy, nebulous feeling—a feeling that is neither fish nor flesh, which of course may occasionally occur but which is among the greatest rarities. (p. 185)

Why beat timidly about the bush? Hirschfeld asked his readers. Why not just speak of homosexuality?

The appeals for pedagogical Eros cannot be considered without taking into account the unfolding medico-psychiatric conceptualization of sexuality in the early 20th century. The psychopathology of sex made possible a different view on pedagogical Eros. The emergence of this sexual perception in an era at the same time characterized by an anti-homosexual climate produced fertile soil for homosexual insinuations with, at times, political consequences. But the heated debates on man-boy friendships at that point reveal more: a shift in discourse on boy love. Views on boy love proved subject to

change. The Platonic model of pedagogical Eros, *Eros paidikos* or *paiderastia*, was forced to make way for the medico-psychiatric model of homosexuality and pedophilia.

The problem of sensual love was in the Platonic model a complex issue bound to numerous conditions.<sup>14</sup> It was a hard issue to discuss, and many defenders of pedagogical Eros therefore settled for a spiritual bond between man and boy. In the medico-psychiatric model, however, the problem was placed in the limelight by conceptualizing it in sexological terms. Sensual love, reformulated as sexual impulses, was precisely the starting point for this model. This reformulation imputed a different intent to the Platonic model—the suggestion was raised that these pedagogical-erotic friendships were concerned chiefly with sexual gratification, even if the persons involved were not always aware. Although this did facilitate discussing sensuality, the assumption of sexual intent made the Platonic model a controversial issue.

The changes occurring in the discourse on boy love can be further analyzed. At the same time that the Platonic model was pushing sensual love into the background and non-sensual aspects were receiving greater emphasis, sensuality, termed as sexual desire, was achieving more prominence in the medico-psychiatric model. These sexual desires formed the criteria for classifying the pedophile beside the fetishist, the exhibitionist, the homosexual.

In the sexological model it thus became possible to see the boy lover as a child molester or pederast, and pedagogical Eros as a rationalization of sexual desires. Aesthetic ideals became transformed into perverse realities; initiation into beauty and wisdom were placed under the sign of seduction to evil. While within the youth movement the Platonic model had been understood as an integral part of social life and an indispensable element in the cult of friendship, the boy lover, having been identified in psychiatric terms, found himself as a pedophile in social isolation.

In the Platonic model, not every man had been viewed as a potential mentor for a boy. In Wyneken's eyes only intellectuals and artists were suited for this, because they possessed the wisdom which the boy wished to acquire. The leaders in the "comradeships" were men who commanded admiration and respect. In the medico-psychiatric model these men were transformed into utter

failures, sexual-pathological personalities. In the course of the 20th century the psychiatric discourse on boy love would come to predominate, determining the countenance of man-boy friendships. An interesting question outside the scope of this article is: To what extent has the discourse on boy love been subject to new fundamental changes in the last two decades? Or is medico-psychiatric discourse still the determining factor for the view of boy love prevailing today?<sup>15</sup>

## NOTES

1. Hans Blüher's (1912) book called *The German Wandervogel Movement as erotic phenomenon* appeared in response to campaigns against alleged homosexual youth leaders in the Wandervogel movement, and in part also in response to the trial in 1906 of the youth leader Wilhelm Jansen. Wyneken's (1921) publication *Eros* was his own account of his defense in the trial conducted against him in 1921.

Wyneken developed pedagogical Eros exclusively in the form of boy love. Although the Free School Community he led was coeducational, the girls' education derived entirely from that of the boys. There was some question for Wyneken in what measure girls could ever attain or represent the "spirit" which was aimed for at the school.

More general information on the youth and educational reform movements can be found in Laqueur (1984), Röhrs (1980), and Stachura (1981).

2. This orientation toward Greek antiquity is the subject of Butler (1935).

3. The term "paedophilia erotica" was introduced by Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1886) in the later editions of his book known in English as *Psychopathia sexualis: With especial reference to the antipathic sexual instinct. A medico-forensic study*. This book ranked around the turn of the century as a pioneer systematic study of sexual pathologies and may be considered a standard for the medico-psychiatric model.

The decline of the Platonic model is discussed by Eglinton (1964), who sees the rise of sexology as one of the causes.

4. An extensive biographical study on Gustav Wyneken which I have relied upon here is Kupffer (1970). See also Badry (1976), Dougherty (1977), and Panther (1960). For a political assessment of Wyneken's method, see Mosse (1966).

5. Plato (1967) lays down the conditions for pedagogical Eros as follows through Pausanias:

For when lover and favourite come together, each guided by his own rule — on the one side, of being justified in doing any service to the favourite who has obliged him, and on the other, of being justified in showing any attentions to the friend who makes him wise and good; the elder of his plenty contributing to intellectual and all other excellence, the younger in his pau-

city acquiring education and all learned arts: only then, at the meeting of these two principles in one place, only then and there, and in no other case, can it befall that a favourite may honourably indulge his lover.

6. See Ehrentreich (1972), who also specifically discusses George's critical stance on Wyneken's educational practices at Wickersdorf.

7. Memorandum über die Vorgänge in Wickersdorf [Memorandum on the events in Wickersdorf], p.2. Archiv der deutschen Jugendbewegung [Archives of the German Youth Movement], Burg Ludwigstein, West Germany (henceforth: AdJb), N Wyneken 1143.

8. Protokoll der Vernehmungen [Report of the commission of inquiry]. AdJb, N Wyneken 1141.

9. Bericht über den Elterntag in Wickersdorf, 7. November 1920 [Report on the parents' day at Wickersdorf]. AdJb, N Wyneken 1145.

10. Anklageschrift [Bill of Indictment] no. J3952/20, February 8, 1921. AdJb, N Wyneken 1157.

11. Ruling of the court at Rudolstadt, no. J3952/20, September 20, 1921. AdJb, N Wyneken 1163.

12. Ibid.

13. The August 30, 1921, decision of the Rudolstadt court was upheld in higher appeal in late 1922. Some time later it was nullified by the government of the State of Thuringia.

14. See note 5.

15. The work of the French philosopher René Schérer (1974) is interesting in this regard. He links the forming of taboos on eroticism in educational relationships to the psychiatrization of boy love, calling it "the perversion of Eros."

## REFERENCES

- Anklageschrift, no. J3952/20, February 8, 1921, AdJb, N Wyneken 1157.
- Badry, Elisabeth (1976). *Pädagogische Genialität in einer Erziehung zur Nicht-Anpassung und zum Engagement: Studien über Gründer der frühen deutschen Landerziehungsheimbewegung: Hermann Lietz und Gustav Wyneken* [Educational ingenuity in the breeding of non-conformance and social involvement: Studies on founders of the early Country Home School Movement: Hermann Lietz and Gustav Wyneken]. Bonn: published under auspices of the author.
- Bericht über den Elterntag in Wickersdorf, AdJb, N Wyneken 1145.
- Blüher, Hans (1922). *Die deutsche Wandervogelbewegung als erotisches Phänomen: Ein Beitrag zur Erkenntnis der sexuellen Inversion* [The German Wandervogel Movement as erotic phenomenon: A contribution to the understanding of sexual inversion] (6th ed.). Prien am Chiemsee: Kampmann & Schnabel.
- Butler, E. M. (1935). *The tyranny of Greece over Germany: A study of the influence exercised by Greek art and poetry over the great German writers of the*
- eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dougherty, Richard (1977). *Eros, youth culture and Geist: The ideology of Gustav Wyneken and its influence upon the German youth movement*. Madison, WI: author's manuscript.
- Eglinton, J. Z. (1964). *Greek love*. London: Oliver Layton.
- Ehrentreich, Alfred (1972). Stefan George in der Freien Schulgemeinde Wickersdorf [Stefan George at the Wickersdorf Free School Community]. *Castrum Peregrini*, 101, 62-79.
- Freud, Sigmund (1943). Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie [Three essays on the theory of sexuality]. In *Gesammelte Werke* [Collected works], 5 (1904-1905). London: Imago.
- Hirschfeld, Magnus (1914). *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes* [Male and female homosexuality]. Berlin: Louis Marcus.
- Krafft-Ebing, Richard von (1890). *Psychopathia Sexualis: Mit besondere Berücksichtigung der conträren Sexualempfindung. Eine klinisch-forensische Studie* [Psychopathia sexualis: With especial reference to the antipathic sexual instinct. A medico-forensic study] (5th ed.). Stuttgart: Enke.
- Kupffer, Heinrich (1970). *Gustav Wyneken (1875-1964)*. Stuttgart: Ernst Klett.
- Laqueur, Walter (1984). *Young Germany: A history of the German youth movement* (2nd ed.). New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.
- Maassen, Th. (1988). *De pedagogische eros in het geding. Gustav Wyneken en de pedagogische vriendschap in de Freie Schulgemeinde Wickersdorf tussen 1906 en 1931* [Pedagogical Eros at issue. Gustav Wyneken and pedagogical friendship at the Wickersdorf Free School Community between 1906 and 1931]. Utrecht.
- Memorandum über die Vorgänge in Wickersdorf, AdJb, N Wyneken 1143.
- Moll, Albert (1909). *Das Sexualleben des Kindes* [The sexual life of the child]. Berlin: Herm. Walther.
- Moll, Albert (1928). Homosexualität und sogenannter Eros [Homosexuality and so-called Eros]. In *1e Internationale Konferenz für Sexualforschung* [First International Conference on Sex Research], 3 (pp. 136-147).
- Mosse, George (1981). *The crisis of German ideology: Intellectual origins of the Third Reich* (2nd ed.). New York: Schocken.
- Panther, Ulrich (1960). *Gustav Wyneken. Leben und Werk* [Gustav Wyneken. Life and work]. Weinheim/Bergstrasse: Beltz.
- Plato (1967). Symposium. In *Plato in twelve volumes*, 3. London: William Heinemann.
- Protokoll der Vernehmungen, AdJb, N Wyneken 1141.
- Röhrs, Hermann (1980). *Die Reformpädagogik: Ursprung und Verlauf in Europa* [The educational reform movement: Its origins and evolution in Europe]. Hanover: Hermann Schroedel.
- Ruling of the court at Rudolstadt, no. J3952/20, September 20, 1921, AdJb, N Wyneken 1163.
- Schérer, René (1974). *Emile perverti, ou des rapports entre l'éducation et la*



- sexualité* [Perverse Emile, or the links between education and sexuality]. Paris: Robert Laffont.
- Stachura, Peter (1981). *The German youth movement 1900-1945: An interpretative and documentary history*. London: Macmillan.
- Wyneken, Gustav (1919). *Schule und Jugendkultur* [School and youth culture] (3rd ed.). Jena: Eugen Diederichs.
- Wyneken, Gustav (1921). *Eros*. Lauenburg: Adolf Saal.

## Boys in Art. The Artist and His Model: Ferdinand and Hector Hodler. A New Approach.

Will H. L. Ogrinc, PhD (Cand.)

Hogeschool Rotterdam  
& Omstreken

**SUMMARY.** In literature serious attention is rarely paid to the theme of "the boy in art," although many artists used and still use boys as a medium for their message. By a detailed analysis of the symbolism in a series of paintings by Ferdinand Hodler (1853-1918), the author attempts a reinterpretation of the pictures this Swiss artist made of his young son Hector. The author rejects traditional Freudian speculations and uses a hitherto neglected and repudiated source for understanding Hodler's symbolism, the social and artistic ideas of a circle of Rosicrucians to which the painter adhered.

The whole Latin world will be irretrievably and immediately ruined if it loses its gods and its symbols.

— Joséphin Péladan (1890; Jullian, p. 28)

Anyone interested in the subject of "the boy in art" who wishes to go into it more deeply will soon discover that it has not really been systematically studied and that comprehensive surveys simply do not exist. Of course there are a few illustrated books worth

---

Will H. L. Ogrinc graduated in medieval history at University of Utrecht (The Netherlands) in 1977. He now teaches ancient and medieval history at the Hogeschool Rotterdam & Omstreken in Rotterdam. Correspondence should be addressed to W. H. L. Ogrinc, PhD (Cand.), Theemsdreef 304, 3562 EM Utrecht, Netherlands. Accepted: March 1988.

spending a few moments looking through, but the brief texts provided leave one for the most part in doubt about what the artists' intentions really were.<sup>1</sup> A few books have more text but only partially cover the subject or are hopelessly outdated.<sup>2</sup> Fortunately it has been recently realized that research is often more productive if the area studied is limited chronologically, thematically or in its definition of subject.<sup>3</sup> Even so, there is still a risk of going astray. All too often the subject is defined in too limited a way and the sources used selected with evident bias. Sometimes prejudice lodges in the author's mind while the text gets stuck in oppressive and obfuscating dialectic.<sup>4</sup> Quite unacceptable, however, are such writers who, with reference to very biased sources (such as portrait art or the history of clothing), feel compelled to ventilate inadmissible generalizations.<sup>5</sup>

Meanwhile, in pedophile circles there has been a remarkable silence on the subject: I know of only three articles, published in the seventies by the late Heinz Birken in the German magazine *Ben*, and these added very little to our knowledge of artists like Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo and Caravaggio. In literature on pedophilia, too, there is hardly any notice taken of this subject. In a recent publication on pedophilia I came across a chapter with the promising title, "A Curious Book of Images,"<sup>6</sup> but in reading it I soon became aware that the authors had quite other intentions than I had assumed. By means of a rambling discourse, characteristic, perhaps, of French philosophy since Foucault and best described as a "sleep-walker's monologue," we learn at least something about a typology and the symbolic function of "the boy," although all the theses proposed are debatable. After immersion in such a text the reader is overwhelmed by the conviction that only two paths are open to him: either suicide or the commencement of his own additional research. I have decided, for the present, to pursue the latter course.

### THE BOY AS A MODEL

A boy is standing in a dark room in front of a curtain with a cat in his arms. The boy is naked; he has turned his behind toward us but we can also see his eyes. The cat is less interesting, but not unimportant. The boy's eyes are full of meaning, but what is that mean-

ing? This is the way Renoir, around 1867/68, painted little Joseph le Coeur! The portrait has since come to be called "Boy with a Cat." This title probably increased its mystery, and so in 1973 Champa is compelled to say: "Children were prime subjects of the academism of the mid-nineteenth century, and animals . . . were scarcely less popular. The nude figure was the established academic test of technical proficiency, and erotic imagery of one sort or another covered the walls at every Salon. . . . The choice of an adolescent boy rather than a mature female nude circumvents the issue of ideal proportions for the figure and validates an image of tactile rather than conventionally sexual eroticism."<sup>7</sup>

Hector Hodler was one of these boys. Between 1888 and 1904/14 he posed time after time as a model for his father, the Swiss painter Ferdinand Hodler. Thus originated, through a large number of sketches, studies and paintings, not only an unequalled monument to a youth of the *fin-de-siècle*, but also a work with an intriguing enigma which has since stimulated a lot of written speculation.

It is quite striking that most commentators attempt to interpret the symbolism in Hodler's art by reference to Freudian theory, in my opinion, a rather anachronistic method. I do not wish to dispute their conclusions, but I prefer nevertheless to choose a different approach of interpretation. This will also allow us to make use of a source with which the painter himself was more familiar: the social and artistic views of a circle of French Rosicrucians at the end of the last century.

Bender<sup>8</sup> was the first to devote a whole chapter to Hodler's links with the Rosicrucians, but he did so with little enthusiasm and was relieved when he was able to inform us that these connections were only casual and that the leader of the particular sect to which Hodler adhered was something of a swindler. Still in 1942 a feeling of shame seems uppermost in the mind of Mühlestein<sup>9</sup> when he reproaches the painter for his spiritual floating and fleeing of social reality; he finds these flirtations with Rosicrucianism even more reprehensible because the painter repeatedly used his own little son as a medium for his message. Obviously declarations of this kind tell us more about the biographer than his subject. As it is not the historian's main task to judge or to pass sentence but to try to understand all phenomena in their historical context, I think it is useful and necessary to look also at the *trüben Quellen*, the troubled

sources (according to Bender) of Rosicrucianism, if we are really interested in the painter's ideas and the meaning of the symbolism he uses. For despite all attempts to minimize these things, even Mühlestein and Bender had to admit that Hodler's rupture with naturalism and his conversion to symbolism coincided with his getting acquainted with Rosicrucianism; both also recognize that the influence of its mystic ideas on Hodler continued even after he was officially no longer a member of the sect. I hope to make clear in the following pages that these ideas are most prominent in Hodler's pictures of his young son Hector.

### HODLER'S ROAD TO ROSICRUCIANISM

Ferdinand Hodler (1853-1918) was born in Bern, Switzerland, and according to all biographers his youth and early career were troubled by pinching poverty, illness and the conviction that he was being undervalued. Guided by his talented teacher Barthélemy Menn, who was closely connected with Corot and the artists of Barbizon, he concentrated on painting landscapes and the human figure. Hodler was early drawn to late-medieval painting. He studied Leonardo da Vinci, Holbein and Dürer. From the last especially he took his firm, slightly simplified but nearly three-dimensional forms, always posed in front of a plain background, thus building in the last phase of his career a bridge to expressionism. By that time (about 1900), however, he had already become a famous painter whose name and work were considered synonymous with the *Sezession* style and the German and Austrian avant garde. At the international exhibition of the *Sezession* in 1904 he was even honoured by having a suite of rooms in which 31 of his paintings were exhibited.

In 1871 Hodler established himself in Geneva. It was there that he seems to have realized that naturalism and even impressionism offered him too little scope to express his feeling of spiritual isolation in a hostile and materialistic world. Bender<sup>10</sup> supposes that Hodler had already come into contact with the Rosicrucians through an eighteen-eighties Maecenas, the Count de Romain, owner of an estate near Fribourg who, as a music-dilettante, worked to make the music of Richard Wagner accepted in Paris. With him Hodler had deep discussions, and through him he came to know Count Antoine de la Rochefoucauld.

The latter was a member of the Paris *Ordre de la Rose-Croix Catholique* and, as an artist himself, he was deeply impressed by Hodler's painting "The Night" which had been shown at the exhibition of the French symbolists in Paris in 1891. The theme of this painting, considered one of his first mature works, was indeed significant: a number of half-naked figures are scattered about sleeping in pairs or alone on an inclined plane; they are observed by a cloaked figure (death?) who is sitting near someone who has just awoke and is shrinking in horror (in fact it is a portrait of the painter himself). "The Night" portrays the doubts with which Hodler was struggling at the time, and it might even be suggested that it was the announcement of a new dawn.

Shortly after this exhibition, de la Rochefoucauld visited Hodler in Geneva, and it was probably then that he invited the painter to participate in the *Salon de la Rose + Croix Esthétique* of 1892. The exhibition opened on March 10th at the Durand-Ruel gallery. It was preceded by a solemn celebration of Mass at which fragments from Wagner's *Parsifal* were performed and three *Fanfares* by the French composer Erik Satie, also a follower of the Rosicrucians and a devotee of Wagner, who in 1888 had already published his stylized *Gymnopédies*.

1892 was the year Hodler painted his first "Adoration" (Figure 1): his little son, aged five at the time, as a kneeling, praying boy in a field of dandelions. Not only in composition but also in its execution is there a striking contrast between this "Adoration" and earlier portraits of his son. Hector, born October 1st, 1887, in Geneva as a result of Hodler's relationship with his model Augustine Dupin, appeared for the first time on canvas in 1888 in "Mother and Child" and "Mother Feeding her Child," followed in 1889 by "Mother Playing with her Child," "Child's Portrait" and "Child Eating Soup." They are not unlike the photos a proud father takes of his baby. "Adoration" is followed in 1893/94 by a second and third version (Figures 2 and 3).<sup>11</sup> At first glance the transitions in the composition of these "Adorations" may seem insignificant, but if we analyze the symbolism in more detail it is obvious that Hodler was anticipating "The Chosen One" from the same period: the spring splendor of the dandelions recedes slowly, the barren rock becomes more prominent in the foreground, until it completely



FIGURE 1. *Adoration (I)*, mixed technique, 61, 6 × 45, 7 cm. (1892). Museum of Arts in Winterthur (Switzerland).



FIGURE 2. *Adoration (II)*, 80 × 100 cm. (1893). House of Arts in Zürich (Switzerland).



FIGURE 3. *Kneeling boy—nude/Adoration (III)*, oils on canvas, 84 × 37, 5 cm. (1893/94). House of Arts in Zürich.



dominates the third version, where we find Hector—completely naked now—under a bower of formalized red roses.

### THE ARTISTIC PROGRAM OF ROSICRUCIANISM

To get some understanding of the meaning of Hodler's symbolism, we must return to the Rosicrucians. Marquis Stanislas de Guaita founded the *Ordre Kabbalistique de la Rose-Croix* in Paris in 1884. To it belonged, among others, the famous occultist Papus (Gérard Encausse), the author and politician Augustin-Maurice Barrès and the novelist and art critic Joséphin Péladan. Soon differences arose about what path they should follow, and in 1890 Péladan and Barrès resigned because they thought De Guaita's inclination to satanic gnosis and the increasing influence of various Indian salvation doctrines were too extreme.<sup>12</sup> Péladan, after assuming the title for himself of *Sâr Mérodack*, founded his own sect, the *Ordre de la Rose-Croix du Temple et du Graal*, also known as the *Ordre de la Rose-Croix Catholique* of which the *Rose + Croix Esthétique* was from 1891 on the artistic counterpart.

Frick<sup>13</sup> reduces the principles of these societies to the esoteric philosophy of Louis Claude de Saint-Martin (1743-1803), centering upon an analysis of man's spiritual life in this world and an eventual salvation from the material world by means of regeneration. In Péladan this end also justifies all means! Thus we encounter, in his didactic arsenal, an eclectic, pantheistic amalgam in which nearly every ecstatic mystical element from Babylonian, Assyrian, Jewish and other oriental cults is mixed with Roman Catholic ritual, the tarot, the kabbala, the theory of numbers, alchemy, magic, Nietzsche's philosophy and Richard Wagner's music. For it is, according to Péladan, the first duty of the artist, the magician of our times, to cultivate a regeneration of our contemporaries through an art based on transcendent idealism. Realism should be destroyed.

Péladan announced in the program of the 1892 Salon<sup>14</sup> that the concepts of Catholicism, mysticism, legend, myth, allegory, dream, the exegesis of the great poets, in short the theocratic and spiritual elements in culture, should be promoted through Art. Only that artist who succeeds in doing this—according to Péladan's article "Les maîtres contemporains" (1885)—was working toward re-

newal and was thus modern and contemporary. Objects painted, of course, had to be represented in their physical aspect as real and recognizable by everybody, but at the same time they had to be purified<sup>15</sup> and made unrecognizable by an enlarged and exaggerated emanation. For art's essence did not lie in the beauty of the representation itself but in the beauty which the work of art induced in the soul of the artist and his public.

It is the same concept, based on ideas taken from Plato's "Symposium," which reappeared in Hodler's talk in 1897 about "La Mission de l'Artiste": "It is the artist's task . . . to express the eternal in nature; to wit the beauty, namely the essential beauty. The artist makes us see nature by representing it plastically; he accentuates the shape of the human body and so presents to us an enlarged, simplified nature devoid of all that is fortuitous. The work he offers us conforms to his experience, his character and his spirit."<sup>16</sup>

#### ADORING "THE CHOSEN ONE"

As we have previously seen, the three versions of "Adoration" can be considered preparatory studies for "The Chosen One." Pain and sorrow, represented from the late Middle Ages on by the dandelion, slowly give way to a rocky landscape, signifying firmness, honesty and a beginning consciousness of reality. In the third version, apparently directly inspired by a Biblical passage,<sup>17</sup> Hector, as a naked boy, is transformed into a symbol of purity and innocence, of return to simplicity, a state free of passion and desire. According to Rosicrucian interpretation, the red roses tell us that the internal conflict in man ultimately leads to a realization of self.

In his introduction to "The Chosen One" Bender observes: "He was very fond of his son. The boy was then about five years old and would sit playing at his feet. He (Ferdinand) thought him beautiful, and at the same time he was moved by the spectacle of this instinctive life so completely anchored in the unconscious. Nothing can make such a strong impression upon a thinking person as the tender youth of a child whose sensations are pure and respectful, connected in a thoroughly spiritual way to the universe. Every child is a

"Chosen One" and Hodler imbued this idea with the love of a father whose power manifests itself to his young son as true goodness."<sup>18</sup>

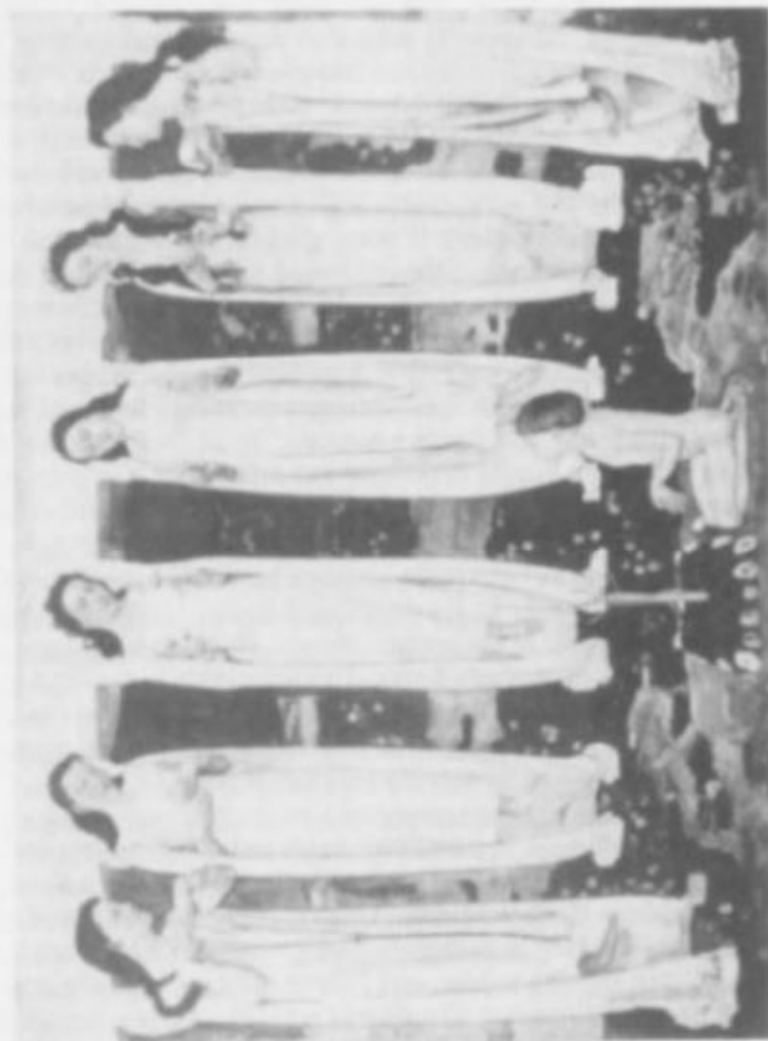
Josef Widmann in 1894 had more troubles interpreting "The Chosen One" (Figure 4) which at the time was causing quite a sensation in the Salon at the Champ-de-Mars in Paris: "In Hodler the angels visit an emaciated, nude little boy kneeling down in front of a poor and scrubby garden-bed containing only a small withered bush whereas the field around is covered with flowers. No flower blossoms for the poor child. The celestial powers, however, pity this poverty: they come floating through the air to plant flowers from other meadows in the garden of the disinherited."<sup>19</sup> It seems almost as if he were contemplating a German *Schrebergarten*, where of course there is no place for *putti*. "Hodler is not a dreamer nor spiritist employing empty symbols," he observed a little later. But questioned about the painting's meaning, he could only advance the theory that it was a homage "to all those little boys" who had spent their youths in poverty and misery but later grew up to be prominent artists, poets and composers. He concluded that the painting actually represented Hodler's own artistic struggle.

Had Widmann been more attentive he would have discovered the formalized serpent in the "withered bush," and this might have opened his eyes. In my opinion Hector, Hodler's firstborn, is kneeling in front of Adam's tomb. The little bush is the Tree of Life, which withered after the Fall of Adam and Eve and has remained so ever since; at the same time it prefigures the cross upon which Christ died to inspire mankind with new hope.

Hirsh<sup>20</sup> sees in the representation of "the more than slender" Hector an allusion to the Christ child, and this interpretation is supported by the presence in the surrounding field of dandelions, which appear from the late Middle Ages on in representations of Christ's passion. But Hector is now on firm ground. Six angels are hovering in the air, coming to him, and four of them are bringing new life in the form of flowers.<sup>21</sup> The double parallel between the six helping powers and the six building stones around Adam's tomb, the square of the tomb—according to Rosicrucian symbolism indicative of builders' activities—and the four flowers is characteristic of Hodler's "parallelism" of this period. We might simultaneously link this quaternity to the four seasons, the four humours, the four



FIGURE 4. *The Chosen One*, tempera and oils on canvas, 219 x 296 cm. (1893/94). Museum of Arts in Bern (Switzerland).



ages of man, the four elements and the four rivers in paradise. We are, in fact, in a new Garden of Eden: now that innocence has been regained, we can start a new life.

According to his biographers, this ends Hodler's "flirtation" with Rosicrucianism. Actually it continued; as I hope to show in what follows, Hodler's "slip of the pen" proved to contain a didactic program.

### FLIRTATIONS IN "SPRINGTIME"

Between 1893 and 1895 the theme of "The Chosen One" is developed in a number of studies and paintings,<sup>22</sup> showing Hector sitting, kneeling or standing with twigs in his hands or gathering flowers (Figure 5). Jura Brüscheweiler's collection in Geneva contains a photograph of Hector (Figure 6) which seems to have been used by Ferdinand as a model for these paintings. Silberer<sup>23</sup> interprets the breaking of twigs and gathering of flowers as an evidence of worry over masturbation and fear of becoming impotent. This is just one example of far-reaching Freudian speculation of which we will soon see more. Following Rosicrucian interpretation I believe Hodler was telling us in these pictures that the new man had now taken control of himself; once again he had possession of his lost faculties and was no longer dependent upon the help of others.

Around 1898/99 a number of preliminary studies<sup>24</sup> begin to appear for two large paintings realized shortly after 1900: "Springtime" and "A Look into Infinity." The studies bear titles such as "Boy at the Spring" (Figure 7), "Adolescent at the Brook" and "Little Boy at the Brook." One study for "A Look into Infinity" carries Hodler's droll inscription, "Hector 10 ans 10 mois / mesure 1,48 mètre / 1898" (Figure 8). Hodler now seems obsessed by the theme of revivifying water, a symbol among the Rosicrucians of succeeding in your work, of the spirit surmounting material obstacles. The harmony of man (microcosm) and nature and universe (macrocosm) is simultaneously stressed.

In a photograph from 1900 (Figure 9) the 13-year-old Hector is looking into the lens with the same proud expression as we see a year later in "Springtime" (Figure 10).<sup>25</sup> The composition reminds one of Jean-Léon Gérôme's rather erotic painting "The Cock

FIGURE 5. *Boy standing with twigs/Adoration*, oils on canvas, 50, 5 × 33, 2 cm. (1893/94). Museum of Arts and History in Geneva (Switzerland).

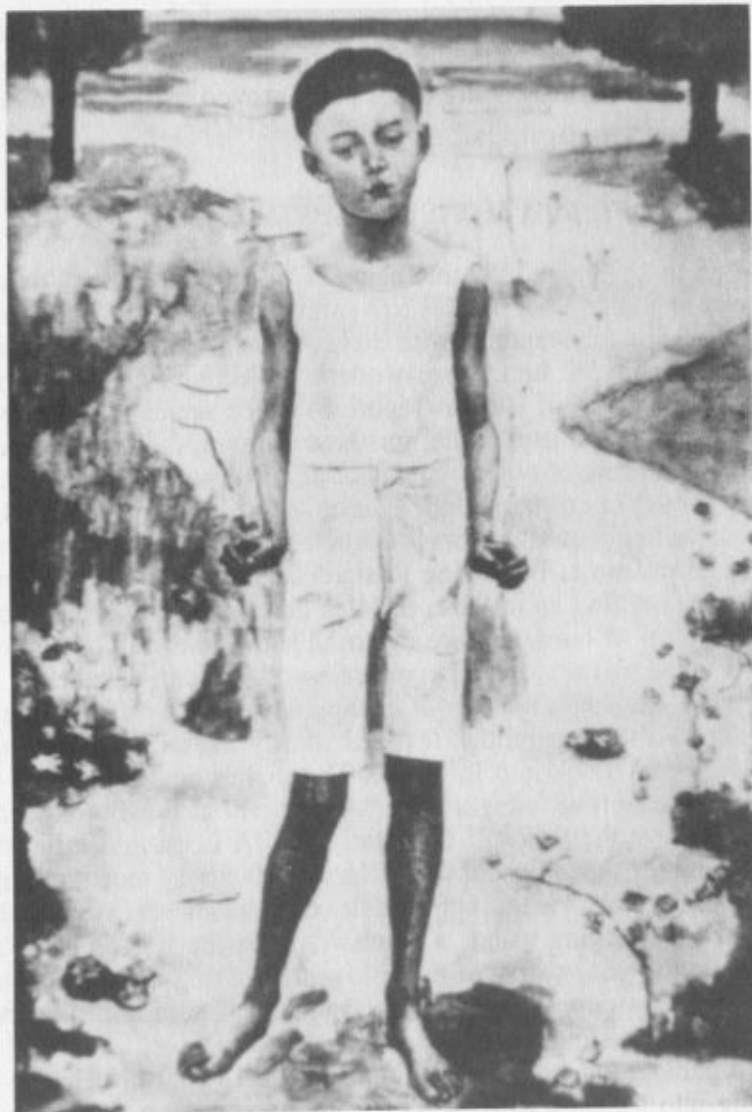


FIGURE 6. *Hector (about 7 years of age)*. Photograph by Ferdinand Hodler (about 1893/94). Collection Jura Brüscheiler in Geneva.



FIGURE 7. *Boy at the Spring*, mixed technique, 41 × 31 cm. (1898/99). Private collection.



FIGURE 8. *Study for 'A Look into Infinity'*, pencil on paper, 28, 7 × 12, 7 cm. (1898). In: Brüsweiler (1967), fig. 40; (1978), fig. 48.





FIGURE 9. *Hector Hodler* (1900). In: Brüsweiler (1970), p. 9.FIGURE 10. *Springtime (I)*, oils on canvas, 100 × 130 cm. (1901). Whereabouts unknown.

Fight" (1846). No wonder, then, that some authors thought they detected in "Springtime" the dramatic theme of Frank Wedekind's play "Spring's Awakening" (1891). Parallels were even drawn in Oskar Kokoschka's "The Dreaming Boys" of 1907,<sup>26</sup> where we find a lithograph titled "The Girl Li and I," apparently inspired by Hodler's "Springtime." Kokoschka's accompanying poem concludes:

and I was tumbling  
when I became aware of my flesh

and a lover of all  
when I talked with a girl<sup>27</sup>

Thus according to Müller, Hodler's "Springtime" is about the psychology of puberty in both sexes; Brüscheweiler calls it an awakening of youth to love and to life. He quotes the reactions of some contemporaries: "The first awakening of sensibility, usually described as 'love,' has almost never been rendered so naively and originally, perhaps never so frankly;" "All the sweetness, the unconditioned, foolish and impudent character of first rut . . . is admirably depicted here." Or, as Ludwig Hevesi put it: "A girl and a boy, two buds about to burst tomorrow . . . Both full of foreboding, full of bewilderment over the miracle they are incapable of naming for it has no name."<sup>28</sup> Hirsh still interprets the painting as "awakening self-consciousness during puberty . . . it is the image of a timid, groping beginning, of first blossoms in spring and of tender love."<sup>29</sup>

These interpretations of "Springtime" seem valid, certainly if we take into account Hodler's note on one of the preliminary studies: "Life germinates in love." But Portmann and Hirsh apparently assume that there is more than just a projection of Hodler's own boyhood experiences<sup>30</sup> onto his son. Both drew attention to the marked difference between the boy and the girl. Portmann<sup>31</sup> contrasts the awakening love passion in the girl—sensually and erotically stressed by her "wet" dress which draws all attention to her body—to Hector's rigid motionlessness, making his nudity rather cool, entirely aloof, in any case in no way exciting. Hirsh<sup>32</sup> calls it "a moving picture of isolation" and accentuates—rightly, I be-

lieve—the *spiritual* chasm separating the two adolescents, a chasm which cannot be explained simply by saying that girls mature earlier than boys.

Mühlestein stresses, quite anachronistically (in 1942!), that the boy is so unvirile and so inactive; Portmann rightly insists that the girl is nearly swooning over the boy, who remains thus a "Chosen One,"<sup>33</sup> thus turning the painting into another "Adoration." But is this all? Isn't there here a question of seduction, of seduction resisted? Probably without realizing this implication himself, Brüscheweiler gave us an important piece of evidence by publishing a preliminary study for "Springtime":<sup>34</sup> Hector, posed as in "Springtime," is sitting next to a tree stump in a meadow bordered by a brook in which swans are majestically gliding past. In this study there is no girl. Present, however, is the serpent from "The Chosen One," and it appears to be scampering away in fright (Figure 11).

Two themes, perhaps even three, are thus interwoven symbolically in "Springtime." Hector is young Parsifal from Wagner's opera of the same name, impervious to the seduction of the flower maidens in Klingsor's magic garden because of his naive innocence. Hector is also the new Adam sitting enthroned upon his steadfast rock, turning away from Eve's clothed but at the same time transparent seductive tricks which can only lead to renewed sorrow and misery (dandelions), while he, in contrast, presents himself in open nakedness, thereby transforming this *hortus conclusus* (closed-in garden) to a *Garten der Erkenntnis* (Garden of Knowledge). Perhaps Hector is even Adam Kadmos, Péladan's androgyn,<sup>35</sup> narcissistic and self-sufficient, because he unites in himself both the female and the male principle. This is suggested by the closed circular gesture of Hector's left hand,<sup>36</sup> the sign of the alchemical *Ouroboros*, which is projected upon Hector himself by his right hand.

One enigma remains in "Springtime" which has not heretofore been discussed as far as I can determine: the curious position of Hector's legs which together form the number 4. This is probably a reference to the "Hanged Man," the twelfth trump card of the tarot, which is considered to symbolize the resurrection, physical and especially spiritual awakening and liberation from the myriad false

FIGURE 11. *Composition study for 'Springtime'*, mixed technique, 26 × 34, 5 cm. (about 1901).  
Museum of Arts and History in Geneva.



conceptions and passions that enchain humanity.<sup>37</sup> It seems justified to similarly interpret the second large painting from this period, "A Look into Infinity" (Figure 12). Between 1902 and 1905 Hodler painted two versions of it.<sup>38</sup> Hector, on this canvas about sixteen,<sup>39</sup> has gone through all the stages of transformation. He is the man of a new century; having shed the shackles which bound him, he is now rising above the clouds from his solid base.

### THE FINAL ADORATION

In 1903 Hodler's last big "adoration" of Hector was finished: "Adolescent Admired by the Woman" (Figure 13), a second version of which he painted between 1904 and 1914.<sup>40</sup> Beautiful preliminary studies for this painting have been preserved (Figure 14), justifying Hirsh's observation that this work is not only a tribute to his adolescent son but also to his own success as an artist. "Hodler is showing us here his feelings about the relationship between man and woman," said Hirsh. "The aggressive, active role of the woman is accentuated. The idealized adolescent is standing intact and untouchable—the atmosphere of sensuality being created by the woman with her impudent stare. . . . 'Adolescent Admired by the Woman' is the culmination of Ferdinand Hodler's representation of Hector as his own alter ego."<sup>41</sup> Thus we come back to Freudian interpretations.

Whereas one biographer *cautiously* writes about an allegory of male vanity and megalomania, Müller boldly proposes narcissistic fixation and confrontation with his own impulses which Ferdinand projects upon Hector. He throws caution to the winds after affirming that the woman on the left side of the painting is Hector's stepmother (in fact Hector had little to do with her, as his own mother was still alive): "So Hodler himself comes into an area of sensual tension in relation to *his* mother (projection) who in fact is his wife, desiring him (in his projected son) with admiration. In accordance with the well-known process, the act of desiring is shifted here to the woman because of inhibitions in the unconscious. How strongly this representation is rooted in experiences from early childhood is also shown by the twigs he is holding in his hands, thus simultane-



FIGURE 12. *A Look into Infinity (I)*, oils on canvas, 100 × 81 cm. (1902/03). Whereabouts unknown.

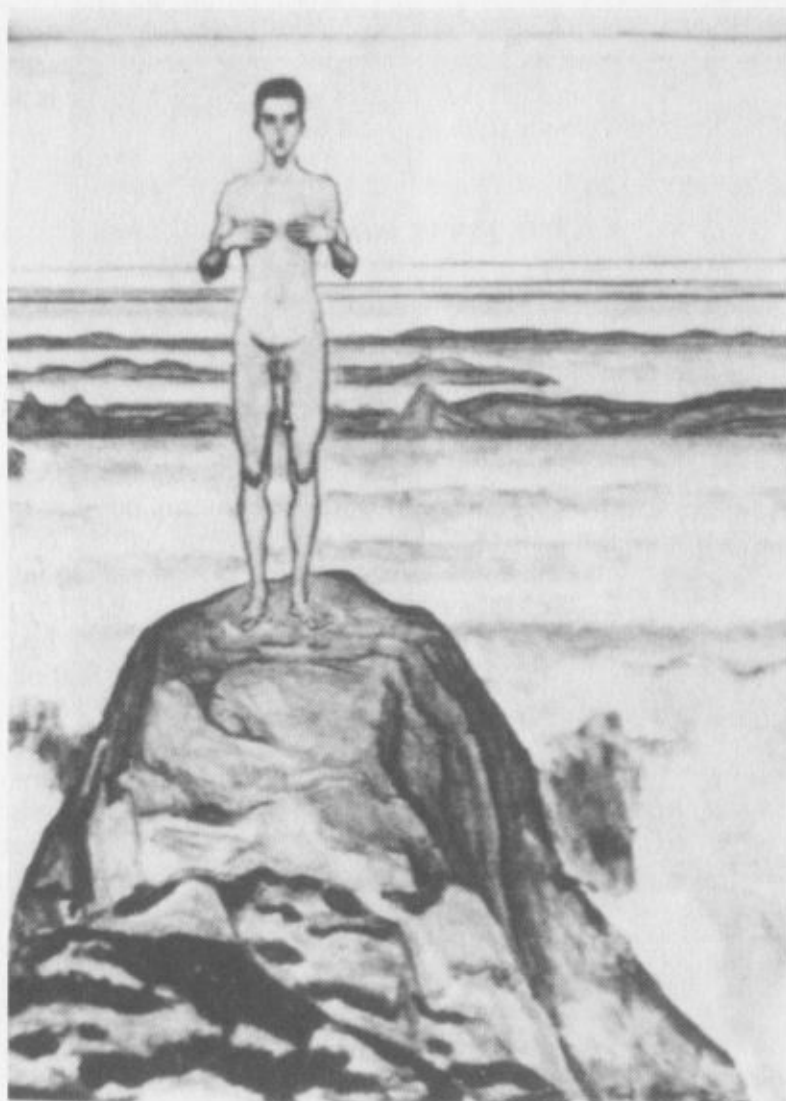


FIGURE 13. *Adolescent Admired by the Woman (I)*, oils on canvas, 213, 5 × 288 cm. (1903). House of Arts in Zurich.

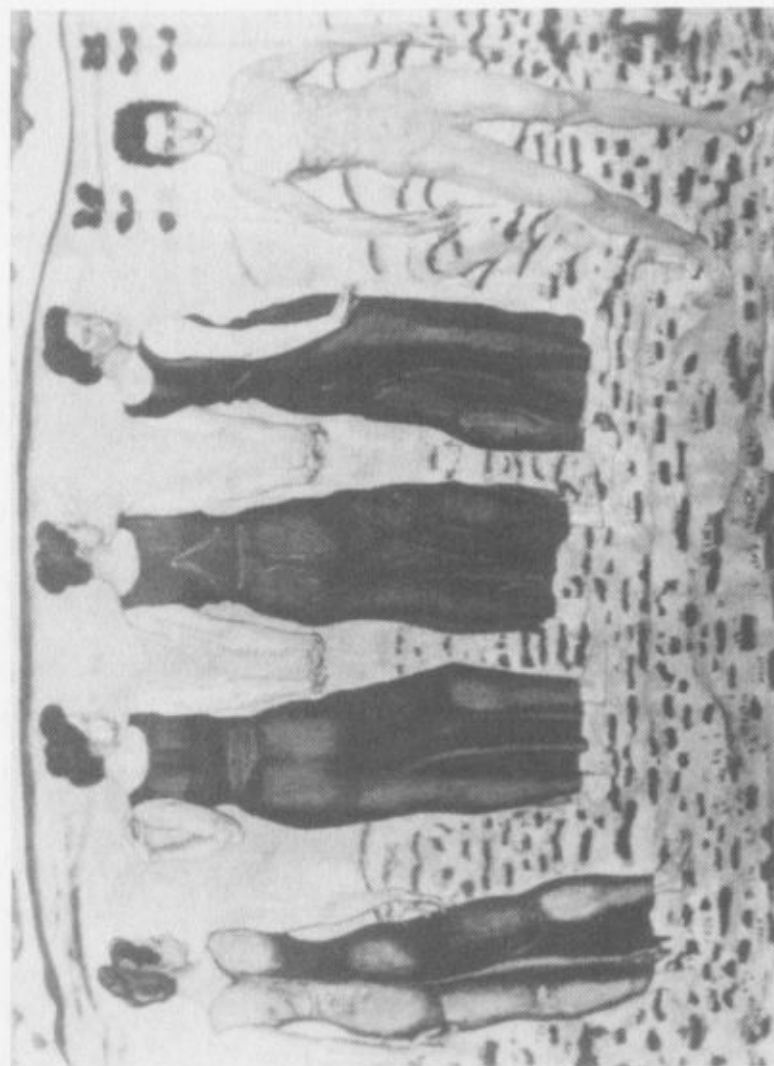
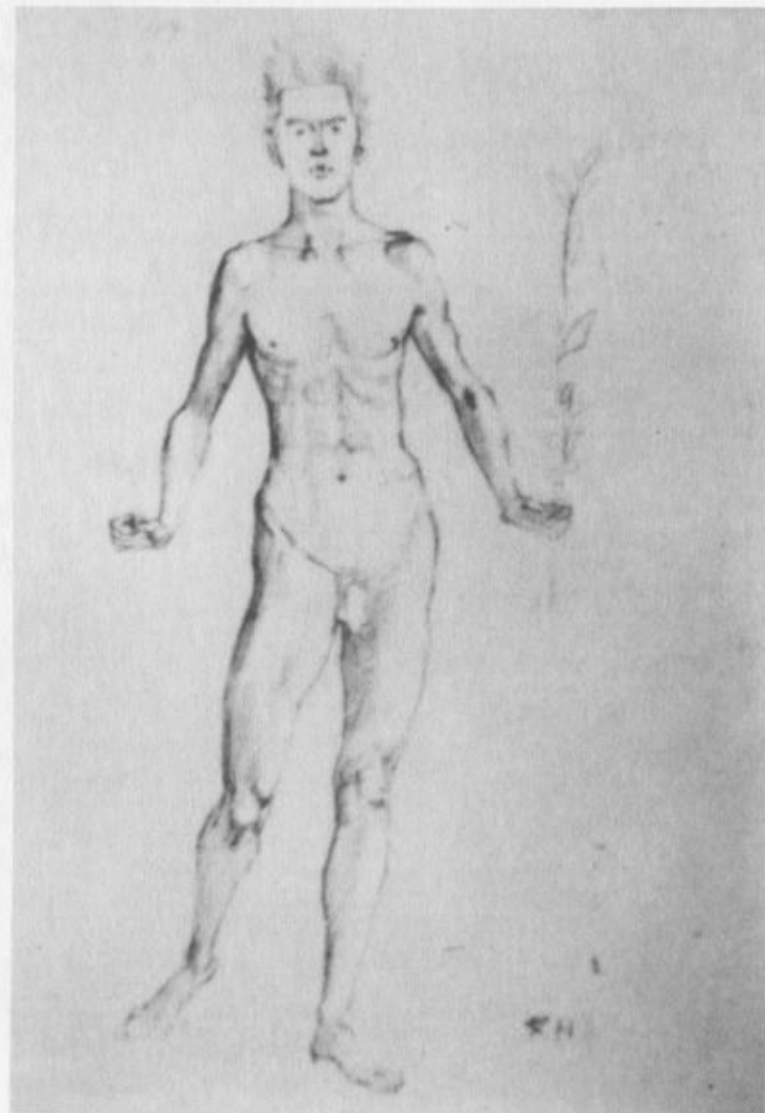


FIGURE 14. Study of the male body for 'Adolescent Admired by the Woman' pencil on paper, 49 × 33, 8 cm. (1903). In : Brüscheiler (1978), fig. 70.



ously building an archway towards 'The Chosen One.'"<sup>42</sup> It sounds rather as if Müller proposed building his archway towards Silberer.

Fortunately Brüscheiler can often be relied upon for unexpected surprises. He quotes Ferdinand's own inscription upon one of the preliminary studies: "Adolescent, having a premonition of Harmony."<sup>43</sup> The solution I would like to propose may not be so striking but asks for less acrobatics (Müller must have been a contortionist!). In "Adolescent Admired by the Woman," the message of "Springtime" and "A Look into Infinity" culminates. Hector has surmounted all temporal obstacles. He has turned his back upon seduction and distraction and looks into the future alert and self-assured. This, according to Hodler, is the man of the future; others look at him with envy; the regeneration has been completed.

This is the last big painting in which Hector appears; a new model is used in Hodler's ambitiously designed composition "Love": little Jean Baud (Figure 15). The relationship between father and son, however, continued in its same loving depth, and was even reinforced, in 1909, by the death of Hector's mother, Augustine Dupin. This must have been a heavy blow for Ferdinand too, for even though he never married Augustine she had been very dear to him throughout his life. After this the theme of death comes more and more to dominate his paintings. According to his biographers he had forebodings that his son, too, was not to live much longer. In 1916 he visited Hector in Montana and found his son suffering from tuberculosis. A year later Ferdinand himself was ill with pneumonia from which he never completely recovered; on May 19th, 1918, he died in Geneva. Two years later his son died too, in Leysin. Ferdinand, during his lifetime, had been building Hector's sepulchral monument.

### AFTERMATH

"For symbolists death is the gate . . . to this higher reality of which they have only the vaguest knowledge, even though all their aspirations are directed towards it," Hofstätter states. To me he is justified in quoting Gurlitt before turning his attention to Hodler: "It is a virtue to be adolescent; the word has a special feeling about it. It does not imply impetuous energy, rather being susceptible to

learning, tenderness, enthusiasm and having the capacity for adoring love. . . . The adolescent is the direct counterpart of the old man, living in the memories of his youth and considering it his most important duty to instruct the adolescent out of his mature experience."<sup>44</sup> With these words Hofstätter builds an arch between this nineteenth century expression of the medieval *memento mori* and Hodler's spiritual conception of the pedagogical eros which was directed, through Hector's person, upon mankind as a whole.

## NOTES

1. See for example: B. Aymar, *The young male figure*. New York: Crown Publishers, Inc. 1970; C. Beurdeley, *L'Amour Bleu. Die homosexuelle Liebe in Kunst und Literatur des Abendlandes*. Köln: DuMont 1977.

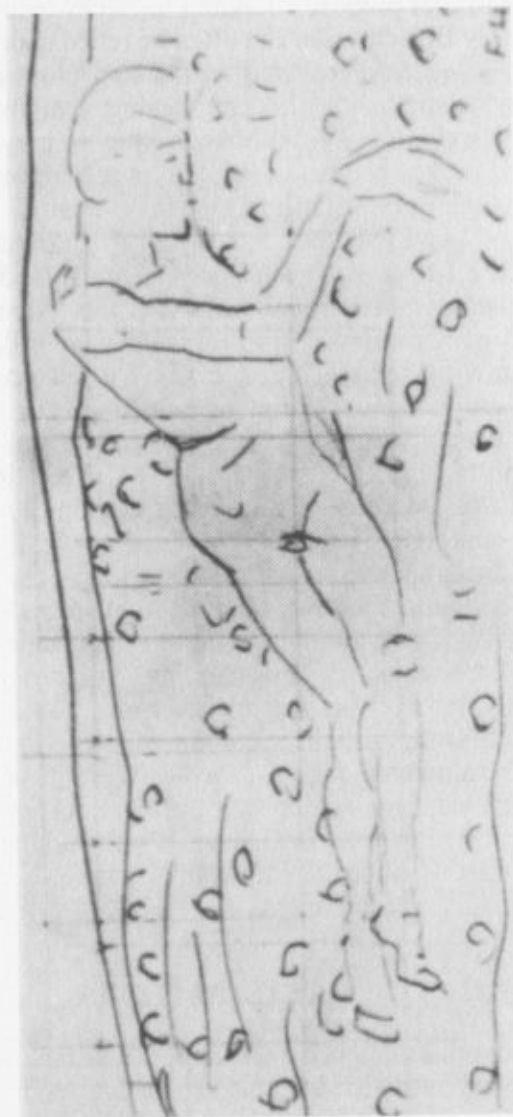
2. To mention only a few: Th. Child, *Young people and old pictures*. London: Griffith Farran Okeden & Welsh c. 1890; J.B. Knipping & M. Gerrits, *Het kind in Neerlands beeldende kunst*. I-II. Wageningen: Zomer & Keuning's 1944-1948; Ch. Moreau-Vauthier, *Les portraits de l'enfant*. Paris: Hachette & Cie s.d.; M. Sauerlandt, *Kinderbildnisse aus fünf Jahrhunderten der europäischen Malerei von etwa 1450 bis etwa 1850*. Leipzig: K.R. Langewiesche Verlag 1921. The best works in this category, in my opinion, still are: L. Maccone, *Il bambino nell' arte attraverso i secoli*. Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafice c. 1923; and O. Kiefer, *Der schöne Jüngling in der bildenden Kunst aller Zeiten*. Berlin: Adolf Brand 1922.

3. This brought into existence a number of interesting titles, especially on Antiquity and the Middle Ages: J. Fink, *Der bildschöne Jüngling. Wandlung eines klassischen Ideals*. Berlin: Verlag Bruno Hessling 1963; I.H. Forsyth, *Children in early medieval art: ninth through twelfth centuries*, in: *Journal of Psychohistory* 4 (1976), 31 ff.; W. Gercke, *Untersuchungen zum römischen Kinderporträt*. Hamburg 1968 (diss); O. Hirsch-Dyck, *Les représentations des enfants sur les stèles funéraires attiques*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe 1983; G. Koch-Harnack, *Knabenliebe und Tiergeschenke. Ihre Bedeutung im pädagogischen Erziehungssystem Athens*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag 1983; H. Rühfel, *Das Kind in der griechischen Kunst*. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern 1984. Some homosexual 'classics' are convincingly studied too: R. Lambert, *Beloved and God. The story of Hadrian and Antinous*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson 1984; W. Ogrinc, *Portfolio/Sint-Sebastiaan geschoren!*, in: *Maatstaf* 34:1 (1986), 39 ff.; J.M. Saslow, *Ganymede in the Renaissance. Homosexuality in Art and Society*. London: Yale University Press 1986.

4. See for example: V. Hefting, *Kinderportretten*. Rotterdam: Lemniscaat 1969; (Catalogue) *Die gesellschaftliche Wirklichkeit der Kinder in der bildenden Kunst*. Berlin: Staatliche Kunsthalle 1979.

5. Thus in *The child in seventeenth-century Dutch painting* (Ann Arbor: UMI

FIGURE 15. *Sleeping boy for 'Love'*, pencil on paper, 15 x 32, 9 cm. (1907). In: Bruschweiler (1978), fig. 110.





Research Press 1983), M.F. Durantini tries to revivify the myth that *children* were not treated as we treat children today before the seventeenth century. This thesis, once proposed by Ph. Ariès in his *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime* (Paris: Librairie Plon 1960), was long ago refuted.

6. Pinard-Legry, 65 ff.
7. Champa, 53.
8. Bender, 135 ff.
9. Mühlestein, 319 ff.
10. Bender, 140.
11. The theme of the praying boy Hodler may have taken from Charles Filiger's "Prayer" (1889), reproduced in the catalogue of the 1892 Salon (Péladan, 1892, fig. 46; Hoozee, p. 188; Pincus-Witten, p. 124-128, 256-257). But other sources are conceivable. George Minne used more or less the same theme in his famous "Fountain of the Kneeling" (c. 1898), in his "Kneeling Adolescents" (1896) and "The Kneeling Relic Bearer" in 1897 (Hoozee, 118-121, 136-138, 148-155).
12. Frick (1978), 393.
13. Frick (1973), 605.
14. Also in Pincus-Witten, 211 ff.
15. Péladan employs the word *sublimier*, which is not to be interpreted in its Freudian sense but alchemistically.
16. Hirsh, 35.
17. Isaiah 35: 1-2 "The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them; and the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose. It shall blossom abundantly, and rejoice even with joy and singing: the glory of Lebanon shall be given unto it, the excellency of Carmel and Sharon, they shall see the glory of the Lord, and the excellency of our God." (*The Bible. Authorized Version*. Oxford: The Bible Societies 1974, p. 588)
18. Bender, 191-192.
19. Brüscheiler (1970), 60.
20. Hirsh, 82.
21. Hirsh, *ibid*, reduces the six angels to the "Primavera Heroine" which had already appeared in Hodler's sketch book. She symbolizes the purity and goodness of the revivifying sun. On one of those sketches we read in Hodler's handwriting: "I am springtime, the magic and the colour of daylight." The gift, therefore, according to Hirsh, is more than just the beauty of the given flower: it is life, blossoming anew in the spring.
22. For reproductions, see: Bender, fig. 255 and 256; Hirsh, fig. 32; Baud-Bovy, fig. 18; Brüscheiler (1978), fig. 47.
23. Silberer, 87-88.
24. For reproductions, see: Brüscheiler (1967), fig. 28 and 40; (1978), fig. 48-50 and 52-54 and the pages 56-58, 61; Müller, fig. 53 and 55.
25. There are two versions of this painting, with minor variations. In the second version, for example, now on exhibit in the Folkwang Museum in Essen (Germany), Hector is a little more virile, his head is turned a little more towards the girl, while his left foot is slightly turned. The most important difference in the

second version, however, is the contact between Hector's right knee and the girl's foot. There are reproductions of this version in: Müller, fig. 58; Brüscheiler (1978), p. 61; Hirsh, fig. XV.

26. Hirsh, 88.
27. Kokoschka, 26. Another parallel could be drawn in Hans Hanner's painting "The Awakening" (1908); see: P. Vogt, *Was sie liebten . . . Salonmalerei im XIX. Jahrhundert*. Schauberg/Köln: DuMont 1969, fig. 1 and 21.
28. Brüscheiler (1970), 72.
29. Hirsh, 88.
30. Müller, 70: "We shouldn't forget that the boy of 'Springtime,' his son Hector, reveals Hodler's own youthful experiences on the road to self-identification in the subconscious of the father with his son."
31. Portmann, 50-54.
32. Hirsh, 88. The opposing concepts of the barren rock motive, first interpreted as symbolizing a "condition of unconsciousness" and later as a symbol of "growing self-consciousness," are confusing here. Of course I follow the latter explanation.
33. Portmann, 50.
34. Brüscheiler (1978), 61.
35. Péladan devoted a number of studies to the androgyn. The three articles he wrote for Fersen's review *Akademias* (1909) are significant in this connection. See also the rather bantering remarks of Jullian, 45 ff., 111 ff., 241.
36. We are not supposed to see in this a gesture of masturbation for left-handed people. According to a medieval Bible exegesis of Jn. 3: 14 (which contains a reference to the alchemical *Ouroboros*) Christ himself is the new Adam. So, again, Hector would be Christ's substitute.
37. Cavendish, 132-133.
38. For a reproduction of the second version, see: Müller, fig. 94.
39. According to Müller (p. 80) this painting represents the evolution of a youth into an independent being who is capable of facing life.
40. For reproductions of the second version, see: Müller, fig. 197; Brüscheiler (1978), p. 73. The most important variations from the first version are the slightly more virile shape of Hector, the absence of twigs in his hands, the absence of one of the four women, and an even more desolate landscape.
41. Hirsh, 96.
42. Müller, 74-75.
43. Brüscheiler (1978), 71.
44. Hofstätter, 171.

## REFERENCES

- Baud-Bovy, M.D. (1940). *Les Hodler au Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève*. Genève: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire.
- Bender, E. (1923). *Die Kunst Ferdinand Hodlers*. I. Zürich: Rascher & Cie A.G.
- Brüscheiler, J. (1978). *Eine unbekannte Hodler-Sammlung aus Sarajewo*. Bern: Benteli Verlag.

- Brüschweiler, J. (1970). *Ferdinand Hodler im Spiegel der zeitgenössischen Kritik*. Lausanne: Buchclub Ex Libris und Editions Rencontre.
- Brüschweiler, J. (1967). *Ferdinand Hodler und sein Sohn Hector/Neujahrsblatt der Zürcher Kunstgesellschaft 1966/1967*. Zürich: Verlag der Zürcher Kunstgesellschaft, Kunsthaus Zürich. In Kommission bei Beer & Cie.
- Cavendish, R. (1969). *Die schwarze Magie*. Frankfurt/Main: G.B. Fischer Verlag.
- Champa, K.S. (1973). *Studies in early Impressionism*. London: Yale University Press.
- Duchosal, L. (1895). *La petite fleur bleue*. Lausanne: Payot.
- Frick, K.R.H. (1973). *Die Erleuchteten. Gnostisch-theosophische und alchemisch-rosenkreuzerische Geheimgesellschaften bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt.
- Frick, K.R.H. (1978). *Licht und Finsternis. Gnostisch-theosophische und freimaurerisch-okkulte Geheimgesellschaften bis an die Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert*. II. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt.
- Hirsh, S.L. (1981). *Ferdinand Hodler*. München: Prestel Verlag.
- Hofstätter, H.H. (1973). *Symbolismus und die Kunst der Jahrhundertwende*. Schauberg/Köln: DuMont.
- Hoozee, R. (pref.) (1982). *George Minne en de kunst rond 1900*. Gent: Museum voor Schone Kunsten.
- Jullian, Ph. (1973). *Dekadente dromers. Symbolistische schilders uit de jaren 1890*. Bussum: De Haan.
- Kokoschka, O. (1959). *Die träumenden Knaben und andere Dichtungen*. Salzburg: Verlag Galerie Welz.
- Loosli, C.-A. (1921-1924). *Ferdinand Hodler. Leben, Werk und Nachlass*. I-IV. Bern: Suter.
- Mühlestein, H., & Schmidt, G. (1942). *Ferdinand Hodler (1853-1918). Sein Leben und sein Werk*. Erlenbach/Zürich: Eugen Rentsch Verlag.
- Müller, W.Y. (1941). *Die Kunst Ferdinand Hodlers*. II. Zürich: Rascher Verlag.
- Péladan, J. (pref.) (1892). *Catalogue de la Salon de la Rose + Croix Esthétique (10 mars au 10 avril)*. Paris: Galerie Durand-Ruel.
- Péladan, J. (1885). *Les maîtres contemporains: Félicien Rops (Première étude)*. Bruxelles: Imprimerie Félix Callewaert.
- Péladan, J. (1909). *Théorie amoureuse de l'Androgyne. Akademos, I: 6,8,9, 827-839, 235-252, 330-344*.
- Pinard-Legry, J.-L. & Lapouge, B. (1980). *L'enfant et le pédéraste*. Paris: Editions du Seuil.
- Pincus-Witten, R. (1976). *Occult Symbolism in France: Joséphin Péladan and the Salons de la Rose + Croix*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.
- Portmann, P. (1956). *Kompositionsgesetze in der Malerei von Ferdinand Hodler*. Winterthur: Buchdruckerei Lüthi & Co.
- Silberer, H. (1971). *Hidden symbolism of alchemy and the occult arts*. New York: Dover Publications.

## Ephebophilia and the Creation of a Spiritual Myth in the Works of Ralph Nicholas Chubb

Tariq Rahman, PhD

University of Azad Jammu and Kashmir  
Pakistan

**SUMMARY.** The writings of Chubb, a boy-lover inclined to spiritualism will be studied with a view to understanding how he created an exonerative myth to reconcile his sexual interest with his desire for spiritual fulfillment. In this myth Chubb is the prophet of a deity who looks like a young boy and loving boys has spiritual significance. Chubb's pre-modern perception of his sexual orientation helps us to understand the changing views of homosexuality. This study may help in understanding the relationship between sexual desire and the development of personal myths.

Ralph Nicholas Chubb started writing and printing his books towards the end of what has been called the "Uranian Movement" (Smith, 1970, p. xx and p. 1)—a peripheral literary trend characterized by a noticeable increase in the expression of emotional and erotic responses toward boys and youths, which lasted roughly from 1858 to 1930 in England. The literature of this movement is distinguished from that of adult homosexuality in two major ways: the object of love is ephebic (either an adolescent boy or a boyish

Tariq Rahman has a PhD in English from the University of Sheffield (UK) and is Professor of English at the University of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, Muzaffarabad, Pakistan. Correspondence may be addressed to Dr. Tariq Rahman, 864-F (Ground Floor), Satellite Town, Rawalpindi, Pakistan.

The author is grateful to the staff of the British Museum Library for their unfailing courtesy and unsparing effort in procuring the works of Chubb and other rare books required for this study.

youth); and the actual (and desired) pattern of the relationship follows the conventional model of heterosexual romantic love with the boy-beloved taking the female role (i.e., that of receiving the penis in sexual acts). In adult homosexuality men, and not necessarily boys, are the objects of love; the relationship does not follow the heterosexual pattern as both men may exchange sexual roles and may experience gender confusion (Weinberg et al., 1974, p. 114 and pp. 117-118). In the literature of adult peer-group homosexuality, for instance in the novels of Jean Genet (1943; 1953), grown men are attracted to other grown men and there is no fixation of sexual role. This became the major literary tradition in the 20th century (Austen, 1977; Norton, 1974) taking the place of the ephebophilic literary tradition in which the sexual role is based on age and boyish looks (Rahman, 1987a).

In order to understand Chubb's work it is convenient to distinguish between adult, peer-group homosexuality and male desire for adolescent boys which I call ephebophilia (Rahman, 1982). This is particularly important because, whereas many Western people associate all kinds of homosexual desire with effeminacy and psychological abnormality, ephebophiles do not. They see themselves as members of an elite who respond sexually to boys not because they are effeminate or neurotic but because they are sophisticated enough to respond to boyish beauty. For them the boys they are attracted to are a superior alternative to female beauty. The ephebophiles do not see the boys as men but as female surrogates—sex objects who, like females, can be penetrated. I have distinguished, like some others (Buffière, 1980, p. 11; Bernard, 1987a, p. 37) between ephebophilia and paedophilia. This last may be defined as sexual response to pre-pubescent children of either sex (Rahman, 1988).

As there were strong taboos against ephebophilia as well as paedophilia, several boy-lovers sought personal legitimization of their feelings by invoking the Spartan model. They pretended that they were merely teaching the finer values of art and life to the boys they associated with. Among those who invoked this pedagogic model were E. E. Bradford (1918) and John Francis Gambril Nicholson (1896). Others sought the inspiration of the biblical story of David and Jonathan. Still others, like Clive in E. M. Forster's novel

*Maurice* (1971), were inspired by the ideas of Plato, or rather, the Victorian versions about non-sexual love between males as suggested in the *Symposium* and *Phaedrus* (Jowett, 1871). Some also built exonerative myths and metaphysical systems of their own like Edward Carpenter, the Victorian apologist of homosexuality (Rahman, 1987 b), and George Ives (1900).

Chubb was among these last and is of interest because the mystic philosophy he evolved is unique among ephebophiles for originality as well as esoteric improbability. Very little work was done on Chubb's literature during his lifetime though in a notice of *Flames of Sunrise* by T. C. he was called "a profound mystic." A certain Mrs. L. F. F., head of a mission school in South Africa, called *The Child of Dawn* "a great spiritual feast," while an unknown reviewer commented with more truth that "With Ralph Chubb, as with William Blake, illuminated prophecy is an art form in itself."<sup>1</sup> Later Smith gave a note on Chubb's life and the major themes of his work in the appendix of his book on the ephebophiles of Britain (Smith, 1970). Smith gives a useful biographical resume and points out that Chubb's work shows an increasing obsession with paederasty till his spiritualization absolves him of guilt. He then undergoes a "pathological break-up of thought, expression, and intent" (1970, p. 220) brought on, Smith suggests, by the advent of the Second World War, which may have "brought on a recurrence of Chubb's neurasthenia" (1970, p. 231). Smith contends that this results in an abandonment of the mystic vision and the final disillusioned descent into puerile tales. In emphasizing Chubb's prurient imagination and presenting it as "stunted" Smith has overlooked the central significance of the mystic vision in Chubb's creative imagination. This does not mean, however, that Chubb's literary work is not the product of a stunted mind obsessed with paederasty and the equally strong desire to absolve himself from guilt. But the latter desire, combined as it was with hankering after spiritual gratification, did make him create a personal spiritual myth which is psychologically significant.

I shall show the four stages of Chubb's literary work, the last being the perfection of the personal spiritual myth mentioned above. In the final stage Chubb's erotic interest in boys was sublimated into and contained by his spiritual vision. He seems not to



have shifted from this position nor abandoned the myth created, as Smith suggests.

### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF CHUBB

Few details of Chubb's life are known. His writings are full of autobiographical themes. His books were written for self-expression and personal gratification and one may conjecture that they do express his sexual fantasies quite candidly. Chubb has written about himself using the first person singular. He has presented thinly veiled fictionalized stories about himself which can be cross checked with his biographical writing. The ascertainable facts, taken from Chubb's writings and compared with Smith's book, are as follows.

Chubb was born in 1892 at Harpenden, Hertfordshire, in England, but was brought up in St. Albans where his family moved four months after his birth. In 1910 he won the Classical scholarship to Cambridge where he was distinguished in chess. In 1913 he completed the classical tripos (B. A. honours) and was commissioned in the army in 1914. In 1915 he was mentioned in despatches from the battle of Loos but in 1918 he was discharged from the army for severe neurasthenia. He then attended the Slade School of Art till 1921 and exhibited his paintings. His work got favourable reviews in the press and is reproduced in *The Studio*, *Colour* and elsewhere. He printed most of his books, some on handmade paper, in Fair Oak, near Newbury, Berkshire. The last was posthumously published by his sister, Muriel L. Chubb, in 1961. These limited edition books were not sold on the open market. Every copy has a number and some are not paginated.<sup>2</sup> The complete set is in the British Museum Library and the Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas at Austin has some copies. Private collectors also have copies.

### SEXUAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL LIFE

Details of Chubb's sexual and psychological life are provided in his books. He was a precocious child as he claims that he "started to illuminate Chaucer's *Prologue*" at the age of nine and "several

pages of Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*" at the age of 12 (Chubb, 1957, p. 4). One of the most significant events of his psychological life was the sight of "boys & girls of the village romping quite naked over the beach" (Chubb, 1930, p. 32). This occurred in childhood, probably before the age of twelve, though the exact age cannot be determined. Most of his books recreate this experience in one form or another, showing only naked boys. In the earliest drawings and those meant for public display, these boys are pre-pubescent, innocent children whereas in the books written between 1929 to 1940 they are adolescent, plump-buttocked and probably sexually attractive to a paederast.

At age 12 Chubb became aware of sex and appears to have indulged in narcissistic admiration:

At about twelve years old I began to feel my sex  
One night on going to bed I stripped my skin bare  
Before the glass & surveyed my parts in different attitudes  
back & front  
Behold I appeared lovely & thanked heaven I was a boy.  
(Chubb, 1931, p. 4)

A little later he started masturbating while fantasizing about some of his schoolfellows: "Certain of my mates I loved passionately for their wayward beauty and yearn'd in secret for their caresses" (p. 5). When he was 18 he saw a choirboy of 13 in the church and was hopelessly infatuated. This was a very significant experience because Chubb mentioned it in most of his books. In one of them he says:

I caught the glance of a dark-eyed chorister. Instantly our  
souls flew to meet each other in wild embrace. (Chubb, 1931,  
p. 5)

At another place he says in verse:

I knew not his name  
Sweet singing child  
Who kindled a flame  
So tender and wild

Of passion and love  
In my heart young and true  
Such as none ever knew  
Save the angels above. (Chubb, 1954, p. 68)

He confesses that he never spoke to his beloved and did not know where he lived since he "dared not to make the enquiry" (p. 186). He warns the reader not to take this confession with levity and when he imagines the eternal life in paradise he makes the choirboy its denizen:

In the old days he had been head chorister in his Abbey choir, where his sweet treble & pretty face had made him much sought after. (Chubb, 1957, p. 37)

He imagines his love was mutual, deep and spiritual saying: "instantly our souls flew to meet each other." He goes on to ask the boy in his imagination if they had not loved "since the beginning with deepest love for ever & ever" (Chubb, 1931, p. 5).

He claims that, when he was 20, he had sexual contact culminating in orgasm with a 15-year-old boy. Chubb has described this experience as follows:

The mounting heat, the shorten'd breath, the surging onslaught of desire. Sweet pulsing short-lived agony seeking relief, the brimming consummation & flood. (Chubb, 1931, p. 6)

In another fictionalized autobiographical poem called "Song of My Soul" a similar experience is described as follows:

Naked the lecherous urchin, the slim beautiful boy  
Naked myself, dark, muscled like a god, the hardy  
enduring man; . . .  
No words needed, scarce ev'n a glance, mystically  
limbs interlace, bodies interpenetrate,  
Spirits coalesce. (Chubb, 1930, p. 23)

Although it is difficult to relate artistic themes to biographical events, it appears in Chubb's case that the erotic strand of his fiction is inspired by this sexual experience with the 15-year-old boy. Like-

wise, the spiritualizing trend in his treatment of boy-love comes from his infatuation with the choirboy. The conflict between the erotic and the spiritual in Chubb's work will be studied to understand how he reconciled the two in a personal spiritual myth.

### THE FOUR PHASES OF CHUBB'S WORK

Chubb's work falls into the following four phases:

- Phase 1: Puerile fairy tales and poems 1907-1920.
- Phase 2: Extroverted writing 1920-1929.
- Phase 3: Eroticism and the development of the myth 1929-1940.
- Phase 4: Perfection of the myth 1940-1960.

#### Phase 1

Chubb probably started writing in 1907 when he was 15. There is a story of that date in *The Golden City* (1961). Another story in the same book, he states, was conceived 50 years ago. Since he was printing his earliest work in this book and in *Treasure Trove* (1957), most of the stories written between 1907 to 1920 are included. Some of these stories were completed in the late 1950s but so static is Chubb's literary imagination that there is no difference between the fiction of his boyhood and that written at the end of his life. The stories indicate a puerile imagination as far as literary invention is concerned and manifest an inordinate interest in knights, fays, elves, fairies and pretty boys. The stories do indicate that Chubb, at age 15 and at age 60, desired to escape the realities of his age into a fairytale world of make-believe. His last two books, representing his earliest and latest work, do not show intellectual disintegration, as Smith suggests, but lack literary development.

#### Phase 2

During the 1920s Chubb published the following books: *A Fable of Love and War* (written 1922; printed 1925); *A Sacrifice of Youth* (1922; 1924); *The Cloud and the Voice* (1923; 1927); *The Book of God's Madness* (1923; 1928); *Manhood* (1924); *Woodcuts* (1928);

and *An Appendix* (1929). Only in this period of writing is Chubb inspired by the outside world and expresses ideas similar to other liberal individualists and vitalists of the age of transition between Victorianism and Modernism. The topics of his fiction in the 1920s are: anti-rationalism, belief in some future millennium, advocacy of free love, condemnation of commerce and materialism, suspicion of science, advocacy of free love, condemnation of war and commitment to humanitarian values. In *The Book of God's Madness* some of these views find expression; for example, the polemical railing against scientific advancement is reminiscent of D. H. Lawrence's diatribes:

That silly graybeard, Science? Hear my words.  
Thought can express itself in many ways —  
In poetry, in science, in religion,  
in life.

and

This poem — rough fragment though it be — is  
designed to expose, by satire, the silliness of  
those who seek a material explanation of the  
universe. (Chubb, 1927, p. 11)

These statements from Chubb are similar in emotional tone and content to Lawrence's pronouncements:

. . . It is time for the idealist and the scientist — they are one and the same, really — to stop this monkey-jargon about the origin of life and the mechanical clue to the universe. There isn't any such thing. (Lawrence, 1923, p. 147)

It is not known if Chubb read Lawrence, but there is justification for conjecturing that he had come across Edward Carpenter (Smith, 1970, pp. 225-26). This is supported by the fact that Chubb used the euphemism for homosexuality — comradesly love — that Carpenter and the American poet Walt Whitman made popular. In 1929 Chubb wrote:

In a word, that sweet comrade's love, which politics have failed altogether to achieve, we poets, artists, men & women of sense generally, hereby ordain, decree & establish throughout England and the world. (Chubb, 1929)

This passage is reminiscent of Carpenter's language in *Towards Democracy* (1896). Chubb, however, was not interested in legalizing sexual relations between adults as was Carpenter. He was interested in making man-boy relationships socially acceptable. His interest is revealed in a book of drawings in which two youths, one about 16 and the other 19, sit with arms around one another's neck. The drawing is entitled "comrades" (Chubb, 1928 b).

Chubb was aware of Carpenter's idea that self-consciousness is evil and that civilization is its product. Social evils such as the institution of private property, the taboo on sex, the idea of sin, and the subjugation of women and manual laborers were seen by Carpenter as concomitant with the development of self-consciousness (Carpenter, 1898). Chubb neither agrees nor pays attention to all that which interested Carpenter. He does, however, express the idea that consciousness was somehow the beginning of evil:

When God went mad, then Consciousness began,  
Who got by Loneliness Variety. (Chubb, 1928 a, p. 14)

His formula for reverting to a pre-conscious idyllic state is sexually permissive but, unlike the intellectual approach of emancipationists, not secular. Thus, whereas Otto Gross in Germany and Andre Gide in France worked towards sexual freedom from the point of view of anarchism and individualism, Chubb sought spiritual reasons.

As Martin Green has demonstrated, Otto Gross was an anarchist and deviated from humanitarian values in his advocacy and practice of free love. To quote Green:

Within the anarchist movement Gross represented that group which put stress on sexual liberation and on orgiastic sexuality as the only kind that answered to anarchist principles.

He goes on to tell us:



According to more than one witness he spread the use of narcotics among his followers, broke down their sexual and social inhibitions, freed them from their scruples of conscience, and even enabled them to kill themselves. (Green, 1974, p. 63)

For psychological reasons Chubb did not want to break away from all accepted metaphysical theories. He wanted only to get rid of sexually inhibiting ethical values without losing the consolation of having religious faith in a metaphysical myth.

Chubb evolved a mystic formula to enable the human race to attain spontaneity and vitality. He declares:

I preach enjoyment of heart's desire  
Desire which wells like water from the spring  
Dam it not with prudery's false show  
Suffer not cowardice to choke the flow. (Chubb, 1928 a, p. 25)

And then adds that this would enable God to regain His sanity and the problems of the world would be overcome.

Like Carpenter and Lawrence, Chubb is against commerce. He expresses this theme in reference to boys' sacrifice to commercial requirements:

Boyhood! I weep to see you so disgraced,  
From stream's and meadow's playgrounds snatched away  
To die on commerce's bloody altar-stone  
I weep for you alone. (Chubb, 1928 a, p. 29)

Implicit in his indictment of civilization, like Lawrence and Carpenter, is his lack of faith in progress. For, unlike the Victorians, he believed that "progress in corporeal things is progress in the devil's kingdom and is accurs'd" (Chubb, 1954, p. 157).

Another major theme of the 1920s is the futility and wastefulness of war. Chubb mentions the trauma of seeing a youth die in war. The event elicits his sympathy and tenderness, and in *The Sacrifice* and *A Fable of Love and War* he expresses the horrors of war. The first book is an allegorical poem in which a beautiful youth is sacrificed to a demon by a group of people. The description of the

youth's beauty is aesthetic rather than erotic and meant to elicit a sympathetic response in those who love beauty:

Forth stepped a proud & comely youth  
Having the likeness of a lad,  
Upon whose face shone love and truth  
In loin cloth only was he clad  
his eyes were soft as eyes of doe  
His cheeks with ruddy bloom aglow. (Chubb, 1924 b, pp. 3-4)

The youth is a symbol for all young men who lost their lives in the First World War and is a common theme of the poetry of the War. Such descriptions of handsome youths and their death are well known features of homoerotic poetry of the War and have nothing to do with sadistic delight in contemplating the agony of the sex-object (Fussel, 1957, p. 285). Central to this interpretation is the fact that the description is not aphrodisiac but moving.

The wastefulness of war is the theme of *A Fable of Love and War*. However, the narration emphasizes Chubb's erotic interest in boys rather than the putative theme obliquely patched on to the narrative. Since this book records the first expression of the erotic themes that will occupy a prominent place in the books of the 1930s, it is of interest to give the narrative some attention. The sexual fantasy described is that a boy (or youth) offers himself to an older man for sexual gratification. The actual intimacy involves interfemoral or anal intercourse, though Chubb does not describe the sexual acts. The setting is pastoral. A youth is shown lying in the grass. A man comes and lies down near him and the youth starts seducing him by asking him to teach him how to enjoy life. The youth says:

Are thy years not forty-five  
My puling boyhood scarce sixteen? (Chubb, 1925, p. 2)

And then he goes on to suggest that the man be physically intimate with him. The man demurs saying that "Fondness like ours might seem a shame" (p. 8) and elects Platonic love. In the end the youth has sex with a woman and dies in the war.

The themes of the 1920s occur sporadically in the works of later

periods occupying a secondary position. They are little more than reiterations of what has been said more seriously, or at least more sincerely, in the 1920s. After the 1920s Chubb's work becomes introspective, more concerned, indeed obsessed, with the theme of paederasty and the desire to reconcile it with his mystical tendencies.

### Phase 3

The last book published in the 1920s was *An Appendix* (1929). It was not meant for wide circulation, having only 50 copies in the whole edition. This is the characteristic of the books of the 1930s. The books of the 1920s were meant for wider circulation. Chubb's sexual interest in boys is more frankly expressed in *An Appendix* than in any of the books of the 1920s. It is, indeed, the first book in which he confesses that he has "loved youths bodily." He goes on to express his fantasy about a beautiful boy inviting him to have sex with him as follows:

O my lovely boy! to think that to-night you will come to me & steal into my bed naked, and that our bodies will mingle their juices to-gether with wanton interlacing limbs! That the hush of darkness will be broken only by the soft sound of our kissing lips & our murmur'd whispers of passionate endearment! (Chubb, 1929)

Such fantasies occur in most of the books written between 1929-1940. The work of this period records a marked obsession with sex with boys. The boys in these books are adolescents, not children; they have full lips and plump fully rounded buttocks and do not possess the innocent, childlike looks of the choirboy mentioned earlier.

The writing exhibits this salacious streak. *Songs of Mankind*, printed in 1930, describes sodomy with an adolescent boy. A similar scene occurs in the *Sun Spirit* printed in 1931. *The Heavenly Cupid*, printed in 1934, is even more erotic describing a boy's seduction of a sailor:

And as I bend to wipe each limb  
Expose my back to pleasure him  
And show my bare cherubic rump  
He'll think 'the cheek is nice & plump.'

In *Water Cherubs* (1937), the fantasy of a pretty boy luring a man into having sex is described in "The Ship Boy's Tale." This time he does not leave the nature of the sex act vague—it is sodomy.

So sweaty hips ease flesh's pent-up ache  
What stood, now drooping, dewy mistures, shake.

This is the nearest that Chubb comes to pornography in his work. In the same book the narrator, this time a literary persona of the writer, says "I took turns and turn about with the twins (in more senses than one)." And in the very next book, *The Secret Country* (1939), he describes naked 15-year-old boys in his usual half-aesthetic, half-salacious manner but refrains from using socially tabooed language.

The question of whether Chubb's eroticism had an element of sadism arises. Chubb mentions how a gypsy boy, Jim Boyne, asks him to flog him but he refuses to take advantage of the opportunity. His regret for not taking the boy at his word makes Smith suggest that Chubb's eroticism "is tinged with sadism" and that "Pain and death involving boys fascinate him" (Smith, 1970, p. 228). This is not borne out in Chubb's other writings. He describes in *The Heavenly Cupid* the Spartan practice of beating youths sometimes to death and is excited in *An Appendix* over the idea of sleeping with the bruised loser of a boxing match. These incidents are, however, open to different interpretations. The poem about the Spartan boy aims to depict the boy's lover's grief at his death and not prurient voyeurism. In the boxing match scene Chubb feels tender toward the loser because he is rather delicate and pretty. And, of course, he wants to sleep with the boy but only because of his beauty and not because he is excited by the blood on his face. This leaves the gypsy boy in *The Secret Country*. Chubb refuses to believe what Jim tells him about secret happenings in the woods and Jim says that if he is proved wrong he would not mind being tied to a tree and flogged. Chubb is not excited and lets the boy go. Later he thinks about it

and comes to the conclusion that the boy really wanted to get flogged and regrets having missed the opportunity. Chubb mentions that the boy may have wanted to be stripped and beaten, which excites Chubb not because he enjoys beating boys but because, in this case, he would have seen the boy's naked body and come into some sort of erotic contact with him. And it is the idea of sex with boys, even if it is only seeing them naked, which is sexually exciting to him. In 1921, Chubb was sexually very frustrated. In the same book Chubb relates how two adolescent boys teased him and refused to lie with him or play "touch" in the nude. It was not flagellation Chubb was interested in but any sort of association with adolescent boys. If Chubb had really been interested in sadism, he would not have refrained from writing about it in the sexually frank books of the 1930s.

*Chubb's Spiritual and Sexual Ideals  
in Phase 3*

Most of Chubb's books feature two kinds of boys: those aged 13 and those aged 16 or more. The former is a sexless sylph with innocent looks while the latter has rounded buttocks and voluptuous good looks. There are grounds for conjecturing that the pre-pubescent child is Chubb's "spiritual ideal" — his idea of the most perfect spiritual being. This ideal elicits worship from him. The plump-buttocked adolescent boy elicits lust.

From his earliest writings till the middle of the 1920s, there is little evidence of prurient interest in boys in his surviving work. The boys he has drawn in his books are 13-year-old sylphs inspired by the young choirboy he had loved so passionately. In some books of the 1920s — *Woodcuts*, *The Sacrifice of Youth* and *A Fable of Love and War* — boys of 16 are depicted. And, though Chubb does not yet admit that he is sexually attracted to them, they are like the boys of the 1930s to whom he is sexually attracted.

In *An Appendix*, the first book which manifests features which became recurrent in the 1930s, the boy-beloved is 18 or 19 though "he looks less." In *Sun Spirit*, he describes the ideal boy-beloved emphasizing his "twin-rounded buttocks, seductive dimpled cluster of love, the well-poised whole in perfect symmetry." (1931). In

*Heavenly Cupid* he imagines a bathing scene in which each bather "was in truth no girl, but a ripe youth of seventeen summers old" (1934). In this book, as well as in all others, the boys who entice men into sexual acts are between the ages of 15 and 18 and look physically like the boys in the pictures: the sexually attractive ones who can be called Chubb's "sexual ideals." In the absence of conclusive evidence it is not possible to say whether this "sexual ideal" is inspired by the boy with whom Chubb claims to have had sex. However, there is no doubt that when Chubb thinks of sex he thinks of an adolescent boy with exaggerated bodily proportions. And when he is in a mystic, philosophical, worshipping mood he thinks of what I have termed the "spiritual ideal": an innocent, ethereal pre-pubescent child.

*Chubb's Attitude Toward Ephebophilia  
in Phase 3*

As already mentioned Chubb was evasive in his fiction about sex with boys till 1929. He masks his interest in them by invoking the Platonic theory of love. For example, in *A Fable of Love and War* a man, when invited by a boy to make love to him moralizes a la Plato:

Though a foul husk hid thy fair kernel  
'Still should I love thy part eternal.' (Chubb, 1925, p. 5)

In 1929, however, he declares with rhetorical bravado:

I know that I have loved youths bodily. Do ye say that 'he is in secret one of these?' I reply 'Ye lie!' I have proclaim'd openly and do still and shall ever proclaim this love of youths! of just such love I am the apostle and forerunner. (Chubb, 1929)

In 1931 he says: "I hasten to inform you that unless my love incarnates in the flesh sexual it is not complete" (Chubb, 1931). In 1937 we are told: "Love, beauties, satisfactions, delights — all good things — are identified by the body of flesh" (Chubb, 1937). Chubb's statements about the way he saw himself in relation to the boys he desired sexually or idolized make it clear that he was like the ephebophiles of an earlier age (1860-1900) rather than the clini-



cally constructed homosexual of the modern age. In other words, he does not think that he is neurotic, nor does he have doubts about his gender, nor indeed, does he explain his sexual taste on Ulrichs' theory about having female elements in the psyche. Like the ephebophiles of the Victorian age, he declares that he finds boys more attractive than girls and women. And, like some of them, he boasts that such sexual taste is the mark of superior sensibility. In *Water Cherubs* he retracts all that he has said earlier about women in unequivocal words:

I feel that I did wrong to theorize or allegorize in certain of my past books by introducing talk of a "female principle" & what not. For the plain fact—which I have never doubted for an instant—is that boy-love has nothing to do with the female whatsoever. (Chubb, 1937)

And when he sees girls bathing where he had thought there would be boys, he is frankly disappointed:

Misled by distance, all too soon  
I found the place was occupied  
By 'belles' . . .  
My feeling, if I must confess,  
was bitter disappointment. (Chubb, 1937)

He also makes it clear that he is not interested in grown men. While ogling two boys he says:

(The third, a man—no eyes for him!)  
But those two lovely cherubim!  
with soft transparency they glow'd. (Chubb, 1937)

So he is only interested in adolescent boys which is made clear by statements such as this:

And every youth who bears the divine stamp upon his body, to such as I represents the other member of the human bridal union. (Chubb, 1931)

Chubb, like pre-modern ephebophiles, saw the boys he desired as an alternative to females. He fixed their sexual role as the receivers

of the penis: the ones who, like females, are penetrated. This is a simplistic and pre-modern way of seeing homosexuality. Few Western men held this view in the late 1950s.

### *The Development of the Personal Myths in Phase 3*

At the end of the 1920s Chubb's fiction and verse became introspective and remained so for the rest of his life. As the years went by he became increasingly divorced from external reality, never again to become really interested in the outside world. Though he never accepted the philosophical theory of solipsism he created personal myths which gave legitimacy to his sexual desire for boys and, equally important, satisfied his craving for the spiritual and the esoteric.

In 1929 Chubb renounced politics saying "What have I or mine to do with the materialistic nonsense of the political reformers?" and commits himself to the legitimization of ephebophilia—"I will make boy-love of good report in the world. To this I am sworn" (Chubb, 1929). But it was not enough to commit himself to a mission without investing it with spiritual significance. He declares vatically:

O World? I do love youths and boys, O World! And he who knows not this love is not yet a full man and will have to go thro' a thousand avatars if necessary, until he has learn'd this love and its supreme beauty and sacredness. (Chubb, 1929)

His prophetic strain becomes gradually more pronounced, and in 1930 he negates Darwinian theories of evolution and announces his own vision of the future:

Nature, I repeat it, lies right ahead of us, has never yet been achieved . . .  
And they who spring from apes to apes return  
And they who spring from paradise to paradise  
return. (Chubb, 1930, p. 27)

Later his idea of the future includes the joys of ephebophilia:

In heaven all is the Eternal Boyhood in freedom of nakedness,  
And all within me leads to this! what else? (Chubb, 1931)

In the *Heavenly Cupid* (1934) Chubb gives his first full account of his personal spiritual myths. He seems to have worked out only the millennial aspects of his theories, couched in esoteric terms. First he assumes the role of a prophet to "lead [men] to freedom" and declares that a sacred message has been given to him by the Eternal Spirit. This "Gospel of Adonai" or "Adonis" announces the advent of a

third dispensation—of the Holy Ghost on earth—visible advent thereof on earth [is] in the form of a young Boy of 13 years old, naked & unblemished. (p. 1)

This is similar to the Hindu idea of the incarnation of the divine spirit in the earth whenever evil gains dominance. Thus Shri Krishna tells Arjuna in the Bhagavat Gita:

For whenever the law of righteousness withers away and lawlessness arises, then do I generate Myself [on earth].

For the protection of the good, for the destruction of evildoers, for the setting up of the law of righteousness I come into being age after age. (Zaehner, 1969, p. 184)

This reading gains support from the fact that Chubb calls Buddha, Jesus, and others divine incarnations like the Hindu philosophers (Prabhavananda, 1947, p. 180).

The main idea in *Heavenly Cupid* is that history can be divided into three spiritual dispensations. The first was of Adam and Lucifer and was consecrated as the "Male Principle." The second order, consecrated as the "Female Principle," is that of Christ and Buddha. The third, which will be the millennium, will be consecrated to the "Boy Principle." This will be the golden age of freedom when boy-love will be a sacred thing.

Chubb declares all this in the preface of *The Heavenly Cupid*. The rest of the book is full of other themes, including that of

paederasty. However, at places he gives a mystical cloak to this paederasty. For instance he says:

free & happy affectional caresses with young loves are merely a harmonious outward expression of the spiritual delights which they shadow forth & embody. Emission if it take place—or if it take place three or seven times—is a scarcely-noticed incident, not the goal or end: the love is the thing! (1934)

In *Water Cherubs* (1937) Chubb says little about the millennium. He does, however, announce in categorical terms that he does not believe in the Christian concept of God.

The voice of my Heart says that the Human Spirit alone is infinite & divine. There is no God in the Universe: all is accident or fate. My divinity is an eternal smiling Boy, who says "In Me all is harmony & genial life."

He also declares his commitment to a spontaneous and purely subjective code of morality. His position is of extreme individualism in that he is not prepared to refer his actions to any external code of conduct. The only valid moral criterion for him is the "voice of" the "spirit within."

In *The Secret Country* Chubb's hedonistic desires lead to his conjuring a wish-fulfilling fantasy: that of a heaven in which there are separate places for young boys and youths. The inhabitants of these places "can sometimes meet for purposes of sport or love." And the visionary—Chubb himself—will attain this paradise and enjoy himself with naked boys.

And we do just what we will, for God is our Lover,  
And there is neither good nor evil. (1939)

The final message of Chubb's personal deity (who is symbolized by a boy of 13) is hedonistic. It is to "pile up delight upon delight, fulfillment on fulfillment on his soul." Though Chubb does not make it clear whether by "delight" he means sensual or spiritual gratification, the rest of his work makes it obvious that whatever

else he may have meant by pleasure, the pleasures of boy-love are never excluded.

#### **Phase 4: The Perfection of the Personal Spiritual Myths**

The third phase of Chubb's writing ended in 1940. In the next 30 years Chubb produced *The Child of Dawn* (1940-48); *Treasure Trove* (1955-57); *Flames of Sunrise* (1949-54) and *The Golden City* (1958-61). *Treasure Trove* and *The Golden City* contain some of Chubb's earliest work. In the work completed in this phase no literary development can be seen. The pictures of the boys were probably done in the 1950s. This, however, cannot be established with certainty because similar pictures appear throughout Chubb's work. There are hardly any pictures of plump-buttocked adolescent boys in lust provoking poses in the last books.

The books central in expressing Chubb's fully developed spiritual myth are the *Child of Dawn* and *Flames of Sunrise*. These are the quintessential products of the 1940s and the 1950s rather than the other two books which represent Chubb's earliest period.

Chubb begins these books by claiming that his own name is "Chaba" (Chubb, 1954, p. 1) or "Kaba" (Chubb, 1948, p. 66). Kaba has spiritual significance, being the holy shrine of the Muslims. As for "Chub or Chob," it is, according to Chubb, "a club which is a phallic symbol" in ancient Persian (Chubb, 1948, p. 67). He also calls himself "The Child of the Fishes" and says that he hoped to build an earthly Temple and even dreamt of becoming an "avatar of Raphaos" (Chubb, 1948, p. 43). This temple would contain pre-pubescent boys selected "for their physical & moral beauty & intelligence" (p. 43). This statement manifests a discernible shift of emphasis from the physical to the spiritual. The boys are not to be, as they were in the literature of the 1930s, adolescent, physically attractive in an erotic way and mischievous. They are to be pre-pubescent and morally superior. He mentions that David, Jonathan, Plato and Shakespeare are the forerunners of "the true paederasty" (p. 51). This marks his final commitment to the spiritual, non-sexual ideal that has been struggling for dominance in his mind since he fell in love with the choirboy.

The spiritual element in Chubb's mental makeup finds expression in a coherent and purely self-created myth. The central concept of this myth is the assertion of the objective existence of the Boy-god Raphaos. From this follow other tenets of the new faith. One being that Chubb is the sacred messenger, prophet and representative of this deity and the mouthpiece of divine will. Raphaos is explained in terms of a trinity parallel to the Hindu Upanishadic conception of the immanent deity Brahman whose manifestations go by the name of Brahma, Shiva and Vishnu (Zahner, 1969, pp. 366-367). However, the Christian conception of the Holy Family is also wedded to this mystic concept. This is described as follows:

In the beginning was Ra, the unmanifest Sun,  
And Ra put forth His radiance, whereby He becometh manifest  
And the name of this radiance was PHAOS; which is to say light.  
And the radiance was divided into Rays.  
These Rays are innumerable: for they are the souls of all creatures.  
They resemble as it were the spokes or radii of a wheel and  
Are of innumerable tinctures, but of seven principal hues.  
These are the hues of the seven Elohim or Spirits of God;  
Of whom Rafael is the Angel of Understanding  
Therefore the name of the threefold Godhead is call'd  
RA-EL-PHAOS  
Because God is trinity of Father, Mother and Child (Chubb, 1954, p. 51).

Chubb, prophet of this Boy-god, proclaims to the world that the boy is "at the apex of the pyramid of life" and that "it is the neuter sex of Plato" (p. 2). But Chubb makes it clear that whereas Plato believed that mankind was hermaphroditic in the *Symposium*, he thinks that the ideal boy is "not androgynous as some suppose" (p. 2) but has the "true elements of both sexes." What Chubb means is unclear but his pictures and verbal descriptions of boys whom he found attractive suggest that he liked boys with some physical characteristics of girls: clear and hairless skin, fairness of complexion,



facial prettiness, fullness of lips and roundness of buttocks. He referred to these things as the true elements of the female sex. By androgyny he probably meant effeminacy characterized by a mincing gait, squeaking voice and feminine mannerism. And these things, the distinguishing features of the effeminate homosexual (the "queen" in homosexual slang), Chubb seems to have found anti-aphrodisiac as well as disgusting. He liked boys who were beautiful in a boyish not in a girlish or manly way.

Chubb's "spiritual ideal," the kind of boy who evokes veneration rather than lust in him, is the outward symbol of the Boy-god. His "countenance of serenest innocence & beauty" (Chubb, 1948, p. 76) symbolizes sublime sentiments and spiritual gratification. The millennium will be ushered in by the grace of this god. When the gospel of this deity is accepted, mankind will evolve into a "race of angelic immortal naked boys, that is to say, Cupids, or neuters (sexless-male), perfect, bright, unblemish'd, translucent in body, full of celestial loveliness & wisdom of spirit" (p. 35). The salaciousness of the 1930s has no place now because in this millennium the love will not be sensual but "tender pure as a mother's." At the same time Chubb adds enigmatically, and indeed confusingly, that this love will be "passionate as a bridegroom's" (p. 71). However, since the distinction between the "true" and "outward" paederasty has been made, this means, that the love will be spiritual though intense in emotion as that of a bridegroom. One gets the impression that Chubb is not dissembling his real feeling for boys but trying to sublimate them. He may have been deceiving himself when he said that boys should be "embraced interiorly by the poetic genius outwardly in the body" (1948) in this phase of writing. But the fact remains that he desires to give his response to boys a spiritual cloak.

The millennial vision has been given a nationalistic twist in *The Child of Dawn*. Chubb declares that Britannia stood for "Mai, queen of Sea, & of Sky, Mother of Raf" (p. 6). In the last phase of writing this has been expressed in more esoteric terms as follows:

The dark night of materiality is passing away. The Son of Morning, who incarnated 2000 years ago as the Body of hu-

manity, is now returning (in an interior sense) as its soul—England, is called to her high destiny. The Day which was foreseen in vision by Blake is at hand. (Chubb, 1954)

This is the final expression of the millennial myth. As we have seen, it combines with the myth of the Boy-god to provide Chubb with a being whom he could worship as well as respond to aesthetically. Although the erotic response to adolescent boys is muted, it takes the form of romanticizing boys, worshipping them, and fantasizing about kissing and embracing them. As this is part of the worship of Chubb's deity and will be the ideal form of conduct in the millennium, Chubb has created a myth which has not only absolved him of the guilt of loving boys but has also provided him with the means of spiritual gratification.

## CONCLUSION

This paper suggests that Chubb, an ephebophile, created an exonerative myth in his work which began shaping itself in his mind from the 1930s but was finally completed in the 1950s. The myth is important in that it shows how Chubb tried to reconcile his sexual interest in boys with his desire for spiritual fulfillment. Chubb's work may be of some use to those who are interested in investigating the relationship between sex and guilt, guilt and its exoneration, eroticism and sublimation, and, between sex and spiritualism.

## NOTES

1. A cutting of the first review is pasted on the first page of *Flames of Sunrise* while the other two reviews are pasted on *The Child of Dawn* (British Library copies No. 1 and 7).
2. No page number is cited in the text when the book lacks pagination.

## REFERENCES

- Austen, Roger (1977). *Playing the Game: The Homosexual Novel in America*. Indianapolis, New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company Inc.
- Bernard, Frits (1987). "The Dutch Paedophile Emancipation Movement." *Paidika* 2, pp. 46-48.

- Buffière, Felix (1980). *Eros Adolescent: La Pèderastie dans la Grèce Antique*. Paris: Société D'Édition "Les Belles Lettres."
- Bradford, E. E. (1918). *The New Chivalry*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner.
- Carpenter, Edward (1896). *Towards Democracy*. Manchester: The Labour Press.
- (1898). *Civilisation: Its Cause and Cure and other Essays*. London: Swan Sonnenschein.
- Chubb, Ralph N. (1924 a). *Manhood: A Poem*. Curridge, Berkshire: Chubb. [200 copies]
- (1924 b). *The Sacrifice of Youth: A Poem*. Curridge: Chubb. [47 copies]
- (1925). *A Fable of Love & War: A Romantic Poem*. Curridge: Chubb. [200 copies]
- (1927). *The Cloud & The Voice: (A Fragment)*. Newbury: Chubb. [100 copies; this is copy number 5]
- (1928 a). *The Book of God's Madness: An Unfinished Poem in Three Parts*. Newbury: Chubb. [100: 3]
- (1928 b). *Woodcuts*. London: Andrew Block.
- (1929). *An Appendix: A Random Collection of Original Ideas Noted Down at Odd Times in Varying Moods and Circumstances in an Old Bombing Note-Book*. Ashford Hill: Chubb. [50: 2]
- (1930). *Songs of Mankind*. Newbury: Chubb. [100: 6]
- (1931). *The Sun Spirit: A Visionary Phantasy*. Newbury: Chubb. [30: 5]
- (1934). *The Heavenly Cupid: or, The True Paradise of Loves*. Newbury: Chubb. [43: 3]
- (1935). *Songs Pastoral & Paradisal*. Brockweir; Gloucestershire: The Tintern Press. [100]
- (1937). *Water Cherubs*. Newbury: Chubb [30:5]
- (1939). *The Secret Country: or, Tales of Vision*. Newbury: Chubb. [37: 1]
- (1948). *The Child of Dawn or, The Book of the Manchild*. Newbury: Chubb. [30: 7]
- (1954). *Flames of Sunrise: A Book of the Man Child Concerning the Redemption of Albion*. Newbury: Chubb. [25: 1]
- (1957). *Treasure Trove: Early Tales and Romances with Poems*. Newbury: Chubb. [21: 16]
- (1961). *The Golden City With Idylls and Allegories*. Newbury: Muriel L. Chubb. [18: 5]
- Eglinton, J. Z. (1964/1971). *Greek Love*. New York; London: Neville Spearman.
- Fussell, Paul (1957/1979). *The Great War and Modern Memory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Forster, E. M. (1971). *Maurice*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Genet, Jean (1943/1969). *Our Lady of the Flowers*. trans from the French by Bernard Frechtman. London: Granada; Panther edition.
- (1953/1973). *Querelle of Brest*. trans from the French by Gregory Streatam. London: Granada; Panther edition.

- Green, Martin (1974). *The Von Richhtofen Sisters*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson.
- Ives, George (1900). *Eros' Throne*. London: Swan Sonnenschein.
- Jowett, Benjamin (1871/1953). *The Dialogues of Plato*. trans. 4 vols. 4th edition. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. "Symposium," Vol. 1, pp. 479-555; "Phaedrus," Vol. 2, pp. 107-189.
- Lawrence, D. H. (1923/1971). *Fantasia of the Unconscious*. London: Heinemann.
- Nicholson, J. F. G. (1896). *A Chaplet of Southernwood*. Derby: Frank Murray.
- Norton, Rictor (1974). *The Homosexual Literary Tradition: An Interpretation*. New York: The Revisionist Press.
- Prabhavananda, Swami, and Christopher Isherwood (1947). *Bhagavat Gita*. London: Dent, Everyman's Library.
- Rahman, Tariq (1982). "Ephebophilia in Late Victorian English Literature." Unpublished M. A. dissertation, University of Sheffield.
- (1987 a). "E. M. Forster and the Break Away from the Ephebophilic Literary Tradition." *Etudes Anglaises*. 3 (July-Sept), pp. 267-278.
- (1987 b). "The Alienated Prophet: The Relationship Between Edward Carpenter's Psyche and the Development of His Metaphysic." *Forum for Modern Language Studies* xxiii: 3 (July), pp. 193-209.
- (1988). "Ephebophilia: the Case for the Use of a New Word." *Forum for Modern Language Studies*. xxvi: 2 (April), pp. 126-141.
- Smith, Timothy D'Arch (1970). *Love in Earnest: Some Notes on the Lives and Writings of English 'Uranian' Poets from 1889-1930*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Weinberg, Martin S., and Colin J. Williams (1974). *Male Homosexuals: Their Problems and Adaptations*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Zachner, R. C. (1969). *The Bhagavat Gita with a Commentary based on the Original Sources*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

# 'The Main Thing Is Being Wanted': Some Case Studies on Adult Sexual Experiences with Children

Chin-Keung Li, PhD

Dykebar Hospital, Paisley, Scotland

**SUMMARY.** Pedophilia is always considered by mainstream society as one form of sexual abuse of children. However, analysis of the personal accounts provided by pedophiles suggests that these experiences could be understood differently. This paper attempts to document some aspects of the pedophiles' construction of their sexuality, to provide illustrations of how these individuals understand themselves.

## **INTRODUCTION**

Pedophilia is legally a crime in most western countries, and it is considered a mental disorder by orthodox psychiatry.<sup>1</sup> In official and research statistics, pedophiles are included within the category of child molesters. To many professionals concerned with the protection of children, pedophilia is synonymous with child sexual abuse, and is reckoned as a very serious social problem. Pedophiles are to be arrested and imprisoned, or, within a rehabilitation framework, to be given therapy or other behavior-changing treatments. Very rarely does one hear an academic or a professional speaking out in defence of pedophiles.<sup>2</sup>

Are all pedophiles violent child molesters? Or are they, as one

---

Chin-Keung Li is Senior Clinical Psychologist, Psychology Department, Dykebar Hospital, Grahamston Road, Paisley PA2 7DE, Scotland, UK. The research on which this paper is based was carried out while the author was at the Institute of Criminology, University of Cambridge.



pedophile has argued in a book, gentle and loving people?' There is a great need for giving voice to the viewpoints of pedophiles, not least because they are rarely heard. We must let them speak for themselves. It is through listening empathetically to their accounts that we can hope to achieve a dialogue with them and consequently a better understanding of their experiences.<sup>4</sup>

### APPROACH

This paper is based on about 100 hours of tape-recorded material that I have gathered from 27 men who have had sexual contact with children. All of these men were volunteer informants who agreed to participate in my study without remuneration. Twelve of them were introduced to me by several psychiatrists, but they were under no compulsion to take part in my project. Also, it was made clear to them that their participation in this project would in no way affect their relationship to their psychiatrist. Three other informants were contacted through a pedophile organization, and the rest (twelve) via an advertisement in a magazine.

Because the subject of the study was a very sensitive issue, it was difficult to get in touch with a large number of suitable informants. Therefore I placed no restriction on the type of people I interviewed, except the basic requirement that they must have had some sexual experience with children. I took great care to ensure that all informants took part in my study out of their own free choice.

It was not always possible to ascertain what each participant's reason for participating was. Nevertheless, some of them did mention that it was the first time they ever had the chance to talk about their experiences in detail with somebody who was willing to listen, and this gave them the feeling of being understood. Perhaps this desire to communicate with another person motivated these men to respond to my request. Needless to say, I assured all my informants that strict confidentiality would be kept of any information they might provide, and also that this project was an academic pursuit which had no connection with any government agency. The aim of the study was to document how they construe their sexual experiences with children.

The phrase 'how they construe their experiences' is of paramount

importance here. To construe experience is to interpret events, to give form to occurrences, to make sense of what is happening, and to carry on one's life in the direction that these interpretations and constructions entail.<sup>5</sup> Human existence is 'subjective,' in the sense that it is the 'subject' who exists—it is the 'I' who carries on the 'existence.' I want to understand how my pedophile informants have understood their sexual life as *an experiencing subject*. This point is of fundamental importance, because there is no pedophilia as an entity of its own right, there are only individual *persons* who experience sexual feelings for children. The search for a categorical etiology or pathology for pedophilia as an objective entity will mask the rich complexity of the unique life of the individual concerned, and will reify the subjective human experiences involved.

This study consisted of in-depth interviews with individual pedophiles. The aim of each interview was to let the informant talk freely about his experiences with children. I was not looking for any particular type of accounts, nor was I testing any specific hypothesis. My role was as an unprejudiced researcher seeking an understanding of an area of human experience that only my informants could clarify. I communicated this clearly to them. I used open-ended questions as far as possible to avoid leading the informant to a particular way of describing his experiences. During each interview, I maintained, as much as possible, a non-imposing and receptive style of interaction with the informant, so as to encourage him to speak frankly and freely about what he believed.

Granted all this, however, it is possible to argue that what the informant believes might not be the 'objective' or 'real' situation he is in. To this challenge one could argue that what is real is not something out there independent of the human observer. To an individual person, reality is what he construes to be real. Still, it could be argued that at best each informant's account is a rationalization of his own behavior. This, however, is not necessarily a problem. If we take 'rationalization' not in the pejorative sense as something 'false' or 'unreliable,' but in its etymological sense of being 'related to reason,' then we could accept, indeed we have to say, that the informant's account constitutes his effort of giving reason or meaning to his experience. This is precisely what my study wants to document.

The situation in which the informant's account was produced was one in which I asked him to reflect on, to explain, to justify, indeed to 'rationalize' (to give reasons for), his sexual desire. It was a dialogue between a sincere listener and the pedophile. The situation was not one in which the informant ran the risk of incriminating himself by what he said; it was not a police interrogation in which he had to defend himself. Therefore, I expected that his 'rationalization' was more likely what he believed, and hence what I wanted to understand. Even if what he has told me represents more his fantasy than actual occurrences, the material still reflects his understanding of his desire.

From what is said above, it is clear that the focus of this study is on the pedophiles' construction of their experiences. This, however, is just one side of the coin — there is also the children's experiences to be reckoned with. An important question in this regard is whether the children involved construe their experiences differently. Hence it is desirable to carry out a study which compares pedophiles' construction of their experiences with that of the children involved. However, practical limitation in terms of time, resources and access to children has made it impossible to do so in this present project. Nevertheless, the collecting and analyzing of pedophiles' accounts is in itself an important task towards attaining an understanding of this particular type of human experiences.

In the analysis, I tried to reconstruct from what each informant had told me his understanding of his sexual desire for children. Then I examined the explanatory accounts given by all the informants, and drew out the elements common to their construction. While these elements are not necessarily present in the account of every informant, they do provide us with some insights into the self-understanding of these individuals. In the following sections, I will discuss thematically these various elements of the pedophiles' construction of their sexual experiences. Needless to say, these case studies are not to be taken as representative of all those people who have had sexual encounters with children. Each person has a unique life history. This work can only claim to be a documentation of some relevant cases. But it is my conviction that our understanding will slowly deepen as this process of documentation progresses further.

### **'I AM BORN LIKE THIS!'**

This is a prominent feature in the accounts of about one-third of my informants. These individuals feel that their sexual desire for children is a natural part of their constitution. This desire is variously described as 'inbred,' 'innate,' 'a fact of nature,' 'inherent in them,' etc. The *leitmotif* of their accounts is 'this is me' or 'just the way I am.' The following is an example of this type of construction.

Tom is a 25-year-old businessman from a fairly rich family. From adolescence onwards, Tom gradually realized that he had strong sexual desire for boys. He felt he could only attribute this to an innate disposition as there was nothing in his life that he could identify as responsible for this development. This is his description:

I can offer no explanation for my feelings, it is inherent in me, it is just something that comes naturally to me. To be honest, you know, I think it'd always been in me. I don't think it's sort of one stage that happened that converts me over to that. (...) It's not something that happened in my life that changed me totally, it's always been there.

This understanding of the innate nature of their pedophilic desire underlies my informants' feeling that they cannot change, and that they have the same right as people who are born otherwise to pursue the expression of their sexuality.

### **THE SPECIAL APPEAL OF CHILDREN**

Over half of the informants have mentioned specific characteristics in children which they find particularly attractive. Thus to them, relationships and sexual activities with children are experienced as much more satisfying than those with adults. These relationships are their first choice, rather than a substitute when adult sex is lacking.

In these informants' accounts, children are portrayed as gentle, warm, generous, innocent, truthful, broadminded, affectionate and perceptive, whereas adults are described as selfish, narrow-minded, materialistic and without depth of feeling. Interaction with children,

as my informants have experienced it, is much more enjoyable than that with adults because the informants do not have to put up a social facade, they can simply be themselves.

In this context, pedophilic activities are often construed by the informants in terms of childhood play. The account of Nick provides an example that highlights some of these points. All through his adult life, Nick, who is 33, has had many relationships with boys, some of which have been sexual, some not. The relationship that he treasured most, with an Arab boy of 9, did not involve sex. Nick felt that he was accepted as part of the boy's family, and he thoroughly enjoyed the three years they spent together. When the boy eventually left Britain, Nick experienced a tremendous loss. This is how he expressed his feelings:

Nothing is the same after he left, you know, just like (pause), just like the world has lost its color (sighs), every, everything was different.

Besides this Arab boy, Nick was also very fond of his two nephews. Again, sex was not involved. To him, the relationship between himself and his nephews was one of affection and love. It was the boisterous play he had with his nephews and their friends that gave him pleasure and a sense of fulfilment. They played rough and tumble games, they played football, they went camping and searching for adventures and mischiefs, they visited amusement arcades, they looked for fun. Nick described his pedophilic desire in the following way:

I like kids because I didn't have any other, real, great experiences with adults when I was a kid. You can't learn to be pedophilic, it's something that happens, it's a form of growth, growth that makes you a pedophilic. It's the way you're brought up, experiences you had, experiences of being unloved, experiences of having difficult relationships. ( . . . ) For me, without the spirit of children around, I'm alone. (Weeps) I have to look—this is difficult—I have to look for things worth living for. ( . . . ) Youth comes into it, the spirit comes into it. 'Cos it's not just sex. I enjoyed their company.

Lots of things come into it. Sex, to me, sex is a very small part, you know, in a relationship with a boy. Sex is, you know, the smallest part. 'Cos I've had hundred of relationships with boys without sex coming into it. ( . . . ) Spirit is the charisma of childhood, that is, hmm, that is, childness. Just the fun, the innocence. Sex isn't the main thing, the main thing is being wanted I suppose.

To many pedophiles, the childhood world represents the best of life, while the adult world the worst. Pedophilia is not primarily a matter of sex, but of love, of being wanted, of childhood enjoyment, of things that the adult world cannot provide. The following extracts from some other informants' accounts illustrate this contrast between the adult and the childhood world:

Children get involved in sex with each other, because they don't feel it's wrong, you see. Now you can meet a child and you can say to a child, should we play doctors and nurses or whatever, and they know what you're talking about, and they do it to each other, sometimes they are willing to do it with an adult. ( . . . ) I suppose, you can say that I'm slightly immature, haven't lost my childhood. Childhood is a very, very short sort of time in your life, goes too quickly, and it's very sweet, you know, it's all innocent. You know, you do things which you don't do as adults, I mean, if you're a child, you can take your clothes off and lunge into a river, to swim, you're quite free, you have no inhibitions. But if you strip off, as an adult, you get arrested! (Keith)

Children are immeasurably perceptive, but by the time they have grown up, society has dealt them a deadly blow, and their perception has fled for all times. (George)

Children are warm and generous and it is only when they get older and they learn the ways of the world and ask what's in it for me or what is it worth. When that happens they lose all their charm and enchantment. (Jack)



The attraction of the childhood world is so great that Paul, another informant, expressed the wish to never grow up:

I am very much a Peter Pan, the boy who never grew up. That is why boys are attracted to me. I don't look down upon them as kids, I regard them, and they me, as 'all boys together.' My deep love for boys for so many years is so much a part of me psychologically that growing up would be impossible.

### NORMAL PURSUIT OF PLEASURE

While mainstream society looks at adult-child sexual activities as pathological and criminal, most of my informants feel that these are normal pleasure-seeking activities. Eight of the 27 informants have articulated a defense of pedophilia in terms of cultural relativism and sexual liberation: human sexual practices are culturally conditioned, thus there can be no absolute standard; normality is relative, so pedophilia cannot be *a priori* deemed abnormal.

Simon is a 74-year-old retired salesman, a respected person in his local community. Throughout his long life, he has had numerous sexual encounters with boys. He has a special knack of relating to boys, and can easily establish relationships of trust with them. He believes that his sexual attraction towards boys is inborn, and that the pursuit of mutual pleasure with a willing boy is normal and legitimate. This is how he put it:

As a boy-lover, I feel that it's up to me to take advantage of a willing boy. I don't see anything wrong in that, because I do not — let me get this quite clear, I don't go out seeking boys for my pleasure, I don't go out encouraging boys for my pleasure. I only encourage boys who come to me and want me to have a bit of sex play with them, and that has always been my angle. I have never ever forced a boy.

The following quotations, from two other informants, illustrate how the argument of relativism and liberation is articulated to jus-

tify the 'normality' of pleasure-seeking through sexual activities with children.

There is the historical aspect. In the Middle Ages children were not children in the sense we speak of these days. Probably pedophilia went on regularly within and outside families. I assume that hundreds of years ago sex with younger females was just not noticed. Before 'alcoholism' was recognized, people who got themselves into a state were called lazy, good-for-nothing scoundrels etc. etc., get the point? (Kevin)

My contention is that an adult can have a relationship with a child in a way that does not harm, and indeed, helps, the child. I consider myself to be an adult capable of such a relationship. Other adults might be more selfish in an adult-child encounter and end up harming the child. By banning and stigmatizing adult-child encounters, our society has ensured that such instances as do still occur are almost always of the bad kind, so giving the active opponents of adult-child encounters an argument for even heavier clampdown. If adult-child sex was commonplace, the majority of it would surely be good for both participants and, therefore, not something to be discouraged. Indeed, because the adult would be able to teach the child from an informed standpoint, many of the childhood misunderstandings about sex that come from child-child encounters would be avoided. (Bruce)

Implicit in the sexual liberation viewpoint, as illustrated by this quotation from Bruce, is the argument that adult-child sexual activities have positive educational value to the children involved. Jack also made this clear in his account:

If everybody could have an experience at an early age, some kind of experience with an adult, people would not have nearly as many problems as what they do have, and I think that's why, sex with children, I think it's an extension of that, hmm, teaching them what I've learned. But it got to be done in a nice, pleasant way, you can't force anybody.

### MUTUAL AFFECTION AND LOVE

Whether they feel that they are born pedophile, or that pedophilia is a normal and legitimate variation of human sexual expression, most of my informants have stressed the experience of love, affection, or closeness in their encounters with children. The sense of emotional contact with another human person is as important as, if not actually more important than, the excitement of sex. Among these informants, four have explicitly articulated their experience with children in terms of romantic courtship and love.

Ben is a 36-year-old businessman. From early childhood onwards he felt that he was only attracted to males. Then as he grew older, he gradually realized that this attraction was to boys rather than to men. He also realized that what he wanted was a stable relationship of love with a young teenage boy. The following extracts from his account show how Ben construed his pedophilic relationships in terms of romantic love.

Most important thing I look for, I suppose, is a loving relationship with a boy, and, although I've had physical relationships with probably, I don't know, maybe a hundred or more boys over the years, I can only point to four or five true relationships over that time. ( . . . ) As emotions become more involved, and the relationship becomes longer established, so does the child's involvement become greater. The bond develops out of a mutual need for love and affection. The bond is nurtured and develops further out of both of us doing things for the other person even we're not necessarily particularly interested ourselves, yeah? Now, it's not the case with the one at the moment because he enjoys the sex as much as I do if not more, but I know that in the past, there may have been occasions, I mean once the relationship is established, where the boy would—I have to differentiate this from force or whatever—but I mean there may have been occasions where the boy would make love because I wanted to, all right? Hmm, he may have been actually ready to go to sleep. That's the other side of the coin to me watching the go-kart for three hours, OK? Hmm, we all become trained, not Pavlovian, but trained

to a degree that we know that somebody wants something recognized, and we recognize it, yeah? Not because it interests us, but because we know that they want it recognized. The thing that's mutual is the love and affection, all right? Out of that affection, we do things for each other.

The presence of a relationship of love in a pedophilic encounter is also of paramount importance to Charles, another 74-year-old informant. This is how he put it:

To me the important and salient consideration in the validity of the experience is the presence of love, or slightly less than that, affection. Anything outside this is possible but in no way significant.

Thus to these men, pedophilia is construed as a matter of romantic relationships, not as casual sex. The experience of romantic love is sometimes emotionally very intense, comparable to that which obtains in the socially acceptable forms of heterosexual courtship, and the partners can sense subtle cues from each other. An example of such intense feelings ('falling in love') can be found in the description provided by Paul, a 57-year-old golf club greenkeeper, about his encounter with a 13-year-old boy:

He stopped, my blue eyes and his brown eyes just met. For seconds, which seemed like hours, neither of us spoke. He then said, excuse me, Sir, could you tell me where the head greenkeeper is? I explained that he only had to go along the path for about 40 yards. He thanked me profusely and slowly mounting his bike and rode away, giving me a smile, the likes of which I had not seen for many years. It was obvious that something between us had clicked. I was transfixed, I started trembling, my legs weakened, I could not concentrate on my mowing. Yet I had six hours of non-stop mowing ahead of me. My mowing became automatic, I was oblivious to the playing members and visitors who spoke to me whilst I stopped my machine whilst they tee'd off. I was in love, love deeper than I had ever before experienced. Was that beautiful boy applying for a greenkeeping job?

## CONCLUSION

The extracts from the accounts of my informants discussed in this paper illustrate the subjective feeling involved in a pedophile's experience of sexual attraction towards children. This may take the form of a fascination with the innocence and the lack of inhibition in children's life and activities, as well as a desire in the pedophile to remain in childhood. It may also involve a condemnation of the hypocrisy of the adult world, and a rejection of the latter's absolutist moral standard. To some pedophiles, their relationships with children are constituted by an intense love and affection. In such a relationship, as construed by the pedophile, there is a mutual recognizing and accommodating of each other's needs and desires to foster the growth of love. The interaction involved is experienced as spontaneous, and the partners understand each other. Thus on the whole, most of my informants have construed their sexual contact with children in a very positive light.

It must be pointed out that this paper is only trying to place into focus the salient features of pedophilic experiences as seen from the perspective of some pedophiles. What has been discussed above is not meant to be taken as typical of every pedophilic relationship. Perhaps some researchers will find in these personal accounts evidence to 'pathologize' the individuals concerned,<sup>6</sup> but such an attempt at reducing a person's life to a diagnostic category or an etiology masks the complexity of human existence. Like every one of us, a pedophile is constantly in the process of creating a personal world to anchor his existence. A very vivid example is Keith—his life is situated in a world that he has virtually built up himself. A visit to his room will reveal to the visitor the richness of this world—numerous car models, vehicle paraphernalia, gramophone music records, small pieces of wooden furniture which he himself has made, and pictures of children cut out from magazines, pasted on papers and bound together into many volumes.

As Nick, another informant, has remarked, 'sex isn't the main thing.' To many of my informants, sex does not constitute the whole of a 'pedophile's' life—it is only a part of it, albeit a *meaningful* part. To call a person a 'pedophile' may in itself be reductionistic—as if that person's desire for children constitutes the

whole of his life. This reducing of a person into a narrow category is part of what has been called the 'discourse of sexuality' which permeates western society,<sup>7</sup> and it controls the life of individuals through deploying such labels of sexual identities as 'the homosexual,' 'the lesbian,' 'the impotent male,' 'the pedophile,' etc. These labels imply that the *essence* of the individuals concerned is thoroughly known and that these people must be placed in certain well-defined positions in society (e.g., as outcast, prisoners, or failures). Within such a scheme of things, individual personhood becomes impossible.

While to a certain extent this discussion seems to be endorsing a relativization of the concept of 'normality,' it is not my intention to defend all types of sexual contact between adults and children. Lust murder of children and coercive sexual contact must be ruled out as unacceptable no matter how these acts are construed by the adult committing them. But when it comes to the question of consensual adult-child sexual activities, there is much more room for alternative constructions, and hence it is more difficult to arrive at a blanket judgment. However, total relativism is not the answer, as it would only lead to solipsistic chaos. Personal life, though individually subjective, must nevertheless be lived in the context of a community, because this is the form that human existence has taken throughout our development, both phylogenetically and ontogenetically speaking. Therefore, it is important that the pedophile takes into consideration reality as construed by the community in which he finds himself, not necessarily to submit to society's demands, but in order that he can construe reality more adequately if he wants to continue living in this community.<sup>8</sup>

The discrepancy between pedophiles' views and those of mainstream society has to be examined critically to see if there is any possibility of achieving an optimal balance between individual rights and collective responsibility. In dealing with this problem, it must be borne in mind that the viewpoint of mainstream society cannot simply be taken as correct and that of the pedophiles taken as suspect. Instead, each should be analyzed in terms of its historical and ideological roots. Only after such an exercise can we begin to address the more practical questions of ethics, the law, and social policies with regard to sexual contact between adults and children.



## NOTES

1. While 'pedophilia' as such is not an official offence category, sexual contact with underage persons is criminalized by various sexual offence statutes concerning 'unlawful sexual intercourse with a minor,' 'indecent assault,' 'buggery,' 'indecentcy with children,' etc. With respect to psychiatric classification, the current edition of both the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (American Psychiatric Association) and the *International Classification of Diseases* (World Health Organization) have categorized pedophilia as a mental disorder.
2. Perhaps one notable exception is the Dutch lawyer, Dr Edward Brongersma, who is an outspoken defender of consensual pedophilia. See Brongersma (1980, 1984).
3. Tom O'Carroll, the ex-leader of the now defunct British Pedophile Information Exchange, has attempted to put across to the public such a view. See O'Carroll (1980).
4. Parker (1969) and P. Wilson (1981) contain biographical material of some pedophiles, and can be taken as studies that provide a channel for these people to speak for themselves.
5. The use of the terms 'to construe' and 'construction' in this paper follows the inspiring work of George Kelly (see Kelly 1955). Kelly's work is *reflexive*, that is, it can subsume its own theoretical and research activities within the framework it provides. Hence my own work here represents my effort in construing the reality of 'pedophilia,' it is my construction of my informants' construction.
6. Wilson & Cox (1983) contains accounts from a group of pedophiles, but the researchers' interpretation represents a 'pathologizing' of these people's experiences. This 'pathologizing' is one construction of the 'reality' about pedophilia, but it is not necessarily the only possible one.
7. Foucault (1979) has used this concept to analyse the emergence of the very notion of 'sexuality' in western society, and how this 'discourse of sexuality' has effected the subjugation of the human body.
8. I have discussed some of these issues in my PhD dissertation, *Sexual Experiences of Adults with Children: An Analysis of Personal Accounts* (1986), University of Cambridge, and also in Li (1988).

## REFERENCES

- Brongersma, E. (1980). The meaning of 'indecentcy' with respect to moral offences involving children. *British Journal of Criminology*, 20, 20-32.
- Brongersma, E. (1984). Aggression against pedophiles. *International Journal of Law & Psychiatry*, 7, 79-87.
- Foucault, M. (1979). *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An Introduction*. London: Allen Lane.
- Kelly, G.A. (1955). *The Psychology of Personal Constructs*, Vol. 1 & 2. New York: Norton.

- Li, C.K. (1988). A PCP interpretation of sexual involvement with children. In F. Fransella & L. Thomas (eds), *Experimenting with Personal Construct Psychology*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- O'Carroll, T. (1980). *Paedophilia - The Radical Case*. London: Peter Owen.
- Parker, T. (1969). *The Twisting Lane*. London: Hutchinson.
- Wilson, G.D. & Cox, D.N. (1983). *The Child-Lovers*. London: Peter Owen.
- Wilson, P. (1981). *The Man They Called A Monster*. North Ryde, New South Wales: Cassell Australia Ltd.

# Man-Boy Lovers: Assessment, Counseling, and Psychotherapy

Alex van Naerssen, PhD

University of Utrecht

**SUMMARY.** Clinical experiences with 36 males, between the ages of 21 and 60 are described. All of them felt an enduring sexual attraction for boys. Sixteen males were treated for sexual identity conflicts. For eight of them this ended in a positive self-labeling as pedophile, the others had severe problems with accepting sexuality as positive and lustful. Twenty males were treated for identity management problems and counseled how to handle their relationships with boys. Several modalities of interpersonal interaction in man-boy relationships are proposed and the ways conflicts can arise within these frames of reference are explored in counseling and psychotherapy.

The Department of Clinical Psychology, University of Utrecht, started sexual counseling in 1974. Until 1980 most people came for the treatment of sexual dysfunctions and only a few for gender dysphoria problems or problems around paraphilia. I was contacted by the police department of Utrecht. According to the penal law in The Netherlands, any form of sexual behavior between an adult and a minor under the age of 16 is considered a criminal act for the adult (Article 247 of the Dutch Penal Code that dates from 1886). In 1950

---

Alex van Naerssen is Research Coordinator of Social Sexology, Department of Clinical Psychology and Health, University of Utrecht, Heidelberglaan 1, Postbus 80140, 3508 TC Utrecht, Netherlands. Correspondence may be sent to the author at the above address.

84% of all punished sex crimes involved a minor under the age of 16, this figure was 51% in 1971, and 28% 1982.

The police recognized that in many cases involving sexual contact with boys and girls between the ages of 11 to 15, the youths were consenting participants. The police department asked if referral to our clinic was possible. An agreement based on three points was reached: (1) the adult must request psychological advice or treatment, (2) the court case must be non-violent, (3) no manifestation of severe psychiatric symptoms as delusions or depression.

During 1980-1985 nine men were referred. As the opportunity for counseling and psychotherapy became known, other men not involved in court cases came to the clinic. This article is based on clinical experiences with 36 males between the age of 21 and 60. Of the total, 31 felt exclusively attracted to boys, the others felt attracted to both boys and girls but their attraction to boys was stronger. This article describes assessment, counseling and psychotherapy with these men. A theoretical outline is given for each procedure.

### **THEORIES ON SEXUAL IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT**

The definition of man-boy relationships differs in penal law, moral and ethical discussion, and in psychiatric classification. The penal code concentrates on the ages of those involved and on the question of what precisely is sexual in their contact. The moral and ethical discussion centers around dimensions of responsibility, power and abuse and around the relationships of adults and children from a general perspective. And when the term pedophilia is used in psychiatric classifications, the onset of the biological puberty divides the child from the no longer child. To understand the psychological meaning of any sexual contact however, we need other criteria.

Sexual contact between two adult men is homosexual, but if one of them, deliberately and skillfully "plays the female," it's a situation that is psychologically different from sexual contact in which both "play the male." And if two 11 year-old boys masturbate each other out of curiosity, the psychological meaning of this behavior is

quite different from the situation in which they do the same thing, playing "mom and dad."

The problem of naming and classifying sexual relationships is described in Michael Ross's article, "A theory of normal homosexuality" (1987) in which he names 16 different aspects and meanings of sexual relationships. We can argue about the number of meanings we want to consider, but it is inevitable that we use some psychological frame of reference if we want to evaluate a particular sexual desire. Otherwise we come to circular definitions in that a sexual desire is a desire for sex and that a pedophilic desire is a desire for children, definitions that are interesting but not illuminating. Starting from a subjective point of view, we can ask what meaning a person attaches to sexuality.

Some people see their sexual behavior as the consequence of sexual desire. They have no specific sexual orientation, in fact they like all kinds of people, male and female, child and adult, and if they have the opportunity, they will have sexual contact or a sexual relationship with a person they feel attracted to. On the other end of the continuum are people who see their sexual behavior as the consequence of a more specific sexual desire, either innate, acquired, or a mixture of both. Scientific theories are mostly on the side of people in the latter category, following Freud's (1905, 1953) idea of a polymorphous sexual instinct (desire) that differentiates in the course of life and fixates on certain objects (male, female, child) or certain behaviors (sadism, masochism).

Most psychosexual development theories take heterosexual desires and commitments as the norm. What happens in a boy's mind that leads him to become interested in girls and want to have emotional, erotic and sexually meaningful relationships with at least one of them? This process is poorly understood. Psychodynamic, behavioral and cognitive explanations differ considerably. Nevertheless it seems that if the outcome is successful, most boys become interested in girls at a certain age and implicitly or explicitly this heterosexual interest is the "natural" outcome of the process. But why do some persons become homosexual, pedophile, sado-masochistic and so on?

The theories on homosexual identity development (see Minton and McDonald, 1984 for an overview) agree on one point: preho-



mosexual boys realize at a certain age that they are different, that they are not the same as their peers. It's not homosexual *behavior* that initiates these thoughts, it's *the interpretation*, the cognitive structuring of events that leads to the attribution "I'm different, maybe I'm homosexual." This is beautifully described in Edmund White's *A boy's own story* in which two boys have sex but both interpret the relationship in a completely different way. For one the contact is just fun, the other realizes that the sexual relationship is meaningful for him in an intense, emotional way. Psychosexual development is in most theories a discovery of something that was "always there" and a person gradually realizes what his sexual desires are by a process of sensitization, structuring and self-labeling.

For some men this structuring process is without internal conflicts: they accept their feelings at an early age, only slightly confused by the fact that others see them as sinful, psychologically or socially deviant. But for a considerable number becoming homosexual is not that easy and there are different ways to cope with the fact that one feels attracted to men or boys and to integrate this feeling in one's self concept. I agree with Minton and McDonald that unity, consistency and continuity of a person's perception of himself are the criteria a counselor should make to decide if there is an identity conflict.

The reasons for identity conflicts can be diverse. It is the insecurity, the often chaotic memory of things, the inconsistency in partner choice and the general disorder in speaking and thinking of the meaning of sexuality that are clinical indications for an identity conflict. Some men succeed in effectively using systems of denial (Tripp, 1975) by practicing homosexuality without having to admit to themselves or to others that they are homosexual and in doing so deny the existence of an identity conflict. The man who always, in his sexual contacts with other men, acts as a masculine male in a male-female relationship can have a consistent idea of himself as heterosexual up to the moment he meets a partner he likes who does not want to accept that role. The identity conflict can come up after years of an undisturbed bisexual life.

Developing a sexual identity is in fact making sense of one's behavior, fantasies, intellectual, and emotional attachments. What

counts is the structuring of behavior and desire. The labels used in common and scientific language (hetero-homo-bisexual, pedophile, sado-masochist) are frames of reference a person uses in his lifetime to give unity, consistency and continuity to his sexuality. We have to realize that there are probably a lot of people who structure their behavior and desire without any label of sexual preference.

### ASSESSMENT OF THE SEXUAL IDENTITY

I used the criteria of unity, consistency and continuity in the intake procedure with these 36 males. I asked them to explain in their own words how they saw themselves sexually and what, in their view, were their problems. Although all males reported sexual attraction to adolescent boys, their self-labeling was different. Twenty males saw themselves as pedophiles, 14 were hesitant and two saw themselves definitely as not pedophile. Those who considered themselves pedophiles gave self-definitions strongly linked to their sexual desire. In their psychosexual development most of them had had sexual experiences with females or other males, but they found these experiences sexually unsatisfying and were, at the beginning of therapy, motivated to have intimate relationships only with adolescent boys. None of them felt attracted to pre-pubertal boys; in fact, most of them considered this kind of desire highly abnormal.

The 14 males who were hesitant were more heterosexual. Some of them were sexually experienced, both homo-, heterosexual, with adults and boys. In the sexual biography of others we found only incidental contacts with a boy and no sexual contacts with adults. Some males were married and found the contacts with their female partners and the adolescent boys equally satisfying although different. In this category were all 10 males who felt attracted to both pre-pubertal and adolescent boys, one male who felt attraction to pre-pubertal boys and three who experienced only attraction to adolescent boys. The two males who did not consider themselves pedophiles were the ones who wanted conversion therapy. They strongly condemned their sexual desires and wanted to be rid of them.

There was an almost perfect correlation between the problems

these 36 men reported and their self-description. Those who considered themselves pedophiles wanted to talk about their relationships with boys, they complained about the absence of social support, and were not very interested in talking about their past. Those who hesitated and/or wanted conversion therapy were confused about the meaning of their desires and wanted to talk about how they had to structure them in their psychosexual life.

In line with the ideas on homosexual identity development, I diagnosed those 16 males who didn't see themselves as pedophiles and who didn't want conversion of their desires as having an identity conflict. They all were confused, some mildly, some very strongly, about their feelings towards boys. I tried to structure their thoughts and feelings by asking them to describe as accurately as possible the interactions they had had with boys and the feelings they had experienced in the relationships. All males reported feelings of guilt, low self-esteem and depressive moods. Another characteristic was an extreme concern about their erotic and sexual feelings being found out. Often the therapist was the first person with whom they spoke about pedophilia. They carefully avoided public situations where their preference could be detected.

I presented some affirmative models of man-boy love by giving them biographies in which both men and boys spoke about their relationships in a positive way and asked them to discuss these models with me. For eight men this strategy was successful within 10 therapy sessions, leading to positive self-labeling as a pedophile. For eight others this method didn't change their negative feelings and confusion. It was remarkable that they all had had a strong sex-negative upbringing that seemed to influence all thoughts about their sexual self. They made a severe distinction between sex and love, seeing sex as essentially dirty or degrading and defining love in a very romantic way. With these we set the primary goal of therapy not as coming to terms with pedophilia but in overcoming negative feelings concerning sexuality and sexual relationships. We were only partially successful in this strategy as five males discontinued therapy. The remaining three became more positive on sexuality but still found it difficult to structure their feeling on man-boy interactions. In fact, all three thought of themselves as homosexuals after the confrontation with the biographies. We think these results

were possible within the conceptual framework presented to them, in which sexual identity was defined as the subjective perception of one's self. In all cases we ended the identity formation phase as soon as the client had coherence in his positive feelings on what sexuality meant for him.

## TWO KINDS OF IDENTITY CONFLICTS

Although the men with sexual identity conflicts were remarkably similar in their insecurity and in the fact that of dissociation of sexual feelings from other parts of their personality, the counseling sessions affirmed that identity conflicts are diverse. A sex-negative upbringing is very destructive in building a sexual identity, while sex, especially the sensual enjoyment of one's own body and that of the partner, is seen as sinful and against nature. This idea is often internalized at a very young age and expresses itself later in life in many ways: fear of touching and being touched, all kinds of defense mechanisms, a strong desire to control interpersonal relationships, especially as emotions enter, and so on. Regardless of the fact that these men feel attracted to boys, they are *sexually* dysfunctional. Disorders in desire, arousal and orgasm have a high frequency in this group.

Some of these men are afraid to enter the adult world. They exhibit Peter Pan complex, and idealize youth. Sex with a boy one likes and admires is for them an unhealthy affair for which one ought to be punished. I noticed a lot of sex fetishism in these men (see Hoffman, 1968, for an analysis of this phenomenon in the gay world)—sexual excitement by either a part of his sexual partner's body (the boy's buttocks) or by an object or situation that has an over importance of fantasies and desires (boy's clothes or shoes). A certain degree of fetishism is present in everybody, but clinically it's rather easy to differentiate between a preference for something from an obsession with it.

Do these men use their fetishes as a defense against sensual emotions in a much broader context, or is it the taboo on these emotions that produces the fetishes? I'm inclined to accept the latter interpretation purely on a speculative base. A sex-negative upbringing can result in all kinds of psychological stress, the main problem being

that one learns that sexuality is always a problem, dirty and lustful at the same time.

### IDENTITY MANAGEMENT OR REALIZATION OF RELATIONSHIPS

If an adult male wants sexual contact with a boy under the age of 16 (the age of consent in The Netherlands), he is confronted with two problems. One is the legal situation that makes him conceal these contacts and relationships. The other is that there are almost no role models for adult men on how to interact with boys and vice-versa. A lot of pedophiles live in a constant fear of being arrested or blackmailed. Especially after detection and arrest, they often suffer shock and severe depression. Counseling in these cases means that one tries to restore their self-esteem. He is treated as a criminal for contacts and relationships that he doesn't see as criminal and the confrontation with the legal reality is often painful; it hurts one's self concept and more specifically one's self-esteem. As one of my clients said, after he was arrested: "They want a criminal, not a boy-lover, but a child-molester. Sometimes I consider a rape, so they can be really satisfied." I sometimes played the devil's advocate by telling them: "Okay, you say you had a good relationship with this boy and I think you are a child-molester. Tell me about that relationship, what was so good about it?" They were forced to think over the meaning of the relationship and had to reflect on its non-sexual aspects. I also used this method with men not arrested or convicted because I think that even if the legal situation is changed and man-boy relationships are permitted, every pedophile is confronted with the fact that he desires contact that is uncommon and condemned in our society. A man-boy relationship is doubly stigmatized in that it is a homosexual affair and ignores the generation gap, which is as great a taboo in our society. In fact, unless they are your own children, an adult is expected not to be emotional interested in children. The school system is based on the idea that the relationship between a teacher and a pupil is instrumental, not emotional.

One of the men was a teacher of mathematics and often had out-

side contact with boys from his classes. He had no intention of having sexual contacts with these boys for fear of losing his job. His colleagues protested against these contacts from fear not of pedophilia, but because such contacts undermined their authority. Outside the family system, emotional ties between adults and children are not reinforced but frowned upon. I confronted the men about this. How can one manage an emotional relationship with a boy in a social context when its value is not seen? Three studies (Rossman, 1976; Sandfort, 1981; and Reeves, 1983) have shown that man-boy relationships exist in our society and that they can be enjoyed by both partners.

From these studies I extracted four modes of interpersonal interaction:

1. Fun and games. This relationship gives a person the opportunity to realize the sensation of sexual pleasures in a context that is playful and non-committed.
2. The affective. In the relationship, love, friendship, or other forms of emotional attachment are important to a person and he tries to get as much satisfaction as possible.
3. The economic. The interactions are regulated by means of a financial agreement. The boy defines his role as a prostitute, the man sees sex as a commodity he has to pay for.
4. Sexual identity formation or exploration. One or both partners explore what sexuality means to them. The sexual interaction can be casual and not very important, or the most meaningful way to develop emotional bonding with a person and to define oneself as a sexual being.

Men who had a certain coherence in their self-concept as a pedophile or a boy-lover would unconsciously realize this in the context of the relationships described above. We have no data on the boys, but we suppose, on basis of the research described above, that these models were present in their minds too. Conflicts in a man-boy relationship can arise in several ways:



1. The partners in a relationship see the situation in completely different ways. What for the adult is a very passionate, intense feeling, is for the boy just fun. Or the adult is focused on playful, non-committed sex, while the boy is hungry for affection and attachment.
2. A person consciously structures the relationship on a certain modality, while expecting that the expression of his feelings on another modality would be more satisfying. We find this situation in relationships which on the surface appear to be all fun and games, with one or both of the partners denying the affective components of their interactions, not knowing how to express them.

The men were first encouraged to talk as freely as possible in detail about an actual relationship they had with a boy. They were also asked to tell as much as possible about meaningful relationships they had had in the past, both with boys and with adults. I structured what was said in the modalities described. I then analyzed with the men how conflicts between partners arise. First by misunderstanding the others motive's, second by wanting to get something in a relationship but not being able to realize this. I explained the man-boy interaction as a form of social skill based on a pattern of expectations of what one wants from an interaction. In fact I tried to analyze the sexual scripts the men used in their interactions and to contrast these with the ideas they had on interactions.

1. Eight males defined the actual relationships they had had only within the fun and games modality, describing in detail how important it was that the boys be playful, sexually active, good-looking and extroverted. All these men had problems with attachment and found it difficult to manage a long-term relationship with a boy. They described the ideal relationship in terms of attachment, but they thought it impossible to realize this with boys. It was explained to them how difficult it is to realize emotional commitment in a relationship if one is only focused on the sexual aspects of social interactions. They were asked to pay more attention to the motives of the boys, and given examples of conflicts that can arise between an adult

and an adolescent and asked what they would do to solve this conflict. After 12 to 18 sessions three men said they were capable of realizing emotional commitment. The others found it too difficult and restricted themselves to casual sexual encounters with boys.

2. The other 12 men gave a lot of meaning to the affective modality in their relationships but often felt frustrated because boys could not handle such a situation. I explained to them the psychosexual development of adolescent boys and the way most boys discover their sexual feelings and code them as heterosexual. So, it was not strange that most boys had difficulty in relating sexuality and affection in a man-boy relationship. I then presented possible conflicts to them. This proved to be more successful with these men, as 10 reported that they got more satisfaction out of their relationships; the other two were very passionate in their feeling. Conflicts between them and their partners continued because they expected the boys to return the feelings in the same way.

## EVALUATION OF COUNSELING AND PSYCHOTHERAPY

I believed that with the procedures described it is possible to help a person get a coherent sense of personal identity and to realize interactions with adolescent boys that are satisfactory to both. At the same time, we have to realize that the social stigma in sexual contacts between man and boys makes it very difficult for both to integrate this kind of relationship in their self-concept simply because the partners must hide their motives and acts (sexual and non-sexual) from the outside world. For, although non-sexual contacts are not forbidden, men and boys often dare not do things together for fear that others will code all affective behavior as queer, sissy or pedophile. Counseling and psychotherapy with pedophiles are severely restricted by society's legal and moral views that positive relationships between men and boys are not possible. This, of course, is not a very pleasant conclusion for one who tries to help a person understand and manage problems experienced as the most intense expression of their personal being. One can only hope that

in the course of time emotional relationships between adults and children become socially accepted.

### PSYCHOLOGICAL MEANING OF MAN-BOY RELATIONSHIPS

Although highly speculative, it is necessary to rethink the meanings of sexuality, especially if words such as homosexual and pedophile become global. As Tripp states in an analysis of the homosexual matrix: "In the final analysis, what does it all mean?—or does homosexuality have any special meaning? Probably not. It is a fact of life; the rest is interpretation and consequence" (Tripp, 1975, p. 268).

Man-boy relationships exist. They exist in many societies, in some severely tabooed, in others freely admitted. Why do they continue to exist in our society despite legal, moral and ethical sanctions? In looking over my files and notes made during the course of counseling, I realize the difference between these relationships and heterosexual and homosexual relationships: All the men were once boys and all these boys will be men in a couple of years. Tripp's hypothesis states that there must be some tension between partners in order to find each other interesting, fascinating and sexually attractive (Tripp, p. 36). In the case of man-boy relationships, this tension is provided by the completely different perspective of two different generations.

The boys are fascinated by the idea of what it is to be a man and the man's fascination is over what he lost in becoming an adult. This can function as a trigger for an emotional relationship that eventually is expressed sexually. Regardless of the moral, ethical or legal context, this tension is present in all man-boy encounters, or, in a broader context, in all encounters between persons who differ considerably in age. Although in our society emotional relationships between generations are not reinforced, the tension and the fascination exists and man-boy relationships are just one way of resolving it.

If this line of reasoning is correct, sex researchers should not only concentrate on the possible damage of a "pedophile" relationship,

but should also take into account the (non-sexual) profits for both partners involved.

### REFERENCES

- Brongersma, E. (1987). *Loving Boys, vol. 1*. New York: Global Academic Publishers.
- Coleman, E. (ed.) (1987). *Psychotherapy with homosexual men and women*. New York, London: The Haworth Press.
- Freud, S. (1905, 1953). *Three essays on the Theory of Sexuality*. London: Imago Publishing Co.
- Hoffman, M. (1968). *The gay world*. New York, London: Basic Books Inc.
- Minton, H.L. & G.J. McDonald (1984). Homosexual Identity Formation as a developmental process. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 9, 2/3, 91-104.
- Reeves, T. (1983). Man-boy scenes in the United States. *Paper at the congress "Among men, among women," Amsterdam*.
- Ross, M.W. (1987). A theory of normal homosexuality. In: Diamant, L. (ed.), *Male and Female Homosexuality, Psychological Approaches*. Washington: Hemisphere Publishing Corporation.
- Rossmann, P. (1976). *Sexual experience between men and boys*. New York: Association Press.
- Sandfort, Th. (1981). *The sexual aspect of paedophile relations*. Amsterdam: Pan/Spartacus.
- Tripp, C.A. (1975). *The homosexual matrix*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
- White, E. (1982). *A boy's own story*. New York: Dutton.

# A Model for Group Counseling with Male Pedophiles

Gertjan van Zessen, PhD (Cand.)

University of Utrecht

**SUMMARY.** Group treatment programs for pedophiles are often designed for populations of convicted men in closed institutions with limited application to other populations. Treatment is usually focused on reducing the "deviant" sexual arousal and/or acquiring heterosocial skills and eventually establishing the ability to engage in adult heterosexual relationships. A six-week, highly structured program is presented to five men in a non-residential setting. In addition to individual psychotherapy, group counseling is offered. Male pedophiles are trained to talk effectively about common problems surrounding man-boy relationships. Counseling is based on the notion that the emotional, erotic and sexual attraction to boys per se does not need to be legitimized or modified. The attraction, however, can be a source of psychological and social problems that can be handled by using a social support system. Social support for pedophile problems can be obtained from and in interaction with other pedophiles.

## INTRODUCTION

Treatment programs for pedophiles are almost entirely designed for particular populations: convicted men in penal or psychiatric institutions. Pedophiles and other sex offenders are treated within the same programs, and pedophiles are almost always treated as a

---

Gertjan van Zessen is Clinical Psychologist at Utrecht University and at the Netherlands Institute for Social-Sexological Research. Correspondence may be addressed to NISSO, Da Costakade 45, 3521 VS Utrecht, The Netherlands.

The author wishes to acknowledge the helpful assistance and comments of Theo Sandfort and Alex van Naerssen during the preparation of this manuscript.



homogeneous population. A man who forced a three-year-old girl to have sexual intercourse with him and another having a loving relationship with a boy of 14 receive the same treatment. The common problem with treatment programs in institutions is that it is difficult to assess whether motivation to participate is internal, a real desire to change one's behavior, or external, a desire to leave the institution as quick as possible.

### THEORY AND TREATMENT

Whether medically, psychoanalytically, or behaviorally orientated, all programs share the presumption that a sexual attraction to children is undesirable and requires modification.

In the medical review, pedophile behavior is the result of an excessively high sexual drive. Medical therapies for sex offenders, including castration and administration of hormones and drugs, have raised various ethical questions. Irreversible interventions, such as castration, seem to be effective from a criminological point of view; Stürup reports a recidivism rate of 2.2% on a total of 3,186 sex offenders (Stürup, 1968).

In an overview of treatment programs, Crawford (1981) concludes that two other approaches, psychoanalysis and individual (insight-orientated) psychotherapy, not used in conjunction with other forms of psychotherapy, are of little value in the treatment of pedophiles.

The majority of the reported studies have roots in behavior therapy. The early behavioral approaches were aimed at reducing the deviant sexual arousal by aversion therapy (Quinsey et al., 1976). The attraction to children is viewed as purely sexual (Howells, 1979). In its simplest form, the child is the stimulus that elicits sexual excitement in the adult (Quinsey et al., 1975). All other motivations and meanings of pedophile attraction are ignored.

In later studies it is recognized that, in addition to reducing pedophile arousal, attention should be given to establishing new sexual and social relationships. Treatment is aimed at conversion and at enlarging the pedophile's heterosocial and heterosexual skills (Crawford and Allen, 1979; Hayes et al., 1983; Travin et al., 1985; Segal and Marshall, 1985). There is little empirical evidence, however, indicating exactly what skills are deficient (Barlow, 1974).

Treatment is always aimed at reducing pedosexual arousal and establishing adult, heterosexual arousal patterns (conversion). It is considered crucial for therapeutic success to teach sufficient social skills to implement new arousal (Herman and Prewett, 1974). Social skills training does not include enlarging the client's autonomy but assures that the pedophile attraction remains reduced. The meaning of the pedophile attraction for the individual is not taken into account and no difference is made between abuse and other interactions. Little or no attention is given to the question of whether or not the meaning and function of pedophile attraction can be replaced by a different meaning and function associated with heterosexual attraction. In an overview of the literature concerning homosexual conversion therapies, James (1978) concluded that the majority of studies were unsuccessful in changing sexual orientation. It is likely that the same holds for pedophile conversion therapy.

### COUNSELING IN A NON-RESIDENTIAL SETTING

Counseling pedophiles at the Department of Clinical Psychology at the Utrecht University differs in two crucial ways from the programs described above. Firstly, only non-residential clients are seen. Most males are 25 to 50 years old, with a predominant or exclusive preference for boys between the ages of 9 and 16. These men are non-violent in their contacts with boys and show no severe psychopathology. This non-violence is one of the main differences between these non-residential clients and pedophiles in institutions, where a mixture of sexual behavior and aggression is much more common. Secondly, therapy is not aimed at conversion. Treatment is not aimed at reducing sexual and emotional attraction to boys, nor at establishing heterosexual attraction, nor at enlarging heterosexual skills. Conversion to a satisfying heterosexual orientation, however, is not considered to be entirely impossible. Although James (1978) and Sengers (1969) claim that prognosis for conversion is poor, Masters and Johnson (1979) report a few successful conversions with male homosexuals. They suggest that (homosexual) conversion may be possible when the client is relatively young, strongly motivated, and not exclusively attracted to men. As virtu-

ally no pedophile client fulfills these conditions, no attempts at conversion are made at the Utrecht Institute.

Instead, the structure and function of pedophile desire is assessed in the total sexual orientation (van Naerssen, 1986). As part of the assessment procedure, an extensive life history is taken, including a chronological account of the psychosexual (hetero-, homo- and pedosexual) development. Individual counseling and treatment start with an analysis of this biographical material in relation to present problems. On the whole these problems are divided into two categories: problems concerning the erotic and sexual attraction, and problems in the realization of these desires in interactions with others.

Individual therapy is consequently divided into two phases: identity- and realization-therapy. In the first phase, the focus is on sexual identity: on the man's sexual and erotic desires and the cognitive framework available to structure these. The cognitions concerning the sexual identity and the sexual self are often diffuse, associated with feelings of guilt and insecurity and valued negatively. In this phase of therapy, the meaning of the desires is explored and discussed. The therapist helps to focus on the desires and to positively change the self-image.

The second phase focuses on problems concerning realization of desires and on the problems concerning interactions and relationships with boys, and problems arising from the forbidden nature of these relationships. The focus in realization therapy is on the way the desires are expressed in interactions with others.

The identity- and realization-phases are not mutually exclusive but represent different areas of concern. As therapy proceeds, attention shifts from intra- to inter-individual issues. When emphasis on the latter increases, the problems discussed change from an individual to a social and communal level.

#### **TALKING IN GROUPS ABOUT MAN-BOY RELATIONSHIPS**

The attraction to children can be the source of psychosocial problems, because it serves no social function, is illegal and considered immoral. No one is brought up to be a pedophile and there are no visible models to follow in coping with problems. The social frame-

work for intergeneration relationships is lacking. One important implication is that the necessary social support for pedophile issues can only be obtained in a very limited circle, mainly among other pedophiles. Social support systems are considered important in the coping process. Because the possibility of obtaining social support is scarce, it is desirable to make optimal use of the few available support systems. Social support can be found among other pedophiles in organized settings (self-help or emancipation groups, often with a strong ideological background) or in informal situations (circles or networks of "colleagues"). Most clients are involved in one or more pedophile circles. An effective way to communicate about problems is necessary. That this communication is often reported to be unsatisfactory is partly due to the nature of these circles, where status is mainly determined by the number of partners a man has, as boys willing to engage in man-boy relationships are scarce. Interactions are often characterized by jealousy and bragging about scoring. The model for group counseling presented here is aimed at improving these interactions.

In addition to individual psychotherapy, small groups (five to eight members) can form to improve communication on common pedophile topics. Successful participation in such a group increases the capacity to solve problems in the man's own support systems. The main goal, therefore, is defined as enlarging autonomy. Men in advanced stages of individual therapy are likely participants in group sessions. They should be in realization-therapy and beyond identity-therapy, since the problems discussed are, by definition, problems concerning interactions with others.

Two male counselors, familiar with pedophile lifestyles and the problems frequently occurring in individual therapy, suggest topics of conversation and exercises. They structure the sessions and offer methods for the systematic analysis of problems.

Examples of general pedophile problems are: Coming out: how much self-disclosure to whom? Interactions with boys and sexual relationships. Interactions with boy's parents and own neighbourhood. Interactions with other pedophiles and with the police. Growing older.

Each session deals with one or two of these themes. An inventory of prior experiences and solutions is made, discussing the advantages and disadvantages of these solutions and drawing conclu-

sions. Which subject of conversation is chosen is not as important as the way it is discussed. Basic techniques improving interaction (attentive listening, giving and receiving feedback, etcetera) are stimulated. The objective is to enable men to make optimal use of the experience available in the group, and to look at their own problems as part of an experience they can share with others.

Exercises include role playing and short writing exercises as, for example, "Consider your last significant relationship with a boy. How would you describe yourself, as seen through his eyes?" Effects of participation are twofold: Firstly, participants profit from practical solutions they learn from each other, secondly, functioning in their own social circles improves.

This group counseling model was tested in 1986 in a pilot-series of 6 three-hour sessions. Two male counselors presided over five men who were involved in individual therapy. The sessions were highly structured. A detailed script was made beforehand containing the abovementioned topics and exercises. Topics could be modified according to wishes of the men.

### SUBJECTS

The mean age of this group was 40, outranged from 36 to 45. Four of the five men had little education and were living on welfare. They considered themselves exclusively pedophile, although all of them had had hetero- and homosexual adult relationships. They strived for affectionate and erotic relationships with pubescent boys around the ages of 10 to 15. These four men had realization problems. The fifth man had recently engaged in therapy. He was well educated, married and thought of himself as bisexual. His problem was, more than with the other men, in the sexual-identity phase. The overall ability of this group to function on an abstract level is categorized as low.

### RESULTS

No measures to assess effectiveness of communication were taken so no pre- and post-test measures can be presented. Subjective judgment of the counselors was that the communication im-

proved during the sessions: the men listened more attentively to each other, feedback was more frequently given and asked for and self-disclosure grew. Systematically presented schemas to analyze problems (i.e., making inventories of both negative and positive aspects, discussing benefits and disadvantages and drawing conclusions) were quickly adopted and led to an objective, rather than a subjective approach to problems. Participants preferred practical problems (e.g., interaction with parents of boys) over abstract topics (e.g., pedophilia as a social phenomenon). Nevertheless, fairly abstract levels of analysis could be handled, for instance, when certain techniques from rational emotive therapy were presented. Often, encouragement in defining problems by their positive as well as their negative aspects (positive relabeling) was enough to create a new and more hopeful perspective. For instance, growing older can be defined by a growing age-gap between man and boy, and also by the increased skills to interact with boys. The feeling of both participants and counselors was that the sessions were too few to efficiently explore the relevant themes.

### CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

As with many social skill programs, changes in social functioning, especially outside of group settings, are hard to assess. Without these measures, conclusions regarding improvements in functioning outside the group sessions cannot be made. Although limited by the number of participants and sessions, positive changes in interaction and analysis during the sessions were observed and reported by participants.

Participating in a group like the one described here may form a useful addition to individual psychotherapy. Because of its limited scope, the proposed model of group counseling can not replace individual psychotherapy. This is especially true when sexual identity is the focus of treatment. For example, suppose a client enters therapy stating that he is a pedophile, afraid to engage in sexual or emotional relationships with pubescent boys. Therapy starts with an exploration of his sexual identity: what exactly are his sexual desires, how are they structured, which feelings and cognitions are they associated with? Earlier experiences and the function of the



desires in the total sexual orientation are assessed. This phase of therapy is emotional, personal, and confronting, and deserves the therapist's full attention. Furthermore, it may well be possible that the problems concern sexual orientation in general and not only pedophile attraction. The self-labeling "I am a pedophile" may then function as an important stabilizing factor in the total personality structure, and prevent an effective approach of personal problems. Participation in a group entirely focused on pedophile realization-problems may prove counterproductive.

However, for men who are in the therapeutic phase of dealing with realization-problems, participation can provide a different perspective, enabling them to profit more effectively from their own social support systems, reducing their dependency on therapy. Participation of well adjusted pedophiles not involved in psychotherapy is possible. This might even increase overall effectiveness, since they can function as role models.

Goals are defined in terms of enlarging the autonomy of the men and not, as in regular treatment programs described earlier, in terms of regulating socially unacceptable or illegal behavior. Sexual contacts with boys 15 years old and under are illegal in The Netherlands. The age of consent is 16. There is no law in The Netherlands forcing therapists or counselors to report sexual acts with minors to the authorities. A therapist cannot be considered an accessory to a criminal act by accepting the sexual relationships of his client and choosing not to try to reduce the pedophile attraction or behavior.

Virtually no client enters therapy requesting to be set free from his attraction to boys. In the rare case where reduction in attraction to boys is requested, the man is told that the prognosis for successful conversion through psychotherapy is considered very poor.

These men strive for enduring, affectionate and erotic friendships with boys; they have no interest in forced or violent sexual contacts. When a boy is very young (12 years old and under) or emotionally unstable, the counselor can suggest that the man reconsiders the relationships thoroughly, especially its sexual aspects. A non-sexual relationship with a boy, regardless of his age, is not illegal. However, when partners voluntarily enter into a relationship or sexual contact, there is no need for the therapist to condemn or interfere.

### Postscript

This contribution was conceived in late 1986. Since that time considerable changes regarding the attitudes towards relationships between adults and children have taken place within Dutch society. These changes have affected the present problem of male pedophiles. This has led to adoptions of the model described here. The emphasis of the counselling process has shifted from optimizing social support towards the exploration of psychological functions of pedophile attraction and behavior.

### REFERENCES

- Barlow, D.H. (1974). The treatment of sexual deviation: Towards a comprehensive behavioral approach. In K.S. Calhoun, H.E. Adams & K.M. Mitchell (Eds.), *Innovative Treatment Methods in Psychopathology* (121-148). New York: Wiley.
- Crawford, D.A. & J.V. Allen (1979). A social skill training programme with sex offenders. In M. Cook & G. Wilson (Eds.), *Love and Attraction* (527-536). Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Crawford, D.A. (1981). Treatment approaches with pedophiles. In M. Cook & K. Howells (Eds.), *Adult Sexual Interest in Children* (181-217). London: Academic Press.
- Hayes, S.C., K.G. Brownell & D.H. Barlow (1983). Heterosocial skills training and covert sensitization in sexual deviants. *Behavior Research and Therapy*, 21, 383-392.
- Herman, S.H. & M. Prewett (1974). An experimental analysis of feedback to increase sexual arousal in a case of homo- and heterosexual impotence: A preliminary report. *Journal of Behavioral Therapy and Experimental Psychiatry*, 5, 271-274.
- Howells, K. (1979). Some meanings of children for pedophiles. In M. Cook & G. Wilson (Eds.), *Love and Attraction* (519-526). Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- James, E.C. (1978). *Treatment of Homosexuality: A Reanalysis and Synthesis of Outcome Studies*. Brigham Young University.
- Masters, W.H. & V.E. Johnson (1979). *Homosexuality in Perspective*. Boston: Little Brown and Company.
- Naerssen, A.X. van (1986). Pedofilie en hulpverlening. In M. Moors-Mommers (Ed.) *Handboek Seksuele Hulpverlening*. Deventer: Van Loghum Slaterus.
- Quinsey, V.L., C.M. Steinman, S.G. Bergerson & T.F. Holmes (1975). Penile circumference, skin conductance and ranking responses of child molesters and "normals" to sexual and non-sexual visual stimuli. *Behavior Therapy*, 6, 213-219.
- Quinsey, V.L., S.G. Bergerson & C.M. Steinman (1976). Changes in physiological and verbal responses of child molesters during aversion therapy. *Canadian Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 8, 202-212.
- Segal, Z.V. & W.L. Marshall (1985). Heterosexual social skills in a population of

- rapists and child molesters. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 53, 55-63.
- Sengers, W. (1969). *Homosexualiteit als klacht*. Bussum: Paul Brand.
- Stürup, G.K. (1968). *Treatment of Sexual Offenders in Herstedvester, Denmark*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.
- Travin, S., H. Bluestone, E. Coleman, K. Cullen & J. Melella (1985). Pedophilia: An update on theory and practice. *Psychiatric Quarterly*, 57, 89-103.

## Tolerance at Arm's Length: The Dutch Experience

Jan Schuijjer, MA

Netherlands

**SUMMARY.** With respect to pedophilia and the age of consent, the Netherlands warrants special attention. Although pedophilia is not as widely accepted in the Netherlands as sometimes is supposed, developments in the judicial practice showed a growing reservedness. These developments are a spin-off of related developments in Dutch society. The tolerance in the Dutch society has roots that go far back in history and is also a consequence of the way this society is structured. The social changes of the sixties and seventies resulted in a "tolerance at arm's length" for pedophiles, which proved to be deceptive when the Dutch government proposed to lower the age of consent in 1985. It resulted in a vehement public outcry. The prevailing sex laws have been the prime target of protagonists of pedophile emancipation. Around 1960, organized as a group, they started to undertake several activities. In the course of their existence, they came to redefine the issue of pedophilia as one of youth emancipation.

### MYTHS AND FACTS

This article is devoted to the developments in The Netherlands concerning pedophilia and the age of consent. The Netherlands warrants attention with respect to these issues if only to disentangle myths from facts. The Dutch have a reputation for being tolerant, although this view is probably held more widely outside than inside The Netherlands.<sup>1</sup> It has even been asserted that the Dutch are over-

---

Jan Schuijjer has a MA in economics and is a member of the Committee on Legislation of the Netherlands Society for Gay Integration COC. Correspondence may be sent to the author at Mozartlaan 73, 7522 HL Enschede, Netherlands.

## Understanding Childhood Sexualities

Ken Plummer, PhD

University of Essex

**SUMMARY.** Contemporary concern over paedophilia and child sexual abuse usually rests upon uncritical and under-theorized conceptions of childhood sexualities. This article examines some of these assumptions and then outlines the social 'constructionist' alternative. Focusing upon the processes by which a child comes to script its sexual world, a number of central dimensions are posed: the scripting of absences, of values, of secrecy, of utility, of gender and of generation. By analyzing the complexity of childhood sexualities, the implications for cross-generational sexuality may be clarified.

Over the past decade paedophilia and child sexual abuse have increasingly been transformed into a public issue. From the concern over child pornography and 'child sex rings' to the prosecution of emerging 'paedophile liberation' groups; from the discovery of that last taboo, incest — and on to the proliferation of campaigns to make the public and especially children aware of the dangers of 'molestation' and even sexual murder, variations on this theme have rarely been out of the public eye (e.g., Burgess, 1984; Finkelhor, 1984). As homosexuality has become slightly less open to sustained moral panic, the new pariah of 'child molester' has become the latest folk devil to orchestrate anxieties over the political, moral and interpersonal life of western societies (e.g., Eliasoph, 1986; Mitzel, 1980; Wexler, 1985; Weeks, 1985).

This moral panic has signposted a 're-alignment of sexual poli-

---

Dr. Ken Plummer is Lecturer in Sociology at the University of Essex, Colchester, Essex, England. Correspondence may be addressed to the author at the Department of Sociology, University of Essex, Wivenhoe Park, Colchester, CO4 3SQ, Essex, United Kingdom.



tics' by which many but not all feminists have parted company with the 'sexual libertarians' and partially allied themselves with the sexual conservatives and the professional child welfare lobby (cf. Finkelhor, 1979, p. 11.) Each side in this debate has produced its own substantial literature—one organised around the symbol of 'child sexual abuse' and related issues like 'Father-daughter Rape' (e.g., Ward, 1984), and the other (and much more underground) around the symbol of 'child love' and related issues like paedophilia' (e.g., O'Carroll, 1980). This volume is largely organized around the second symbol—of paedophilia—and as such is likely to provoke controversy from the other side. But this may be a false controversy.

Each term identifies somewhat differing phenomena and proceeds to assemble 'the problem' in a particular and distinctive way. Child sexual abuses uses the rhetoric of rape, exploitation, violence, power and seduction—a language of 'danger.' In contrast, child love uses the rhetoric of love, consent, joy, willingness and choice—a language of 'pleasure.'<sup>2</sup> Superficially, it would seem that they both cannot be right.

Yet in recent years, through the work of the new social historians, some socialist-feminists, Foucauldians and the 'constructionist' sociologists,<sup>3</sup> a new and more fruitful approach to sexuality has started to emerge. Rather than viewing sex as a unitary essence with a common meaning, it searches for the multi-layered complexity, historical diversity and situational ambiguity of "sex." As Carol Vance (1984) remarked at the Barnard Conference of Feminist Scholars which tried to clarify this view:

The hallmark of sexuality is its complexity: its multiple meanings, sensations and connections. It is all too easy to cast sexual experiences as either wholly pleasurable or dangerous: our culture encourages us to do so. (p. 5)

In this perspective, both terms—'child sexual abuse' and 'child love'—may prove misleading if they purport to capture one unitary phenomenon. Indeed far from capturing a given essence—of danger, of pleasure—it may even be that such terms flatten and homogenize vastly divergent experiences. Thus one view constructs a

world of childhood where 'natural children' are relatively sexually inexperienced—even sexually innocent—and where adults may terrorize them. The other view constructs a world of childhood where children are 'naturally sexual' and adults may help them to joyfully explore their desires.

Such 'essential' constructs help to polarize debates rather than clarify them because they each rest upon a limited and limiting view of both sexuality (as pleasure *or* danger) and childhood sexuality (as naturally innocent *or* naturally sexual). Where one stands in the current moral panic over children and sexuality is likely to be directly linked to these constructions. Thus, in this article my aim is to first examine these general views before outlining the alternative constructionist account which is more sensitive to the complexity of childhood sexual worlds and which would provide a more helpful basis for understanding cross-generational sexualities.

### THEORIES AND POLITICS OF CHILDHOOD SEXUALITIES

Taking the two limited views of childhood and sexuality outlined above, four positions may be presented as in Table 1 below.

A first cluster of views highlight the sexual nature of children. Informed by a Freudian awareness of polymorphous perversity, a biological knowledge of sexual development or an anthropological sense of children's actual sexual behaviour in other times and places

Table 1. Four broad positions on childhood sexualities

View of sexuality as:		
	DANGER	PLEASURE
View of childhood sexuality as:		
	CHILD AS SEXUAL	CHILD AS NON SEXUAL
	The REPRESSION model (1)	The LIBERATION model (3)
	CHILD AS NON SEXUAL	CHILD AS SEXUAL
	The CORRUPTION model (2)	The PRECOCIOUS model (4)

(Constantine and Martinson, 1981), the assumption is made that children are indeed sexual creatures. But such an assumption, perhaps increasingly widely held today, can lead in two diametrically opposed directions. For some (Model 1) the presence of childhood sexuality is a danger sign: the child's bodily pleasures and sexual desires need firm constraint unless a sexual free-for-all—a fucking war of all against all—is to be allowed. "Demon" sex threatens the stability of social order and needs to be regulated from the earliest childhood awareness of it. Although such a position is largely equated with a traditional puritan view, it finds echoes in the Freudian position where civilization may only be bought at the cost of massive sexual repression.

In contrast, some Freudian followers have taken the presence of childhood sexuality to a reverse conclusion (Model 3). Inborn desire is not a beast within, but a liberator. Wilhelm Reich suggested a strong version of this argument: encourage children to experience their 'natural' sexuality from the earliest of ages and it will help them to become better, fully functioning adults. A happy childhood sex life leads to creative, life affirming, healthy adults. It is, of course, this view which underlies many of the childhood liberation groups as well as the emerging paedophile organizations. Thus the Rene Guyon Society has as its slogan "sex by eight, or its too late," whilst the Childhood Sensuality Circle has a long charter on children's sexual rights. Much of Tom O'Carroll's (1980) defense of paedophilia also rests upon this 'liberatory' view. Children's natural sexuality should not be thwarted; to do so is to cripple children in their prime.

Yet another view moves from a basic assumption that children really are not sexual at all—but are in effect largely innocent and hence open to the corruption of adult ways (Model 2). In this view, children are empty receptacles and capable of being easily seduced into dangerous sexual practices. They must therefore be kept away from all corrupting influences—from any media concern with sex which could give them sexual ideas or any adult who could tempt them into inappropriate sexualities. This view is also held by many feminists who stress the innocence of young girls who become the passive victims of male power.

As Florence Rush (1980) has expressed it:

The sexual abuse of children is permitted because it is an unspoken but prominent factor in socializing and preparing the female to accept a subordinate role; to feel guilt, ashamed, and to tolerate through fear, the power exercised over her by men. (p. 25)

A final cluster of potential arguments centres around seeing children as not being sexual whilst viewing sex itself as pleasurable (Model 4). I suspect this is a relatively rare position, since those who view sex as pleasure do not usually view children as being nonsexual. Hypothetically, though, this is the case of an innocent child being 'sexualized' prematurely but harmlessly to the delights of sex.

### *The Constructionist View of Childhood Sexualities*

I believe that the repression, liberation and corruption models contain the key elements of adult thinking about childhood sexualities, and guide the way that paedophilia and child sexual abuse is perceived. From the point of view of their protagonists, they are usually seen as mutually exclusive; from the point of view of this article, however, they are not necessarily in conflict. What matters in this analysis are the multiple and often contradictory meanings that a child assembles and negotiates with others as it moves through a myriad of emerging encounters: *sexuality never means one thing once and for all*. There are both 'asexual' moments and 'sexual' ones; sexuality is both 'danger' and 'pleasure.' Sexuality here is a biological potential in everyone at birth, and like all other human potentials it awaits a social environment to become significant. Potential is only possibility, not outcome. In this view, childhood sexuality is largely contingent upon the social environment: it is not something fixed in the child that awaits repression or liberation, or even biological timing; rather it is something which is socially constructed. The culture furnishes the child with scripts which help to define the who, what, where, when and why of sexuality (Gagnon and Simon, 1973). This process starts in childhood and continues throughout the life cycle. It also varies, of course, according to class, race and, most centrally as we shall see, gender.

In this view, the context matters enormously. The child learns sexual meanings through sexual encounters—though it also brings earlier acquired meanings to such encounters. It is the total social context that matters for the child, and here there are no totally predictable and uniform outcomes. Thus, if the child can see the relationship as a positive one—it will be positive. If a negative one—then problems may ensue. Most commonly its perceptions will be mixed. But always it is the total context which matters. We can make our own sexual hells and alternatively our own sexual heavens—and always with a little help from our friends (and enemies). John Gagnon (1977) has put this view well:

The supposed and actual significances of adult-child interaction are in ironic opposition. The way adults behave toward children affects their sexuality—not by suppressing or controlling it but by *creating* it. When adults react or do not react to what children do “sexually,” they are creating what sexuality *will be* for the child (not what it is). Thus an adult who stops a child from touching its genitals is not suppressing some natural urge, but taking one activity among many others and giving it a particular meaning. (p. 82)

Children then have bodies, relationships, and feelings which *have* to be handled by them. There is no given sexuality but there is most assuredly a capacity and potential; there is no intrinsic sexuality but neither are children nonsexual. Parents and caretakers play a critical role, along with media, peers, etc. in helping children construct their own sexualities.

There is much evidence from biology, anthropology, psychology and sociology on the irrefutable existence of a *potential* or *capacity* for something that can be called ‘sexual’ by young children—a capacity that is often manifested in various ‘sexual’ behaviours. In those societies where sexuality is viewed positively and encouraged amongst children, nearly all boys and girls move from a vague fingering of the genitals in the very early years to a systematic masturbation by the age of six to eight and coital relations may frequently be experienced prior to puberty (Ford and Beach, 1965; Ch. 10). But even in societies where childhood sexuality is looked on as-

kance we find a lot of evidence for things going on that adults can see as sexual: serious researchers all over the world have noted this from the kindergarten onwards.<sup>4</sup>

Ironically, though, to show that boys can have erections and that girls can have orgasms at very early ages, that they can engage in masturbatory, homosexual and heterosexual play, and that they can develop a curiosity about birth and reproduction is NOT to show that they are necessarily sexual. Sexuality certainly has its physiological and behavioural base: but amongst humans it has an essentially symbolic, socially constructed meaning. Nothing automatically translates itself for the child into sexual meaning—this, like everything else, has to be learned and is culture specific. So although a baby may experience a physiological change called orgasm, meaning has to be given to it. Hence the experience is likely to be very different for a five-month-old baby, a five-year-old child, a fifteen-year-old adolescent, and a fifty-year-old adult. The physiological base remains, but the meanings shift with the context. The simple imposition of adult sexual meanings (in all their diverse forms) onto the child’s experiences (in all their diverse forms) is a gross error.

The problem for analysis thus becomes: *how does a little child come to assemble a sense of sexuality, and to acquire a language with which it can handle its bodily sensations and connect these with the outer world: how does it come to acquire a sense of a sexual self, of a gendered being with specific sexual interests; how does it acquire a series of explanations for sexuality and a language for what it is all about?*

This is not to follow Freud. For him the problem is one of explaining the persistent interests of the child in a basic sexuality that unfolds from its earliest days: it is there, ensconced firmly in the family love affairs, and it unwinds through difficult but determinate stages. My view provides a much more precarious imagery—of a child stumbling around and picking up confused and ambiguous messages about sexuality, and then reinterpreting and remoulding them as it drifts through adult life. Potential and possibility is never predetermination and predestination.



### CONSTRUCTING CHILDHOOD SEXUAL SCRIPTS

Before we can hope to understand the wider issue of intergenerational sexualities, it is necessary to be able to both describe and analyze the concrete processes by which children and adolescents come to script their own sexual worlds. But it is a hard enough task to understand children's social worlds in general: too often adults have too easily imposed 'stages of development' and adult understandings upon children's inchoate experiences. Norman Denzin has tried to study such worlds but commented that:

childhood is a world that is unique to children and their caretakers, and it is a world that does not readily admit of close-up naturalistic investigation. . . . Their speech patterns are often slurred and idiosyncratic. They may speak a private language that only a few other persons can understand. They often refuse to show proper deference to self or other. They are subject to the control of their caretakers, and they reside behind the closed walls of school and home. (pp. 75, 59)

If it is difficult to grasp the general character of the child's world, it is even harder to grasp the building of its sexual scripts. With rare exceptions—Martinson and Constantine in the USA, Langfeldt in Norway—few have made any attempt to describe the 'protosexual' experiences of the child (although there is now substantial work on the adolescent experience). It remains a taboo area of research.

Childhood sexual scripts are assembled in a piecemeal fashion from a number of sources: from caretakers, from peers, from the media and wider culture, from the child's own slowly unfolding biography with its own set of earlier acquired meanings. From such sources the child is in a constant struggle to interpret its bodily sensations, name the parts and the acts, identify sets of feelings, make sense of emerging relationships. Such scripting is pervasive: the child cannot *not* do it. The content of such scripting is highly variable and context bound, but in contemporary western culture several common themes can be identified.

First is the scripting of absences. Whereas in most aspects of a child's life an elementary language is provided, with sexuality there may be many voids which have to be filled by the child itself

(cf. Goldman and Goldman, 1982; Gagnon and Simon, 1973). In one major study on sex education, it was found that "while parents wanted to be helpful to their children they felt unprepared and uneasy: they reported not knowing what to say as well as not knowing how to say it" (Gagnon and Roberts, 1980, p. 276). With few messages or even "emptiness" coming from adult worlds, many children are left to sort out their scripts with peers, media or alone in secretive and dark corners. It is not that childhood sexuality is being repressed; it is rather that a pattern of communication is being set up which starts to put 'sex' into a separate compartment cut off from the rest of experience—a compartment which may grow tighter and become even more closed in adult life. Left in a void, sex may come ultimately to inhabit an autonomous realm of its own.

A second process at work is the scripting of values: the child soon comes to appreciate that sexuality is not a neutral value-free zone but one that is heavily embedded in judgements and emotion. In more 'permissive' contexts it may come to be seen as supremely important, but more typically it is scripted negatively. Martinson (1981) has suggested that adults, when asked to offer a retrospective view of their childhood sexual encounters, will typically use negative words:

Such words as embarrassed, miserable, awkward, irritating, uncomfortable, afraid, confused, disturbed, distrustful, ashamed, depressed, repulsed, frustrated, and guilty are more often heard than words like excited, proud, enjoyable, warm and comfortable, uninhibited, beautiful, accepted. (p. 32)

This negative set of meanings helps to establish patterns of communication around childhood sexual worlds that are largely about guilt. If the child comes to put sex in a separate compartment, then it is also a pretty dirty one!

With these two features of absence and negative valuation, a third scripting process becomes very probable: the scripting of secrecy. A child comes to understand that sexual matters are not a matter of public knowledge: they must be pushed into private thoughts and private spaces. Such a process adds to the sense of

ambiguity and confusion in a child's world: it is left to clarify a whole domain of experience by itself—with an enormous potential for misunderstandings, an exaggerated and spiraling concern for relatively minor matters, and the construction of strong fictional worlds. "Fantastic socialization" becomes probable (Stone, 1962).

A fourth issue is the scripting of the social uses of sexuality. In the recent interactionist tradition where sex is seen as neither drive nor essence, it becomes central to ask questions about the social uses to which sex may be put. It may, for example, be used as a challenge to authority, as a means of gain, as a form of play, as a means of expressing anger (cf. Plummer, 1984, p. 42). The point here is that not only does the child have to learn that 'sexuality is a drive,' it also has to learn the uses to which 'it' can be put. In one study of a children's ward, for instance, the children learned that they could use sex as a way of disturbing authority and distressing adults (cf. Mitchell, 1977). In another study, "boys allowed themselves to be fondled and then masturbated . . . because they wanted to be loved" (Ingram, 1981, p. 184). Others have learned that they may be able to use sexuality as a means of exploitation—or even as a way of making money.

All these scripting mechanisms—of absence, of valuation, of secrecy, of utility—are complex, intertwined and scarcely researched at all. What is important here is the mode of approach: looking at sexuality through the child's eyes to grasp how it actively has to construct a sexual world. The issue of whether the child *is* sexual or not need not be of concern. What matters is how the child interprets sexuality. Of this, we know very little.

There are two further scripting mechanisms which need to be considered and which are more pivotal than the others: those of gender and generation.

### *The Scripting of Gender*

Gender identity—acquired well before 5 and usually by 3—is the bedrock identity of life. The sense of being a boy/man or girl/woman may come to be deeply taken for granted but as a category it serves as a plan with which social and psychic experiences are organised. As Gagnon (1977) says:

The label [of gender] has a forward function, that is, it is used to organize the new things that happen. This is done by observing who earns the principal income, who is in charge of the housework, and who plays with dolls or cars. All of these activities are more or less gender typed, mostly by frequency rather than dramatic difference, and by verbal exhortation of what boys do and what girls do. (p. 68)

Gender identity is clearly distinct from a sexual identity; a sense of being a boy or a girl is not directly linked to a sense of being heterosexual, homosexual, sado-masochistic or paedophilic, which usually comes later. Nevertheless, given the centrality of gender identity as an organizing feature of social life, it is very likely to shape sexual identity (cf. Harry, 1982). The expectations—or scripts—around gender will "flood" the child's emerging comprehension of sexuality. Thus, for instance, although boys and girls will both experience the 'scripting of absence,' girls may well experience it more intensely because of the widely held cultural assumption that little girls are asexual innocents and because their anatomies may make genital excitability and orgasm less immediately apparent (cf. Langfeldt, 1981, pp. 40-1).

This gender dimension is crucial to any understanding of paedophilia since how little boys and little girls respond to intergenerational sexualities may be organised on very different lines. Two key continuums stand out.

First, there is the continuum of *dependency-independency*. Evidence suggests that boys are encouraged to break away from their mothers earlier than girls, and to establish patterns of behaviour that are more autonomous, assertive, active, aggressive and achievement oriented. This floods over into their construction of sexual meanings, whereby the boy is much more prone to organize sexuality around the satisfaction of his needs and to see himself as the active pursuer of sex. Many adult paedophiles say that boys actively seek out sex partners—perhaps this is partially a training ground for them to establish their prowess.<sup>5</sup> In one of the few accounts provided by a boy, he says: "It's often not the man who goes out to seduce the boy, but the other way round. In my first experience, I did the seducing. . . . It is mostly the boys who go out in search of

sexual satisfaction from men . . ." (Mark Moffett in Tsang, 1981, pp. 14-5).<sup>6</sup>

Girls by contrast often learn that their worlds are much more limited and compliant. They learn that to be "too forward" is to be considered "unlady-like." Again, this floods over into their sexual meanings: their sexuality is much more a matter of something that others do *to* them and define *for* them. It is something relatively out of their own control. At its most extreme edge, little girls may come to realize that it is totally out of their control—in dim, inarticulate ways they may come to see themselves as the objects of massive sexual terrorism, from touching and exhibitionism to rape and sexual homicide. Often this sense of initial passivity and ultimate terrorism is caught in the adult male's (often the father's) sexual advances towards her. It is compounded by the violation of trust, and the harbouring of the act as a dreadful secret. Only recently have adult 'survivors' of this rape been willing to speak out (cf. Ward, 1984; Stanko, 1985).

A second, and closely linked, dimension of gender sexualization concerns *intimacy* and *distance*. Girls are encouraged to move towards a complex but essentially private world where emotional sensitivity to others is very important, while boys are encouraged to move out into the public world where little emotionality should be seen or felt. Girls create a "girl culture" often based on the home and the bedroom (cf. McRobbie, 1980), while boys are more likely to shy away from any display of feeling (indeed, they are "sissies" if they do) and create a "boy culture"—of sport, toughness, larking around—that is based outside the home.

Students of this preadolescent boy culture consistently suggest it is a world of "dirty play"—of aggressive pranks, sexual talk and racist invective (Fine, 1987). It is a world where boys test themselves and establish status through dirty words and aggression: It is a world where "fag talk" is developed "as terms of insult, especially for marginal boys" (Thorne and Luria, 1986, p. 182). By adolescence, it can become highly developed (Willis, 1977, Ch 2). In one sense these are crude stereotypes—most concrete experience will not fit—but they do suggest a central dimension which impinges upon the construction of childhood sexualities. Girls are led

to connect their sexual meanings much more readily to a complex set of relationships and emotions, whereas boys are led into a much more specific concern with the doing of limited acts often divorced from the complexities of emotional life. Boys seem much more prone, for instance, to create their own exploratory masturbatory circles (Langfeldt, 1981), and to develop an interest in pornography and specific, fetishistic sex acts.

All of this has been put very clearly by Stevi Jackson in her marvellously clear account of *Childhood and Sexuality* (1982):

Because boys are encouraged to be independent and exercise their own judgement, while girls are expected to be dependent and compliant, it is not surprising that men usually take the initiative in sexual relationships. Because boys learn dominance, girls submission, the most common position for sex has the man on top, the woman supine beneath him in symbolic affirmation of their relative social status. Because boys learn to be physically aggressive, as men they are capable of using sex as a means of coercion; if they have learnt to regard women as inferiors, the likelihood becomes that much greater. Because girls' emotional capacities are developed to a greater extent, their sexuality will be more closely tied up with feeling and they will find it harder to divorce sex and affection. Because boys have a choice of how to prove their masculinity, while girls' opportunities to affirm their femininity are more limited, girls come to regard long-term, romantic relationships as more central to their lives, and so invest more in them. (pp. 88-89)

### *From Gender to Generation*

So far I have tentatively schematized a number of dimensions that are of value in understanding how children construct their sexual worlds. To this must now be added a further issue: age categorization. In discussing paedophilia, child sexual abuse or the age of consent, the issue of "age" is clearly omnipresent—with images shifting from little baby girls being choked on their father's penis to teenage boy hustlers hanging around Times Square or Piccadilly



Circus. In one conference I recently attended, Ann Burgess rapidly moved from images of babies in commercial advertising to sexual murders of young adults! Clearly not only is there a difference in what is being done in these cases; there is also a major difference in the *social meanings of age*.

The most common approach to age in social science suggests that it may best be viewed as a series of developmental stages or crises. Freud, Piaget, Erikson and Kohlberg see life as essentially an obstacle race with key hurdles to be more or less overcome by certain periods: their common feature is a ground plan with critical stages, and when they do not specifically study the erotic world (as in Freud) these theories may still be seen as having implications for the sexual. Martinson, for instance, has usefully applied Piaget's cognitive sequences in childhood development to sexuality (Martinson, 1976). In sophisticated versions, their emphasis is dual: an inner capacity is fixed phylogenetically while requiring an outer social world to elicit it at the critical phase (cf. Kegan, 1982).

Classically, such thinking has enormous implications for the way adults approach childhood sexualities. For here, sexual development passes through a series of stages of competence on the way to a "maturity" in adult life. Precisely what these stages are will differ according to the theory: for Freud the child starts out sexual, this sexuality is smashed and only gradually restored in a precarious adult life; for others, the child starts asexually but biological shifts lead to a noticeable "spring awakening" at puberty and maturity by adult marriage. "Ages of consent" and "views of cross-generational sexuality" all harbour models of this development sequence.

Yet this view of maturity and development has come under a great deal of critical attack within social science (e.g., Strauss, 1969). Denzin has argued that such theories have political consequences: "[American] children who are properly educated should cluster somewhere around a set of national normative standards that depict normal growth and development" (Denzin, 1977, p. 9). He is particularly concerned about I.Q. testing and the "Americanization" of different ethnic groups; but this could equally well be applied to the standardization of diverse childhood sexualities. Academic models of development are established which can serve to homogenize and standardize childrens' sexuality.

The central issue, then, is not how people proceed through stages towards maturity, but:

how they negotiate and generate the meaning of changes, stages and development; how they come to have a sense of them as things separate from themselves; and how they subsequently respond to them as real things. The very order that conventional human scientists take for granted— . . . life stages . . . (is) problematic. (Gubrium and Buckholdt, 1977, p. 9)

"Childhood" itself is not a biological given but an historically produced social object; so is "youth," and so—more recently—is the notion of "mid-life crisis." What the social scientist has to appreciate is how members of a society come to generate and transform their sense of age and competence through interactive work with others.

Within this approach there is no assumption of a linear sexual development. Given specific contexts, an adult "at 40" may never have had an interest in 'the sexual.' In contrast, a "child" "at 7" may have built an elaborate set of sexual understandings and codes which would baffle many "adults." A person may become a highly sexual "adolescent," lose interest in "mid-life," regain interest in "old age." This is an imagery—of drift, becoming, emergence—which does not rest easily with our standard and dominant developmental imagery.

And here lies a dilemma. It is precisely because of this "developmental" imagery being so pervasive that many children and adults collectively construct the sexual worlds of childhood around such a theme. Cross-generational sexuality may serve to reinforce such assumptions—the child is a child, the adult is an adult. But it also harbours the potential to suggest that the child is an adult and the adult is a child; that such categories are neither fixed nor universal. Such meanings are likely to be relatively rare, given the dominance of our developmental view of age. But the constructionist view at least signposts a greater flexibility than is usually thought.

## CONCLUSION

This article has suggested that in looking at child sexual abuse and/or paedophilia, it is centrally important to understand childhood sexualities. Little is directly known about this since it is a complex and difficult area in which to conduct research. The tendencies in the past have been to think in terms of essentialist views of sexuality (as pleasure or danger), of childhood (as sexual innocents or as sexual creatures), and even of age (as developmental stages) — all of which help to create essentialist views of paedophilia and/or abuse. In adopting a constructionist perspective I have suggested the need to examine the changing and highly variable contexts in which boys and girls come to build and negotiate their different sexual worlds and outlined some of the dimensions this could entail. When the complexity of such worlds can be better understood, the complexities of intergenerational sexualities will become more apparent.

## NOTES

1. The term 'paedophilia' is commonly identified with the child lovers — indeed this is its strict definition. Tom O'Carroll (1980) uses it this way in his 'radical case.' However, it is actually a medical term which emerges in the writings of Ellis and Hirschfeld, and generally implies some pathology. In the main, I have chosen not to use it in this article.

2. The use of these terms is derived directly from the recent feminist debate on 'pleasure and danger' — which is also the title of the published proceedings of the 1982 'Scholar and Feminist' conference at Barnard College in New York City. See Vance (1984), and in particular the contribution by Millett.

3. The work of some of these new social historians has been usefully reviewed by Stone (1985) and includes, notably, Weeks (1981), D'Emilio (1983), Walkowitz (1980) and Bray (1981). The socialist feminist are well represented in Snitow (1983) and Vance (1984). The key 'constructionist' work in sociology is Gagnon and Simon (1973), but see also Gagnon and Simon (1984) and Plummer (1975, 1982). And Foucault is, of course, Foucault (1979).

4. Most useful here is the volume edited by L. Constantine and F. Martinson (1981), though they do take the view that children from very early ages are intrinsically sexual, whereas I believe their evidence is more adequately seen as demonstrating children's sexual potential and capacity. Much other work exists. For example: the Newsons (1963) found that 36% of mothers of one-year-olds reported genital play (though it is more common in boys than girls). Sears, Maccoby and Levin (1957) found a lot of genital interest, sex play and masturbation amongst pre-school children. And Kinsey (1953, p. 104 and 1948, p. 177) re-

corded orgasm in babies of five months. (See also Yates, 1978; Elias and Gebhard, 1974; Martinson, 1976; Rutter, 1971.)

5. Perhaps too, because of the stigma attached to homosexuality, it is necessary for boys to actively pursue gay men since there is no mechanism for direct socialization into the gay world. Active decisions have to be taken by many young gay men.

6. But see Sandfort (1981) for a more detailed breakdown on 'initiation' of 25 cases. The range of responses should caution us about being too strong on generalisations (see especially pp. 40-6).

## REFERENCES

- Bray, A. (1981). *Homosexuality in renaissance England*. London: Pluto Press.
- Burgess, A.W. & Lindequist, M. (1984). *Child pornography and sex rings*. Toronto: D.C. Heath, Lexington Books.
- Constantine, L. L. & Martinson, F. M. (Eds.). (1981). *Children and sex: New findings, new perspectives*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
- Denzin, N. K. (1977). *Childhood socialisation*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Eliasoph, N. (1986). Child abuse and the media. *Socialist Review*, (90), 7-37.
- D'Emilio, J. (1983). *Sexual politics, sexual communities: The making of a homosexual minority in the United States 1940-1970*. London: University of Chicago Press.
- Elias, J. & Gebhard, P. (1974). Sexuality and sexual learning in childhood. In R. Rogers (Ed.), *Sex education: Rationale and reaction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fine, G. A. (1986). The dirty play of little boys. *Society*, Nov-Dec, 63-67.
- Fine, G. A. (1987). *With the boys: Little League baseball and preadolescent culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ford, C. S. & Beach, F. (1965). *Patterns of sexual behaviour*. London: Methuen University Paperback.
- Foucault, M. (1979). *The history of sexuality, Vol. 1: An introduction*. London: Allen-Lane.
- Finkelhor, D. (1979). *Sexually victimised children*. London: Collier Macmillan.
- Finkelhor, D. (1984). *Child sexual abuse*. New York: Free Press.
- Gagnon, J. H. & Roberts, E. (1981). Parents' messages to preadolescent children about sexuality. In J. M. Samson (Ed.) *Childhood and sexuality*. (pp. 276-286). Vivants.
- Gagnon, J. H. (1977). *Human sexualities*. Illinois: Scott, Foresman & Co.
- Gagnon, J. & Simon, W. (1973). *Sexual conduct*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Gagnon, J. & Simon, W. (1984). Sexual scripts. November, *Society*. Nov.-Dec., 53-60.
- Goldman, R. & Goldman, G. (1982). *Children's sexual thinking*. London: Routledge.
- Gubrium, J. & Buckholdt, D. R. (1977). *Toward maturity*. London: Jossey-Bass.

- Harry, J. (1982). *Gay children grown up: Gender culture and gender deviance*. New York: Praeger.
- Ingram, M. (1981). Participating victims: Psychological consequences for the child. In Constantine and Martinson *op. cit.*, Ch. 14.
- Jackson, S. (1982). *Childhood and sexuality*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Kegan, R. (1982). *The evolving self*. London: Harvard University Press.
- Kinsey, A. et al., (1948). *Sexual behaviour in the human male*. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders.
- Kinsey A. et al., (1953). *Sexual behaviour in the human female*. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders.
- Langfeldt T. (1981). Processes in sexual development, in Constantine and Martinson, *op. cit.*, Ch. 4.
- Martinson, F. M. (1976). Eroticism in infancy and childhood, *Journal of Sex Research*, 12.4, 251-62.
- Martinson, F. M. (1981). Eroticism in infancy and childhood. In Constantine and Martinson *op. cit.*, Ch 3.
- McRobbie, A. (1980). Settling accounts with subcultures: A feminist critique. *Screen Education*, 34, 46-57.
- Mitchell, W. E. (1977). The baby disturbers: Sexual behaviour in a childhood counterculture. In C. D. Bryant (Ed.) *Sexual deviance in social context*. (pp. 65-81). London: New Viewpoints.
- Mitzel, J. (1980). *The Boston sex scandal*. Boston: Glad Day Books.
- O'Carroll, T. (1980). *Paedophilia: The radical case*. London: Peter Owen.
- Plummer, K. (1975). *Sexual stigma: An interactionist account*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Plummer, K. (1982). Symbolic interactionism and sexual conduct: An emergent perspective. In M. Brake (Ed.), *Human sexual relations: A reader*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Plummer, K. (1984). The social uses of sexuality: Symbolic interaction, power and rape. In J. Hopkins (Ed.), *Perspectives on Rape and Sexual Assault*. London: Harper & Row.
- Rush, F. (1980). *The best kept secret: Sexual abuse of children*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Rutter, M. (1971). Normal psychosexual development. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 2 (4), 259-83.
- Sandfort, T. (1981). *The sexual aspect of paedophile relations: The experience of twenty five boys*. Amsterdam: Pan/Spartacus.
- Sears, R., Maccoby, E., & Levin, H. (1957). *Patterns of child rearing*. London: Harper.
- Snitow, A. (Ed.). (1983). *Desire: The politics of sexuality*. London: Virago Press.
- Stanko, E. A. (1985). *Intimate intrusions*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Strauss, A. L. (1969). *Mirrors and masks: The search for identity*. San Francisco: The Sociology Press.
- Stone, G. P. (1962). Appearance and the self. In A. Rose (Ed.) *Human Behaviour and Social Process*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

- Stone, L. (1985). Sex in the West. *New Republic*, July 8th 1985, 25-37.
- Thorne, B. & Luria, Z. (1986). Sexuality and gender in childrens' daily worlds. *Social Problems*, 33(3), 176-191.
- Tsang, D. (Ed.) (1981). *The age taboo*. London: Gay Men's Press.
- Vance, C. S. (Ed.) (1984). *Pleasure and danger: Explaining female sexuality*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Walkowitz, J. (1980). *Prostitution and Victorian society: Women, class and the state*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ward, E. (1984). *Father-daughter rape*. London: The Women's Press.
- Weeks, J. (1981). *Sex, politics and society: The regulation of sexuality since 1800*. London: Longman.
- Weeks, J. (1985). *Sexuality and its discontents*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Wexler, R. (1985). Invasion of the child savers, *The Progressive*, September, 19-26.
- Willis, P. (1977). *Learning to labour: How working class kids get working class jobs*. Hampshire: Gower Press.
- Yates, A. (1978). *Sex without shame*. London: Maurice Temple Smith.



# Man/Boy Love and the American Gay Movement

David Thorstad, MA

New York City

**SUMMARY.** The issue of man/boy love has intersected the gay movement since the late nineteenth century, with the rise of the first gay rights movement in Germany. In the United States, as the gay movement has retreated from its vision of sexual freedom for all in favor of integration into existing social and political structures, it has sought to marginalize cross-generational love as a "non-gay" issue. The two movements continue to overlap, amid signs of mutual support as well as tension—a state of affairs that also characterizes their interrelationship in other countries. This article offers an overview and analysis of that interrelationship in the United States since the Stonewall Riots in New York City in June 1969, which marked the beginning of a reinvigorated struggle for gay liberation.

"Off the consenting adults bullshit!" So concluded this item in a gay newspaper not long after the June 1969 Stonewall Riots at a gay bar in New York City's Greenwich Village:

## CHICKEN HAWKS NO LONGER IN DUTCH

The Netherlands continues to be one of the most liberal countries in the world. The Dutch government recently introduced a new parliamentary measure that would make most chicken legal. The new legal age for homosexual fun would be set at

---

David Thorstad is a former president of New York's Gay Activists Alliance and a founding member of the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) and of New York's Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights (CLGR). He is co-author, with John Lauritsen, of *The Early Homosexual Rights Movement (1864-1935)*. Correspondence may be addressed to David Thorstad, c/o NAMBLA, P.O. Box 174 Midtown Station, New York, NY 10018.

16—the same as for the heteros if the new law passes as expected. Recently, similar legislation was introduced in the Oregon legislature and is expected to be passed into law by 1971. Off the consenting adults bullshit!

The assumptions here reflect the pleasure-affirming impulses of the "Stonewall generation": Sex is fun, homosexuality is fun, boy-love is fun, gay liberation is a movement for everyone's sexual liberation. The rebels who fought the police at the Stonewall Inn—teenage youths and drag queens—affirmed the joys of an outlaw sexuality in the face of the outmoded moral norms of the dominant society.

Today, however, the gay movement limits its concerns to what consenting adults do in private. In the era of AIDS, it has de-emphasized sex, and seeks to sanitize the image of homosexuality to facilitate its entrance into the social mainstream. The sexual needs of young people have been devalued in favor of the priorities of an upwardly mobile adult gay middle class ("guppies"—gay urban professionals). In short, the gay movement's agenda is being determined increasingly by straight society, rather than by homosexuals themselves.

My aim here is to document and summarize incidents that have characterized the interfacing between the U.S. gay movement and the man/boy love issue since Stonewall. Much more could be said, but the incidents discussed here are typical and salient.

### IN THE AFTERMATH OF STONEWALL

As the beginning statement of this article demonstrates, man/boy love occasionally intersected the broader gay movement in the years following the Stonewall Riots, even though it was not a major issue.

New York's Gay Activists Alliance (GAA), successor to the Gay Liberation Front and a prototype activist group founded in December 1969, opposed legal restrictions on sex based on age, although this was never a focus of the group's activities.<sup>2</sup> In 1976 GAA became the first gay group in New York—and probably in the country—to sponsor a public forum on man/boy love. Held at the

Church of the Beloved Disciple on April 4, the forum brought together a "panel of pederasts" to speak on the topic "Of Men and Boys: Pederasty and the Age of Consent."

The Canadian Lesbian and Gay Rights Coalition, a cross-Canada group, also favored abolishing the age of consent. Many activists shared the view that the state had no business regulating sex between consenting partners, whatever their age.

Boy-lovers were involved in the gay movement from the beginning, and their presence was tolerated. Gay youth groups encouraged adults to attend their dances. Youth fought to be treated as equal participants in struggle—not as a category of innocents in need of special protection from homosexual seduction, as they are usually regarded today. There was a mood of tolerance, even joy at discovering the myriad lifestyles within the gay and lesbian subculture. "Love is a many-gendered thing," read a banner at a 1971 gay demonstration in Albany, the New York State capital. Still, the issue of sex between adults and minors rarely arose.

### MAN/BOY LOVE HITS THE GAY MOVEMENT

In 1977, the issue of sex between adults and minors moved abruptly to center stage. Anita Bryant began to articulate the mounting backlash to gay liberation by zeroing in on a perceived weak link: the widespread belief that gay men seduce young boys and turn them into queers. The name of her organization—Save Our Children—transparently implied this.

Simultaneously, a new hysteria about "kiddie porn" arose, fed by the political right and the feminist movement, with unmistakable suggestions that gay men who loved boys were in reality exploiting and abusing them. This clever propaganda ploy not only deftly exploited the public's ignorance about homosexuality, but also caught the gay movement off guard: It was unprepared to make an intelligent rebuttal. Pederasty was a secret not to be told. Yet although man/boy love represented a minority phenomenon within the gay subculture, it was far from unusual.<sup>3</sup>

The gay movement went into a defensive mode. "Oh, no, homosexuals don't do *that*. Most child molestation is by heterosexual men against little girls." It didn't occur to gay spokespeople to

draw a distinction between being raped or molested and enjoying sex, or to point out that underage males frequently enjoy and seek to have sex, with men and women. No one thought to ask boy-lovers or boys themselves to respond to the accusation.

The mounting hysteria focused on sex between men and boys. No one expressed concern about women having sex with underage males; after all, that was heterosexual, considered more a peccadillo than a taboo—the woman was performing a social service by introducing the boy to the joys of heterosexuality.

Instead of fighting to liberate youth, it became fashionable to argue that youth needed protection, especially from sex with men. A perversion of language arose, reminiscent of the Newspeak of George Orwell's *1984*, in which "love" really meant "rape." The negative experiences of many females at the hands of straight men aroused skepticism about the ability of boy-lovers to be any different with their boyfriends.

Under pressure from the women's movement and lesbian activists, the gay movement began to internalize straight society's stereotype of pederasty as inherently exploitative, a form of "sexual abuse," even when the youth wanted and enjoyed it. Like society at large, the women's and lesbian/gay movements seemed more concerned about consensual sex between men and boys than about actual physical abuse of children within the family, an epidemic problem. Most activists in these movements, both adult-run, wished the issue of cross-generational sex would just go away. But it didn't.

Boy-lovers began to organize for the first time, in response to two widely publicized incidents in December 1977. Following the arrest of 24 men in Revere, Massachusetts, for consensual sex with boys (mostly teenagers), the Boston-Boise Committee was formed. Its goal was to educate the media and public about the issues involved. A few weeks later, the *Body Politic*, a Canadian gay liberation newspaper, was raided by the police because it had published an article entitled "Men Loving Boys Loving Men."

On December 2, 1978, 150 persons attended a conference on "Man/Boy Love and the Age of Consent" in Boston's Community Church. Initiated by Tom Reeves of the Boston-Boise Committee,

several participants were prominent in the gay and progressive movements, which gave the issue a new urgency. Afterwards, 30 boy-lovers and youth formed their first activist organization, the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA). Boy-lovers and gay youth were becoming active protagonists.

The fact that boy-lovers had come out of their closet within a closet immediately embroiled the gay movement in controversy. *Gay Community News*' first 1979 issue published my "Statement to the Gay Liberation Movement on the Issue of Man/Boy Love," which challenged the movement to return to a vision of sexual liberation. It argued that "the ultimate goal of gay liberation is the achievement of sexual freedom for all—not just equal rights for 'lesbians and gay men,' but also freedom of sexual expression for young people and children." It criticized the movement for "limiting itself to a turf restricted to consenting adults" and behaving "as though sex had nothing—or little—to do with our struggle." It urged the movement not to limit its demands "to those thought acceptable to a frightened status quo."

This "manifesto" set off a debate that lasted several months. Much of the lesbian response was hostile and buttressed with arguments like "lesbians don't do that." But a piece by one lesbian feminist stood out for its sensible treatment of a topic heretofore passed over in silence: woman-girl love. Beth Kelly's "On 'Woman/Girl Love'—Or, Lesbians *Do* 'Do It'" noted that the ignorant reactions of many lesbians to man/boy love had helped her to understand "what it could mean to know that your most intensely private moments were nothing more than threads in the widely woven fabric of political experience that enfolds us all." A lifelong lesbian, she acknowledged being involved in cross-generational love "as a girl and as a woman." She described her sexual love for her great-aunt—more than 50 years her senior—when she was between eight and eleven years old. She summarized her journey to self-acceptance:

It has always seemed to me that people know when sex is a right thing for them to be doing, when mutually consented to, regardless of who else may or may not share or understand that



knowledge. It took some hard object lessons before I finally learned how unusual such logic is in this world. Despite the cultural messages to the contrary that I eventually *did* receive, I knew that it was possible for a person to be aware of her own physicalness in a sexual way long before the social timetable of "maturity" says she should be—and to be able to act on her awareness. And I know that now, with all my "grown-up" being. Although for several years I succumbed to social sanctions against lesbian and childhood sexuality, and felt ashamed for having had such experiences, I have come to realize the need to affirm them as part of the rich texture of both human experience in general and my own conscious reality in particular.<sup>6</sup>

Kelly's piece moved me to tears. At last a lesbian activist had challenged the feminist taboo against speaking out about her own experience of cross-generational love in terms other than "rape" or "abuse."

I asked an activist lesbian friend what she thought about Kelly's article. "It was ridiculous," she replied. But how, I protested, could a well-reasoned, clearly authentic and moving article be dismissed so easily? "It was just ridiculous. Lesbians don't do that." Yet this same woman took a friendly interest in my own evolving friendship with a 14-year-old boy. "How's your boyfriend?" she would ask. I misinterpreted these inquiries as signs of support. As long as boy-love remained *entre nous*, everything seemed OK. But when the issue became public, we found ourselves on opposite sides.

It did not occur to gay leaders to defend cross-generational love publicly. They feared that if they did so they would lose their "credibility." But credibility with whom? A gay appointee to New York City's Human Rights Commission, for example, a long-time Democratic activist, told me that I was right on the issue of man/boy love, "but if it ever becomes public, I'll have to oppose you." (To his credit, in subsequent controversies, he was more supportive than his comment implied.)

## NEW JERSEY FEMINISTS RETREAT

Besides the debate in *Gay Community News*, the man/boy issue surfaced in 1979 in other ways. In response to lobbying by feminists from the National Organization for Women (NOW) and its Rape Task Force, the New Jersey state legislature had voted to lower the age of consent from 16 to 13 as part of a revision of the state's penal code that also abolished the sodomy statute. The measures were to take effect in the fall. The feminists had argued that the age-of-consent law needlessly stigmatized sexually active youngsters under the age of 16. This sensible stance—never again voiced by any wing of the mainstream U.S. women's movement—aroused the ire of a coalition of mothers, priests, and police, who staged noisy protests in the spring. New Jersey feminists agreed to a "compromise" that would keep the age of consent at 16 but would not criminalize sex between young people so long as the age differential was not greater than four years. Teenagers under 16—who were not consulted in this "compromise"—would still be denied the right to choose lovers in their late teens or older.

## THE 1979 MARCH ON WASHINGTON

The man/boy love issue again surfaced early in 1979 at a national conference in Philadelphia which called the historic gay march on Washington, DC, set for October 14. On February 25, the conference adopted the Gay Youth Caucus proposal for a demand urging "Full Rights for Gay Youth, including revision of the age of consent laws." At a meeting of the group's newly elected National Coordinating Committee, held as soon as the conference had adjourned, lesbians threatened to split (thereby sabotaging the march) unless a substitute for the Gay Youth Caucus demand was adopted. It was.

The substitute—which was drafted by an adult lesbian and subsequently approved by a majority of the delegates in a mail poll (a favorite technique of the trade-union bureaucracy to prevent rank-and-file organization)—read: "Protect Lesbian and Gay Youth from any laws which are used to discriminate against, oppress, and/

or harass them in their homes, schools, jobs and social environments.””

The committee explained its action as a desire “to officially adopt this statement to replace and enlarge the concept of the ‘Revise the Age of Consent’ motion in such a way as we believe to have been the broad meaning and will of the body. . . .” It substituted the concept of “protecting” gay youth, suggesting that they needed to be “protected” from choosing the wrong kind of lovers (i.e., gay men). It served to confuse rape or coercive sex with consensual sex and love. It suggested that age-of-consent laws protect young people from unwanted sex, when in reality they do just the opposite—they punish only sex that *is* consensual, on the grounds that the younger partner is incapable, by virtue of age, of giving consent, even when it is not disputed that consent was given!

I was one of a small minority of delegates who refused to go along with the substitute statement and protested the undemocratic process whereby it was pushed through. The substitute was ageist, I argued, since it was written from an adult’s point of view. Its notion of “protection” “smacks of Anita Bryant and motherhood.” Moreover, “You don’t protect a gay youth by sending his/her older lover to jail and by dragging the young person into Family Court, or worse. . . . Our goal should be sexual freedom, not continued restrictions on consensual sexual activity.””

In March 1979 lesbians in New York’s Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights successfully brought a motion labeling the age-of-consent issue “divisive.” Lesbian Feminist Liberation (LFL) issued a news release accusing “so-called Man/Boy Lovers” of

attempting to legitimize sex between children and adults by confusing the real needs of Gay youth with a call to *repeal all* age of consent laws. Feminists easily recognize this as the latest attempt to make palatable the sexual exploitation of children.

It called the age-of-consent issue “a diversion,” and put the coalition on record opposing “the sexual abuse of children by heterosexual or homosexual persons”—thereby implying that boy-lovers

were guilty of “sexual abuse.” It also sounded a note of censorship:

we will not passively march alongside pederast banners or signs, nor quietly stand and listen to pederast speeches at *any march or rally*. Lesbian Feminist Liberation will not support pederasts within the Lesbian and Gay movements nor anywhere else.”

LFL’s position suggested hostility to males. It did not go far enough, however, for the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), whose delegate to the CLGR proposed that the group adopt a formal position “for the protection of male and female children from sexual abuse by adults.” He argued that “adults having sex with children is exploitation and is the antithesis of the fight for lesbian and gay rights.” He added, “I am not for giving children the right to consent to sex.” His motion was overwhelmingly defeated and a substitute passed expressing “opposition to the sexual abuse of children by homosexual or heterosexual people.” The SWP thereupon withdrew from the coalition and from the gay movement, and went on to lobby women’s groups not to participate in the October march on Washington, in part because the organizers were allegedly “soft” on child exploitation!

The SWP elaborated on its position in an article in its weekly newspaper attacking NAMBLA and the Gay Youth demand in favor of revising age-of-consent laws. The article showed how far a left-wing group could go toward adopting the agenda of the right wing on sexual matters:

The repeal of age-of-consent laws is a reactionary demand, even though its supporters try to pass themselves off as defenders of adolescents against legal victimization.

The campaign around this demand has nothing to do with the totally progressive stance of defending the right of teenagers not to be penalized for their sexual activity. On the contrary, the advocates of repealing age-of-consent laws are primarily adult men who believe they should be unrestricted in having sex with children.

Saying that children have the “right” to “consent” to sex

with adults is exactly like saying children should be able to "consent" to work in a garment factory twelve hours a day.<sup>10</sup>

### CENSORSHIP AND OSTRACISM

The controversy continued to simmer. On April 1, 1980, following a heated debate, the CLGR decided to call for my removal as a keynote speaker at a gay rights rally on the steps of the state capitol in Albany. Although the effort failed, it did result in most lesbian groups boycotting the demonstration. A half dozen of the most active groups in the coalition resigned.

Later that month, a few lesbians attempted, in vain, to persuade NAMBLA to leave a march in New York City protesting a mobilization the same day by the Christian right wing in Washington, DC. Mark Moffet, a 15-year-old speaker from Gay Youth of New York at the rally in Sheridan Square that ended the march, defended the right of boy-lovers to participate in the movement. He was booed by a claque from NOW—the only time I have seen presumably straight supporters boo a gay speaker at a gay rally.

Two months later, a group calling itself the "Lesbian Caucus—Lesbian & Gay Pride March Committee" tried to split the annual New York City Gay Pride March on June 29. It distributed a leaflet calling on women to split from the march on the false grounds that the organizing committee "has been dominated by the Revolutionary Socialist League, the North American Man/Boy Lovers Association [*sic*] and their supporters." At the entrance to Central Park, they tried to divert people away from the official rally to a separate event. No address or phone contact appeared on the leaflet.<sup>11</sup> A special issue of *Semiotext(e)* on "Loving Boys," an important contribution to the growing debate, and now an underground classic, was distributed at the march.<sup>12</sup>

NOW threw fuel on the fire in October by adopting a resolution at its national convention condemning pederasty, pornography, sadomasochism and public sex. NOW's Lesbian Rights Committee, which presented the resolution, argued that these "are not Lesbian and gay civil rights issues" and "have been used to confuse and mislead NOW members, legislators and the public for too long."

The Lesbian Rights Committee's accompanying position paper

had a novel definition of pederasty ("the involvement of children by adults in sexual activity"), and said, incongruously, that "it is well known that over 90% of all pederasts are heterosexual males who seek out young girls as their victims"! It also argued that "Pornography encourages both exploitation and violence whether or not it is heterosexual or homosexual in content." The authors of this resolution—widely interpreted as an attack on gay men—were clearly uninformed about male homosexuality and man/boy love.

Two statements critical of NOW were circulated by feminist, lesbian and gay activists. One, signed by more than 150 people, said the resolution represented "narrow bigotry promulgated under the rubric of loving concern." Supporters of it

became allied with reactionary forces which are out to isolate and destroy all those who move beyond conventional boundaries. In giving credence to such ugly stereotypes as the boy-lover as child molester, they bolster and sanction the pathological anxieties of the common culture. . . . Since NOW is perceived to such a great degree as representing the feminist movement, the resolution makes all feminists appear to be advocates of timid respectability who automatically repudiate everything that seems strange and different—and at worst allies, however unwitting, of repressive ignorance and prejudice.<sup>13</sup>

Controversy erupted again in 1981 when the Cornell University gay group, Gay People at Cornell (Gay PAC), invited me to be the keynote speaker at the annual May Gay festival. Over objections from some feminists, Gay PAC voted to reaffirm the invitation, but, following threats of pickets and a boycott of May Gay events by lesbians, withdrew it.

### REPRESSION INTENSIFIES

On July 11, 1981, the police and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) launched their first attack on NAMBLA, arresting two members and a supporter in New York, and taking several teenage boys into custody. All three men were charged with consensual sex with minors. The arrests, dubbed "Operation Hawk" by the au-



thorities, were accompanied by the usual media hype, which repeated police allegations that child pornography was involved—it was not—and that the home of one of the men was the NAMBLA “headquarters” (it was not).

For the most part, the gay community reacted to the assaults on NAMBLA with diffidence. The gay press covered the busts as news stories. Yet the fact that lovers of youth had been thrust into the forefront of the attacks on gay liberation by the right wing made many activists uneasy—despite the fact that their own pronouncements during the preceding two years had helped to lay the groundwork for state repression of boy-lovers.

A happy exception to this was the forthright support from lesbian sadomasochists, who had suffered similar ostracism and slander from “respectable” elements in the feminist movement.<sup>14</sup>

In the summer of 1982, the issue heated up with a “scandal” on Capitol Hill that forced Representative Gerry Studds out of the closet. Studds, a liberal Democrat from a conservative district in Massachusetts, was forced to admit that he had had a sexual encounter with a 17-year-old male page ten years earlier in the District of Columbia (where the age of consent is 16). Had the relationship occurred in a state where the age of consent is higher, he could have received a prison term. (In half the American states, all same-sex sex, regardless of age, is still illegal, and in those where it is legal, the age of consent varies from 14 to 18.) Two years later, Studds was re-elected and became an instant hero to the gay movement—which, relieved that he was not caught with a boy under the age of consent, nevertheless persists in ignoring the pederastic nature of his activity.

In the fall of 1982, NAMBLA’s plan to hold its sixth national conference in Philadelphia’s Lesbian and Gay Community Center ran into opposition. A handful of lesbians and one gay man went to the straight press in an attempt to embarrass the center into rescinding its decision—reaffirmed twice—to rent space to NAMBLA. The conference went ahead as planned—with police surveillance near the entrance to the center. A police spy was ejected for attempting to tape the proceedings.

In December 1982 the FBI and local authorities escalated their harassment and arrested several NAMBLA members whom they

attempted to link to the unexplained disappearance of six-year-old Etan Patz three and a half years earlier. The media spread allegations suggesting that NAMBLA had ties to prostitution, kidnappings, and production and distribution of kiddie porn. NAMBLA called simultaneous news conferences December 28 in New York City and Boston to refute the charges. The next day, the police “found” evidence in their files confirming NAMBLA’s version of the events.<sup>15</sup>

### TUG OF WAR

The fallout from this attempt to smear NAMBLA has continued as a kind of tug of war within the gay community.

On January 6, 1983, the Committee of Lesbian and Gay Male Socialists (CLGMS) sponsored a forum at the New York Marxist School at which I spoke on “Man/Boy Love and Sexual Freedom: What Position for Radicals?” Self-identified Christian terrorists threatened to attack the meeting. The Workers World Party provided a defense guard, and the meeting proceeded without incident.

In a letter to NAMBLA dated February 2, 1983, the gay Catholic group, Dignity, from Region II (New York and New Jersey) said that it had released a statement throughout the Church infrastructure dissociating itself from NAMBLA. The statement, sent to Roman Catholic bishops, diocesan communications offices and newspapers, and other gay religious organizations, charged that NAMBLA “fails to recognize” that “children should be free in their formative years from undue sexual influence of a heterosexual or homosexual nature.” The statement, apparently intended to curry favor with the Catholic Church hierarchy (which in 1987 would crack down on Dignity itself, banning it from holding services in Catholic churches), said: “We believe it is imperative to maintain an age of consent in order to exercise one’s sexuality in a responsible manner”—as if the role of the state was to ensure “responsible” sex! Dignity did not say what age of consent it supported. (The age in New Jersey is 16; in New York, 17; in Connecticut, 15.)

At its national conference in New York City in August 1985, one resolution

called on Dignity to state that the organization has not, does not, and will not condone the North American Man/Boy Love Association or any organization with similar goals, such as seeking to set aside the age of consent, and fails to recognize the rights of a child to mature as a sexual being!<sup>16</sup>

By early 1987, priests in several states had been arrested and charged with having had sex with boys. The Church faced civil lawsuits from irate parents seeking millions of dollars in "damages." Dignity had no words of support for these fellow victims of a Church hierarchy that is probably at least 50% gay.

On February 22, 1983, the Stop the Witchhunt Committee (a group of lesbians and gay men whose aim was to defend NAMBLA in the face of state repression) co-sponsored a forum with New York University's Libertarian Student Association on "An Introduction to the Man/Boy Love Issue." Participants included Mattachine Society founder Harry Hay, his companion John Burnside, Katherine Davenport, and me.

On February 27, the CLGMS sponsored another forum, on "Sexual Liberation, NAMBLA, and the Lesbian and Gay Community," held at the Taller Latinoamericano. On March 5, the New York Council of Lesbian and Gay Organizations, an umbrella group, held a discussion of the recent events, but took no action. On March 17, NYU's Libertarian Student Association held a packed and rowdy forum at the university's Loeb Student Center on "Youth Sexuality: The Case of NAMBLA," with the late Wallace Hamilton and me as speakers. The university's gay group refused to co-sponsor the event.<sup>17</sup>

Articles attacking NAMBLA and man/boy love appeared in the New York gay press. They painted NAMBLA as something alien to the gay movement, and opposed its position in favor of decriminalizing all consensual sex. NAMBLA argued that every individual was different, and therefore it was absurd and discriminatory for the state to set an arbitrary age at which sex becomes OK. Implicitly, these articles argued against challenging the state's right to set whatever age of consent it desired. Homosexuals would just have to live with it.

A polemic in the *New York Native* argued that age-of-consent

laws protect children, but did not explain how they accomplish this. Drawing on his own personal experience ("When I was 13, I simply wasn't ready for full-scale sexual relations."), the author advised setting the age at 15: "For a year or two, they will have to suffer this denial."<sup>18</sup> But is it appropriate for gay adults to advise gay 14-year-olds to suffer in abstinence? Does this differ from the arguments of the right wing in favor of abstinence and against contraception?

The March 9, 1983, issue of another gay paper (now defunct), the *New York City News*, carried a three-page attack on NAMBLA by A. Damien Martin, an associate professor of communications at New York University and a director of the Institute for the Protection of Lesbian and Gay Youth (IPLGY), which has received funding from the city and state for social services to gay and lesbian youth, and which began operating the city's first gay high school in 1985. Martin's article, "The Case Against NAMBLA: Why Are We Ignoring the Obvious?" began with an acknowledgment of the perceived beneficial aspects of his own sexual involvement as a teenager with a manfriend, and noted the "apparent violations of civil rights in the NAMBLA cases, the cynicism of the law enforcement agencies in bringing in the Etan Patz case, and the irresponsibility of the press." Yet Martin insisted that "NAMBLA is an organization outside the movement with little or no relevance to its goals."<sup>19</sup>

### INSIDE OR OUTSIDE?

In 1984 the debate on man/boy love shifted to the West Coast. In San Francisco, efforts to remove NAMBLA from the annual Lesbian/Gay Freedom Day Parade failed, as they had in New York.

NAMBLA's October 1984 convention in San Francisco's Pride Center included a public panel discussion on "Man/Boy Love and Sexual Liberation" with Mattachine Society founder Harry Hay; Jim Kepner, curator of the International Gay and Lesbian Archives in Los Angeles; Morris Kight, long-time gay rights and social activist from Los Angeles; Jes Harrison, a 16-year-old gay youth; and me. The participation of Hay, Kepner, and Kight was welcome

support from activists whose credentials went back to the beginnings of the U.S. gay movement.

Kepner poignantly observed:

A point I've been trying to make is that if we reject the boy-lovers in our midst today we'd better stop waving the banner of the Ancient Greeks, of Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Oscar Wilde, Walt Whitman, Horatio Alger, and Shakespeare. We'd better stop claiming them as part of our heritage unless we are broadening our concept of what it means to be gay today.<sup>20</sup>

A few months later, the Board of Elders of the Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches (MCC), the largest gay religious denomination, issued a statement condemning "all coercive sexual activity with persons who are helpless in the situation by virtue of age, abilities, dependency or any other circumstance." The Board said that sex between adults and young people "can never be condoned under any circumstances," and characterized such love as "inherently coercive even when it appears on the surface to be voluntary and a product of sexual consent. Informed consent is not possible."<sup>21</sup> Like Dignity and the state, MCC explained away consent by denying it. "I had two thoughts on this," wrote NAMBLA activist Bob Rhodes.

If the rumor is correct, one or two of the Board of Elders may have a bit of a problem conforming their own conduct to this directive. Further, the National Council of Churches is still not going to let MCC in.<sup>22</sup>

In March 1985 the board of directors of New York's Lesbian and Gay Community Center voted unanimously at a closed meeting to deny the local (Horatio Alger) chapter of NAMBLA the right to rent meeting space there. Motivated by fear that NAMBLA's presence would jeopardize fund-raising at a time when the center had applied for grants of \$200,000 from the state and \$150,000 from the city, it also turned down NAMBLA's request to meet with it prior to the vote. The board's action seemed to illustrate Malcolm X's statement: "When they lay those dollars on you, your soul goes." (In

1986, following adoption of a gay civil rights bill by the New York City Council, NAMBLA again applied for the right to rent space in the center. When its request was again denied, it filed a complaint of discrimination against the center with the city's Human Rights Commission. The commission refused to hear the complaint. In the fall of 1989, the center denied space to NAMBLA for a poetry reading by Allen Ginsberg. The board refused to explain its denial.)

In August 1985 NAMBLA's application for membership in New York's Council of Lesbian and Gay Organizations resulted in its being admitted by a close vote. (A subsequent effort to expel it failed.) A couple of months earlier, the International Gay Association had accepted NAMBLA as a member group. The IGA (now known as the International Lesbian and Gay Association) has had a position in favor of abolishing age-of-consent laws since its meeting in Washington, DC, in the fall of 1981, but continues to be of mixed mind about the issue.

In Los Angeles, NAMBLA had participated in Gay Pride marches as part of a contingent opposing U.S. intervention in El Salvador, but in 1985 its application to march as a group in its own right was denied by the business-oriented organizing group, Christopher Street West (CSW).

At the 1986 Los Angeles march, veteran activist Harry Hay, marching with the Radical Faeries (a group he founded), wore a hand-made sign stating, simply, "NAMBLA walks with me." The organizers, apparently apoplectic, summoned mounted police, who surrounded the Faery contingent and threatened to arrest Hay if he did not remove his sign. He refused.<sup>23</sup>

### CHILD ABUSE HYSTERIA

During the past few years, hysteria about "child sexual abuse" reached new peaks in the United States. The hysteria has heightened the fears of an uninformed public. It has served to soften up public opinion for right-wing attacks on civil liberties and "vice." It may also represent a kind of coup within the "helping professions" by social workers and psychologists anxious to break out of their poor cousin status and, like psychiatrists, promote themselves as indispensable "expert witnesses" in court. Police departments



all over the country are using anatomically "correct" dolls to extract confessions about "bad touching" and "sexual abuse." Child care workers, and even parents, are fearful of false accusations of "child molestation" for showing affection to children, or even changing their diapers.

Millions of milk cartons sport pictures of missing children—the dairy industry's anxiety-inducing message to children that only parents can be trusted. One mother was overheard in a San Francisco supermarket admonishing her child: "If you don't behave, you'll end up on a milk carton!"<sup>24</sup> This despite the fact that most missing children have either run away from home or been kidnapped by one of their own estranged parents. The FBI attributes only around 60 or so child disappearances a year to "stranger abduction."

### CONCLUSIONS

The U.S. gay movement has made a truce with the state not to challenge the prevailing ages of consent, which vary from state to state. When the state of Wisconsin, for example, decriminalized homosexual sex between adults in 1983, an amendment was added that increased from a misdemeanor to a felony sex between an adult and a teenager 16 or 17 years old! There was no outcry from the gay movement over this attack on the rights of young people.<sup>25</sup>

This reticence on the part of the gay movement to discuss man/boy love does not, of course, prevent opponents of gay rights from bringing it up themselves. New York's John Cardinal O'Connor, for example, told the press on January 12, 1986, that one reason the New York Archdiocese was opposing a proposed gay rights bill was that "We cannot accept man/boy relationships."<sup>26</sup> On this, apparently, Dignity and the Cardinal can agree!

In present-day America it is all right to talk or publish books about boy-love in Ancient Greece or the pederasty of Great Men like Byron. But it is quite another matter to leave the academic ivory tower and acknowledge that boy-love goes on in every neighborhood today.

The gay movement is no longer a protagonist with a long-range vision of sexual freedom and progressive social change. Even the catastrophe of AIDS has brought little recognition from the gay

community of the need for socialized medicine or a national health insurance (and barely audible noises from the moribund left)—despite the fact that the United States is the only "advanced" Western society without such a program. Socialized medicine is the only way to insure effective health delivery to persons with AIDS, whose hospital costs may reach \$150,000 by the time they die.<sup>27</sup>

History is a pendulum on which things often change into their opposite. Lurches forward and setbacks, not an incremental advance, characterize the struggle for social change. The controversies over boy-love have been around since the beginning of the gay movement a century ago. The fact that they are again being debated demonstrates both the fragility of the gay movement's achievements before it was wiped out by Hitler and Stalin, and the irrepressibility of aspirations for sexual freedom.

### NOTES

1. *San Francisco Free Press*, November 1-14, 1969. The news item appeared on page 3, which was dominated by the head "IN THE STREETS FOR THE REVOLUTION." Elsewhere in the issue was an ad for a catalogue from D.O.M. offering "the first in young male nude photography." D.O.M. was a pseudonym for pioneer gay activist Guy Strait, who died in 1987. (See the obituary by John Fish in the *NAMBLA Bulletin*, January-February 1988.)

2. The Preamble to GAA's constitution demanded "an immediate end to all oppression of homosexuals" and certain "basic rights," including "THE RIGHT TO LOVE. This is the right to express our feelings in action, the right to make love with anyone, anyway, anytime, provided only that such action be freely chosen by individuals involved." GAA's policy, adopted in the early seventies, was "to work for the immediate change in all laws to remove restrictions related to homosexual acts between consenting persons." The reference to "consenting persons" rather than "consenting adults" was deliberate. The group's pamphlet *20 Questions about Homosexuality* skirted the question of cross-generational love, stating only that "Homosexuals join heterosexuals in agreeing that young people as well as adults must be protected from unwanted sexual advances . . ." (question 17, emphasis added).

3. In their book *Homosexualities*, based on research conducted over the previous decade, Alan P. Bell and Martin S. Weinberg found that 25% of "white homosexual males" and 14% of "black homosexual males" had had as sexual partners boys who were 16 or younger when they themselves were 21 or older (pp. 18 and 311).

4. Gerald Hannon, *Body Politic*, December 1977-January 1978, pp. 29-33.

5. *Gay Community News*, January 6, 1979, p. 5.

6. *Gay Community News*, March 3, 1979, p. 5.
7. Copy in author's files. The poll, dated February 26, 1979, contained several misspelled words, which have been corrected here.
8. Copy in author's files. This statement, dated March 7, 1979, was sent to as many members of the committee as addresses could be found for. Seven years later, a conference in New York City (November 14-16, 1986) to call a second march on Washington the following October adopted as a demand the repeal of "all laws that violate the right to privacy by criminalizing consensual sex *above the sexual age of consent*" (emphasis added). The workshop on demands defeated the following motion: "Government out of the bedroom! No state regulation of sex." By 1986, the U.S. gay movement had become so disoriented by hysteria about youth sexuality that it actually favored government regulation of *consensual* sex—especially if it involved gay men and underage youths!
9. "Man/Boy Lovers—New Group, Old Story." (Emphasis in original.) Copy in author's files.
10. Rich Finkel and Matilde Zimmermann, "The class-struggle road to winning gay rights," *The Militant*, April 13, 1979, p. 25. For an answer to this article, see David Thorstad, "The Socialist Workers Party vs. Gay Liberation (or the Cuckoo Builds a Strange Nest)," in the *Gay Activist* (June-July, 1979) and in *Gay Insurgent* (No. 7, Spring 1981). In contrast to the SWP, two small Trotskyist groups—the Revolutionary Socialist League and the Spartacist League—defended NAMBLA and opposed government interference in any consensual relationship, regardless of the age of the partners.
11. Copy in author's files.
12. *Semiotext(e) Special: Loving Boys*, available for \$1 plus postage from Semiotext(e), 522 Philosophy Hall, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027.
13. Both statements are printed in the "sex issue" of *Heresies*, #12 (1981), p. 92.
14. See especially Pat Califia's two-part article "The Age of Consent" in *The Advocate*, October 16 and October 30, 1980; and the two-part interview with Califia and Gayle Rubin defending sexual freedom, man/boy love, and sadomasochism in *Gay Community News*, July 18 and August 15, 1981. See also *Coming to Power* by SAMOIS, the lesbian-feminist S/M organization, first published in 1981, and reprinted by Alyson Publications, Boston, in 1982.
15. This story is told in the book *A Witchhunt Foiled: The FBI vs. NAMBLA*, published by NAMBLA, New York, 1985. Available for \$6.95 (postpaid) from NAMBLA, P.O. Box 174 Midtown Station, New York, NY 10018.
16. "800 Attend 7th Biennial Dignity Convention," *New York Native*, September 30-October 6, 1985, p. 18.
17. The March 17, 1983, issue of the Libertarian Student Association's publication, *Libertarian Broadside*, was devoted to NAMBLA's positions.
18. Charles Jurriss, "Grim Fairy Tales: The World According to NAMBLA," *New York Native*, February 28-March 13, 1983.
19. *New York City News*, March 9, 1983, p. 1. The publisher refused NAMBLA's request for space to reply. In 1981, IPLGY—whose name sounds

like it was designed to look good on grant applications—expelled three members of NAMBLA on the grounds that man/boy love was incompatible with its goals. "We felt from the beginning that NAMBLA's goals and priorities were antithetical to the needs of gay and lesbian youth," Martin told the *New York Native* (July 1-14, 1985). He said that his institute tells gay youth that one of their options is to "postpone sex until it can be more satisfying." This sounds like the advice of the Reagan Administration, whose Adolescent Family Life Program funded 71 projects in 1981 urging teenagers to practice sexual abstinence. Martin was appointed by Governor Mario Cuomo to the New York State Council on Youth Suicide Prevention in the fall of 1985. At the New York City Gay Pride March on June 30, 1985, some of the IPLGY youths broke into a chant of "2, 4, 6, 8—How do you know your wife is straight? 3, 5, 7, 9—Hey, lady, your husband's mine!" They were quickly shushed up by one of IPLGY's top men.

20. "Boy-Love Activists Seek Gay Support" by Mark McHarry, *Bay Area Reporter*, October 11, 1984. Hay and Kepner again addressed a NAMBLA conference in Los Angeles on November 7, 1986.

21. *New York Native*, March 25-April 7, 1985, p. 10.

22. "Quid Nunc," *NAMBLA Bulletin*, May 1985, p. 15.

23. A member of the contingent tore off Hay's sign, ostensibly to protest the interference with Hay's right to carry whatever sign he wanted. Hay escaped arrest, but CSW's attempt to censor a founder of the American gay movement aroused widespread indignation. This did not prevent CSW from formally voting to censure Hay a few weeks later.

24. Private communication to author from a lesbian girl-lover.

25. This "realism" is not new. The boy-love movement in Germany at the beginning of the century arose as part of the new homosexual activism and self-organization, and its trajectory intersected that of the broader gay movement. Boy-lovers were hardly (as A. Damien Martin put it) "outside the movement"—one of the first gay magazines, *Der Eigene*, was inspired by boy-love and anarchism. But then, as now, the two groupings did not always see eye to eye. Some of the issues they confronted are still around today (the nature of same-sex love, sexual liberation or law reform, the age of consent, attitudes toward women's liberation). On these, boy-lovers had views that differed from those of other homosexuals, as well as from each other. The anarchist boy-lover John Henry Mackay, for example, who wrote under the pen name Sagitta, was indignant at the efforts of Magnus Hirschfeld's Scientific Humanitarian Committee to trade off repeal of Paragraph 175, the sodomy statute, for setting an age of consent at 16. "For it has been shown again in these years," he wrote in the preface to the 1924 edition of his *Buecher der namenlosen Liebe* (Books of the Nameless Love), "that this love has to look for its worst enemies among those who call themselves 'leaders' in this fight and have made themselves responsible, in one of their ridiculous and degrading petitions to those currently in power, have publicly advocated an 'age of consent'—not for children, but for mature boys and youths—and thereby the prosecution and punishment of those whom they know, as no others do, to be just as innocent as themselves, and once again those who love an older

age have sought to save themselves at the cost of the comrades-in-fate of their time—a betrayal of the cause more disgraceful in intention and more dreadful in its result cannot be imagined.” (Quoted in Hubert Kennedy, *Anarchist of Love: The Secret Life of John Henry Mackay*, p. 10.) *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*. For a more detailed discussion of these subjects, see my essay “Man/Boy Love Then and Now—A Personal-Political Appraisal” in *NAMBLA Journal* No. 7 (1986).

26. WCBS-TV news report, January 12, 1986, 6:30 p.m.

27. NAMBLA is one of the few gay groups to address the subject. On January 11, 1986, its Steering Committee adopted an official position on AIDS that included a demand for “Free health care for persons with AIDS.” By early 1989, New York City’s AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP) was advancing the slogan “Health Care is a Right,” which implicitly points to the need for a national health care program.

## REFERENCES

- Bab, E. (1903). *Die Gleichgeschlechtliche Liebe (Lieblingminne). Ein Wort über ihr Wesen und ihre Bedeutung* [Same-sex love (Lieblingminne). A word about its nature and its significance]. Berlin: Hugo Schildberger Verlag.
- Bab, E. (1904). *Frauenbewegung und Freundschaft: Versuch einer Lösung des geschlechtlichen Problems* [Women’s movement and the love of friends: Attempt at a solution to the problem of sex]. Berlin-Charlottenburg: Adolf Brand/Der Eigene.
- Bell, A., & Weinberg, M. (1978). *Homosexualities*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Califia, P. (1980). The age of consent. *The Advocate*, October 16 and October 30.
- Chicken hawks no longer in Dutch. (1969). *San Francisco Free Press*, November 1-14, p. 3.
- Daniels, I. (1983). NAMBLA, age of consent, and human sexuality. *Torch*, January 15-February 14, pp. 4-5.
- Defend NAMBLA! (1983). *Workers Vanguard*, 14 January, p. 6.
- 800 attend 7th biennial Dignity convention. (1985). *New York Native*, September 30-October 6, p. 18.
- Finkel, R., & Zimmermann, M. (1979). The class-struggle road to winning gay rights. *Militant*, April 13, pp. 24-25.
- Fish, J. (1988). Artist/Activist fought for rights of men and boys. *NAMBLA Bulletin*, January-February, pp. 8-9.
- Gay Activists Alliance. [no date]. *20 questions about homosexuality*. New York: GAA.
- Gay Activists Alliance. [no date]. *Repeal the New York consensual sodomy statute!* New York: GAA.
- Gay church group condemns pedophiles. (1985). *New York Native*, March 25-April 7, p. 10.

- Hannon, G. (1977). Men loving boys loving men. *Body Politic*, December 1977-January 1978, pp. 29-33.
- Hirschfeld, M. *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* [Yearbook for intermediate sexual types].
- Hohmann, J. S. (Ed.; 1981). *Der Eigene: Ein Blatt für männliche Kultur* [Der Eigene: A newspaper for male culture]. Frankfurt/Berlin: Foerster Verlag.
- Jurist, C. (1983). Grim fairy tales: The world according to NAMBLA. *New York Native*, February 28-March 13.
- Kelly, B. (1979). On “woman/girl love”—or, lesbians do “do it.” *Gay Community News*, March 3, p. 5.
- Kennedy, H. (1983). *Anarchist of love: The secret life of John Henry Mackay*. New York: Mackay Society.
- Kupffer, E. von. (1900). *Lieblingminne und Freundschaft in der Weltliteratur. Eine Sammlung mit einer ethisch-politischen Einleitung* [Lieblingminne and the love of friends in world literature. A compilation with an ethical-political introduction]. Berlin-Neurahnsdorf: Adolf Brand’s Verlag.
- Lauritsen, J., & Thorstad, D. (1974). *The early homosexual rights movement (1864-1935)*. New York: Times Change Press.
- Libertarian Student Association. (1983). The case for NAMBLA. *Libertarian Broadside*, March 17.
- Mackay, J. H. (1979). *Die Bücher der namenlosen Liebe* [The books of the nameless love], Vol. I. Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel.
- Martin, A. D. (1983). The case against NAMBLA: Why are we ignoring the obvious? *New York City News*, March 9, p. 1.
- Mass, L., M.D. (1985). Protecting lesbian and gay youth (an interview with Emory Hetrick and Damien Martin). *New York Native*, July 1-14, pp. 38-42.
- McHarry, M. (1984). Boy-love activists seek gay support. *Bay Area Reporter*, October 11.
- Mitzel. (1980). *The Boston sex scandal*. Boston: Glad Day Books.
- North American Man/Boy Love Association. (1985). *A witchhunt foiled: The FBI vs. NAMBLA*. Introduction by David Thorstad. New York: NAMBLA.
- North American Man/Boy Love Association. (1981). *Boys speak out on man/boy love*. New York: NAMBLA.
- People organize to protest recent NOW resolution on lesbian and gay rights. (1981). In *Heresies* No. 12 (“sex issue”).
- Rhodes, R. (1985). Quid nunc. *NAMBLA Bulletin*, May, p. 15.
- SAMOUS. (1982). *Coming to power: Writings and graphics on lesbian S/M*. Boston: Alyson Publications.
- Semiotext(e) special: *Loving boys*. (1980). New York: Semiotext(e).
- Thorstad, D. (1979). A statement to the gay liberation movement on the issue of man/boy love. *Gay Community News*, January 6, p. 5.
- Thorstad, D. (Ed.; 1981). *Gay liberation and socialism: Documents from the discussions on gay liberation inside the Socialist Workers Party (1970-1973)* (2nd ed.). New York: Privately printed.



- Thorstad, D. (1986). Man/boy love then and now — a personal-political appraisal. *NAMBLA Journal* (No. 7), pp. 6-13.
- Thorstad, D. (1979). The Socialist Workers Party vs. gay liberation (or the cuckoo builds a strange nest). *Gay Activist*, June-July, pp. 12-16. (Also published in *Gay Insurgent* (No. 7), Spring 1981, pp. 17-23.)
- Tsang, D. (Ed.; 1981). *The age taboo: Gay male sexuality, power and consent*. Boston: Alyson Publications.
- Wechsler, N. (1981). A state of siege: The new right and sexual repression. *Gay Community News*, July 18, pp. 4-5. Sadomasochism: Fears, facts, fantasies. *Gay Community News*, August 15, pp. 6-8. (Interview with Pat Califia and Gayle Rubin.)

## The Study of Intergenerational Intimacy in North America: Beyond Politics and Pedophilia

Gerald P. Jones, PhD

Institute for the Study of Women and Men  
in Society  
University of Southern California

**SUMMARY.** Intergenerational intimacy, social as well as sexual, has been studied in the United States and abroad for some time. In recent years the general trend has been to label such behavior "child sexual abuse." Interest in this type of abuse has generated a considerable amount of more or less scientific literature, some of which seems to have been produced in a "rush to judgment" attempt to build a "professional" literature that supports popular beliefs. This tradition of child-abuse-defined literature, along with the work of investigative and helping agencies which some refer to as a "child abuse industry," has fostered a one-sided, simplistic picture of intergenerational intimacy. A close look at the empirical studies in this tradition reveals flaws associated with two problems: the studies nearly always (1) maintain a narrow focus on sexual contact, and (2) proceed from the related basic assumption that sexual contact in intergenerational relationships by definition constitutes abuse. While sexual abuse certainly occurs, those who apply this assumption to all situations are ignoring empirical findings that show otherwise. Research outside the "child sexual abuse" tradition reveals a broader range of intergenerational relationships outside the family,

---

Dr. Gerald P. Jones was Affiliated Scholar in the Institute for the Study of Women and Men in Society at the University of Southern California from 1986 to 1990. Correspondence should be addressed to Gerald P. Jones, PhD, Box 18425, Los Angeles, CA 90018-0425.

Grateful acknowledgement is given to Dr. Edward Brongersma, and in particular to Dr. Theo Sandfort for editorial assistance befitting the highest standards of the profession.

Objectivity and Ideology:  
Criticism of Theo Sandfort's Research  
on Man-Boy Sexual Relations

Robert Bauserman, BS

Graduate Program  
Syracuse University

**SUMMARY.** Three critiques of Theo Sandfort's research on man-boy sexual relationships in the Netherlands are examined and evaluated. Three types of criticisms—methodological, speculative, and moral—are identified. Specific criticisms of the study are evaluated on the basis of their validity and, where appropriate, their underlying assumptions. It is argued that moral condemnation of such relationships, combined with a prevailing ideology of boy "victims" and adult "perpetrators," results in efforts by Sandfort's critics to attack and discredit his research rather than evaluate it objectively.

In 1981 Theo Sandfort, lecturer in psychology at the State University of Utrecht in the Netherlands, published the results of his study of 25 boys aged 10 to 16 who were involved in ongoing ped-erastic relationships with adult men at the time of the study. He

---

Requests for reprints may be sent to 156 Chinook Drive, Syracuse, NY 13210.

© 1991 by The Haworth Press, Inc. All rights reserved.

297

concluded that "For virtually all the boys . . . the sexual contact itself was experienced positively and had no negative effect on how the youngster felt in general" (Sandfort, 1982, p. 85). Sandfort also determined that the boys did not perceive a misuse of power by the men. An English translation of his book appeared in 1982. In 1983, an article by Sandfort entitled "Pedophile relationships in the Netherlands: Alternative Lifestyles for Children?" appeared in the Spring 1983 issue of *Alternative Lifestyles*. This article was not intended as a full summary of Sandfort's study but instead, in the author's own words, concentrated on "the meaning of the older partner and the pedophile relationship itself for the younger partner" (Sandfort, 1983, p. 165). In 1984, an article providing a fuller summary of Sandfort's research appeared in the *Journal of Sex Research* under the title "Sex in pedophilic relationships: An empirical investigation among a nonrepresentative group of boys."

Since the publication of Sandfort's findings, his research has begun to receive some reaction from American writers and researchers. Among those who have offered criticisms of his research are David Finkelhor, author of the 1979 study *Sexual Abuse of Children* and other articles; David Mrazek, co-editor of *Sexually Abused Children and Their Families* and author of several articles on the topic of child sexual abuse; and the world-famous sex researchers William Masters and Virginia Johnson, in a textbook written with Robert Kolodny (1985). Finkelhor's criticisms appeared in a brief review of Sandfort's work in *Forum* magazine (1984); Mrazek's, in a review of Sandfort's book in *Contemporary Psychology* (1985). This paper will examine the types of criticisms made by these authors and their validity. In addition, it will address the question of the ideological viewpoint from which they are made. The criticisms of Sandfort's work can be divided into three major categories: methodological, speculative, and moral. The moral criticisms, which are arguably the most revealing, will be discussed last.

One of the first methodological criticisms of Sandfort's study is that his findings are invalid because his sample was unrepresentative. This criticism is made by all three writers: Finkelhor, Mrazek, and Masters, Johnson, and Kolodny. This would be a strong point against the study if Sandfort had claimed that his sample was representative or if he had been trying to demonstrate that most boys

experience such contacts positively. However, Sandfort readily admits in all his writings that the sample can in no way be called representative of all boys who have sexual contact with men. He carefully emphasizes the limitations of his research, and states that his conclusions cannot be generalized to all man-boy contacts, to contacts between men and girls, or to incest.

More importantly, Sandfort's critics fail to address the question of whether or not a representative sample was necessary for the actual research question. Sandfort writes: "The question was whether a sexual contact with an adult could be a positive experience for a child. To the extent to which this research material can give a definite answer, the question must be answered in the affirmative" (Sandfort, 1982, p. 84). Whether or not the sample was representative is beside the point. Since the study only sought to address the question of whether such relationships could ever be experienced positively, an unrepresentative sample was adequate.

It is very disturbing to note the lack of any criticism of the unrepresentative samples used by other authors who claim that such relationships are always negative (see Adams-Tucker, 1982; Burgess, 1984; and Peters, 1976, for examples). Where were Sandfort's critics when studies using rape victims, psychiatric patients, criminal cases, and emergency room patients were used to draw conclusions about the nature and effects of all adult-child sexual relationships? Evidently if a study claims negative findings then an unrepresentative sample is perfectly acceptable, but if it claims positive findings then an unrepresentative sample renders it invalid.

Mrazek elaborates further on the theme of biased sampling. After noting that the boys were contacted through self-identified pedophiles who belonged to the Netherlands Association for Sexual Reform, he argues that "one is faced with the reality that the study sample are all men actively involved in the pedophile movement who have a strong self-interest in the results of the research" and later complains that "the motivation and selection of the sample" is a problem not sufficiently addressed (Mrazek, 1985, p. 37). Mrazek seems a bit confused here — the study sample includes the boys, not the men. The motivation of the men is irrelevant. It should also be noted that all interviews with the boys were conducted in private and the boys were assured that their partners would not be allowed



to see their answers to the interview questions, clearly reducing the likelihood that the boys' responses were influenced by the older partner.

A second methodological criticism is that Sandfort failed to define "negative" effects on the boys and furthermore, according to Masters et al., that he "gave no evidence of having asked appropriate questions to discover if these effects were present or not" (Masters, Johnson, and Kolodny, 1985, p. 450). Unlike the complaints of unrepresentativeness, this criticism is not irrelevant; it is simply false. As part of the structure of his research, Sandfort presented each boy with a list of positive and negative emotions and behaviors. After it was established that each boy understood these emotions and behaviors, he was asked to indicate how often he experienced them in both his overall relationship with the adult and in his sexual contacts with the adult. The boy was given clear and precise means to show whether or not he had perceived his experiences negatively. The various correlations between how the boy felt in the relationship, how he experienced other relationships and activities important to him, and how he stated he wanted to feel in general gave a means of examining how the relationship compared with other important relationships and activities in the boy's life and how it affected his overall sense of well-being. In addition, Sandfort noted that when the boys were asked to formulate negative aspects of the sexual contacts "it was often difficult for the boys to discover any negative sides, which made it necessary to question them rather insistently" (Sandfort, 1982, p. 64). Far from not having asked "appropriate questions," Sandfort actually pressured the boys to come up with negative aspects.

In a similar criticism, Mrazek attacks Sandfort's study for failing to address the issue of whether or not these relationships might result in the boys' developing a sexual deviation "from more normal heterosexuality" (Mrazek, 1985, p. 38). However, there is no evidence that such relationships result in the younger partner becoming a homosexual. Longitudinal studies of boys who were sexually involved with men during adolescence (Tindall, 1978) and studies of adults who had such experiences as boys (Bernard, 1981) have failed to find such evidence. In addition, studies of societies where sexual relationships between men and boys, or between boys

and boys, are institutionalized have not found any evidence of widespread adult homosexuality (Money and Ehrhardt, 1972; Herdt, 1985). Extensive or even exclusive homosexual relations over a period of years in childhood and adolescence do not seem to prevent boys from becoming heterosexual adults.

Mrazek also complains that Sandfort fails to address the risks of promiscuous early homosexual contact, including a high incidence of genital herpes and increased risk of AIDS. It is true that Sandfort does not address this issue, but the criticism has only limited validity. Men who are pederasts typically do not have sexual contacts with other adult men.<sup>2</sup> The high rate of herpes and the increased risk of AIDS do not apply to pederasts as a group as much as they apply to homosexuals (although AIDS is now becoming more widespread in the general population). There is a very real distinction between the two groups. In addition, there is no indication that either the men or the boys were engaging in "promiscuous" homosexual contacts; this seems to be a gratuitous accusation thrown in by Mrazek. Finally, most of the sexual contacts involved the partners masturbating each other; this was followed in frequency by oral sex (most often performed on the boy by the man). Anal contacts occurred in only a small minority of relationships. Since AIDS seems to be transmitted mainly through exchange of body fluids in penetrative sexual contacts, most of the man-boy sexual contacts were of the "low-risk" type.

Masters et al. offer a third methodological criticism: "Unlike standard practice in research of this sort, no psychological tests were administered to evaluate the boys' emotional stability or self-esteem . . ." (Masters, Johnson, and Kolodny, 1985, pp. 450-451). In the first place, research of this sort has been very scarce; and for that which exists, it has *not* been standard practice to administer psychological tests. For instance, the often-cited Finkelhor (1979) study of college students, which is regularly invoked as "proof" that children experience such contacts negatively, reached this conclusion by questionnaire only. The more recent study by Burgess et al. (1984) also reached its conclusion that all such relations are harmful (actually, this "research" simply took harm as a given) without the benefit of a single psychological test. In fact, those studies which have actually used psychological tests, such as those

of Burton (1968) in England and Bauerman (1981) in West Germany, often come to the conclusion that such tests show no psychological damage from the sexual relationships or encounters. In the second place, Sandfort's study is a psychological evaluation. Sandfort employed an approach called the Self-Confrontation Method based on valuation theory. This method has been used with great success in other areas of personality research in the Netherlands and Sandfort simply applied it to the pederastic relationships. With this method, it was possible to determine what aspects of the boy's experience world were important to him; how he experienced these aspects (positively or negatively); how frequently he experienced particular feelings and behaviors, both positive and negative, in connection with each area; and how each area influenced his overall well-being and corresponded with how he would most like to feel. It is the subject (the boy) who interprets his experience, not the researcher. As to self-esteem, the comparison between the frequency of the feelings the boys reported in the relationship with the man, and the frequency of the various feelings that the boys said they would like to experience in general, showed that the two corresponded closely. The sexual relationships with the men had a positive overall effect on the boys' sense of well-being and helped bring them closer to feeling the way they said they would most like to feel.

In the fourth criticism, Masters, Johnson, and Kolodny state that "Even more unbelievably, each boy was interviewed in the home of 'his' pedophile with the pedophile present, without any apparent regard for the fact that the adult's presence would have almost assuredly prevented the boy from voicing complaints about the way he was treated because of fear of punishment" (Masters et al., 1985, p. 451). It is this criticism that is unbelievable. This statement is either a knowing lie, if Masters et al. read Sandfort's actual study, or an irresponsible assumption, if they did not. Sandfort stated in his book in at least three different places that the interviews with the boys were conducted in private with only the boy and the researcher present, in order to prevent the older partner from influencing the boy's answers through his presence. Sandfort also makes this point in his article for the *Journal of Sex Research*.<sup>3</sup> Either Masters et al. did not bother to read Sandfort's actual study (in

which case they have no business criticizing it) or they did, and chose to print this claim anyway.

A check of the bibliography for Masters et al.'s textbook reveals that the only work by Sandfort listed is his 1983 article for *Alternative Lifestyles*. Since neither Sandfort's book nor his article for the *Journal of Sex Research* are listed in their bibliography, it seems that Masters et al. did not read either of these. As mentioned above, Sandfort did not intend this article as a comprehensive summary of his findings but rather as an effort to understand the meaning of the older partner and the relationship for the younger partner. In this article, Sandfort does not clearly state that the interviews with the boys were conducted privately. He also does not imply that the older partner was present during the interview. It seems that instead of referring to Sandfort's book or to his article in the *Journal of Sex Research* in order to be sure of themselves, Masters et al. chose to assume that the older partner was present and to print this as fact in an apparent effort to discredit Sandfort's research. The fact that they made such an assumption, and then failed to make any effort to check its accuracy, suggests that they are more concerned with discrediting Sandfort's study than with making valid and responsible criticisms of actual flaws the study might possess.

Masters et al.'s last criticism of Sandfort's methods was that "no follow-up of these boys and their relationships was attempted to discover what the long-term impacts might be" (Masters et al., 1985, p. 451). Sandfort noted in his study that "considering the short period of time that elapsed during this research, it was not possible to examine the long-range consequences of the sexual contacts" (Sandfort, 1982, p. 84). Since the original research was carried out in 1980 and all of Sandfort's writings appeared within the next four years, it is obvious that not enough time had elapsed since the original study for a meaningful long-term follow-up to take place. Significantly, Sandfort also writes that all the boys agreed to take part in a long-term follow-up. In light of these facts this criticism must be seen as an irrelevant accusation by Masters, Johnson, and Kolodny with the apparent intent of smearing Sandfort's scientific integrity and the credibility of his research. It should also be noted that one of the major assets of Sandfort's study is that it deals with boys who at the time were currently involved in ongoing sex-



ual relationships with an adult. The sample thereby avoided the problems of adult recall studies and of studies of boys whose relationships had been ended by police or other social intervention.

One of Mrazek's major criticisms is the terminology of the study. He states that the usual labels of "perpetrator" and "victim" are "militantly avoided" and later states that "the reader who believes that young children should be 'protected' from the sexual advances of adults will find the language with which the 'researcher' describes these relationships offensive" (Mrazek, 1985, p. 37). Examples of the offending terminology include using the term "partners" for the man and boy instead of "victim" and "perpetrator," and the use of the term "making love" for the sexual contacts.

This criticism seems to stem from a conviction that all adult-juvenile sexual contacts are by definition abusive and exploitative. However, avoiding the terms victim and perpetrator is not militant; it is simply objective. "Partners" is a relatively neutral term that does not carry the value-laden negative connotations of "victim" and "perpetrator" nor the equally value-laden positive connotations of the term "lovers." Other writers besides Sandfort have pointed out that the offender-victim dichotomy is not always appropriate (Schultz, 1973). The fact that some boys see themselves as consenting participants has led to the coining of the phrase "participating victims" in an apparent effort to maintain the offender-victim distinction. As to the term "making love," Mrazek fails to point out that it is the boys themselves who refer to the sexual contacts in this fashion—not the researcher. One of the questions Sandfort asked of the boys was the term they used for having sex with their adult partner, and a number of them referred to it as "making love."

A final methodological criticism also comes from Mrazek's review. He argues that while Sandfort initially acknowledges his sampling bias and warns that his findings cannot be generalized, a "logical contortion" is necessary to reach his conclusion that "in these cases the basis which justified the criminalizing of such contacts simply doesn't exist, and the results of this research suggest no other justification for prohibiting these sexual contacts." Where is the logical contortion? Sandfort simply points out that for consensual contacts of the sort that he studied, the basis for criminalizing

such contacts—presumed harm to the younger partner—does not apply. Suggesting that relationships which a boy regards as consensual and positive should be decriminalized in no way conflicts with continued protection of children from sexual contacts brought about by force, coercion, deceit, or other manipulation by an adult.

Several speculative criticisms are also offered by Finkelhor and by Masters, Johnson, and Kolodny. These criticisms do not focus on the methodology of Sandfort's study, but rather conjecture about possible reasons for rejecting his findings. Finkelhor questions whether or not the boys were honest with the researcher. He states that the "children" were selected by a group of sensitive and intellectual pedophiles and were therefore unusual. However, he offers no explanation as to *why* this might make the boys be dishonest with the researcher. What seems to be implied here is that the boys presented a falsely positive picture of the relationship. But why would the boys want to portray a negative relationship as a positive one, when they were presumably the ones being "victimized?" Furthermore, how could the boys possibly lie so consistently and thoroughly as to leave no indication of a negative attitude towards their relationship with the older partner or of an overall negative impact of the relationship on themselves in their reports of the feelings they experienced in the relationship; the behaviors they encountered in the relationship; their relations with parents, friends, and others; and their attitudes towards home, school, hobbies, etc.? The suggestion that the boys were dishonest is pure speculation and seems unlikely at best.

Finkelhor goes on to state that his own research shows that "most kids react negatively" to sexual relations with an adult. In point of fact, the majority of males in Finkelhor's study rated their sexual relations with older males as positive or neutral; less than 40% said their encounters, as boys, had been a negative experience. Furthermore, Finkelhor fails to mention the inherent bias in his own study, which used a loaded questionnaire seemingly designed to preclude the possibility of reporting consensual, nonincestuous relationships with adults. Finkelhor's questionnaire, while asking subjects about all experiences before age 12 with older partners, only asked subjects to report incestuous or nonconsensual experiences that occurred after age 12. If any of Sandfort's subjects had taken this



questionnaire, they would not have reported their positively experienced relationships since these did not fall into either category.

Finkelhor's final criticism in this category is that there is such a fundamental asymmetry of power between adult and "child" that kids have no real power of consent. However, many boys clearly view themselves as willing participants and do not feel that they have been manipulated or coerced. Even more significantly, adults reflecting back on their relationships as children repeat this point of view (as the studies by Bernard, 1981; Ingram, 1981; and Tindall, 1978, demonstrate). The boys in Sandfort's study were aware of the possible negative reactions of parents, friends, and authorities to the relationship, yet chose to continue it anyway.<sup>4</sup> In light of these facts it seems hard to maintain the belief that boys are somehow incapable of saying no.

Masters, Johnson, and Kolodny speculate that perhaps the "boys were so intimidated by the pedophile that they were afraid to say anything against him" (Masters et al., 1985, p. 451). It should be noted that a number of studies have found that there are boys who regard their relationships as having been positive even after they became adults; and in addition, many maintain close ties with their older partners well into adulthood (see Bernard, 1981; Ingram, 1981; Rossman, 1976; and Tindall, 1978, for examples). This is hardly the attitude one would expect from someone who was intimidated by, and scared of, their older partner. Finally, the boys in Sandfort's study did say some things against the older partners. They felt they did encounter some negative behaviors such as coercion, although only rarely, and also reported that sometimes they behaved negatively towards their older partners as well. In other words, these man-boy relationships were described by the boys just as any sort of positive relationship between two people might be described. Although positive behaviors predominated, petty fighting, manipulation, and coercion on the part of both partners occurred as well. If the boys had claimed that they always and only experienced positive behavior one would have every right to suspect dishonesty, but they did not. The fact that the boys reported both good and bad feelings and behaviors in the relationships indicates that they were being honest when they reported that the good far outweighed the bad in their eyes. Masters et al.'s speculation

that the boys were intimidated is not based on any interviews with the boys in question. In light of the facts from Sandfort's own study and the other literature cited above, this speculation is unwarranted.

Masters et al. conclude their criticism by explaining why adult-child sexual encounters are always negative. They state that they agree with Dr. Suzanne Sgroi, co-director of the St Joseph College Institute for the Treatment and Control of Child Sexual Abuse, who says "... The sexually abused child may not feel abused initially, but as the child learns what society thinks of what he has done, the child feels betrayed. He feels he cannot trust adults or family members ... [and] has a sense of danger, of being violated, a sense that he is not as good as he was before" (Masters et al., 1985, p. 451). If Dr. Sgroi's analysis is correct, it only shows that society's reaction makes the child feel abused, not the sexual contact itself. In the past (and even today, to a lesser extent), society's attitudes toward sexual behaviors such as masturbation and homosexuality caused untold guilt, shame, and anxiety. It is now widely recognized that the "harm" attributed to masturbation and homosexuality came more often than not from the negative societal reaction to these behaviors. In fact, it is now well understood that our society has tended to react with horror to many types of harmless sexual behaviors. To base a blanket condemnation of all adult-juvenile sexual encounters on society's reaction is erroneous.

It should also be noted that Dr. Sgroi's analysis (at least as far as boys are concerned) is not supported by the literature. The studies by Bernard, Ingram, and Tindall show that many boys, far from feeling betrayed and unable to trust people, continue close friendships with their older partners well into adulthood and show no evidence of social or psychological maladjustment. In addition, as stated earlier, Sandfort found in his study that the boys were well aware of negative societal attitudes and the possible negative reactions of parents, friends, and authorities. However, they still viewed the relationships as positive and felt no sense of betrayal or lowered self-esteem. All of this directly contradicts Dr. Sgroi's contentions.

The final category of criticisms consists of moral criticisms. All three critiques of Sandfort's study include moral criticisms of one sort or another. As stated above, it is the moral attacks that may

provide some of the best insight into the ideological viewpoint held by Sandfort's critics. Finkelhor claims that Sandfort's findings do not alter the "moral perspective" of the issue and by way of analogy says that "there were probably slaves who loved being slaves and were not hurt by it, but society determined that the institution was a violation of fundamental ethical standards and abolished it" (Finkelhor, 1984, p. 8). It is hard to see how this related to the relationships studied by Sandfort. While a slave is completely within the power of the slaveowner and is denied basic and fundamental freedoms, there is no evidence that the boys in question felt compelled or forced to continue the sexual relationship. In fact, most of the boys took the initiative in sexual contact with the adult partner at least some of the time. Some explicitly stated that the relationships were a matter of their personal choice and said they felt they had the right to make decisions for themselves about whether they participated in a sexual relationship or not. Finkelhor's analogy seems based on the assumption that such relationships are automatically wrong because of power differences, regardless of the boy's attitude toward the relationship, its impact on the boy, and whether or not he felt coerced or forced.

A more serious moral criticism comes from Mrazek's review. He argues that since the sexual contacts in question were illegal in the Netherlands, Sandfort was rationalizing criminal behavior and was maintaining the secrecy of a sexual offense from the boys' families. While this may pose an ethical dilemma, it should be pointed out that many other studies of sexual behavior are open to the same criticism. For example, Kinsey interviewed many adolescent and prepubescent boys about their sexual behavior for his work *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948), recognized as a landmark in sex research. However, sexual behavior, while legally acceptable in adults, is grounds for legally judging an adolescent or child a delinquent. Kinsey himself pointed out that from a specific calculation from his data, some 86% of adolescent boys in America were sexual delinquents. Should Kinsey have reported all these boys to the authorities as sexual delinquents? Later researchers into adolescent sexual behavior, such as Sorensen (1973), can be attacked on the same grounds. Researchers investigating homosexuality in the 60s and 70s are also open to the same criticism—nearly all states in the

U.S. had laws against homosexual behavior in the 1960s and many still do even today. Should these researchers have turned their subjects in to the police for prosecution because they were violating the law by participating in homosexual encounters with other men? What about psychiatrists and psychologists with homosexual patients? Should they have reported their patients to the police for prosecution?

This ethical dilemma is by no means an easy one to resolve. However, Sandfort was faced with a group of boys who stated that they enjoyed their relationship with the older partner and the sexual contacts involved. In addition, in 7 of the 25 cases the boy's parents were aware of the relationship and accepted it. Would it have helped these boys in the short or the long term if their relationships had been reported to the police and broken up? Mrazek also fails to note that a very different climate exists in the Netherlands than in the U.S. regarding adult-child sex. Police are reluctant to prosecute when there is no evidence of coercion and when the youth involved is at least 12 years old. In addition, an ongoing public debate on the age of consent has even included appearances by children and their adult partners on national radio to discuss their relationships. In such a climate, the issue of reporting does not carry the same weight as it does in the U.S., where professionals are required by law in many states to report such relationships. It should also be noted that in the Netherlands, clinicians are not under any legal obligation to report crimes committed by their clients (with the exception of assaults on someone's life), unlike the situation in many states in the U.S.

The inclusion of a moral perspective to condemn man-boy sex is perhaps most surprising in the case of the textbook by Masters, Johnson, and Kolodny. Earlier in their text, Masters et al. pointed to the misconceptions engendered and maintained by moral arguments. For instance, we are informed that the Catholic church continues to insist that "masturbation is an intrinsically and seriously disordered act" and that this "unnatural act" came to be described as "self-abuse," "defilement of the flesh," and "self-pollution." In the case of homosexuality, Masters et al. tell us that this form of sexual activity has been described in judicial decisions from the 1970s as "loathsome and disgusting," "grossly repugnant," "de-

generate," "foul," and "immoral, lewd, and obscene." They quote one psychiatrist who, in 1970, described homosexuality as "a dread dysfunction, malignant in character, which has risen to epidemic proportions" (Masters et al., 1985, p. 407).

Thus, it is surprising that Masters et al. ask in reference to man-boy relationships, "is an inherently abusive, exploitive relationship 'positive' under any circumstances?" (Masters et al., 1985, p. 451). They are aware of how such loaded terminology and sweeping condemnations of whole categories of sexual behavior prevented an objective understanding of masturbation and homosexuality, and they are aware that clearer understanding was attained only through a deliberate disregard for such moral condemnation in favor of concentration on empirical research. By ignoring this lesson in the case of their own evaluation of man-boy sex, Masters et al. have strengthened the impression that science is only welcome so long as it fits in with the prevailing ideologies. They are evidently perfectly comfortable in condemning *all* man-boy sexual relationships as "inherently abusive and exploitive," even though they reject this sort of claim as it was employed in the past against other types of sexual behavior.

The moral criticisms of Sandfort's work thus appear to all be guided by a particular set of beliefs about adult-juvenile sex. These beliefs center primarily on the idea that such relationships are by their very nature abusive and exploitive. They include a belief that the younger partner is automatically incapable of consent, because of the adult's position of greater power; a belief that the adult inevitably exploits the younger partner for his own needs, without concern for the youngster's own feelings and desires; and a belief that such relationships always or nearly always have negative consequences for the younger partner. More subtly, but just as significantly, they also seem to be based at least in part on a belief that deviations from the adult heterosexual norm are automatically suspect (witness Mrazek's comment on "more normal heterosexuality").

The methodological criticisms of Sandfort's work are variously distorted, irrelevant, or just plain false; the speculative criticisms are either irrelevant or else biased by their complete failure to consider contrary findings in the literature; and the moral criticisms

show a dogmatic adherence to the belief that all adult-juvenile sexual relations are by definition abusive, exploitive, and harmful. It seems that the taboo against juvenile sexuality and particularly against adult-juvenile sex is still so strong that research which fails to support the prevailing ideology must be attacked and discredited, regardless of its actual validity. It remains to be seen whether scientific objectivity can prevail against the need to defend the current dogma on man-boy sexual contacts in particular and adult-juvenile sex in general.

## NOTES

1. A full discussion of methodological issues appears in Sandfort (1982) and Sandfort (1984), in addition to discussion and analysis of the actual research findings in much greater detail. Sandfort (1983) only briefly discusses methodology and concentrates almost entirely on the boys' evaluations of the relationship's meaning for themselves.
2. In fact, a number of studies have found that men who have sexual relations with boys are usually heterosexual in whatever adult sexual contacts they might have. See Groth and Birnbaum (1978), Rossman (1976), Schofield (1965), and Wilson and Cox (1983).
3. See Sandfort (1982), pp. 13, 22, and 29; and Sandfort (1984), p. 129, for statements on this point.
4. See Sandfort (1981), pp. 72-77; and Sandfort (1984), pp. 138-139 for discussion of this point.

## REFERENCES

- Adams-Tucker, C. (1982). Proximate effects of sexual abuse in childhood: A report on 28 children. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 139 (10), 1252-1256.
- Bauserman, M. (1982). *Sexualität, Gewalt, und die Folgen für das Opfer*. Wiesbaden: Bundeskriminalamt.
- Bernard, F. (1981). Pedophilia: The psychological consequences for the child. In L. Constantine & F. Martinson (Eds.), *Children and sex: New findings, new perspectives* (pp. 189-199). Boston: Little, Brown, & Co.
- Burgess, A., Hartman, C., McCausland, M., & Powers, P. (1984). Response patterns in children and adolescents exploited through sex rings and pornography. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 141 (5), 656-662.
- Burton, L. (1968). *Vulnerable children*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Finkelhor, D. (1979). *Sexual abuse of children*. New York: Free Press.
- Finkelhor, D. (1984). Quoted in "Youths not always victims in man-boy sex, survey reveals." *Forum*, 14 (1), 8-9.



- Groth, A. & Birnbaum, J. (1978). Adult sexual orientation and attraction to underage children. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 7 (3), 175-181.
- Herd, G. (Ed.). (1985). *Ritualized homosexuality in Melanesia*. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co.
- Ingram, M. (1981). Participating victims: A study of sexual offenses with boys. In L. Constantine & F. Martinson (Eds.), *Children and sex: New findings, new perspectives* (pp. 177-187). Boston: Little, Brown, & Co.
- Kinsey, A., Pomeroy, W., & Martin, C. (1948). *Sexual behavior in the human male*. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders.
- Masters, W., Johnson, V., & Kolodny, R. (1985). *Human sexuality* (2nd ed.). Boston: Little, Brown, & Co.
- Mrazek, D. (1985). Science, politics, and ethics: Issues in the study of the sexual use of children. *Contemporary Psychology*, 30 (1), 37-38.
- Money, J., & Ehrhardt, A. (1972). *Man & woman, boy & girl*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Peters, J. (1976). Children who are victims of sexual assault and the psychology of offenders. *American Journal of Psychotherapy*, 30, 398-421.
- Rossmann, P. (1976). *Sexual experience between men and boys*. New York: Association Press.
- Sandfort, T. (1982). *The Sexual aspect of pedophile relations*. Amsterdam: Pan/Spartacus.
- Sandfort, T. (1983). Pedophile relationships in the Netherlands: Alternative lifestyles for children? *Alternative Lifestyles*, 5 (3), 164-183.
- Sandfort, T. (1984). Sex in pedophilic relationships: an empirical investigation among a non-representative group of boys. *Journal of Sex Research*, 20 (2), 123-142.
- Schofield, M. (1965). *Sociological aspects of homosexuality*. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co.
- Schultz, L. (1973). The Child sex victim: Social, psychological, and legal perspectives. *Child Welfare*, 52, 147-157.
- Sorensen, R. (1973). *Adolescent sexuality in contemporary America*. New York: World Publishers.
- Tindall, R. (1978). The Male adolescent involved with a pederast becomes an adult. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 3 (4), 373-382.
- Wilson, G. & Cox, D. (1983). *The Child lovers: A study of pedophiles in society*. London: Peter Owen.

## Response to Bauserman

David Finkelhor, PhD

Family Research Laboratory  
University of New Hampshire

I do not believe that my views about Sandfort's research are accurately represented in Bauserman's article, and I will try to present them here.

1. Sandfort's findings are probably valid and could be (and need to be) replicated by other investigators. That is, a researcher can find certain children, especially boys, who report that their sexual experiences with adults were positive and had no short-term negative effect on them. The real debate concerns the implications of such findings.

2. In studies using more representative samples than Sandfort's, only a minority of people, at least in the U.S., report reacting positively to their childhood sexual encounters with adults. This has been demonstrated in a number of studies (Finkelhor, 1979; Fromuth, 1986; Risin and Koss, 1987; Russell, 1986). Boys tend to react less negatively than girls, but even the majority of boys (62%), in one recent national American sample, said they felt somewhat victimized or worse (Risin and Koss, 1987). Sandfort did not try to obtain and correctly does not pretend that his is a representative sample. In fact, it is probably an extremely unrepresentative sample. It is impossible to make policy on the basis of such a sample.

3. Even among those boys who rate their contacts with adults as positive, there is evidence that these feelings sour over time. In a study of 53 men who had had contact with adults, although 38%

---

Correspondence may be addressed to Dr. David Finkelhor, Family Research Laboratory, University of New Hampshire, Durham, NH 03824.

said they had viewed them positively at the time, only 15% felt positively about them now as adults (Urquiza, 1987).

4. There are many children who are seriously traumatized by their sexual encounters with adults. Epidemiological studies show that adult-child sexual contact is a predictor of later depression, suicidal behavior, dissociative disorders, alcohol and drug abuse and sexual problems even when other noxious background factors are controlled for (Browne and Finkelhor, 1986). The association with psychopathology has been shown to be every bit as great among men as among women (Stein, Golding, Siegel, Burnam & Sorenson, 1988). Certainly not all adult-child encounters have such effect, but we are talking about an experience that has a very high risk.

5. The public policy priority to protect children from unwanted and coercive sexual approaches by adults seems justified given the evidence of its wide prevalence and the high risk for serious effects. The (now grown) children who have had such experiences are very active in lobbying for such protection. I have encountered very few individuals with self-defined positive experiences who are lobbying for legal protections for their kinds of experiences. Mostly it is pedophilicly oriented adults who argue for such rights. Personally, I am much more open to academic discussions about the implications of positive adult-child experiences with those who grant that the problem of unwanted sexual contacts is a very pressing public policy issue (Sandfort is such a person).

6. Ultimately, I do continue to believe that the prohibition on adult-child sexual contact is primarily a moral issue. While empirical findings have some relevance they are not the final arbiter. The social judgment that slavery is reprehensible would not have been challenged by empirical findings that some slaves felt positively about being a slave (as some undoubtedly did) or even benefitted from it. The social judgment that child labor needed to be prohibited similarly would not have been vitiated by evidence that some children felt positively and benefitted from it (as they undoubtedly did as well). Some types of social relationships violate deeply held values and principles in our culture about equality and self-determination. Sex between adults and children is one of them. Evidence that certain children have positive experiences does not challenge

these values, which have deep roots in our worldview. This is the main reason that Sandfort's research has had relatively little attention, and has little relevance for policy.

## REFERENCES

- Browne, A. & Finkelhor, D. (1986). Impact of child sexual abuse: A review of the research. *Psychological Bulletin*, 99(1):66-77.
- Finkelhor, D. (1979). *Sexually victimized children*. New York: Free Press.
- Fromuth, M.E. (1986). The relationship of childhood sexual abuse with later psychological and sexual adjustment in a sample of college women. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 10(1):5-15.
- Risin, L.I. & Koss, M.P. (1987). *The sexual abuse of boys: Frequency and descriptive characteristics of childhood victimizations reported by a national sample of male post-secondary students*. Kent, OH: Kent State University.
- Russell, D.E.H. (1986). *The secret trauma: Incest in the lives of girls and women*. New York: Basic Books.
- Stein, J., Golding, J., Siegel, J., Burnam, M.A. & Sorenson, S. (1988). Long-term psychological sequelae of child sexual abuse: The Los Angeles Epidemiologic Catchment Area Study. In G. Wyatt and G. Powell (eds.), *Lasting effects of child sexual abuse*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Urquiza, A.J. (1987). *The effects of childhood sexual abuse in an adult male population*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Washington, Seattle.

## Response to the Bauserman Critique

David A. Mrazek, MD, MRC Psych.

National Jewish Center  
for Immunology and Respiratory Medicine

Bauserman has reviewed my critique of the work of Theo Sandfort as well as a critique by Finkelhor and one by Masters and Johnson. Unfortunately, his review is based more on emotion than reason. Sandfort's study is methodologically weak based on inherent sample bias, demand characteristics of the questions, and unchecked bias of the interviewers. While generalizability of these results is acknowledged to be completely unwarranted, such generalizations are made despite the author's stated disclaimer. Sandfort reported that selected young boys did describe enjoying sex with adult men, but such an assertion could have been made based on a series of self reports. In some ways, this is a good way to describe this "study" which is the compilation of solicited testimonials. These points were all made succinctly in my original one page review of Sandfort's book and remain valid criticisms.

The ethical problems of this study are particularly disturbing. The basic question is whether appropriate human subject safeguards were a part of this research. This question must be addressed concretely in proposing any research in the U.S. Research involving children requires particularly scrupulous attention to human subjects concerns.

In this study, the researchers joined with the members of the National Pedophile Workshops to "study" the boys who were the sexual "partners" of its members. Both this study and the National

---

Correspondence may be addressed to Dr. David A. Mrazek, National Jewish Center for Immunology and Respiratory Medicine, 1400 Jackson Street, Denver, CO 80206.



Pedophile Workshops were financially supported by the Netherlands Association for Sexual Reform. There is no evidence that human subject safeguards were a paramount concern. However, there is ample evidence that the study was politically motivated to "reform" legislation. Specific risks that are not even acknowledged in the book include contracting sexually transmitted diseases, legal prosecution, and breached confidentiality leading to peer discrimination and family disruptions. These researchers knowingly colluded with the perpetuation of secret illegal activity. External review of their activities was minimal. Possible negative consequences of their course of action were minimized despite the reality that some of these boys were as young as eleven years of age. In the majority of cases, these boys' parents were unaware of these sexual activities with adult men, and the researchers contributed to this deception by their actions. These ethical concerns lead to the crux of the matter. Even if this study was methodologically sound, which it certainly is not, on moral grounds alone such "research" cannot be sanctioned.

Children are not developmentally prepared to enter into sexual relationships on an informed and equal basis with adults. It is a basic responsibility of society to protect children and foster their development. These children were not adequately protected.

---

## BOOK REVIEWS

---



**PAIDIKA: THE JOURNAL OF PAEDOPHILIA.** *A quarterly published in English in the Netherlands and available from Postbus 22630, 1100 DC Amsterdam-Z.O., The Netherlands. Vol. 1, No. 1, Summer 1987, and No. 2, Autumn, 1987. Hfl 95, 1 year, 25 per issue, 64 pp. per issue.*

This is a new journal aimed at examining paedophilia within cultural contexts, with special emphasis on the humanities, history, and the social sciences. The editors emphasize that no assumptions about the sexual orientation of any author can or should be made on the basis of the appearance of his or her work in *PAIDIKA*.

If the first two issues are examples of future issues, there is much that the scholar and researcher investigating the topic of paedophilia would find helpful. Obviously, underlying the editorial policy of the Journal is an emphasis on the helpful rather than the harmful aspects of what the editors define as consensual intergenerational sexual relationships. Thus, there is little discussion of "child sexual abuse" but selections and analyses by such writers and poets as Lewis Thomson, William Merode, and Nathaniel Parker Willis, who wrote about boy love. There is a discussion of *Alcibiades the School Boy*, the first paedophilic novel published in Italian in 1652. Also included is a discussion of the Dutch paedophile emancipation movement by Frits Bernard, as well as an English translation of his 1962 pamphlet on paedophilia.

Though articles of this kind are perhaps aimed more at the paedophilic readers than scholars and researchers, the insights they

provide can be valuable to the latter as well. At the same time, there are reports of research such as that of Monica Pieterse on Dutch paedophiles and a review of Theo Sandfort's research as it appears in the English translation of his book on boys and their contact with men.

Issue number 2 includes an outstanding article by Lawrence A. Stanley, a New York attorney, on "The Hysteria over Child Pornography and Paedophilia," which summarizes developments in the United States over the past decade. Stanley's article is an effective antidote to much of the hysteria about child pornography that still prevails in the United States.

If the Journal can keep up the present level and not turn into a journal only for paedophiles, it should be required reading for those interested in research and studying intergenerational sexual relationships. Researchers need to know and understand not only the negative aspects of such relationships, but need to gain a wider view of the paedophile than the usual clinical practice or the interview with the convicted paedophile will provide and this Journal gives that view.

Vern L. Bullough, PhD  
SUNY Distinguished Professor  
Dean of Natural & Social Sciences  
SUNY College at Buffalo

LOVING BOYS: A MULTIDISCIPLINARY STUDY OF SEXUAL RELATIONS BETWEEN ADULT AND MINOR MALES. VOLUME 1. Dr. Edward Brongersma. Introduction by Vern L. Bullough. New York: Global Academic Publishers, 1986, 335 pp.

*Loving Boys* is the culmination of a lifetime's work by a committed paedophile to convince the world that man-boy love is a universal, natural, and wonderful experience. Brongersma is well known in paedophile politics and is one of its most articulate spokespersons. He has been a member of the Dutch Parliament on and off since 1946, but his career was interrupted by an arrest in the 1950s

for sexual contact with a boy of 16. He went to prison. Subsequently he has spent much of his life traveling the world, writing about paedophilia, campaigning, and ultimately establishing the Brongersma Foundation, which houses a significant collection of paedophile literature (much of which is cited in this book). I first became aware of him when the (now defunct) English paedophile group Paedophile Information Exchange tried to arrange a meeting at which this senior Dutch parliamentarian (knighted into the Order of the Dutch Lion in 1975) was to speak. The meeting was boycotted by the trade unions, slandered by the media, and ultimately canceled. Brongersma could not speak and was shocked by the puritanical moralism of the British.

In Holland the climate seems much freer—free enough for a senior and respected figure to be an 'out' paedophile. With his extensive knowledge, he makes an ideal advocate.

*Loving Boys* comes in two large volumes. The first deals mainly with the "adult lovers" and "the boys," while a second (still awaiting publication) treats the problem of sexual oppression and the possible negative aspects of man-boy relations. The first volume contains only three chapters: a short one that deals with the purposes of sex, and two longer ones that deal with "Adult Lovers" and "Boys and their sexuality."

The main thrust of his first chapter is to minimize the role of procreation in sex—it is "the most animal-like and the least human" function (p. 24)—and to highlight the importance of sex as an expression of emotion, pleasure and as a "Surrender to the Forces of Nature." Having shown this, he can go on to suggest that:

a boy is mature for lust, for hedonistic sex, from his birth on; sex as an expression of love becomes a possibility from about five years of age; puberty is the best time for the "oceanic," the mystic experience and for using sex to unite one with nature. Procreation should be the privilege of the adult man. (p. 40)

The tone is immediately set: natural, lusty, pleasure-seeking, sex-loving boys are everywhere to be found. Well over half the book is given over to the celebration of boys' sexuality—tracing their physiological and psychological maturation; their penis size, ejacula-

tions and wet dreams; their initiation rites, and their sexual outlets. In all of this Brongersma is ever-positive about the boys' sexuality and cites a pornutopia of case studies of the boys' enjoyment.

The other central chapter of the book deals with the adult lovers. After a brief discussion of the range of adult-child love (nearly six pages, for instance, are devoted to woman-boy love!), the male boy lover becomes the prime focus. The author is at great pains to separate the genuine boy lover from the sexual psychopaths (like Dean Wayne Corll), who so frequently litter the social science literature; and also to stress that there are no "essential characteristic qualities which distinguish them from those about them save the predominance of children as objects of their erotic feelings" (p. 108). Only a few pages later, however, he is suggesting they are more youthful, less aggressive, etc.

In this chapter and throughout Brongersma's encyclopedic knowledge of different cultures, languages, and the social science literature enables him to provide a multitude of case studies and references from all over the world and throughout history, making this an extremely valuable source book.

Most "social science" can usefully be viewed as a form of rhetoric that exists to persuade, cajole or convert readers. This is not always immediately apparent in the case of both those who engage in elegant abstract theorizing or meticulous methodological research; but in the case of a book like this, the function of rhetoric is manifest. He employs a number of well-worn strategies. For example, there is the strategy of *universalization*: "everywhere and at all times on earth there has existed a special bond between man and boys, and like every other deep human relationship it strives for physical expression" (p. 67). To prove his point, the text is scattered with historical and cross cultural allusions: from boy temple prostitutes in the African *Hereros* to pre-revolutionary China where "boy-love was prevalent everywhere" (p. 86). Another strategy Brongersma employs is that of *naturalization*: sex is natural, boy-sex is natural, man-boy sex is natural. Biologically induced, it craves for release and satisfaction. Then there is the strategy of *normalization*: there is nothing odd about boy lovers, who are everywhere to be found. And, of course, there is nothing odd about child sex either.

It is clear, then, that this book is unapologetically partisan. Per-

sonally, I find its atheoretical essentialism an irritation; the phenomena lumped together here are not the same. Likewise his celebration of boys is overly romantic. Nevertheless, since most of the books that pass as "science" in this field are equally biased—in the opposite direction—this study could valuably redress the balance a little. The question is, will it? The scares over "child sexual abuse" that have swept both North America and the United Kingdom in recent years have also created a monopoly of thought and language in which books like this will scarcely find a hearing. Boys want sex with men, boys seduce adult men, the experience is very common and much enjoyed—these ideas are utter heresies to the new children's crusaders who can only see evil. Vern Bullough, writing in the introduction to the volume, suggests it might be seen as a "lawyer's brief"—but it would, I think, be a brave lawyer who used some of these arguments in public.

This is an important and controversial book to have around. But in the end, I fear it will only be read by those who already know and approve of its argument. Those who most need to understand this alternative position will simply ignore or condemn it.

Ken Plummer, PhD  
University of Essex  
England

BOYS ON THEIR CONTACTS WITH MEN: A STUDY OF SEXUALLY EXPRESSED FRIENDSHIPS. Theo Sandfort. Introduction by John Money. Elmhurst, NY: Global Academic Publishers, 1987, 173 pp.

In this day of rising anxieties over the possible traumas resulting from "child sexual abuse," Sandfort runs against the tide. In 1981 he published *The Sexual Aspect of Paedophile Relations* which was generally savaged by American reviewers. In spite of the fact that the original Dutch edition had been published by the Sociological Institute of Utrecht University, and was a dispassionate report of scholarly findings, Sandfort's conclusion that the 25 boys he had



studied had not been traumatized by their experience with adults apparently so upset most of his American reviewers that they tried to kill the messenger rather than examine the message.

Undaunted, Sandfort has written a second study, minus the tables and scholarly apparatus of the first, reporting in detail the responses of the boys to the questions he had asked. These answers are grouped around a series of questions, although three interviews are printed in full in the appendix.

Sandfort found his subjects through their adult partners and this meant they were, for the most part, still in active relationships when he interviewed them. Though Sandfort is the first to state that their attitudes about the relationship might change over time, he found the relationship at the time of the interview to be significant to the boys, all but one of whom were under 16. Sandfort asked such questions as the meaning of the relationship to the boys, how the relationship was established, what kind of sexual activities the boys engaged in, what they spent their time doing when with their adult partners, and similar questions which give us the kind of information which usually does not appear in studies of intergenerational sexual partnerships. Contrary to public opinion, the youths were not enticed into such relationships by adults offering candy, but knew the adults before they had sexual relationships, and, in fact, the youth often took the initiative in pursuing the relationship. Most of the boys, if not all, seemed to understand quite clearly what might be involved before they entered into the relationship. Usually, Sandfort found, the boy was in a position of power in the relationship, indicating what was and was not permitted. In only a few cases was there penetration, then in all but one case by the boy. The relationship involved mostly mutual masturbation or oral genital contact. In the latter case it was almost always the adult male who performed the oral part of the sex act. Sandfort found the relationship to be a learning experience for most of the boys, perhaps because the men came from a higher social class. Boys were able to do things which they might not have been able to do such as learning to draw, and they found the dialogues with the adults interesting and helpful.

The majority of the boys reported that they had good relationships with their parents but usually kept their sexual activities secret

from them. All of the sexual activity carried out by the boys with adults was illegal under the law of The Netherlands. Sandfort's reporting is objective and dispassionate until he comes to the question of legal change. He argues that young people should be protected from sexual abuse, but he would also like the law to allow young people who want to engage in sex with adults to be able to do so. I am not certain what he means unless he means keeping the age of consent at 16 but enforcing it only when children or parents complain. This raises issues which Sandfort does not discuss. Obviously, young people mature at different rates and have different needs and desires, but I remain uncertain how society should deal with that. Sandfort also devotes a chapter to power differences between adults and children and the possible abuse of power, and though I do not agree with it entirely, it does raise interesting questions.

In sum, the book is an important piece of research and raises question which Americans, perhaps when they get over their hysteria about child abuse, should examine. In the meantime, we can only be thankful that the Dutch system allows a much more dispassionate look at the questions than we presently get in the United States. What is needed is a great deal more research on the topic.

Vern L. Bullough, PhD  
SUNY Distinguished Professor  
Dean of Natural & Social Sciences  
SUNY College at Buffalo

#### NOTE

1. Sandfort, T. (1981), *The Sexual Aspect of Paedophile Relations*. Amsterdam: Pan/Spartacus. This is a translation of *Het seksuele aspekt van pedofiele relaties*, 1981. Utrecht: Sociologisch Instituut, University of Utrecht.

# Boy-Lovers and Their Influence on Boys: Distorted Research and Anecdotal Observations

Edward Brongersma, JD

Brongersma Foundation

**SUMMARY.** A wide experience with boy-lovers has convinced the author that one can often learn more about them from reading some excellent novels than from so-called scientific studies. All too often research is unreliable because (1) it assumes pedosexual activity is a positive indicator of pedophilia; (2) no distinction is drawn between pseudo-pedophiles and real pedophiles; (3) no difference is recognized between boys and girls as partners; and (4) it is highly distorted by bias. Representative samples for research cannot be drawn from members of boy-love organizations. The incidence of violence is very low in pedophile contacts with boys. The influence can be strong in lasting relationships; it can be either wholesome or unwholesome. Within a relationship, sex is usually only a secondary element, although it can be important in sexual instruction and education. The impact of the law, the hostility of parents and the problem of the partners' inequality are discussed.

## *SOURCES OF KNOWLEDGE*

The influence a man may have on a boy in a man/boy-relationship is a difficult subject to broach: empirical research is conspicu-

---

Dr. Edward Brongersma, a lawyer, was Principal Scientific Officer at the Criminological Institute of University of Utrecht, and for over 18 years was a Member of the Senate (Upper House of the Netherlands States General), where he was Chairman of the Permanent Committee for Justice. In 1979 he founded Brongersma Foundation for research into the sexuality of youth. Correspondence should be addressed to Dr. E. Brongersma, Tetterodeweg 1, 2051 EE Overveen, Netherlands.

ous by its virtual absence and theory has been highly distorted by social prejudice and the seeming inability of most investigators to make proper distinctions. Thus an outsider who wishes to gain some insight into what really happens in a sexually expressed relationship between a man and a boy has very little to go on. This paper, then, can pretend to do little more than clear the path of a few obstacles which will be faced in later scientific research; of necessity it must remain somewhat anecdotal.

The author himself has met over 500 boy-lovers of 17 different nationalities over the past 35 years. He met only a small minority of them in his official role as counsel for defense in criminal trials. In most cases the contact was on an informal, even footing in his own home or visiting them in their homes, which is certainly an advantage when one is trying to gain an accurate impression of a human phenomenon. Included among these boy-lovers were members of virtually all the professions, and also men who lived on a very modest social level. In addition, the author had the opportunity to interview 45 adolescents and young men and ask them questions about the intimate details of their sex lives. Most, during their childhood and teenage years, had had sexual contacts with adult men, either on a casual basis or within a more lasting relationship.

In all these meetings, conversations and interviews, including letters exchanged before and after, there was little that confirms the image developed in the scientific (or pseudo-scientific) literature on pedophilia. Most papers and books on the subject—the work of Pieterse (1982) and Sandfort (1982) are notable exceptions—seem to have been born in another world where laboratory and theory remain aloof from living reality. In this difficult area of human interaction, fiction writers, with their unique ability to identify with their characters, have often been more successful in giving us an accurate picture than the men of science. By reading books like those of Michael Davidson, Alan Edward, Isabelle Holland, Iris Murdoch, Fritz Peters, Jean-Michel Prigny, Christiane Rochefort, Angus Stewart and Gerald Tesch (listed in the references)—to mention only a few—the intelligent non-pedophile may get a better impression of what goes on, for good or evil, during intimate man/boy-relations than by studying a large number of academic treatises.

## INADEQUATE RESEARCH

It is inherent in intimate human relations that both partners can exercise a profound influence upon each other. Where the status of the partners is very unequal, as in any relationship between an adult and a much younger person, people tend to attach special importance to the influence which the older, who is perceived as being the most powerful, has over the younger. To judge what might be the benefits or the dark sides of such a relationship it is essential to know more about "the" boy-lover. Is it true that he has special characteristics, and, if so, what are they?

Up until now, however, research has conspicuously failed to answer this question. It is important to understand why it failed and how it failed in order to discover why and how the public image of the boy-lover, and the influence he is supposed to have upon the boy, has become so amazingly distorted. I will first consider the errors which have been made in research and examine what effects they have had on how people judge the boy-lover's impact on his young friends.

### FIRST SOURCE OF ERROR: SEXUAL ACTIVITY AS THE DECISIVE TEST

The first error is using sexual activity as the decisive indicator of sexual preference. It is the same error which permeated older studies of homosexuality. "Pedophiles" were sought among inmates in psychiatric hospitals and people sentenced by the courts. Everyone who had committed an "indecent assault" upon a minor was labelled "pedophile," just as in the past everyone who had had intercourse with a partner of his own sex was called "homosexual" (Bullough, 1979; Taylor, 1981; West, 1977). Implicit is the assumption that sexual behavior is always indicative of sexual desire: in other words, a pedophile act rather than the configuration of a man's erotic appetite defines him as a pedophile. Sexologically this is an untenable simplification.

There were periods in the past of our own cultural heritage, such as Greek antiquity (Buffière, 1980; Dover, 1978; Foucault, 1984; Patzer, 1982) and today in certain other cultures (Bleibtreu-Ehren-



berg, 1980; Cline, 1936; Herdt, 1981 & 1982) when it was or where it is considered normal for adult males to have sexual relations with boys. This shows that sexual attraction to youthful individuals of his own sex is present to a greater or lesser degree in every human male, and this makes it possible for every man to have sex with a handsome boy. As Geiser (1979), puts it, "Surprising as it may seem, otherwise normal adult males who work with young boys can often, quite inexplicably, find themselves becoming sexually aroused." We should "face the fact that quite normal men can be aroused sexually by young boys. That they are is not evidence of homosexuality, but may even be evidence of their humanness and sensitivity" (pp. 93-94).

As boys physically have certain things in common with women (the smooth skin, the red lips and rosy cheeks, the rounded forms, the brilliant hair), adult heterophile men, when no women or girls are available, will tend to find greater sexual satisfactions with a substitute boy than with a substitute man. The non-availability of females can be for either internal or external reasons. Externally: females are not to be found in certain social settings and institutions, and so we see predominantly heterophile men satisfying themselves from sheer necessity with boys on ships, on scientific expeditions into wilderness areas or in prisons, and then, once back home, resuming their contacts with females. Internally: some males because of personality peculiarities are abnormally unable to establish intimate contact with the adult partners they would prefer. They may turn to children because these are more easily approached and less exacting in the sexual area than an adult woman or man would be. Thus a man might have sexual contacts with a boy even though his ideal erotic mate would be an adult. We should best call such a man a pseudo-pedophile in order to distinguish him from real pedophiles, i.e., adults having a pronounced and conscious dominating sexual preference for boys and/or girls.

Sexual activity with a minor (pedosexuality) tells us little in itself about a man. Pedosexuality is hardly an infallible indicator of pedophilia, a term which should only be applied to persons for whom children are the most important elicitors of sexual arousal. Among true pedophiles, then, are individuals having frequent and extensive sexual relations with children, and others who for one reason or

another never touch a child and so avoid being labelled as a pedophile (Pieterse, 1982).

In their detailed investigation of a large number of male sexual delinquents incarcerated in American prisons, Gebhard et al., found very few pedophiles among those sentenced for offenses with children. Among 244 males found guilty of sexual activities with children under twelve, only two declared they really preferred a partner this young. Among 269 males found guilty of sexual activities with children from 12 to 15 years, only 17 declared they preferred a partner in this age bracket. Gebhard and his co-workers conclude that the problem "is not so much one of a predilection for youth as it is one of lack of discrimination against youth" (1965, p. 66, p. 681).

One could raise the objection that the study dealt with prisoners, and prisoners are subject to greater than normal temptations to give the "socially desirable answer." But considering the number of cases in which Gebhard's subjects admitted having committed other crimes which had gone undetected, or in which subjects not serving sentences for crimes against children admitted feeling sexual attraction to children, it seems unlikely that the pressures to give "socially desirable answers" distorted these remarkable figures enough to invalidate them.

The problem of the "socially desirable answer" was avoided by the sociologist Charles H. McCaghy (1967) whose sample consisted of 181 males convicted of "child molesting" in the state of Wisconsin. He categorized his subjects "measured by the range of interaction which adults had with children: the extent to which their life patterns were occupied by contacts with children"—that is, through occupational and leisure time activities, etc. By doing so he established substantial differences between those in the group where social contacts with children were frequent and enriching and those in other categories. The men who had many social contacts never used any form of coercion to obtain sex: a non-sexual relationship usually preceded the sexual activities which were usually restricted to active fondling of the genitals. These were the men whose lives were deeply interwoven with those of children: in other words, they were the pedophiles.

The important distinction between pedophiles and pseudo-pe-

dophiles was not made until a few decades ago, but today it is stressed by most researchers in the field: Albrecht (1964), Baurmann (1983), Bendig (1979), Crawford (1981), Fisch (1971), Freund (1981), Gagnon and Simon (1970), Gebhard (1965), Geiser (1979), Haeberle (1978), Hart de Ruyter (1976), Howells (1980), Kerscher (1978), McCaghy (1967), Möller (1983), Newton (1978), O'Carroll (1980), Pieterse (1982), Righton (1981), Rouweler-Wuts (1976), Sandfort (1980), Schillemans (1983), Schorsch (1973), Sengers (1970), Socarides (1954), Swanson (1968), West (1980), Wyss (1967), Yaffé (1981), Zeegers (1977). Groth (1978) makes a similar distinction but blurs the issue by defining those with a sexual preference for children as "fixated pedophiles" and pseudo-pedophiles as "regressed pedophiles."

#### **TRYING TO AVOID THE ERROR: SAMPLES OF PEDOPHILES**

An opportunity to carry out investigations using samples consisting entirely of true pedophiles seemed to arise in the early 1970s when pedophiles in various countries started to form pedophile organizations and come out into the open. Pioneer work was done by Dutch psychologist Frits Bernard who in 1973 distributed a printed questionnaire during an international symposium and continued to repeat this procedure at subsequent meetings. Rouweler-Wuts (1976) and Pieterse (1982) also distributed different kinds of questionnaire among members of Dutch pedophile work groups and their acquaintances. In England the Paedophile Information Exchange (PIE) carried out a "Survey of Members," and in France Léonard des Sables made an enquiry among boy-loving members of Arcadie, a male homophile group (published 1976-1977). In Belgium the Centre de Recherche et d'Information sur l'Enfance et la Sexualité distributed in 1984 a questionnaire among 300 subscribers to its monthly magazine and a French gay weekly magazine, as well as their acquaintances. All the groups mentioned here, as well as the German DSAP and AKP, the Swiss SAP and the American NAMBLA, are made up, almost without exception, of male boy-lovers. Pieterse's sample was less one-sided, but even here 79% of her subjects were drawn to boys exclusively. It seems that women

are less interested in legalizing pedosexual contacts than men and therefore less inclined to join such groups.

But even for male boy-lovers these associations are not totally representative. People fighting against discrimination and for the abolition of laws directed against their activities are not average citizens. Moreover, the man who has a great deal to lose if his essential erotic tendencies are discovered will be reluctant to join such a group, and will be even less inclined to show up at its meetings. Fear of discovery, however, sharply diminishes after one's cover has disappeared upon police arrest. Studying the members of a pedophile association (a selection) having the courage to present themselves at a meeting (a selection of this selection), Bernard (1979) found—no wonder!—an extremely high percentage (54%) who had been convicted in a court of law.

In their introduction to their report on male sexuality, Pietropinto and Simenauer (1979) share the view of Alexander Pope that the proper study of man is man: he who wants to study mankind should go to common man, not just to psychiatric patients, to members of specific organizations or to people who write letters to him. Weinberg's statement (quoted in Levine, 1980) that public stigmatization makes it impossible to compose a representative sample of homophiles is even more applicable to pedophiles, living as they do under a far heavier burden of stigmatization. Taylor (1981) points out that one simply cannot generalize from a sample taken from a pedophile work group. The several research studies mentioned here may have taught us something about the membership of pedophile organizations but little about pedophiles.

#### **SECOND SOURCE OF ERROR: MINGLING BOY-LOVERS AND GIRL-LOVERS**

It wasn't just the impossibility of obtaining a really representative sample of boy-lovers which mitigated against the work of professional researchers: in most studies *everyone* who had sex with children was regarded as belonging to one homogeneous group in which no distinction was drawn between those mainly attracted to girls and those mainly attracted to boys.

The reactions of boys to sexual approach by an adult are strik-



ingly different from those of girls. Boys are less inclined than girls to talk to their parents about their sexual adventures with grown-ups (Landis, 1956; Rennert, 1965). Boys tend to take the initiative in such acts more often than girls (Churchill, 1967; Gebhard et al., 1965; Giese, 1964; Reiss, 1967; Wyss, 1967). They are less likely to reject advances by an adult and more likely to cooperate in any sexual acts which ensue (Gerbener, 1966). Boys are more receptive to advances made by strangers (Gebhard et al., 1965). They are more interested than girls in sexual activities and seem to be much more open to involving themselves sexually with an adult partner. Thus it is hardly coincidental that violence in sexual contacts between men and boys is quite exceptional, while it is a frequent occurrence in sexual acts between men and girls (Gebhard et al., 1965; Jersild, 1964; Landis, 1956; Rennert, 1965).

This may largely explain the findings of Baurmann (1983) who studied all 8058 cases which came to the attention of the police in the German state of Lower Saxony during 1969-1972 in which females below the age of 20 and males below the age of 14 were sexual "victims." Six to ten years after the event he made an additional follow-up study of a random selection of these victims. He found that while a number of the females had sustained a greater or lesser degree of injury, in not one single case injury could be detected in the males.

Conclusions based on studying sex between men and girls should never be applied to sex between men and boys. Research concerning pedophiles which mixes the two categories together is quite simply unacceptable.

### THIRD SOURCE OF ERROR: BIAS

Many investigations are conspicuously distorted by researcher bias. In labelling the sexual activity "abuse," "offense," "indecent assault," "molestation" or "rape"; calling the adult partner "actor," "perpetrator," "delinquent," "offender," "criminal," "abuser" or "molester," and the child "victim," authors betray the fact that they are operating upon premises which have yet to be proven.

We might justly ask what is the reason for this absurd violation of

one of the first principles of scientific investigation: to remain objective. Herek (1984, p. 45) quotes Ferenczi, Marmor, Cory, MacDonald and Weinberg as authorities for "the often-advanced hypothesis that many people are hostile toward homosexuals because they fear their own unarticulated homoerotic impulses." The research of such sexologists as Stekel (1922), Gordon (1978), Geiser (1979), Schorsch (1973) and Freund (1981) led them to believe that sexual attraction to children is a universal phenomenon, and—as we have already observed—the existence of cultures where every adult man is supposed to have sex with boys (Ancient Greece, Siwa, Keraki, Big Namba, New Guinea) suggests that sexual attraction to boys is more or less present in every human male. But as this tendency collides so strongly with the standards of sexual morality which for centuries have dominated Western culture, it is of course, in most males energetically suppressed and denied. Utilizing the above hypothesis concerning homophobia, we might suggest that many people—quite apart from their concern over boys' mental and moral health—exhibit such violently emotional hostility toward boy-lovers because they fear their own unarticulated pedophile impulses.

In a number of countries (including many states in the USA) every sexual activity with a minor under the age of consent is, in the language of the law, "rape" because the minor is considered unable to give a legally valid consent. Blindly following such legal niceties of terminology hardly contributes to scientific knowledge. Moreover, a number of very important questions are evaded: (a) to what extent are these minors really unable to "give consent" and how does the validity of their consent differ with age? (b) is there a difference between a man who scrupulously limits himself to those intimate acts which the minor evidently enjoys and eagerly requests and the man who selfishly, even violently, pursues the satisfaction of his lusts upon an obviously unwilling minor?

### ABSENCE OF VIOLENCE

While professional research has contributed little to our knowledge of boy-lovers, we have learned a bit more about their sexual relations with boys. First of all, as we have already seen, the use of



violence is exceptional. In the case of real sexual abuse it makes little difference to the victim, compelled to submit by violence, threats or abuse of authority, whether the offender is a pedophile or a pseudo-pedophile. But if violence is a common complaint in man-girl relations, it is much rarer with boys.

This can clearly be seen in court statistics. One should always keep in mind when examining these figures that they apply to only a minuscule sample of adult-minor sexual acts which take place day in, day out in our society. Brongersma (1971 and 1975) and des Sables (1977), using quite different methods of calculation, independently arrived at an identical estimate: one unlawful sexual act with a minor in three thousand is discovered, tried and results in a sentence: the rest are "dark numbers." Since instances in which violence takes place are more likely to lead to a complaint being lodged with the police and to detection, there will always be more violence among reported cases than in these which go undetected.

Gebhard et al., studying 888 male sexual offenders sentenced to prison terms (including 232 imprisoned for sexual contacts with boys 0-15 years of age), drew a distinction among heterosexual offenders between "aggressors" and non-violent men. Force and threat, however, proved to be "minimal in homosexual offenses and accordingly has not been made the basis for separate categories" (1976, p. 45, p. 272). Baurmann, studying cases of illegal sexual activities involving 8058 minors (including 877 boys under the age of 14), writes, "Boys rarely experience sexual violence" (1983, p. 157, p. 221). He suggests that the reason for this may be that boys approached sexually by a man tend to behave passively or even compliantly, while girls are much more inclined to reject such advances (1983, p. 322, p. 430). Wolters (1982) also stressed the fact that sexual aggression against boys is rare. The statistics upon which these conclusions are based do not differentiate between pseudo-pedophiles and pedophile actors, but on this point there is little need to differentiate, as it may be assumed that all sexual aggression is traumatizing and nefarious.

The argument put forward by some authors (for example Sonenschein, 1983) that a real pedophile never will use violence because he loves children is not valid. Individuals such as Haarmann (Lessing, 1925), Corrl (Gurwell, 1974; Olsen, 1974), Bartsch (Föster,

1984) and other sadistic torturers and mass murderers of boys were certainly pedophiles according to the definition adopted here, since they preferred sexual contacts with young males. The same can be said about some pedagogues advocating severe discipline in education: they are at least suspect.

The difference between pseudo-pedophiles and pedophiles becomes important when we consider their respective ways of approaching boys or reacting to sexual advances from boys. We have seen that it is impossible to claim that all cases of sexual violence and brutal treatment must be ascribed to pseudo-pedophiles, that pedophiles are always gentle and tactful. We can easily imagine instances of a boy being better off with a kind-hearted pseudo-pedophile than with a coarse and dominating pedophile. But on the whole there is more risk for him with a pseudo-pedophile who takes the boy only as a second-best solution for the satisfaction of sexual desires mainly directed toward women. Baurmann concluded from his research that "most pedophiles behave strikingly gently and tenderly with children: they try to establish a mutual relationship with them, to act like children when they are with them." And he quotes Schorsch: "The pedophile wants to introduce himself to the boy's world as an equal, a participant, to be as a boy is, to feel as boys feel. Thus with these pedophiles we will almost never find them using aggression. Aggressive activities are much more frequent in substitutive sexual contacts with children. The group of sexual delinquents ( . . . ) who abuse children for sexually substitutive activities seems to have little in common with the group of pedophiles and more in common with rapists" (1983, p. 304).

### DIFFERENCE IN SEXUAL PRACTICES

In the context of the pedophile's desire "to be as a boy is, to feel as boys feel," it should be noted that the sexual contacts, especially with younger children, will mostly "resemble the sexual behaviour that goes on between children" (West 1977, p. 214). Intimacies with small boys are mainly limited to those activities which Mohr and Turner (1967) described as "pregenital sex play such as looking, showing, touching, kissing and fondling." After some time masturbation will be added to the pregenital play. There is almost

no question of the boy acting as insertee in oral or anal intercourse, unless, (1) he has grown bigger and older, (2) he has a longer lasting steady relationship with the man and (3) he insists on these practices himself. With a stranger, in casual meetings, a boy will rarely want to go so far and he habitually limits the play to touching of his naked body or being masturbated or fellated by the older partner (Baurmann, 1983; Gerbener, 1966; Ingram, 1979; Landis, 1956; McCaghy, 1971; Potrykus and Wöbcke, 1974; Righton, 1981).

This stresses the importance of differentiating between casual meetings and longer lasting relationships. It may be supposed that the casual meeting will be sought more by the pseudo-pedophile with his lesser interest in the boy as such, while steady relationships will be more congenial to pedophile boy-lovers.

Rouweler-Wuts (1976), approaching the phenomenon from the standpoint of a social worker, questioned 60 pedophiles. She quotes Plaut to make the point that the majority of girl-lovers have casual, passing contacts whereas boy-lovers work harder to achieve long lasting relationships. In a later investigation (N = 148) Pieterse (1982) found that half of her respondents expressed the desire for extended friendships, and where they succeeded the average duration was as long as 33 months. There are two factors which tend to work against longevity, however: (1) society's rejection of man-boy contacts makes a steady relationship more difficult and more dangerous than casual secret meetings with strangers; (2) since boyhood is a transitional phase of life, the erotic attraction fades away as adulthood is approached.

### CASUAL CONTACTS

The impact upon the boy of a casual contact is, of course, different from the effect of a long lasting relationship. For a number of boys the casual meeting may be the kind best adapted to their stage of evolution. Hart de Ruyter (1976) writes that from a boy who, during the course of his adolescent development, has not yet attained a degree of self-assurance, we can expect little more than attempts at sexual intercourse and a direct discharge of impulses. He cites anthropological evidence that in many cultures which live

in closer harmony with nature a period of promiscuity precedes marriage. Kentler (1970), in his book on sexual pedagogy, makes a similar observation, adding that the casual, short-lived sexual liaisons prevalent among some groups of Western youth seem to him age-appropriate.

To demand that a boy make his first sexual contact a declaration of love is asking perfection of a beginner. For him it will rather be a matter of hygiene, of exercising a new bodily function, of getting rid of physical tension. It is a first step forward from masturbation.

Some boys emphatically do not want to move beyond the casual contact. An Austrian pedophile told me he once got to know a 14-year-old boy at a swimming pool in Vienna. They had sex on several occasions and slowly the man found himself falling in love with the boy. And so one day he invited him to the movies, to be followed by a good meal at a restaurant. But the boy flatly refused. "Oh, no. I don't want any of that. I come here to get fucked and nothing else!" Erskine Lane (1978) relates a most curious adventure in the same vein with a Guatemalan boy.

Where it is adapted to the boy's phase of development, the casual meeting may mostly pass by as an incident of little importance, a variation on the routine of masturbation. Thrusted without tact upon an unprepared boy, we might suppose it could shock him profoundly and permanently, but research concerning the lasting traumatic effects of sexual confrontations with adults does not support this hypothesis (Bender and Grugett, 1952 quoted by O'Carroll, 1980; Landis, 1956; Brunold, 1962; Lempp, 1968; Bernard, 1979; Corstjens, 1975; Ingram, 1977; Burton, 1968; Baurmann, 1983). On the other hand, in some cases the casual sexual meeting is remembered by the boy as a very positive experience, affirming his personal worth.

A Swedish man in his forties told me about an unforgettable incident which happened to him when he was eleven. One day during his summer holidays he met a man sunning himself on the side of a swimming pool. They began to play-wrestle with each other; both got erections which each could feel inside the other's trunks. "Wouldn't it be nice to do this completely naked?" the man asked. The boy enthusiastically agreed and eagerly accompanied the man to his home, where they continued their wrestling games, this time



on the man's bed and without their swimming suits. Suddenly the man hugged him very tightly in his arms, thrust with his hips, moaned with pleasure and sperm spurted out of his penis. "I can still remember," my informant told me thirty years later, "how I ran home skipping and singing, enormously proud and happy that my little body could elicit such a strong passion in a grown-up."

In their book of sexual information for adolescents, the New Zealand authors Felicity Tuohy and Michael Murphy (1976) quote the words of a boy who, at a birthday party for one of his teachers, got talking with a man who seemed to have an erotic interest in him. "He gave me his name and address and said, 'Ring me.' I rang him Sunday night and he told me to come in and meet him at his flat in town. I went in about eleven o'clock in the morning. We got into bed and he screwed me and then let me screw him. He was so good. He treated me so well and he was really good at screwing. It was an incredible thing for me because at home everyone was hostile to each other and at school I had no friends. Here was this guy showing me kindness and gentleness and it was an amazing experience. I went back Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and that was the last week of the school holidays. Then I went back to school and never saw him again" (p. 212).

Wilson (1982) talked with an adult Australian who, as a boy of fifteen, was taken for a drive by Clarence Osborne and masturbated by him. "I enjoyed talking to him and I enjoyed the sex as well. He's the only man I've ever had a relationship with before or since. As you know I am married now with two kids, but at times I still think back to when he did those things to me and get excited by the thought of it. All I know is that I wanted some sex then and I got it, even though before I could never have imagined myself having it off with another guy, let alone a man who was about thirty years older than myself" (pp. 39-40).

### LASTING RELATIONSHIPS

Whatever the impact of such casual meetings upon the boy's developing sexuality and his self-image, it is only through a more lasting relationship that the "pedagogical eros" can come into play and so influence his character and behavior. It has long been recog-

nized that during those years when a boy's character is forming and he is developing a personal philosophy of life and his attitudes toward society and humanity, a close, warm friendship with one or more adults can be of great importance. If physical intimacy occurs as well the influence of that adult can be even greater, for it is just then that the boy's body and its capabilities are of paramount importance to him.

An educator interviewed by Sandfort (1984) said that boys of fourteen and fifteen are preoccupied with sex the whole day through. The same observation was made by an Austrian teacher (Archives of the Brongersma Foundation). The mystery with which our society cloaks sex leaves boys with many questions unanswered and important problems, some amounting to obsessions, unsolved (De Boer, 1978 & 1979; Hass, 1979; Sorensen, 1973). Kerscher (1977) attributes a high percentage of adolescent suicides to inadequate sexual information, or no information at all. While the popular press and professional literature ignites scandals around the theme of child victims supposedly sacrificed to the sexual lusts of men, we would do better to turn our attention to the enormous number of children who are more or less permanently traumatized by and sacrificed to sexophobia. Parents and teachers are often unable to discuss sex with children as a result of their own upbringing and many teachers are prohibited from doing so by law. In this connection, as Krist (1976) pointed out, shared intimacies with an adult, a shared delight in resolving fascinating physical tensions, initiation into a whole new level of existence—all become deeply significant to the boy. Here is a grown-up who is not only willing to discuss sexual problems with him and answer honestly all his questions but who also reveals and shares with him his own sexual desires. In giving confidence he evokes confidence.

The powerful influence which an adult may thus acquire is in itself neither good nor bad: it all depends upon what he does with it. Adults have a greater capacity than children for good as well as for evil (O'Carroll, 1980).

*For evil:* In the archives of the Brongersma Foundation there is a set of notebooks in which a 30-year-old man kept a careful record of shoplifting committed by him and his 13-year-old friend. In the man's mind these thefts solidified and proved the boy's affection,



their close alliance, their mutual love of adventure, their cleverness and courage. Thus he encouraged the boy in his share of the criminality. The total value of the goods stolen over the course of two years was substantial. When they were eventually caught the court, quite rightly, blamed the man for his role in recruiting the youngster into crime. Other instances of evil are men binding boys to them by providing them with drugs, spoiling them by excessive gifts or luxuries, keeping them from their work, isolating them from their peers.

*For good:* Rossman (1976) gives several examples of social workers achieving miracles with apparently incorrigible young delinquents—not by preaching to them but by sleeping with them. Affection demonstrated by sexual arousal upon contact with the boy's body, by obvious pleasure taken in giving pleasure to the boy, did far more good than years in reformatories. A French author with close contacts with gang adolescents in Paris, Jacques de Brethmas, wrote, "Show me the juvenile judges or pedagogues who have managed to disengage boys from criminal gangs, made them willingly throw away their stilettos, as have many men labelled 'molesters' and 'moral corruptors' by society!" (1980, p. 42).

There are judges who admit the truth in such assertions. Amsterdam juvenile judge Cnoop Koopmans openly advocated this form of social therapy in a public speech (1982). I personally know of cases brought before this man. In one, a boy who had been arrested several times for shoplifting, who had been a terror at home and a failure in school, suddenly turned over a new leaf, gave up crime, started getting good marks at school and became a national champion in his favorite sport. All of this occurred after a boy-lover had been asked officially to take care of him. Their friendship survived the termination of its erotic aspect and, with the boy now an adult, continues today.

Likewise, in Berlin a test program was instituted in which young delinquents were put under the supervision of boy-lovers. The results were totally successful, but unfortunately the fear of public reaction soon closed the program down (Schult, 1982).

The French poet Paul Verlaine told of his love for working-class boys, and this is a preference which is rather frequently encountered (Abraham, 1969; d'Arch Smith, 1970; Barrington, 1981; Oskamp,

1980; Tripp, 1975). If the man takes pleasure in sharing his enthusiasms with his young lover, the boy himself may develop interests in culture, science and technology, learn to appreciate good music and art and so receive a kind of supplemental education he never would have got at school or in his parental home.

### IMPORTANCE OF SEX

Where a lasting relationship has been established between a man and a boy it would be wrong to assume it exists only for its sexual pleasures. The investigations of Rouweler-Wuts (1976) among adult pedophiles, of Sandfort (1979 & 1982) among boy-lovers and their boys, as well as documents in the Brongersma Foundation and my own experience, demonstrate that neither for the older nor for the younger partner is sex usually the most important aspect of their friendship. For some men and boys it is a very important element; for virtually none is it the *most* important. Among the pedophile subjects of Rouweler-Wuts ( $N = 60$ ), 86% felt that friendship with a boy was more important than having sex with him, while only 11% thought sex more important; 73% had had friendships without wanting to introduce sex into them; 19% said, for them, this was impossible. Only 5% said they would definitely terminate a relationship if the boy refused further sexual contacts; 81% said they definitely would not, while 14% were uncertain (Rouweler-Wuts, 1979, pp. 94-95).

One of my correspondents put it this way: "If I had to choose between a steady friendship without any sex and casual sex with a beautiful boy I would not hesitate a second before choosing the former." Rouweler-Wuts described the meaning of the relationship as "fostering the character development of the child, accompanying the child on his way to adulthood, improving his social skills, his financial conditions and his physical development" (1976, p. 60).

### BOY-LOVE EMANCIPATION

"Accompanying the child on his way to adulthood" assumes great importance during those years when he is liberating himself from parental authority. The inevitable misery which accompanies all emancipation processes arises from the tendency of the individ-



ual emancipating himself to try to rush things, while the authority from which he is breaking away is simultaneously putting on the brakes. This can lead to those continuous and bitter conflicts which characterize both the political emancipation of a colony and the social emancipation of an adolescent. Puberty rites and manhood initiation ceremonies in other civilizations may well serve to reduce or eliminate such conflicts.

In our culture the boy tries to lift the yoke of parental control and forge ahead with his own independence faster than his stage of maturation generally permits. He still needs protection and guidance but can no longer comfortably accept them from his father. He becomes unsure of himself. As Schlegel (1966) observes, he needs the help of someone else. He is looking, then, for an authority he can trust, but his striving for independence will only permit him to tolerate an authority of his own choice, to whom he submits of his own free will—an authority, moreover, which he can shake off the moment it becomes too much of a burden. At this point the loving pedophile may for some years fit the description, giving the boy a kind of companionship, a security and a protection which his peers cannot provide.

A 28-year-old Italian announced his marriage in a letter to the man with whom, as a 14- to 18-year-old boy, he had carried on a sexually expressed friendship: "I'm working hard at my job, and I think you must take a lot of credit for this. If now things are going well for me it is because of everything you taught me with so much patience and love. I'm so grateful to you, all day and all night; I'll never forget you!" (Archives of the Brongersma Foundation).

### SEXUAL EDUCATION

In such a lasting relationship, affection, care and tenderness can flower and fuse together. A boy of seventeen whom I interviewed about his five-year relationship with a middle-age man said, "He taught me the meaning of love." This experience of integrating lust and love may keep the boy from developing our culture's infamous madonna/whore complex. In a Dutch broadcast about pedophilia a few years ago a 15-year-old boy told the following story. At thirteen he had begun to have sex with girls, and that to him meant a girl on her back, him climbing on top of her, shoving his penis in

her and thrusting it back and forth until he came. That was all. Then at a football game he met an attractive forty-year-old man. The boy accepted the man's invitation to accompany him home, well aware that the man was sexually interested in him but curious about what might take place. They had sex that afternoon, but the way it happened was a revelation to him. He had never experienced such tenderness, such concern for his feelings, so much respect, even reference. He finished his story by saying, "I'm really 100% heterosexual. After a couple of years of making love with this man I'll be too old for his tastes and then I'll certainly go back to girls again. But when that happens I'll treat them completely differently than I did before, when all I cared about was my own physical satisfaction. I've now learned that sex is so much better if you do it with love and consideration for the other person." In the event, things turned out exactly as he had foreseen. Just as in the case of the 17-year-old described above, he is now a happily married man—and neither have ever forgotten their former lovers, who have remained their close and trusted friends.

### ATTITUDE OF PARENTS

Society seems determined to overlook these positive aspects. It makes it impossible for most men to build a steady relationship with a boy without putting themselves and their young friends at great risk. Sexual history tells us that laws never succeed in subduing the sexual impulse. As Wheeler (1967) correctly observes, "The history of legal control of sex conduct is largely one of failure" (p. 84). The laws may be unable to stop all sex between men and boys; their effect is rather to encourage the less risky casual anonymous contacts, which are usually pedagogically worthless and sometimes even objectionable, at the expense of closer relationships with their manifold opportunities.

Unless a boy's parents care little about his well-being, where he spends his time and with whom—in other words, neglect him—an undisturbed relationship, especially with a younger boy, can only proceed in deep secrecy, or with their consent.

A relationship outside the family, and certainly one involving sexual intimacies, is often perceived by parents as a challenge to their authority. In this they probably are wrong. Parents who look

利益



upon the man who loves their son (and is loved by him in return) not as a rival or competitor, not as a thief of their property, but as a partner in the boy's upbringing, someone to be welcomed into their home, will see, on the contrary, a strengthening of the ties which bind them to their son. The boy can relax without ambivalence in his affection for a father and mother who understand and approve of these deep feelings and desires of his. Parents actually retain more influence over their son if they are involved in this relationship, take their share of responsibility for what happens within it. They can then exercise some control over it and, when necessary, help or advise the boy, or even intervene when things go wrong (Möller, 1983).

A French father, speaking of his son's erotic friendship with an adult man, put it rather well: "You can tell right away the difference between a man who gives and a man who takes. All you have to do is look at the boy—because he is your child. You'll know immediately whether he is happy or is feeling on edge" (Hennig, 1979, p. 159).

The 40-year-old mother of a 12-year-old boy, Menno, was quoted in a widely-read Dutch weekly as saying, "I may seem to a lot of people like a degenerate mother, but I don't care; I'll keep on doing what I'm doing. Look, I don't urge him to do anything; I don't forbid anything; I leave it all up to the boy. This man, Kees, with whom my son has his relationship, was once in prison but I have trust in his friendship. So why should I break it up? I've known Kees for two years, now. After my divorce I had the feeling I was losing contact with Menno. He had become completely alienated from me. One day I told Kees this, and he said, 'Send the boy to me—I'll talk to him. He can spend the weekend with me.' I thought, well, now, that will be good for Menno, to have a change of scene. I hoped Kees would have a good influence on him. The first time Menno went for the day, then for a weekend—and the next weekend, too. ( . . . ) Well, since that day Menno has gone off nearly every weekend to Kees. I could see that a wonderful affection had grown up between them; it seemed perfectly normal that they spend a lot of time together. And then I noticed that Menno was becoming more and more open with me. He started to tell me things again. It was amazing how he changed. My oldest boy no-

ticed it, too. Menno had lost his trust in people, and he regained it through Kees. I haven't the faintest idea what goes on between them sexually. Quite frankly, I've never asked questions about it. But if something is happening, then I believe it is a great advantage for a boy to have someone like Kees to guide him. It seems to me like a sort of natural development. If it's based upon tenderness and friendship it can't be wrong, can it? I think it can be a great protection for a child. A security" (Berkel, 1978).

On the other hand, parents who react with hostility, or who the son imagines will react with hostility, may very well lose their control. As the boy grows older it becomes increasingly difficult to know everyone he has contact with. If he feels it is necessary to be secretive, his parents have no say in the matter at all and are thus unable to help him or intervene when there are tensions or troubles, as may arise in any intimate relationship.

Secrecy, often adopted out of necessity because of social hostility to this kind of relationship, is seen by some psychologists such as Burgess and Holmstrom (1975) as traumatizing; others like Bernard (1979) view it more positively. Perhaps this tells us more about these psychologists themselves than about the children. Open, talkative children who take great delight in relating all that happens to them (especially nice experiences) usually find secrecy difficult. Reserved, taciturn boys may find it easy. A secret can be nursed as something beautiful; the fact that "only he and I know about it" may actually increase a boy's self-esteem. On the other hand, the knowledge that the relationship is forbidden, the intimacies thought dirty and despicable, may give rise to all manner of guilt feelings. Moreover, having to maintain secrecy may necessitate systematic lying with all its concomitant risks of encouraging a bad habit.

### THE DOMINANT PARTNER

While these latter risks could be ameliorated by parents showing more understanding, many people are convinced that undesirable consequences are inevitably linked with all man/boy relationships. The partners, they claim, are unequal: the boy is the weaker, less experienced one; he will thus be completely dominated by the physically and socially more powerful man.

秘密



This objection is really only brought to bear because the sexual aspect of the relationship (wrongly, as we have already observed) is thought to be the only, or at least the most important, element in it. For no society objects to children being dominated by older individuals: parents, teachers, priests, etc. It is assumed that such adults have good intentions towards the children in all their dealings, will protect them and help them—at least until the contrary is established. Adult/child relationships are only suspect if it is supposed that sex is involved. Then and only then is adult domination supposed to be disastrous; the child's sexual freedom must be protected from the overpowering dominating pedophile.

Now, it is at this point that one must use a bit of psychological caution. In any relationship between human beings he who needs the relationship most has the least power and the greatest dependence upon the other. Thus in boy-love if the boy is the one who most strongly desires the sex the man will be the dominant partner in this area—he can grant sex or refuse it, but whenever sex takes place it will be in accordance with the boy's wishes and thus—as empirical research by Baurmann (1983) and Constantine (1981) have shown—it will not traumatize him. If, on the other hand (and as public opinion generally assumes), it is the man who most strongly desires the sex, then the boy will be the dominant partner in this aspect of their relationship.

A number of cases examined by Sandfort (1982) points in this direction. A heterosexual adult using the name of "Jack Ryan" wrote a fascinating article (1986) in which he told how from his 13th to his 18th year he had many sexual contacts with quite a large number of men. Even though many of them were well-to-do, socially prominent people, he always felt in these contacts that he was the more powerful, dominant party. During those same years he had legitimate (non-sexual) jobs in a supermarket and as a messenger boy, and *there* he did feel exploited, powerless and dominated by others. Thorstad wrote about man/boy sex, "The boys usually control these relationships. ( . . . ) They control what kind of sexual acts are performed, they control when the sex will take place, and they have just as much control as the man over when the relationship will end" (Thorstad, 1980, p. 21). My own information confirms this. With fine psychological insight, the ancient Greeks

Good  
point

depicted Zeus as more afraid of irritating Ganymede than of antagonizing Hera.

The first true sexual relationship with a partner is a milestone on the road of a boy's emancipation. Most parents know this intuitively and so want to delay that moment. Other developmental advances are welcomed, but puberty generally is not. At least not in our culture: "primitives" are often more natural and human. Hanry (1977) wrote that he was often consulted by parents worried about their children showing sexual interests which they considered precocious, but never by parents worried by a lack of sexual interest, which he felt was much greater cause for concern.

A good sexual education should aim to ennoble and refine the sexual function in order to humanize it, just as good up-bringing should refine the functions of eating and drinking. But it is only possible to refine the sexual life of a boy if you are happy he has one. Here the boy-lover has an advantage. "For children, the proper way of learning something is through touch rather than hearing" (Schérer and Hocquenghem, 1976, p. 60).

When accused of corrupting boys, Nobel Prize winner André Gide exclaimed, "Corrupting youth? As if initiation to sexuality is corruption! Mostly it is exactly the opposite. People forget, or, better, they don't know, what accompanies the caresses, out of what feelings of trust, loyalty and noble competition such friendships originate and develop" (Last, 1966, p. 34).

It is certainly not by chance that so many "primitive" people make homosexual intercourse part of their initiation rites (Brongersma, 1987). Hanry (1977) believes that homosexuality poses many more problems to young people if they try to suppress it than if they experiment with it. Davidson (1962) saw this confirmed in the behavior of Southern Italian youth. Giese and Schmidt (1968) found heterosexual mobility and refinement in intercourse slightly higher among students with homosexual experience.

### WHAT HAPPENS IN PEDOPHILE FRIENDSHIPS

Just as in a boy/girl love affair, sexual activities occupy a man and a boy for only a small part of the time they spend together (Hass, 1979; Righton, 1981). Case histories presented by Berkel



(1978), Ingram (1977), Pieterse (1982) and Sandfort (1982) illustrate this point vividly. Together man and boy go to movies, theater, museum exhibitions, the zoo, carnivals. They camp, swim, fish, sail, make bicycle and boat trips. At home they romp and rough-house together; there is backgammon, chess, music, television, woodworking, photography, reading, drawing, stamp collecting. And then there is homework. In short, they do what a boy likes to do; the man talks with him about personal and social problems; they do everything which might help him find the right solutions to the problems peculiar to his age and the particular situation in which he finds himself.

The real risk in boy-love relationships lies not in the sexual activities. From my own experience with boy-lovers and their young partners I would rather say that the greatest danger is of the man spoiling his friend with gifts (and later cigarettes, alcohol and other drugs) and being too permissive about the boy's aggressive and destructive impulses. An environment too permissive in this sense is pedagogically nefarious (Hart de Ruyter, 1976). The pedophile here can be compared with the over-generous uncle or the spoiling grandfather. Unwise indulgence can lead to character distortion, encouragement of the boy's greed, parental jealousy or the malevolent attentions of the people surrounding him.

The picture which all careful investigations has left us of man/boy relationships (Bernard, Ingram, Pieterse, Rouweler-Wuts, Sandfort, my own research) has little or nothing in common with the usual image the public has of it, and of the view of investigators approaching the phenomenon only from its criminal or psychopathic expressions. In their view the sexual element is not only over-stressed, it is the only aspect that is ever taken into account. One hardly need prove that society, as a result of its condemnation and punishment, renders the sexual element in man/boy relationships all the more problematic and more obsessive for the boy-lover.

Gabriel Matzneff, a French author who openly confessed his attraction to boys and girls under sixteen, once wrote (1974, p. 65, p. 109), 'I'm no pedagogue, but I do know that the youngsters with whom I had more lasting relationships came out of them happier, more free, more 'realized,' as the Indians say. To love a boy only

makes sense if this love will help him develop himself, fulfill himself, realize himself completely, to burst the gates of the family cage, to easily reject the false obligations society tries to impose upon him. Our love must not be vampire-like, egoistic love, burdening him with a yoke, oppressing, dominating, jealously controlling, suffocating—the love of the wolf for the lamb. No, this love should be fertilizing, liberating, life-bestowing, as the Byzantine liturgy affirms the Holy Spirit." ( . . . ) "What a pity it is that the boy-lover must mostly limit himself to secret, casual meetings which don't give him the opportunity to benefit the boy as much as he would like. To a boy growing up nothing is as beneficial and salutary as meeting an older person who loves him, who takes his hand and helps him to discover the beauty of Creation, to understand people and what they do, to acquire self-knowledge. If I were a father I wouldn't hesitate for a moment to entrust my 13-year-old son to one of these 'wicked strangers.'"

#### REFERENCES

- Abraham, F. (1969). *Les perversions sexuelles*. Paris: Productions de Paris.
- Albrecht, O. (1964). *Die Unzucht mit Kindern*. Kiel: Universität.
- Arch Smith, T. d' (1970). *Love in Earnest*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Barrington, J. S. (1981). *Sexual Alternatives for Men*. London: Alternative Publishing.
- Baurmann, M. C. (1983). *Sexualität, Gewalt und psychische Folgen*. Wiesbaden: Bundeskriminalamt.
- Bendig, B. (1979). *Résumé*. Neuss: Privatdruck.
- Berkel, M. (1978). De pedofielen. *Haagse Post*, 65 (11), 26-31.
- Bernard, F. (1979). *Pädophilie – Liebe mit Kindern*. Lollar: Achenbach. English edition (1985): *Paedophilia, a Factual Report*. Rotterdam: Enclave.
- Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg, G. (1980). *Mannbarkeitsriten*. Frankfurt: Ullstein.
- Boer, J. de (1978) *Gevoelige kwesties omtrent seksuele kontakten van jongeren*. Deel 2. Zeist: NISSO.
- Brethmas, J. de (1980). *Détournement de majeur*. Paris: Perchoir.
- Brongersma, E. (1971). Homosexualiteit en strafrecht. In Psychiatrisch Juridisch Gezelschap, *Homosexualiteit*. Amsterdam: van Rossen.
- Brongersma, E. (1975). *Over pedofielen en 'kinderlokkers'*. Amsterdam: Intermediair.
- Brongersma, E. (1987). *Loving Boys*. Volume 1. Elmhurst, N.Y.: Global Academic Publishers.
- Brunold, H. (1962). Beobachtungen und katamnestiche Feststellungen nach im Kindesalter erlittenen Sexualtraumen. *Praxis*, 51 (39): 965-971.



- Buffière, F. (1980). *Eros adolescent*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Bullough, V. L. (1979). *Homosexuality*. New York: Garland.
- Burgess, A. W. & Holmstrom, L. L. (1975). Sexual Trauma of Children and Adolescents. *Nursing Clinics of North America*, 10 (3), 551-563.
- Burton, L. (1968). *Vulnerable Children*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Churchill, W. (1967). *Homosexual Behavior among Males*. New York: Hawthorne.
- Cline, W. (1936). *Notes on the People of Siwah and El Garsh in the Libyan Desert*. Menasha: Banta.
- Cnoop Koopmans, A. J. (1982). Forumdiscussie. In Nationale Raad voor Maatschappelijk Welzijn (Ed.), *Waar ligt de grens?* 's-Gravenhage: Nationale Raad voor Maatschappelijk Welzijn.
- Constantine, L. L. (1981). The Effects of Early Sexual Experiences. In Constantine, L. L., & Martinson, F. M., *Children and Sex*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.
- Corstjens, J. M. H. (1975). *Opvoeding en pedofilie*. Doktoraalskriptie Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen.
- Crawford, D. A. (1981). Treatment Approaches with Pedophiles. In Cook, M., & Howells, K., (Eds.) *Adult Sexual Interest in Children*. London: Academic Press.
- CRIES (1984). *Rapport des réponses reçues suite à la première diffusion de notre questionnaire sur l'attitude des adultes envers la sexualité des jeunes*. Bruxelles: CRIES.
- Davidson, M. (1962). *The World, the Flesh and Myself*. Washington: Guild Press.
- Davidson, M. (1971). *Some Boys*. London: Bruce & Watson.
- Dover, K. J. (1978). *Greek Homosexuality*. London: Duckworth.
- Edward, A. (1983). *Kit*. Amsterdam: Coltsfoot.
- Fisch, M. (1971). *Unzucht mit Kindern*. Frankfurt am Main: Gemini.
- Föster, M. (1984). *Jürgen Bartsch*. Essen: Torso.
- Foucault, M. (1984). *Histoire de la sexualité. Tome 2. L'usage des plaisirs*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Freund, K. (1981). Assessment of Pedophilia. In Cook, M., & Howells, K., (Eds.), *Adult Sexual Interest in Children*. London: Academic Press.
- Gagnon, J. H., & Simon, W. (1970). *Sexual Encounters between Adults and Children*. New York: SIECUS.
- Gebhard, P. H., Gagnon, J. H., Pomeroy, W. B., & Christenson, C. V. (1965). *Sex Offenders*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Gieser, R. L. (1979). *Hidden Victims*. Boston: Deacon Press.
- Gerbener, H. (1966). *Die Kriminalität der Kinderschändung im Landgerichtsbezirk Duisburg in den Jahren 1950-1954*. Bonn: Universität.
- Giese, H. (1964). *Der homosexuelle Mann in der Welt*. Zweite Auflage. Stuttgart: Enke.
- Giese, H., & Schmidt, G. (1968). *Studenten-Sexualität*. Reinbek: Rowohlt.

- Gordon, R. (1978). Paedophilia: Normal and Abnormal. In Kraemer, W. (Ed.), *The Forbidden Love*. London: Sheldon Press.
- Groth, A. N. (1978). Patterns of Sexual Assault against Children and Adolescents. In Burgess, A. W., Groth, A. N., Holmstrom, L. L. & Sgroi, S. M., *Sexual Assault of Children and Adolescents*. Lexington: Lexington Books.
- Gurwell, J. K. (1974). *Mass Murder in Houston*. Houston: Cordovan.
- Haeberle, E. J. (1978). *The Sex Atlas*. New York: Seabury.
- Henry, P. (1977). *Les enfants, le sexe et nous*. Toulouse: Privat.
- Hart de Ruyter, Th., & Zijl, L. B. M. van der (Eds.), (1976). *De seksuele ontwikkeling van kind tot volwassene*. Leiden: Stafleu.
- Hass, A. (1979). *Teenage Sexuality*. New York: Macmillan.
- Hennig, J. L. (1979). Thomas, 30 ans; Bruno, 15 ans; le nouveau couple zig-zag. *Recherches* 37: 137-166.
- Herd, G. H. (1981). *Guardians of the Flutes*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Herd, G. H. (Ed.). (1982). *Rituals of Manhood*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Herek, G. M. (1984). Attitudes toward Lesbians and Gay Men: A Factor-Analytic Study. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 10 (1/2): 39-51.
- Holland, I. (1972). *The Man without a Face*. New York: Bantam.
- Howells, K. (1980). Social Reactions to Sexual Deviance. In West, D. J. (Ed.), *Sex Offenders in the Criminal Justice System*. Cambridge: Institute of Criminology.
- Ingram, M. (1977). "Filthy" — Reaction to Paedophilic Acts. *Libertarian Education*, 21, 4-5.
- Ingram, M. (1979). The Participating Victim: A Study of Sexual Offenses against Pre-pubertal Boys. In Cook, M., & Wilson, G. D. (Eds.), *Love and Attraction*. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Jersild, J. (1964). *De paedofile*. København: Nyt Nordisk Forlag.
- Kentler, H. (1970). *Sexualerziehung*. Reinbek: Rowohlt.
- Kerscher, I. (Ed.). (1977). *Konfliktfeld Sexualität*. Neuwied: Luchterhand.
- Kerscher, I. (1978). Sexuelle Handlungen zwischen Kindern und Erwachsenen. In Pacharzina, K., & Albrecht-Désirat, K., *Konfliktfeld Kindersexualität*. Frankfurt am Main: Päd.extra.
- Krist, G. (1976). *Pedofilie*. Leuven: Katholieke Universiteit.
- Landis, J. T. (1956). Experiences of 500 Children with Adult Sexual Deviation. *Psychiatric Quarterly Suppl.* 30, 91-109.
- Lane, E. (1978). *Game-Texts*. San Francisco: Gay Sunshine.
- Last, J. (1966). *Mijn vriend André Gide*. Amsterdam: van Ditmar.
- Lempp, R. (1968). Seelische Schädigung von Kindern als Opfer von gewaltlosen Sittlichkeitsdelikten. *Neue Juristische Wochenschrift* 21 (49), 2265-2268.
- Lessing, T. (1925). *Haarmann*. Berlin: Schmiede.
- Levine, M. P. (1980). The Sociology of Male Homosexuality and Lesbianism. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 5 (3), 249-275.
- Matzneff, G. (1974). *Les moins de seize ans*. Paris: Julliard.



- McCaghy, C. H. (1967). Child Molesters. In Clinard, M. B. & Quinny, R. (Eds.), *Criminal Behavior Systems*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- McCaghy, C. H. (1971). Child Molesting. *Sexual Behavior*, 1 (5), 16-31.
- Mohr, J. W., & Turner, R. E. (1967). Sexual Deviations. Part 4: Pedophilia. *Applied Therapeutics*, 9 (4), 362-365.
- Möller, M. (1983). *Pedofiele relaties*. Deventer: van Loghum Slaterus.
- Murdoch, I. (1976). *Henry and Cato*. London: Chatto & Windus.
- Newton, D. E. (1978). Homosexual Behavior and Child Molestation. *Adolescence*, 13 (49), 29-43.
- O'Carroll, T. (1980). *Paedophilia—The Radical Case*. London: Owen.
- Olsen, J. (1974). *The Man with the Candy*. New York: Pocket Books.
- Oskamp, A. (1980). *Man en macht*. Amsterdam: van Gennep.
- Patzner, H. (1982). *Die griechische Knabenliebe*. Wiesbaden: Steiner.
- Peters, F. (1951). *The World at Twilight (Finisterre)*. New York: Lancer.
- PIE (1976). *Survey of Members*. London: Paedophile Information Exchange.
- Pieterse, M. (1982). *Pedofielen over pedofilie*. Zeist: NISSO.
- Pietropinto, A., & Simenauer, J. (1979). *Gonado*. Katwijk aan Zee: Servire. (Dutch translation of *Beyond the Male Myth*, 1977, New York: Times Books).
- Potrykus, D., & Wöbcke, M. (1974). *Sexualität zwischen Kindern und Erwachsenen*. München: Goldmann.
- Prigny, J. M. (1959). *Marc*. Paris: Table Ronde.
- Reiss, A. J. (1967). Sex Offenses: the Marginal Status of the Adolescent. In Gagnon, J. H., & Simon, W. (Eds.), *Sexual Deviance*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Rennert, H. (1965). Untersuchungen zur Gefährdung der Jugend und zur Dunkelziffer bei sexuellen Straftaten. *Psychiatrie, Neurologie und Medizinische Psychologie*, 17 (10), 361-367.
- Righton, P. (1981). The Adult. In Taylor, B. (Ed.), *Perspectives on Paedophilia*. London: Batsford.
- Rocheffort, C. (1969). *Printemps au parking*. Paris: Grasset.
- Rossmann, P. (1976). *Sexual Experience between Men and Boys*. New York: Association Press.
- Rouweler-Wuts, L. (1976). *Pedofielen in contact of conflict met de samenleving?* Deventer: van Loghum Slaterus.
- Ryan, J. (1986). A Boy Prostitute's Perspective. *Gay Community News*, 20-26 July.
- Sables, L. des (1976/77). Résultats d'une enquête auprès d'un groupe de pédérastes. *Arcadie*, 276, 650-657; 277, 35-45.
- Sandfort, T. (1979). *Pedoseksuele kontakten en pedofiele relaties*. Zeist: NISSO.
- Sandfort, T. (1980). Pedofilie en pedoseksuele contacten. In Frenken (Ed.), *Seksuologie*. Deventer: van Loghum Slaterus.
- Sandfort, T. (1982). *The Sexual Aspect of Paedophile Relations*. Amsterdam: Pan/Spartacus.
- Sandfort, T. (1984). *Om het fijne gevoel*. Baarn: In den Toren.
- Schérer, R., & Hocquenghem, G. (1976). Co-ire. *Recherches*, 22.

- Schillemans, A. (1983). Vrouwen tegen pedofilie. *Jeugd en Samenleving*, 13 (2), 133-139.
- Schlegel, W. S. (1966). *Sexualinstinkte des Menschen*. München: Rütten & Loening.
- Schorsch, E. (1973). Häufige Merkmalskombinationen bei Sexualstraftätern. *Monatschrift für Kriminologie und Strafrechtsreform*, 56 (4), 141-150.
- Schult, P. (182). *Gefallene Engel*. Berlin: Gmünder.
- Sengers, W. J. (1970). Pedofilie. In Zeldenrust, D., de Koning, P. P. J., Sengers, W. J., Schaik, C. T. van, Kwast, S. van der, & Mulder, W. G., *Gewoon bizonder*. Amsterdam: Humanitas.
- Socarides, C. W. (1954). Meaning and Content of a Pedophilic Perversion. *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association*, 7, 84-94.
- Sonenschein, D. (1983). *What is Pedophilia Anyway?* Private publication.
- Sorensen, R. C. (1973). *Adolescent Sexuality in Contemporary America*. New York: World Publishing.
- Stekel, W. (1922). *Psychosexueller Infantilismus*. Berlin: Urban & Schwarzenberg.
- Stewart, A. (1968). *Sandel*. London: Panther Books.
- Swanson, D. W. (1968). Adult Sexual Abuse of Children. *Diseases of the Nervous System*, 29 (10), 677-683.
- Taylor, B. (Ed.). (1981). *Perspectives on Paedophilia*. London: Batsford.
- Tesch, G. (1956). *Never the Same Again*. New York: Pyramid Books.
- Thorstad, D. (1980). Loving Boys. Discussion with G. Hocquenghem. *Semiotext(e) Special*, 1, 18-35.
- Tripp, C. A. (1975). *The Homosexual Matrix*. New York: New American Library.
- Tuohy, F., & Murphy, M. (1976). *Down under the Plum Trees*. Waiura (New Zealand): Alister Taylor.
- Verlaine, P. (1868). *Oeuvres libres*. Segovia: de Herlagnez.
- West, D. J. (1977). *Homosexuality Re-examined*. London: Duckworth.
- West, D. J. (1980). Treatment in Theory and Practice; Points from the Discussion. In West, D. J. (Ed.), *Sex Offenders in the Criminal Justice System*. Cambridge: Institute of Criminology.
- Wheeler, S. (1967). Sex Offenses: a Sociological Critique. In Gagnon, J. H., & Simon, W. (Eds.), *Sexual Deviance*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Wilson, P. (1982). *The Man They Called a Monster*. North Ryde: Cassell Australia.
- Wolters, W. H. G. (Ed.). *Seksueel misbruik van kinderen en jonge adolescenten*. Nijkerk: Intro.
- Wyss, R. (1967). *Unzucht mit Kindern*. Berlin: Springer.
- Yaffé, M. (1981). The Assessment and Treatment of Paedophilia. In Taylor, B. (Ed.), *Perspectives on Paedophilia*. London: Batsford.
- Zeegers, M. (1977). *Psychiatrie*. Utrecht: Bohn, Scheltema & Holkema.

- rapists and child molesters. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 53, 55-63.
- Sengers, W. (1969). *Homosexualiteit als klacht*. Bussum: Paul Brand.
- Stürup, G.K. (1968). *Treatment of Sexual Offenders in Herstedvester, Denmark*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.
- Travin, S., H. Bluestone, E. Coleman, K. Cullen & J. Melella (1985). Pedophilia: An update on theory and practice. *Psychiatric Quarterly*, 57, 89-103.

## Tolerance at Arm's Length: The Dutch Experience

Jan Schuijjer, MA

Netherlands

**SUMMARY.** With respect to pedophilia and the age of consent, the Netherlands warrants special attention. Although pedophilia is not as widely accepted in the Netherlands as sometimes is supposed, developments in the judicial practice showed a growing reservedness. These developments are a spin-off of related developments in Dutch society. The tolerance in the Dutch society has roots that go far back in history and is also a consequence of the way this society is structured. The social changes of the sixties and seventies resulted in a "tolerance at arm's length" for pedophiles, which proved to be deceptive when the Dutch government proposed to lower the age of consent in 1985. It resulted in a vehement public outcry. The prevailing sex laws have been the prime target of protagonists of pedophile emancipation. Around 1960, organized as a group, they started to undertake several activities. In the course of their existence, they came to redefine the issue of pedophilia as one of youth emancipation.

### MYTHS AND FACTS

This article is devoted to the developments in The Netherlands concerning pedophilia and the age of consent. The Netherlands warrants attention with respect to these issues if only to disentangle myths from facts. The Dutch have a reputation for being tolerant, although this view is probably held more widely outside than inside The Netherlands.<sup>1</sup> It has even been asserted that the Dutch are over-

---

Jan Schuijjer has a MA in economics and is a member of the Committee on Legislation of the Netherlands Society for Gay Integration COC. Correspondence may be sent to the author at Mozartlaan 73, 7522 HL Enschede, Netherlands.



permissive, not least with respect to the aforementioned issues. In the United States, the makers of NBC's "Silent Shame" frowned upon the alleged legalization of child pornography in The Netherlands. The Spartacus Publishing Company of Amsterdam, often seen as the main inciter of boy prostitution in Southeast Asia, has come under attack from such organizations as Terre des Hommes and the United Nations. The mirror image of this indignation can be found in exhilarating notes on the Dutch situation in publications like the one by Tom O'Carroll, former chairman of the British Paedophile Information Exchange. He detects a "warm glow" radiating from the opposite side of the North Sea, as compared with only "a few glimmers of encouragement" in North America.<sup>2</sup>

However, the impression this might convey, namely that pedophilia is an accepted phenomenon in The Netherlands, is largely mistaken, as is demonstrated by the results of an inquiry into Dutch sentiments on the subject shown in Table 1. Although the survey dates from 1976, it is unlikely that public support for sex below the legal age of consent has grown much, if at all, in the meantime. According to a TV poll, which was taken in 1985, only 13 percent of the population supported a lowering of the age of consent from the present 16 to 12. So when the above-mentioned allegations were made, the Dutch advocates of freedom for intergenerational sex had in fact failed to ensure a solid social base for their demands. At that same time, however, they could be relatively satisfied by developments in another area: the practice of the judiciary. A statistical study of prosecution and conviction of sexual offenses in The Netherlands concluded in 1982: "The public at large, the police and the judiciary appear to be increasingly tolerant, especially of public exhibitionism and sexual contacts with minors."<sup>3</sup> Although this is presently untrue with respect to "the public at large," it is a fact that the number of convictions for sex with a minor under 16 (excluding dependency relations) came down from 10.7 to 0.7 per 100,000 inhabitants between 1950 and 1982, i.e., by 93 percent. Over the same period, the number of convictions for rape rose six-fold: from 0.25 to 1.5 per 100,000. Since 1982 the downward trend has been reversed as far as sex with children is concerned, but the 1.4 convictions per 100,000 in 1988 are still far below the numbers reached during the '50s. Public prosecutors in The Netherlands can

TABLE 1. Sentiments of the Dutch Population with Respect to Pedophilia

Suppose that someone you know appears to like romping with children and to fondle and caress them sexually.

	Yes (%)	No (%)	Don't Know (%)
Would you still want to have any contact with them?	29	60	10
Would you want to work with them, e.o., as a colleague?	26	64	9
Would you allow them to visit you regularly as a friend?	24	62	12
Would you want them to be your neighbor?	38	44	17



TABLE 1 (continued)

Would you want to discuss your concerns and problems with them?	23	69	8
Suppose you have children, would you allow them to take care of them, e.g., as a teacher?	13	77	9
Would you allow them to look after your children, e.g., as a baby-sitter?	4	89	5

Source: G. Nijhof (1978): poll taken in 1976.

refrain from prosecuting if this is in the general interest, and they often do so. Their emphasis has markedly shifted from prosecuting "indecentcies" like exhibitionism and pornography to protecting people's sexual self-determination. The aforementioned statistics, like the ones in Table 2, reflect the social drive toward sexual liberation, in which the denunciation of the role of the state as moralist is a major element. Its heyday was the '60s and '70s and it could be argued that advocates of pedophilia merely jumped on the bandwagon. When they started their public campaign in the mid '70s, the number of convictions for sex below the age of consent had already declined to about 1.5 per 100,000 per year.

These juridical developments have not been translated into legalization. Sexual contact with a person under 16 remains entirely illegal. In 1985, after first presenting a bill that would have legalized non-coercive contacts with children between 12 and 16 and then meeting with immediate and strong opposition, the Minister of Justice had to retrace his steps hastily. This may in part have been due to his clumsy presentation of the proposal, suggesting a far more extensive decriminalization than the bill actually provided for. But the event was indicative of the nature of Dutch tolerance vis-à-vis adult/child sex. The issue is debatable, and this fits into the tradition of allowing great freedom in the expression of opinions that diverge from the mainstream. When it comes to acting, however, it will appear that the scope for social and legal change is not much larger than it is in the rest of the western world. To put the situation of pedophilia in The Netherlands in a nutshell: The sexual contacts themselves, or a substantial decriminalization, are usually not accepted, but the impulse to bar a free discussion of the issue is considerably less powerful than in most European countries and in North America. This greater open-mindedness has left some impact on prosecutorial policy in the sense that this policy has for years been less uncivilized than elsewhere.

Obviously this phenomenon cannot be explained when looked upon in isolation. It is a spin-off of related developments. First, there is the strongly increased openness regarding sexual matters, youth sexuality included. Whether teenagers may have sex with their peers is hardly an issue. Sexual ignorance among Dutch teenagers is comparatively small, witness the fact that the incidence of



TABLE 2. Shifts in the Relative Frequency of Convictions for Categories of Sexual Offenses Since 1950 (percentage of convictions)

	1950	1975	1982	1987
Public Exhibitionism/Sex With a Child	84	51	28	32
Sexual Assault/Rape	5	31	60	50
Other Sexual Offenses	11	18	12	17
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics; adapted by J. Frenken in: J. Frenken and J. Doomen (1984): 1987 figures from the author.

teenage abortions is among the lowest in Europe and only one-ninth that of the United States.<sup>4</sup> Second, the country has a large and influential gay rights movement, led by the 7,000 member Netherlands Society for Gay Integration (COC), which has succeeded in making the general public accustomed to the existence of alternative sexual preferences and lifestyles. Third, discrimination of minorities is actively fought against, both by the authorities and a multitude of private organizations. Since 1983 the Constitution has provided for a general prohibition of discrimination. Fourth, the penal system has traditionally been liberal (without leading to excessive crime rates), meaning that a high percentage of cases are not prosecuted and the punishments are relatively light. Grass root sentiments do not easily creep into the criminal procedure: judges and prosecutors are not elected and juries do not exist. Last, but not least, the news media allow a great variety of views to be heard. The broadcasting system is geared to that purpose, while The Netherlands is not flooded with the kind of gutter press that so effectively helped eradicate Tom O'Carroll's PIE in Britain.

The remainder of this article on the Dutch experience with pedophilia will successively focus on historical aspects, the recent state of affairs, the legal situation, the advocates of pedophilia, their activities and ideology and prospects for the near future. As said, pedophilia should not be observed in isolation. Hence the survey will depict pedophile emancipation against the background of related social developments.

### THE ROOTS OF TOLERANCE

"All people in The Netherlands are treated equally in equal circumstances. Discrimination on account of religion, philosophy of life, political conviction, race, sex, or on whatever ground is not allowed." Since 1983 this has stood in the first section of The Netherlands Constitution. The legislature considered this all-encompassing equal rights stipulation as the crown on the list of civil rights that make up the Constitution's first chapter. It can also be seen as the culminating point of a long-lasting process in which tolerance and the principle of non-discrimination were translated in concrete legislation. It began with the declaration of a limited freedom of



religion guarantee under the Treaty on the Union of Utrecht (1579). This treaty, under which the provinces of the Northern Netherlands joined to combat the Spanish Empire of which they then were a part laid the foundations of the independent state of The Netherlands as it exists today. Tolerance and moderation seemed almost natural ideals in a country that gained its independence fighting the Spanish Inquisition.

Kossmann sums up the main features of the socio-political situation in the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands (i.e., seven largely independent provinces), which existed between 1588 and 1795.<sup>5</sup> First, there was freedom of conscience and religion. Public profession of non-protestant religions was prohibited, but religious meetings indoors were not restricted. Second, church and state were strictly separated and the rulers often turned a deaf ear to the demands of orthodox preachers. Third, The Netherlands at the time hardly constituted a nation. It was a melting-pot of different cultures and religions which lived together almost without a central authority that could impose binding laws with respect to personal behavior. Finally, the ruling class of merchants simply had no advantage in fighting tolerance, as this would have seriously undermined the political stability that made commerce and trade flourish. Enlightened self-interest made them liberal and this situation prevailed until, by the end of the nineteenth century, they had to cede power to the emerging religious political parties.

Liberalism was not enough to prevent discrimination entirely, however. The declining prosperity of the eighteenth century created a climate in which scapegoats were sought and easily found. "Sodomites" were the victims of a wave of anti-homosexual resentment in the 1730s, which left several dozens of people dead and many more stripped of their civil rights.<sup>6</sup> It was only after the invasion of the French army in 1795, which put an end to the Republic, that all discriminatory regulations against homosexual behavior were repealed. In 1815, when the present Kingdom of The Netherlands was established, it inherited Napoleonic law, including a Penal Code that contained a minimum of prohibitions in the area of sexuality. Not only was homosexuality entirely legal, but the Code also lacked any age of consent. Non-violent sex with children remained formally legal throughout most of the previous century, in spite of

the fact that judges resorted increasingly to other articles of the law to prevent perpetrators from avoiding punishment.

The new Penal Code, which entered into force in 1886, contained an age of consent: 16. No legislator indicated why this was necessary; it seemed self-evident. As has often been pointed out,<sup>7</sup> childhood and adult life had increasingly diverged from the end of the eighteenth century on, and this is one reason why it was felt obvious that children should be barred from adult sex life. But it is also true that youth prostitution flourished at this time, as it did in Victorian England and elsewhere.<sup>8</sup> One effect of the first wave of feminism and sexual enlightenment, which began at the end of the nineteenth century, was a greater awareness of such problems and a readiness to act against them.

The age of consent has remained at 16 ever since. It was introduced as part of a wholly new set of sections concerning public morality. Nevertheless, the new Penal Code still bore the marks of nineteenth century liberalism. The State should not assume the role of moralist. As the Minister of Justice put it: "It is not the aim of the Penal Code to protect individuals against the voluntary corruption of their own morals. Its only purpose is to guard against the assaults on one's modesty."<sup>9</sup>

But the heyday of liberalism was almost over. The *kleine luyden* (little people, like retailers and farmers), whom the prevailing electoral system barred from substantial political influence, formed broad, right-wing emancipatory movements, based on common religion, which later turned into political parties. On the left side of the political spectrum the socialist parties emerged. It was the beginning of what came to be called the *verzuilde* (columnar, or vertically structured) society. Roman Catholics, Protestants, socialists and liberals all organized their own schools, political parties, trade unions, sporting clubs, newspapers, and, later on, their own broadcasting organizations. It was a practical way of each group tolerating the other: people belonging in other columns were kept at a distance in almost all important areas of social life. The columns were like islands inhabited by minorities, tied together only by a common central authority.

The religious parties benefited more than others from the extension of suffrage in the 1890s and thereafter. The rapid expansion of



the number of their seats in parliament did not fail to affect public morality laws. In 1911, only 25 years after their introduction, these laws were profoundly strengthened. The Roman Catholic Minister of Justice, Mr. Regout, was far less hesitant than his predecessors in using the Code as an instrument to impose his own moral standards. As a result, legislation against pornography was severely tightened. Moreover, the new section 248bis raised the age of consent for homosexual contacts (except for those between minors) to 21, the limit of heterosexual contacts being kept at 16. This section was adopted by 50 MPs, against an adamantly opposed minority of 34. It resulted in the incarceration of about five thousand Dutchmen before an overwhelming parliamentary majority repealed the section in 1971.<sup>10</sup> During the sixty years when this law was on the books, homosexuals were almost outlaws. Although homosexual contacts between adults were never prohibited (not counting the legislation of the German invaders in the years 1940 to 1945), merely being known as a homosexual was often enough to make one a social outcast.

### THE COLUMNS BROKEN UP

The sixties and seventies saw a number of remarkable social changes, one of which was a turnaround in the attitude toward sexuality, homosexuality included. Secularization and a declining respect for authority broke up the columnar structure, leading, among other things, to unprecedented shifts in political convictions. The religious parties lost their majority in parliament in 1967, after which their aggregate share of the votes has dwindled to about one third. The number of residents considering themselves unchurchly doubled during the seventies and reached 49 percent in 1986.<sup>11</sup>

The liberalization and individualization during these years could also be observed in other countries, but in The Netherlands the process was especially conspicuous. A decisive factor was the lack of opposition from the churches and the news media. These elements of the columns, far from attempting to block or slow down this evolution, helped speed it up. Professor Kooy, a sociologist, speaks of a process of secularization inside the churches: many church members, laymen and leaders alike, adopted views on such matters

as sex, marriage and the family that diverged sharply from the more traditional ones.<sup>12</sup> The churches played a dominant role in the early years of homosexual emancipation. In the Roman Catholic Church, the Trimbos committee published the report "Homosexuality" in 1960, followed by a similar report from the Protestant side in 1961. Both reports were aimed at acceptance in a way that was quite remarkable for their days. Bishops started to approve openly the use of contraceptives in the mid-sixties. Later on the Vatican tried to call the Dutch to order by appointing a number of reactionary bishops, but most Dutch Catholics refused to submit themselves to their commands. There were limits to this reassessment of values by the churches: free abortion has never been considered acceptable by them.

Even without this ecclesiastical activism the columnar structure would have started to crumble. Social interdependency became greater and members of different components of society came into closer contact with each other. The television system played an important part: all columns had (and have) their own broadcasting organizations to which TV time is allocated. Television brought views of one column into the homes of others. The multiformity of the system made possible programs that left the beaten track and lifted taboos. Among those was a talk show discussing pedophilia in a positive way, broadcast in October 1978 and surprisingly well received by the viewers.

The swift changes that came about during these years can be seen in the results of two investigations labeled "Sex in The Netherlands." They dealt with the behavior and opinions of the Dutch in the area of sexuality and were made in 1968 and 1981.<sup>13</sup> The view that sex is something natural and pleasant that should not be reserved exclusively to married couples was fully or largely adhered to by 39 percent of the population in 1968; in 1981 it was 71 percent. The acceptability of certain forms of behavior increased markedly. Whereas only 17 percent considered nudity in secluded areas outdoors (mostly) acceptable in 1968, 59 percent did so in 1981 when public nude beaches had become a normal phenomenon on the Dutch coast. A poll taken in 1985 showed that this figure had risen to 80 percent.<sup>14</sup> Striking too was the increasing approval of youth sexuality: in 1981, 66 percent agreed that children under 16



should have access to contraceptives; in 1968 only 16 percent had held that view.

In this respect the efforts of the NVSH (Netherlands Society for Sexual Reform) deserve a special mention. It is a private organization, the successor of the Neo-Malthusian Union, which was founded in 1881 to promote the use of contraceptives and to combat ignorance about sexuality. In the 1960s, when public sale of contraceptives was still prohibited, the NVSH, which was the main distributor, became the preeminent driving force behind sexual reform. It was the NVSH that lifted deep-rooted taboos and made such matters as birth control, non-marital sex, youth sexuality, and reform of moral legislation a matter of public debate. After public sale of contraceptives was permitted in 1970, the NVSH lost its role as major distributor. When subsequently the society rid itself of its chain of consultation bureaus, most members lost interest and left. The once mighty group is now a modest group of mostly elderly people, which only narrowly escaped bankruptcy in 1986, but whose views are still publicly heard now and then, mostly in the form of press releases.

Around 1980 public interest shifted from sexual liberation to sexual misconduct. Ever since Ms. J. Doomen published her complaints about harassment of rape victims by the police and others in 1976, and after many similar publications, serious efforts have been made to train the police and to ensure adequate after-care.<sup>15</sup> The same is true for young victims. Sexual abuse of children, and incest in particular, have been among the most hotly publicized issues in recent years in The Netherlands as elsewhere. The Society Against Sexual Abuse of Children, which is run for a large part by former victims, has found widespread recognition for its work in enlightening the public and taking care of victimized children.

Many were taken by surprise when this shift in attention occurred. Kooy's 1975 prediction of future events did not foresee any such development.<sup>16</sup> It should not have come as a surprise, however. Far from a break with the recent past, it was a natural consequence of the emancipatory wave that had already taken shape. Paul Kapteyn, elaborating on the civilization theory of the sociologist Norbert Elias, argues that the lifting of taboos goes hand in hand with demands for new restrictions.<sup>17</sup> Liberation, occurring when the

division of powers in society becomes more balanced, requires greater self-control. The first wave of sexual reform at the end of the nineteenth century revealed the misery of prostitution and made it more difficult for men to take advantage of it. The second wave coincided with such events as the rebirth of feminism and the decline of parental authority. Had it not been for these movements, rape, sexual abuse and other forms of sexual victimization would never have come to the surface as they have.

A reassuring conclusion might be that sexual liberation has gained so much acceptance that it is taken for granted, leaving only the fight against sexual violence and abuse to be continued. But, although this conclusion is not without some merit, it goes too far. Several authors, not the least of whom is Dr. H. J. Roethof, the second most senior member of parliament until his resignation in 1989, have warned that, as Mr. Roethof stated, "at present many see sexual violence and abuse as one of the greatest menaces to human civilization, casting its shadow over sexuality. . . . The choice is between self-determination and protection. Whoever absolutizes one, kills the other."<sup>18</sup> Moreover, now that the religious parties have become political minorities they increasingly resort to their original role of emancipatory movements of the more traditional-minded people against the liberal majority. They still have a strong position: the rest of the political field is too divided to form one coalition. Moreover, they still have powerful constituencies, like the societies which organize private schools on a religious basis and which have a virtual monopoly of education in several areas outside the larger cities. As a result, the political debate on equal rights legislation was at a standstill for years. Whereas few countries can match gay emancipation in The Netherlands, a bill that would seal this accomplishment by prohibiting discrimination on account of homosexuality remained in the doldrums.<sup>19</sup> It took twelve years of political discussion plus a major concession to the religious parties to eventually break the stalemate in the summer of 1990. No religious party (barring some tiny groups of fundamentalists) approves outspokenly of discrimination against gay persons, but they feel that private schools should be free to decide whether or not they want to hire and fire gays as teachers.

This is indicative of the nature of Dutch tolerance. The columnar



structure of society has kept every Dutchman keenly aware that he belonged to a minority and that none of the columns could become dominant on its own. He has to live with other minorities, to tolerate them, but at the same time he has kept them at a distance by staying in his own column. The word "tolerance" has a disapproving undertone, describing the attitude of the one who condones rather than accepts. Far from being welcomed and embraced, someone who is tolerated is kept at a distance. When this distance threatens to be bridged, tolerance may quickly turn into defense. This tolerance at arm's length is evident in a comparison of inquiries into the public attitudes toward homosexuality with a stocktaking of experiences of homosexuals who have come out of the closet. Whereas in 1981, 88 percent of the respondents to a poll said that homosexuals should be free to determine their own lives, it appeared rather easy to draw up a long list of recent examples of discrimination and physical and verbal harassment of gays in 1983.<sup>20,21</sup>

Tolerance at arm's length can prove deceptive when public discussion of a subject does not provoke strong reactions. Once the debate results in concrete proposals for change that could affect people's lives, reaction occurs after all and takes those who felt sure of success by surprise. This appears to have been the case with pedophilia and the age of consent. Yes, the issue was openly debated and there has been a sharp contrast between the approach taken by authorities and the news media of The Netherlands on one hand and of the United States and Great Britain on the other. But when in 1985 the bill was published that would have relaxed the law, the public outcry was hardly less vehement than it would have been elsewhere. Its advocates must feel as if they had inflated a soap bubble that shone brilliantly while it expanded, but that suddenly burst asunder when it was at its brightest.

### LEGISLATIVE CHANGE

The proposal to relax the law reflected the shift in the judiciary's attitude referred to in the beginning of this article. During the sixties the public morality laws, which still prohibited adultery, nudity outdoors, the sale of pornography, the public sale of contraceptives, homosexual contacts with minors, and all sexual contacts with minors under 16, were strongly challenged. Some prohibitions were

soon abandoned: the sale of contraceptives in 1970, adultery (hardly ever prosecuted), and homosexual contacts with minors over 16 (prosecuted to the end) in 1971. An overall revision of the sex laws was to be prepared by a governmental advisory committee, chaired by Mr. A. L. Melai, a criminal law professor from Leiden University. Unwillingness on the part of the new, Roman Catholic Minister of Justice, Mr. Van Agt, to follow up on the committee's first interim proposals caused a delay of many years and it was not before 1980 that the first report could be published. It dealt with sex crimes, like rape, sexual assault and sex with children. The minor crimes, like selling pornography and profiting from prostitution had already been covered in interim reports.

The final report was a product of its time. Public interest in decriminalization, which had fostered the founding of the Melai committee in 1970, had considerably waned ten years later. The shift in prosecutors' priorities from indecencies to assaults on sexual self-determination had caused a *de facto* modification of the legal regime that had taken the pressure off the quest for amendments of the law. Public attention focused on sexual victimization. So did the Melai report. It proposed several new prohibitions, which admittedly would fill gaps in existing legislation. On the other hand its proposals for decriminalization were not far-reaching. With respect to the age of consent, it proposed a uniform limit at 16 years, except that contacts, other than those within dependency relations would only be prohibited if it was the child's partner who took the initiative to the sexual activity. The latter would imply a relaxation of the law, but many commentators pointed out that the burden of proof in court would be too complex. Nonviolent contacts are rarely initiated by only one of the two partners with the other one remaining entirely passive.

Melai's report defended the view that the mere existence of an adult's power over a child suffices to pre-empt a voluntary sexual contact:

The law must disregard the means by which a child is induced to commit or tolerate sexual acts, because it is irrelevant for the judgement of the facts. Objectionable is the psychical and



factual inequality between the perpetrator and the victim; how this is made use of is not relevant.<sup>22</sup>

As the report had clearly been written in great haste and left many questions unanswered, it failed to settle the issue. Its central thesis was challenged not only by the NVSH and the COC, but also by the juvenile police units. In contrast with the Melai committee, they argued that it definitely is relevant, if sex between a child and another person occurs, how the child has come to engage in this contact.<sup>23</sup> Similar views were expressed by a working group of the Dutch society of judges.<sup>24</sup> The Minister of Justice, Mr. Korthals Altes, a member of the statutorily liberal, but in fact generally rightist partner in the governing coalition, was convinced by the critique. He had a bill drafted that covered the items dealt with in the final Melai report. It stipulated among other things that sexual contacts with children between 12 and 16, barring dependency relations, could only be prohibited if they were prepared or promoted by presenting or promising gifts, abuse of power, or deception. In November 1985 the bill was sent to the Council of State, an advisory body of the government, as is always done before a bill is presented to parliament. A brief press release informed the public about the bill's contents. The public opposition that followed forced Mr. Korthals Altes to state that he would not necessarily pursue the matter. In August 1988, the Government finally decided not to complete the general overhaul of the morals laws, as conceived in 1970, but to limit itself to correcting the existing laws without affecting those regarding the age of consent. As a result, the old laws remain on the books for the time being. The present prohibitions concerning age limits and sexuality in the Penal Code are summarized in Table 3.

### THE PROTAGONISTS: THEIR ACTIVITIES

It stands to reason that the prevailing sex laws have been the prime target of protagonists of pedophile emancipation. The origins of a pedophile movement in The Netherlands can be traced back to around 1960. It emerged as an offspring of the still closeted gay movement of those days. In the first major publication on the sub-

TABLE 3. Sections in the Dutch Penal Code Containing Age Limits with Respect to Sexuality

Section	Prohibition	Maximum Jail Sentence*	
		Maximum Jail	Sentence*
239	Obscene acts in a place accessible to children	3 months	
240a	Detrimental showing of objects to children	2 "	
240b	Sale or public display of child pornography	3 "	
244	Coition with a girl under 12	12 years	
245***	Coition with a girl between 12 and 16	8 "	
247	Sex with a child	6 "	
	Seducing a child to coition with a third party	6 "	



TABLE 3 (continued)

248ter***	Inducing an uncorrupted minor to commit or tolerate sexual acts by presenting or promising gifts, abuse of power, or deception	4 years
249	Sex with a dependent minor	6 "
250	Inciting or promoting sex with a dependent minor	3 "
	Inciting or promoting sex with a minor	4 "
250ter	Trafficking minors	5 "

\* There is no legal minimum.

\*\* "Child(ren)" refers to persons under 16; "Minors" are (since 1998) under 18.

\*\*\* Prosecution takes place only in case of a formal complaint by the victim, or his/her legal representatives if the victim is under 16.

Section 248ter is at present only relevant for minors older than 16: minors under 16 are dealt with in section 247. In 1985 the Minister of Justice I unsuccessfully proposed to apply the formulation (after deleting the word "uncorrupted" and the requirement of a formal complaint) to sex with children between 12 and 16.

ject by the gay organization COC, the term pedophilia was used in the context of man-boy love (specifically sexually mature boys).<sup>25</sup> Outside the COC, 1960 saw the start of the Enclave publishing house, the publications of which also dealt mainly with man-boy relationships. Out of it grew the Enclave Circle, founded in 1962 by Victor Servatius (Frits Bernard). Its purposes were: "To give help and advice to pedophiles in distress and to promote empirical research."<sup>26</sup>

The Enclave Circle soon found itself in a monopoly position as efforts to organize pedophiles in the COC were unsuccessful. Sandfort observes that in the COC animosity against pedophilia grew markedly in the sixties, whereas before that time it had not been prevalent.<sup>27</sup> This is not hard to explain. In the social climate before 1960 a gay group could only have a closeted structure and inward looking activities. Pedophilia and homosexuality were in the same boat as long as section 248bis existed. But when the public attitude became less hostile and the chances of a repeal of section 248bis grew, the COC considered any link with pedophilia too great a liability. It formally reversed its position only in 1980.

The NVSH was much more forthcoming. As early as 1969 it had concluded its conference "The State as Moralist" with the words: "Sexuality is a matter for all ages" and "A critical investigation of the function of the age of consent would be useful."<sup>28</sup> In 1971 it founded its Federation of Working Groups on Pedophilia (L.Wg.P.), in which the local groups of the NVSH cooperated. Its original purposes were the modest ones of the Enclave Circle to which it was the natural successor. It caught public attention with its first publication, "Sex with Children" (1971), which dealt with the legal and psychological aspects of that issue and questioned the merits of the age of consent. A few quiet years followed, after which the L.Wg.P. evolved into a center of activism where useful political action was combined with the developing of sometimes grandiloquent philosophies.

In 1972 the national radio system and the press began to discover pedophilia as a new item worth exploring. This was the time when the media broke new grounds and played a leading role in the lifting of taboos. It was only logical that they would take up pedophilia in the process. In general their attitude was neutral, not inimical. But



the first TV coverage, in 1974, which linked pedophilia with two recent cases of child murder, was a setback that made the L.Wg.P. reluctant to seek out further media contacts.

The main reason why it overcame its hesitance to go public is that external circumstances forced it to do so. The Melai committee was reviewing all sex laws, including the ones with age limits. There stood a good chance of substantial legislative change in the immediate future. On the other hand, an unfavorable recommendation by the committee was likely to darken the prospects of change for decades to come. The motto was, "Now or never."

Not aware of the fact that the Melai report would be published only in 1980 and the first formal bill only in 1985, the L.Wg.P. felt itself forced to give overriding priority to political action for quick legislative change. It was inspired by a report prepared under the auspices of the National Center for Public Mental Health, which had concluded that all special legislation concerning sex with children should be repealed.<sup>29</sup> The fact that the authors had jumped to that conclusion by a rather loose argumentation did not prevent the L.Wg.P. from presenting a report with a similar recommendation in 1978.<sup>30</sup> This report made a lopsided survey of all the drawbacks of the age of consent and concluded that it should be abolished. As a result, the opponents of such an abolition were strengthened in their conviction that the L.Wg.P. was unaware of the nature and the extent of sexual abuse of children. It did not even lay the basis for a compromise with those who held more moderate views. But only a half year later the L.Wg.P. did better by launching a petition, together with other organizations, which asked for a modification of the laws to the effect that the main drawbacks of the prevailing prohibition would be eliminated.<sup>31</sup> This petition drew an unexpectedly large support from about sixty organizations, including the left-wing and centrist non-religious political parties and a range of experts from various disciplines.

Apparently alarmed by the success of the petition, the opposition started to mobilize. The first major opponent was the section of child and youth psychiatry of The Netherlands Society for Psychiatry.<sup>32</sup> These psychiatrists opposed any decriminalization, one of their main arguments being that it would undermine parental authority. This argument is obviously wrong: parental authority is a

matter of civil law and is not affected by a change in the penal laws. The psychiatrists' views were as extreme as those of the L.Wg.P. in its early years (but in the opposite direction) and this may have been the reason why they did not convince the Ministry of Justice. On the other hand, the Melai committee adopted many of the psychiatrists' views and strongly rejected the report by the L.Wg.P. and the petition. As previously said, the Melai report was not entirely followed up by the Minister of Justice. But it was nevertheless indicative of the spirit of the subsequent years. After 1980 sexual abuse became the major political issue, superseding that of more positive experiences children might have.

At first this did not seem to be a major problem for the L.Wg.P.'s successor, the NVSH Working Group on Youth Emancipation (L.Wg.J.). This group was formed in 1979 with the intention of focusing on children's sexual emancipation rather than on pedophilia (see the next section). It recognized the need for additional legislation against sexual abuse of children in addition to the general prohibition of rape and assault and it sought cooperation with groups concerned with children's rights: the Society Against Sexual Abuse of Children (VSKM), *Kindervuist* ("Kid's Fist," an action group run by children) and Defence for Children International. In 1983 it took the initiative at one of the first large conferences in The Netherlands on incest (organized by the more prestigious Society for Sexology), where one of the VSKM's members, herself a victim of incest, was a prominent speaker. Most views expressed in that conference were moderate and calls for more severe penalties and prosecution were far from dominant. The general stance of movements against sexual abuse did not seem to preclude a consensus with the aims of the L.Wg.J. The juvenile police units expressed moderate views and supported decriminalization to some extent in 1982 (see note 23). In that year the government sponsored a large conference on sexual assault of women and girls, which was meant to be a starting point for the development of a government policy. The participants of the workshop on child sexual abuse warned that the "new progressiveness" concerning intergenerational sex should not lead to restraint in the approach to child abuse, but it also stated that pedophilia should not be considered on a par with abuse.<sup>33</sup>

Polarization increased gradually, however. In 1984 the views of



the L.Wg.J and the VSKM had diverged to such an extent that cooperation was no longer possible. On the surface the discord was over the question whether or not all adult/child sex should be regarded as abuse. But the underlying cause was the radicalization of the anti-incest lobby, which rapidly gained size and clout under the influence of media attention and the great number of victims speaking out. Child pornography brought a new element into the discussion in 1984 following a few spectacular appearing raids by the Amsterdam police and after allegations in the U.S. Congress about the supposedly voluminous trade in such pornography by Dutch residents (allegations that, after a serious investigation, appeared unsustainable).<sup>34</sup>

The L.Wg.J. held a last meeting in 1984, not to resurface before 1987. Meanwhile activities of the protagonists have become scattered among various organizations. The NVSH has two national and several local groups, at least one of which (in the southern town of Maastricht) cooperates with social workers and the local police. The COC, which, after formally abandoning its anti-pedophile stance in 1980, had cooperated with the L.Wg.J. in developing an alternative for the prevailing sex laws, and other gay groups, are active in the field.<sup>35</sup> There exists a separate society, adorned with the boy's name "Martijn," which focuses exclusively on pedophilia and whose main activity is the bimonthly publication of the magazines "OK" and "Persfocus." It counts several hundred members. A serious magazine is published in English under the name "Paidika." In addition, a number of people are active on an individual basis, in particular by writing articles and books about intergenerational sex.

### THE PROTAGONISTS: THEIR IDEOLOGY

The L.Wg.P.'s ideology has been formed both by the NVSH, of which it was a part, and by the small and more radical gay groups that emerged alongside the COC around 1970. Thinking in the NVSH was inspired by one of its most prominent foreign members, the Belgian historian Jos Van Ussel (who died in 1976). Van Ussel analyzed sexual emancipation by using a model in which he distin-

guished three stages.<sup>36</sup> The first of these, "sexual reform," aims at a more humane approach to sexuality. It stresses the need for enlightenment, relief work, medical treatment instead of punishment for sex offenders, but it does not meddle with the primacy of monogamous heterosexuality. The latter activity is done only in the second stage: "sexual revolution in a narrow sense," in which people begin experimenting with alternative lifestyles. Partner swaps, homosexuality, pornography, and pedophilia come to be accepted and legislation of morality is challenged. To his own credit, Van Ussel emphasized that this does not necessarily imply emancipation as long as the division of powers in society is not better balanced. For example, whether adult/child sex is beneficial cannot be considered in isolation. In an authoritarian environment it is as damaging as other aspects of education.<sup>37</sup> It can only be beneficial to the extent that it follows from the child's right of self-determination. This view characterizes Van Ussel's third stage, which he called "emancipation of man and society."

The gay groups referred to above inspired the L.Wg.P.'s rejection of the noun "pedophiles" and its view on the pedophile identity. These groups disapproved of the cautious approach of the COC at their time. Since 1964 the COC had called itself Netherlands Society of Homophiles COC, a name that was supposed to reflect its coming out as an organization as well as the strong emphasis it put on the existence of a homosexual (or "homophile" as it was euphemistically called) identity.<sup>38</sup> According to these critics, the COC did not go beyond claiming a place under the sun for gays as a separate group, asking for tolerance rather than aiming at integration.<sup>39</sup> A homosexual preference was just one out of many characteristics that make someone equal to or different from others. Homosexuality should be integrated into society by eliminating the notion that it varied essentially from heterosexuality. The COC adopted this philosophy in 1971 and changed its name accordingly into The Netherlands Society for Gay Integration COC. This name has been kept ever since, but the idea of a homosexual identity was far from abandoned. It came up again during the seventies and in various degrees of extremism. The most radical views were ex-



pressed by groups like *Rooie Flikkers* (Red Queers), which introduced the antithesis between oppressed homosexuality and oppressing heterosexuality and which formed the Dutch gay pride movement.

It appears that the integrationist trend became popular at a time when homosexuals had to undergo a catching-up process. Discriminatory measures and practices had to be eliminated and this made it useful to minimize the differences and stress the similarity between gay and straight. At present the political discussion focuses on measures of which homosexuals would be the main beneficiaries, notably laws against discrimination on account of sexual preference. In this context it is felt to be more productive to emphasize the separate identity of the group of beneficiaries rather than to play it down. For pedophile emancipation, this latter stage is still far out of reach. It is therefore not surprising that the L.Wg.P. has been directed mainly by the integrationists.

In view of its purposes, Van Ussel would have categorized the L.Wg.P. in its first years as well as the Enclave Circle in his first stage. Later on, the working group tried to work out an ideology on the basis of Van Ussel's third stage, as well as on the views of the radical gay movement of the early seventies. It developed what it called the broad view, as opposed to the traditional one based on the concept of a pedophile identity. The first major element of this philosophy was the recognition of sexual activity on the part of children and the merits of an education that does not frustrate such activity. Adults' power over children can entail both sexual abuse and the prevention of children's sexual experiencing. Both are abuse and should be prevented, by legislation among other means.

The second element stressed, like the movement for gay integration did, that not only a minority of people with a special "pedophile" identity, but many others, are receptive of the sexual advances of children. More in particular, the age of consent threatens not specifically a handful of "pedophiles," but all those who do not frustrate sexual experimenting by children.

Finally, specific legislation against sexual abuse of children is needed to the extent that it is required by children's right of self-determination. Later the concepts of active and passive consent, used among others by L. Constantine, were adopted to underline

this point: adult/child sex should be decriminalized only in the case of active consent on the part of the child.<sup>40</sup>

One of the first expressions of this ideology was the publication in 1977 of a collection of letters in which people told about their own sexual experiences, both good and bad ones, before their 16th birthday.<sup>41</sup> This strategy seemed more promising than the one that dwelt upon the problems of a pedophile minority since it focused on the interests of a much larger group. To mark the new strategy, the name Working Group on Youth Emancipation was adopted in 1979.

Attractive though it seemed, the strategy failed to gain broad approval and understanding. It might have been more successful if it had been adopted much earlier by a group concerned with children's rights. For the L.Wg.P., burdened by its own past as a group of pedophiles, it came too late. The aging membership of the NVSH hardly provided an environment to start a working group on youth emancipation. The L.Wg.J. disintegrated in the early eighties. Many members had never shown much interest in youth emancipation in the first place, preoccupied as they were with their private concerns. Quite a few joined the new and insulated group which calls itself "Martijn Society."

## EPILOGUE

If the general stance with respect to pedophilia in The Netherlands is considered moderate, this can only be in comparison to other nations. The difference between The Netherlands and Anglo-Saxon countries was particularly pronounced in 1977. In that year both the L.Wg.P. and the Paedophile Information Exchange organized their first public meetings in Amsterdam and London, respectively. The meeting in England incited street riots, a vigorous press campaign, imprisonment for PIE members, and finally the elimination of PIE. In the same year, Anita Bryant and Judianne Densen-Gerber campaigned forcefully in the United States. The conference in Amsterdam was followed by an upsurge in media attention to pedophilia in which negative responses were hardly heard. Even the popular press interviewed adult and teenage partners in sexual relationships, including consenting parents of the latter. A major break-



through was a talk show on television in 1978 in which former junior partners told the audience about their juvenile experiences.

This contrast with the situation prevailing in other countries has certainly created the impression that The Netherlands' success was just around the corner with those who struggled with extreme adversity in their own lands. But it can hardly be argued that the extremism in Great Britain and the United States provides an adequate standard by which to judge any situation elsewhere.

This article has tried to explain the nature and origins of Dutch tolerance, which is built on a tradition that goes back to the inception of the state. This tolerance has allowed free discussion of pedophilia and the age of consent and also relatively mild prosecution. But it has not led to legal change, nor to a wide acceptance of voluntary intergenerational sexual relationships. The NVSH working groups L.Wg.P. and L.Wg.J. have greatly benefitted from the social climate between 1965 and 1980, during which most sexual taboos were lifted. They were small groups, without any leverage by themselves, but they had time on their side. The sharp decline of the number of convictions for sex below the age of consent could be attributed only partly to the efforts of these groups: the trend has been visible long before they started their political activities.

The present state of affairs is aptly illustrated by a phrase in a recent governmental report on sexual violence against women and girls: "recent developments which stress children's sexuality are laudable as such, but they may hamper a proper judgment of sexual abuse."<sup>43</sup>

Such views are obviously at variance with claims that every sexual contact below the age of consent is tantamount to assault and warrants prosecution. These claims are heard in The Netherlands especially among social workers and conservative religious groups, but such extreme views are not commonly shared. A feminist point of view does not necessarily imply an outright anti-pedophile stance.

The prospects for the near future are highly uncertain. As far as the legislative process is concerned, the government which resigned in 1989 was no longer willing to propose any change. The opposition parties, however, were of the view that the revision of the

moral laws needs to be completed. The government that was formed after the 1989 general elections seems unable as yet to agree on a further revision, so that any new initiative will have to come from parliament.

But it is unlikely that any substantial legislative change will occur in the foreseeable future. Not only was the public outcry that followed Minister Korthals Altes' proposal in 1985 an indication that popular support for change is lacking, but also has prosecutory policy become considerably harsher since that year. One important contributing factor has been pressure from American official circles following allegations in the U.S. Congress (November 1984) that The Netherlands ranked among the most important exporters of child pornography to the United States. Since then the Dutch and American governments have worked together with the effect of curbing what existed of this trafficking to virtual non-existence. But in addition to this, FBI methods of tracking down the supposed makers and collectors of child pornography have been copied for a part by the Dutch law enforcers. Hans Heesters of the Amsterdam police's youth and morals bureau attended an FBI course in 1985 where he was instructed by Supervisory Special Agent Kenneth V. Lanning, whose work has had a decisive impact on the prosecution of Americans suspected of child abuse. Mr. Heesters reported: "What Lanning told us was extremely interesting and has been very helpful in our work here, particularly his insights into the way child abusers collect and disseminate child pornography. When we go on house searches now, we know what to look for."<sup>44</sup> In 1987 the FBI's teaching resulted in the adoption by the Ministry of Justice of new guidelines for tracing and prosecuting supposed child pornographers.<sup>45</sup> In fact, these guidelines target those who engage in sexual contacts with underage minors.

At present it can hardly be expected that the tide will turn soon. Nevertheless, the conditions that made The Netherlands a place where issues such as pedophilia and the age of consent were discussed in a comparatively reasonable fashion have not ceased to exist. Whether these factors will ever lead to a turnaround of public attitude, only time can tell.



## NOTES

1. In a recent inquiry carried out in The Netherlands only 24% of those polled considered the Dutch tolerant. Message number 2480 of The Netherlands Institute for Public Opinion (NIPO), March 3, 1988.
2. O'Carroll (1982), page 241.
3. Van Der Heijden (1984).
4. *Time*, March 25, 1985.
5. Kossmann (1974), page 17.
6. Tielman (1982), page 53.
7. Ariès (1973), Van Den Bergh (1974), Ch. 2, Kapteyn (1980), Ch IV.
8. Bullough (1976), pp. 570-572, De Bruine Ploos Van Amstel, pp. 396-397.
9. Quoted in Brongersma (1970), page 34.
10. *Vrij Nederland* [Free Netherlands], February 6, 1971.
11. See Doorn and Bommelje (1987).
12. Kooy (1975), page 52.
13. Kooy (1983).
14. *Sekstant* (NVSH magazine), August 1986, page 4.
15. Doomen (1976).
16. Kooy (1975), page 276.
17. Kapteyn (1980).
18. He did so on January 30, 1988 in a speech at a conference to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the Martijn Society, a Dutch pedophile emancipation organization. An English translation of his speech appeared in *Paidika, the Journal of Pedophilia*, number 4, Autumn 1988. See: Roethof (1988).
19. The general prohibition of discrimination in section 1 of the Constitution requires further legislation to stipulate which forms of distinction are to be considered as discrimination (and hence forbidden). This is the exclusive prerogative of the legislator; unlike their U.S. counterparts the Dutch judges are not entitled to rule that a law is unconstitutional. A problem is how to balance section 1 and section 23, which guarantees the freedom of private schools.
20. Kooy (1983).
21. Dobbeling and Koenders (1984).
22. Melai Committee (1980), page 31.
23. The comments by the heads of the juvenile police units were made available to the author. Meanwhile the police has shifted its stance in favor of maintaining the prohibition as it is.
24. See Van Straelen (1982).
25. Brunoz (1960).
26. Born (1973), page 8.
27. Sandfort (1980).
28. Born (1973), page 14.
29. NCGV (1976).
30. NVSH (1978).

31. The text of the petition is added to: Melai Committee (1980), as appendix II, page 53.
32. The letter by these psychiatrists is added to: Melai Committee (1980), as appendix III, page 55.
33. Acker and Rawie (1982), page 107.
34. Working Group on Child Pornography (1986), page 10.
35. NVSH/COC (1984).
36. Van Ussel (1974), third section.
37. Quotation from Füss (1984), page 10.
38. Tielman (1982), page 173. COC stood for Center for Recreation and Culture; since 1964 COC has been a meaningless acronym.
39. Van Der Heyden (1983), page 130.
40. Constantine and Martinson (1981).
41. Füss and Goslinga (1977).
42. Kappeyne van de Coppello and Korthals Altes (1984), page 31 (typed).
43. See the psychiatrist F. Beyaert in: Frenken and Doomen (1984), page 206.
44. Hebditch and Anning (1988), page 323.
45. An English translation of the guidelines, as proposed by a task force appointed by the Minister of Justice, appeared in: "Child Pornography and Pedophilia," Report made by the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Governmental Affairs of the United States Senate, Washington, D.C., October 9, 1986, page 32, note 131.

## REFERENCES

- Acker, H. and Rawie, M. (1982). *Seksueel geweld tegen vrouwen en meisjes* [Sexual Assault of Women and Girls]. The Hague: Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment.
- Ariès, Ph. (1973). *Centuries of Childhood*. Harmondsworth Middlesex.
- Bernard, F. et al. (1971). *Sex met kinderen* [Sex with Children]. The Hague: NVSH Alphaboek.
- Born, E.O. (1973). *Pedofiele integratie na 1959* [Pedophile Integration after 1959]. Utrecht: Storm.
- Brongersma, E. (1970). *Sex en straf* [Sex and Punishment]. The Hague: NVSH Sex Libris.
- Brunoz, O. (E. Brongersma) (1960). *Pedofilie* [Pedophilia]. Amsterdam: COC.
- Bullough, V.L. (1976). *Sexual Variance*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Constantine, L.L. (1981). "The Effect of Early Sexual Experience, A Review and Synthesis of Research," in Constantine, L.L. and Martinson, F.M. (eds.) (1981). *Children and Sex, New Findings, New Perspectives*. Boston: Litt. Brown.
- De Bruine Ploos Van Amstel, P. J., *De prostitutie door alle eeuwen* [Prostitution Through all Ages]. Mulder and Co.
- Dobbeling, M. and Koenders, P. (1984). *Het topje van de ijsberg* [The Tip of the Iceberg]. Utrecht: Homostudies.



- Doomen, J. (1976). *Verkrachting* [Rape]. Baarn: In den Toren.
- Doorn, P. and Bommelje, V. (1987). *Ontkerkelijking en verzuiling* [Secularization and Columnization]. Utrecht: Humanistisch Verbond.
- Frenken, J. and Doomen, J. (1984). *Strafbare seksualiteit* [Criminalized Sexuality]. Deventer: Van Loghum Slaterus, Recht en Welzijn.
- Füss, B. and Goslinga, G. (1977). *En me vriendje houdt van mij, 23 verhalen uit het leven gegrepen* [And my Boyfriend Loves me, 23 Life Stories]. The Hague: NVSH.
- Füss, B. (1984). "De zedenwetten zijn de wetten van een bezetter" [Moral Legislation is Dictatorial] *Heen en Weer* [To and Fro] NVSH Magazine, March 16, 1984.
- Hebditch, D. and Anning, N. (1988). *Porn Gold*. London: Faber and Faber Ltd.
- Kappeyne van de Coppello, A. and Korthals Altes, F. (1984). *Nota met betrekking tot het beleid ter bestrijding van sexueel geweld tegen vrouwen en meisjes* [Memorandum on the Policy Against Sexual Assault of Women and Girls]. The Hague: Governmental Memorandum.
- Kapteyn, P. (1980). *Taboe, macht en moraal in Nederland* [Taboo, Power and Morals in The Netherlands]. Amsterdam: Synopsis.
- Kooy, G.A. (1975). *Seksualiteit, huwelijk en gezin in Nederland, ontwikkelingen en vooruitzichten* [Sexuality, Marriage, and the Family in The Netherlands, Developments and Prospects]. Deventer: Van Loghum Slaterus, Sociologische Monografieën.
- Kooy, G.A. (1983). *Sex in Nederland* [Sex in The Netherlands]. Utrecht: Het Spectrum.
- Kossmann, E. H. (1984). *Tolerantie toen en nu* [Tolerance in the Past and at Present]. Gouda: Coornhertstichting.
- Melai-committee (1980). *Eindrapport van de Adviescommissie-zedelijkheids-wetgeving* [Final Report of the Committee on Moral Legislation]. The Hague: Staatsuitgeverij.
- NCGV [National Center for Public Mental Health] (1976). *Pedofilie en samenleving* [Pedophilia and Society]. Utrecht: NCGV.
- Nijhof, G. (1978). "Nederlanders over pedofilie" [The Dutch on Pedophilia], *Maandblad Geestelijke Volksgezondheid* [Public Mental Health Monthly]. January 1978.
- NVSH (Dutch Society for Sexual Reform) (1978). *Leeftijdsgrenzen in de zedelijkheidswetgeving, bescherming of bedreiging?* [The Age of Consent in Moral Legislation: Protection or Threat?]. The Hague: NVSH.
- NVSH and NVIH COC (1984). *Zeden en Straffen* [Morals and Punishment]. Amsterdam: COC.
- O'Carroll, T. (1982). *Paedophilia, the Radical Case*. Boston: Alyson Publications.
- Roethof, H. J., "Government and Good Morals," *Paidika* No. 4, Autumn 1988.
- Sandfort, T. (1980). "Het COC en de pedofilie" [The COC and Pedophilia]. *Homologie*, September 1980.

- Tielman, R. (1982). *Homoseksualiteit in Nederland* [Homosexuality in The Netherlands]. Meppel: Boom.
- Van den Bergh, J. H. (1974). *Metabletica*. Nijkerk: Callenbach.
- Van der Heijden, A.W.M. (1984). "Seksuele Criminaliteit 1975-1982" [Sexual Crimes, 1975-1982]. *Maandstatistiek politie, justitie en brandweer* [Monthly Statistics of Police, Judiciary and Fire Department], Central Bureau of Statistics, 1984/2.
- Van der Heyden, M. (1983). "De homo is dood, leve de homo. Opvattingen over de identiteit in de homobeweging van de jaren zeventig" [The Homosexual is Dead, Long Live the Homosexual. Views on the Identity in the Gay Movement in the Seventies]. *Homojaarboek* [Gay Yearbook] 2. Amsterdam: Van Genep.
- Van Straelen, F.W.M. (1982). "Het rapport van de Werkgroep Zedelijkheidswetgeving" [The Report of the Working Group on Morals Legislation]. *Trema*, 1982, page 72.
- Van Ussel, J. (1974). *Afscheid van de seksualiteit* [Farewell to Sexuality]. Deventer: Van Loghum Slaterus, Leven en Welzijn.
- Working Group on Child Pornography (1986). *Verslag van de werkgroep kinderpornografie* [Report by the Working Group on Child Pornography]. The Hague: Ministry of Justice.



- Thorstad, D. (1986). Man/boy love then and now — a personal-political appraisal. *NAMBLA Journal* (No. 7), pp. 6-13.
- Thorstad, D. (1979). The Socialist Workers Party vs. gay liberation (or the cuckoo builds a strange nest). *Gay Activist*, June-July, pp. 12-16. (Also published in *Gay Insurgent* (No. 7), Spring 1981, pp. 17-23.)
- Tsang, D. (Ed.; 1981). *The age taboo: Gay male sexuality, power and consent*. Boston: Alyson Publications.
- Wechsler, N. (1981). A state of siege: The new right and sexual repression. *Gay Community News*, July 18, pp. 4-5. Sadomasochism: Fears, facts, fantasies. *Gay Community News*, August 15, pp. 6-8. (Interview with Pat Califia and Gayle Rubin.)

## The Study of Intergenerational Intimacy in North America: Beyond Politics and Pedophilia

Gerald P. Jones, PhD

Institute for the Study of Women and Men  
in Society  
University of Southern California

**SUMMARY.** Intergenerational intimacy, social as well as sexual, has been studied in the United States and abroad for some time. In recent years the general trend has been to label such behavior "child sexual abuse." Interest in this type of abuse has generated a considerable amount of more or less scientific literature, some of which seems to have been produced in a "rush to judgment" attempt to build a "professional" literature that supports popular beliefs. This tradition of child-abuse-defined literature, along with the work of investigative and helping agencies which some refer to as a "child abuse industry," has fostered a one-sided, simplistic picture of intergenerational intimacy. A close look at the empirical studies in this tradition reveals flaws associated with two problems: the studies nearly always (1) maintain a narrow focus on sexual contact, and (2) proceed from the related basic assumption that sexual contact in intergenerational relationships by definition constitutes abuse. While sexual abuse certainly occurs, those who apply this assumption to all situations are ignoring empirical findings that show otherwise. Research outside the "child sexual abuse" tradition reveals a broader range of intergenerational relationships outside the family,

---

Dr. Gerald P. Jones was Affiliated Scholar in the Institute for the Study of Women and Men in Society at the University of Southern California from 1986 to 1990. Correspondence should be addressed to Gerald P. Jones, PhD, Box 18425, Los Angeles, CA 90018-0425.

Grateful acknowledgement is given to Dr. Edward Brongersma, and in particular to Dr. Theo Sandfort for editorial assistance befitting the highest standards of the profession.



including a number of aspects which typically are not seen when the focus is on the sexual. Some studies show clearly that even when sexual contact is involved, negative outcomes are not inevitable. This indicates the need for a much broader approach. Further research in North American society and in other cultures would help us to understand more accurately the diversity and possible benefits of intergenerational intimacy.

Children and adults interact in a variety of ways in every human culture. Indeed, it is absurd to conceive of a society in which children are totally isolated from adults, Golding's *Lord of the Flies* and other allegories notwithstanding. The nature and importance of these interactions, however, is not easily agreed upon, especially in societies such as the United States where the father-dominant nuclear family is often seen as the ideal and alternative structures or influences are perceived as threats (Eliasoph, 1986). Likewise, there is disagreement about the nature and importance of childhood itself. Some insist, for example, that children become responsible adults by being given more choice, rather than less, earlier rather than later (Farson, 1974; Gross and Gross, 1977; Rodman, Lewis and Griffith, 1984). Others see the basic right of the child to be innocence, the right to be sheltered as much as possible from the world outside the home until she or he is thought to be old enough to deal effectively with its harsh realities (Janus, 1981). The child's inherent innocence often is equated with the incorrect notion that children are asexual (Jackson, 1982). Children's sexuality, indeed, is one of the most controversial topics of the present day, in spite of the fact that decades of research have documented the existence of sexual response and feelings (Bakwin, 1971; Kinsey et al., 1948; 1953) as well as the development of overt sexual behavior (Broderick, 1968) in preadolescents.

Consideration of the full range of possibilities in child-adult interactions often seems to be ignored in favor of more and more discussion about the importance of insulating children from anything even potentially sexual involving adults. The trend, also, has been for various agencies and people to capitalize on the sensationalism of the issue, as noted by Eberle and Eberle (1986):

We set out to unravel the mystery, and this is what we got: very little evidence of child molestation and a great deal of extremely corrupt behavior by police, prosecutors and "mental health professionals," resulting in the devastation of innocent people's lives and families. There has indeed been child abuse—perpetrated by representatives of the government and police. . . . (p. 283)

Brongersma (1984) analyzes the roots of these trends, showing how moralists began to target child sexuality, and pedophiles in particular, "slightly over a century ago" (p. 79). One purpose of this paper is to show how these trends are reflected as well as abetted in social science literature, and then to outline and encourage alternatives for more accurate, unbiased and comprehensive future research.

### DEFINITIONS AND DELIMITATIONS

This paper begins with the premise that children and adolescents can experience close one-to-one friendships with adults, and that many actually do so. The term used here to describe these friendships is "intergenerational intimacy." This term includes all non-coercive, two-way interactions in which a physically mature adult and a pre-adult in mid-adolescence or younger share interests, communicate with and trust each other, share responsibility for and power in the relationship, spend time together, and feel mutually fond of one another.<sup>1</sup> Sexual contact is not assumed in this definition of intimacy, and if present, is regarded as adjunct rather than essential. By the same token, intergenerational sexual contact alone does not constitute an intimate relationship—though a sex-only relationship is not automatically assumed to be abuse, either.

"Intimate intergenerational relationship" as used here is not synonymous with pedophilia, child sexual abuse, pederasty, or other commonly used terms. Rather, *some* of these terms are seen as limited aspects of intergenerational intimacy. For example, "pedophilia" (at least in modern usage) is not the same as intergenerational intimacy since it is usually limited to contacts involving sexual activity. Other terms, such as "child abuse," are considered



to be the antithesis of intimacy, and are used here to refer to behavior that is demonstrably harmful.

Some overlap between the concept of intergenerational intimacy and that of child abuse must be acknowledged, in that both involve child/adult contact and it is possible for both to involve love and caring on the part of one or both participants. The crucial difference has to do with mutuality and control. Abuse consists of an unreasonable, unilateral imposition by the adult of unwanted behavior upon the other person—even though occasionally it might be in the context of an otherwise close relationship—thereby at least partially denying the younger individual's exercise of choice. Such unwanted behavior may be induced by trickery, coercion, physical force or a number of other devices. These strategies are not typical of intergenerational intimacy, where the ability of both persons to exercise choice is fundamental.

The element of choice also points to a distinction between intimate relationships within families, and relationships between youngsters and adults outside the family. The former are highly socially scripted interactions which are more often accepted rather than chosen, learned rather than created. While intra-familial intimate relationships do exist and should be included in the scope of intergenerational intimacy, it is assumed that the element of conscious choice is not a salient factor in family intimacy, at least until the later stages of development. Relationships that arise in other socially-prescribed institutions, such as the school or church, also are seen as structured; moreover, even the closest of them usually are not characterized by the kind of intimacy described above. If a teacher-student relationship, for example, were to involve such intimacy, in the context of this paper it no longer would be considered a teacher-student relationship, but would be classified as intergenerational intimacy. For these reasons, intra-familial closeness and relationships like those between teacher and student will not be discussed here as such.

The scope of intergenerational intimacy logically includes both cross-sex and same-sex interactions. For reasons derived from developmental theory and research, however, this paper is limited to a discussion of same-sex relationships.<sup>2</sup> The pre-adult period of social development is characterized by a large majority of a girl's social

time and energy being spent with females, and a boy's with males. The overwhelming tendency for children to choose best friends of their same sex is well-known (Jones and Dembo, 1986; Sharabany, Gershoni and Hofman, 1981). Identity development in adolescence typically is associated with selective attention to a same-sex parent (Marcia, 1980). It is also widely assumed, though not well-documented in empirical research, that pubescents in particular tend to make use of older persons of their sex outside the family as role models and heroes. This strong tendency suggests that same-sex intergenerational intimacy may be developmentally functional.<sup>3</sup>

For this discussion of intergenerational relationships, no essential qualitative distinction is made between man/boy and woman/girl relationships, though the latter are almost never considered in empirical, theoretical or historical literature. For male relationships, the term "pederasty" often has been used, at least in the historical literature; no corresponding term describing female relationships is known to this author. Etymologically, pederasty actually might come the closest to the concept of same-sex intergenerational intimacy that is the subject of this paper, except for the use of the term in recent centuries as a synonym for all homosexuality (Oaks, 1979/80) and the even more recent quasi-medical definition as anal sexual contact with no connotation of emotional involvement (Freedman, Kaplan and Sadock, 1976).

### THE "CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE" LITERATURE

The research arising from the recent surge of interest in the issue of child sexual abuse generally has mirrored society's preconceived notions. The primary flaw evident in the bulk of research studies in this tradition is that when intergenerational relationships are studied, it is because they involve sexual behavior, and the focus is on the sexual behavior through a sort of empirical "tunnel-vision," as if no other aspect of the relationships were important. A related error is that any type of sexual contact, from penetration to kissing or non-genital caressing, regardless of the age of the "child," is defined categorically as abuse. In fact, the trend in the United States in recent years has been to widen the scope of so-called "sexual" contact to include affection thought to be excessive or inappropriate



(Eberle and Eberle, 1986), touching any part of a child's body—clothed or unclothed—with sexual “intent” (State of California Penal Code, Section 288 *et seq.*), and even photographing clothed children in order to stimulate later sexual fantasies (*State of California v. Albert Guindon*, Riverside County Municipal Court, January 1983).

A typical assumption of the child sexual abuse literature is that sexual contact with an adult is emotionally traumatic and causes damage that often extends well into adulthood. This is not at all an established conclusion in the empirical literature (Wilson and Cox, 1983). Such harm undoubtedly can occur, though a number of authors have pointed out that the trauma may be induced or exacerbated by strong reactions of parents, police, court officials and other adults when they discover that such activity has taken place (Lempp, 1978; Mohr, 1968; Weeks, 1976). Some studies have found benign or even beneficial results in boys who were at the time involved with men (Ingram, 1981; Sandfort, 1981, 1983) and in adults who had been involved in sexual relationships with adult men when they were boys (Landis, 1956; Tindall, 1978). These findings are significant because the child sexual abuse literature, as it developed in the 1970s, ignored the earlier studies that found no harm due to sexual contact *per se* (e.g., Bender and Grugett, 1952; Landis, 1956), just as today's writers are ignoring more recent literature which discusses intergenerational contact and child sexuality in value-neutral terms (see Jones, 1982, 1984, for a review of these).

### **The “Child Abuse Industry”**

Some of the research dealing with child sexual abuse may be conducted for the secondary purpose of justifying existing or proposed law enforcement activities, not for primary purposes of adding to professional knowledge regarding human behavior. The “child abuse industry”<sup>4</sup> is the term sometimes applied to the collection of professionals who, one way or another, earn livelihoods from investigating, treating, prosecuting or otherwise dealing with those involved in child abuse. In effect, they both profit from and influence public policy regarding child abuse.

The literature associated with “child abuse industry” profession-

als is often identifiable by the fact that its authors are involved professionally in careers which depend on the continued existence of child sexual abuse, for example foundation directors (Densen-Gerber, 1980; Densen-Gerber and Hutchinson, 1977), therapists and child sexual abuse consultants (MacFarlane, 1978; Nielsen, 1983; Summit, 1983), law enforcement officers (Lanning, 1984; Tyler, 1982a, 1982b), or combinations of these (Lanning and Burgess, 1984; Stone, Tyler and Mead, 1984). Articles by such authors often contain non-empirical statements of opinion, personal experience, policy suggestions and, too often, sensationalized detail from isolated, non-typical case studies. Those few that are empirical frequently gather their information from small samples of incarcerated or court-referred adults or children (e.g., Groth, Burgess, Birnbaum and Gary, 1978). The use of research designs without control samples is common. Many of these features are virtually identical with the literature before 1970 dealing with homosexuality (Hoffman, 1970).

### **Child Pornography: A Case in Point**

The controversy surrounding erotica and pornography provides clear examples of how questionable research is used to further the apparent goals of those in the “child abuse industry.” The act of photographing minors in sexually explicit poses has been illegal in the United States for a long time, but child abuse industry professionals in the last eight years have steadily continued their call for more legislation through the use of exaggerated statistics (Densen-Gerber and Hutchinson, 1979) and emotional rhetoric. It is not uncommon to hear testimony in legislative hearings claiming (or implying) that the presence of child pornography indicates pedophile behavior (Dworin, 1984), that pornography triggers child molesting (Radovich, 1984), that there is a “growing kiddie porn subculture” catered to by underground dealers filming “sex acts on infants as young as eight months” (Gentile, 1982), and that child pornography creates more victims every time it is used by its customers (*Los Angeles Times*, 1984; Tyler and Stone, 1985). What is uncommon, however, is to hear any mention of valid documentation of these



claims. The fact is that the vast majority of such claims, in the literature and elsewhere, are not founded on rigorous research.

A careful reading of the literature dealing with pornography reveals a different picture, as seen in the following examples. (1) The very Senate subcommittee that heard some of the testimony mentioned above concluded that child pornography is not increasing, is not profitable, and involves a minuscule number of people (United States Senate, 1986). (2) Pornography in general has been found to reduce, rather than heighten, the tendency to act out "antisocial sexual behavior" (Goldstein and Kant, 1973, p. 152). (3) A direct study of pedophiles and others, including controls, found that "deviant" groups, one of which was pedophile sex offenders, were characterized by *less* exposure to pornography during their adolescence than the "normal" groups studied (Goldstein, Kant, Judd, Rice and Green, 1971). (4) The legalization of all erotic materials in Denmark has resulted in a significant reduction of all sex crimes, including those against children (Lipton, 1976) (though Diamond, 1980, has disputed the particular Danish findings dealing with violent sexual assaults against women).

Clearly the issue of pornography is clouded by more than just variations in research methodology, and the need for quality investigations untainted by emotion is obvious. Existing research is far from conclusive, but the possibility exists that further studies might confirm earlier findings that erotica tends to reduce antisocial acting out. If child abuse professionals succeed in eliminating access to such materials, the net effect might actually be to increase the risk to children. The basic point is that we just don't know until we study the issue.

### ***Lack of Developmental Distinctions***

Pedophilia is usually defined as sexual interest in children (American Psychiatric Association, 1980), and the common criterion for such interest is that puberty has not yet occurred. Much of the literature fails to include specific reference to the age of the pre-adult being discussed—a problem in itself—but it becomes obvious in empirical studies that adolescents often are included along with younger children. In effect, the clinical/psychological definition of

pedophilia often is ignored in favor of the current law-enforcement use of the term, in which any adult sexually involved (or in some jurisdictions, merely attracted) to persons under the age of consent is referred to as a "pedophile" (Dworin, 1984). With the age of consent in most areas of the United States between 16 and 18 years, the result is that in evaluating and criticizing such research we are asked to consider "children" as a homogeneous group and to ignore the enormous developmental differences between grade-schoolers, for example, and those about to graduate from High School. Even if the law fails to make a distinction between the sexual liaison of an adult with a middle teenager and that of an adult with a five-year-old, the standards of social science research should require investigators to consider such differences.

### ***Unclear and Value-Laden Terminology***

Another distinction often lacking in child sexual abuse studies is that between various behaviors which "abuse" or "pedophilia" is thought to include. There is no question that child sexual abuse is a subject worthy of research attention, but when such terms are poorly defined and overgeneralized to include too wide a range of behaviors, scientific precision is lost, and studies cannot be compared or replicated. It is apparent that when a single study (Burgess, Hartman, McCausland and Powers, 1984) can encompass consenting relationships between adults and middle teenagers, sexual behavior of adults with six-year-olds, pictures of a ten year old boy undressing, and photographed sex games culminating in "urinating into the mouths and onto the faces of others" (p. 657), the use of a single umbrella term such as "child sexual abuse" is ill-advised.

In discussions of sexual behavior involving children, terms often are used in value-laden and prejudicial ways. For example, Kercher and McShane (1984) circulated a questionnaire to a carefully randomized sample of Texas residents. To elicit responses about subjects' childhood sexual contacts with adults, they asked the loaded question, "As a child, were you ever sexually abused?" (p. 497). These authors even went so far as to criticize a previous study by Riede, Capron, Ivey, Lawrence and Somolo (1979) as limited because "the term 'sexual experience' and not 'abuse' appears in the



wording of the questions" (Kercher and McShane, 1984, p. 496). It would seem that a respondent who enjoyed her or his childhood sexual behavior either would have to answer Kercher and McShane's question with a "No," or would have to re-evaluate the experience and label it as abuse.

If studies of child sexual abuse were limited to behavior meeting a strict definition of the term, then some terms such as "assault" or "molester" would be acceptable, when clearly defined. Even in such studies, however, if the parameters are clear and the issues accurately defined, the use of less value-laden terms might serve objectivity better. Terms such as "kiddie porn" or "child pornography" (Pierce, 1984) could be replaced by the more neutral "sexually explicit material." "Sexual assault victim" and "assailant" (DeJong, Hervada and Emmett, 1983) could be replaced by the more neutral "child" and "adult." The widespread abhorrence of these activities is not questioned, but this does not excuse the use of emotion-laden terminology in professional writing. It is difficult to imagine that the literature in other scholarly disciplines would tolerate such a moralistic or emotional tone.

In summary, the evidence presented in this section underscores the necessity for serious researchers to insist that emotion-charged and substandard scholarship be exposed wherever it appears. Writers who neglect to define "child" when talking about child sexual behavior and abuse (J.G. Jones, 1982; Nielsen, 1983; Summit, 1983) or to distinguish between child and adolescent (Densen-Gerber and Hutchinson, 1977; Pierce and Pierce, 1985) should be questioned. Researchers whose samples are biased (Fisher and Howell, 1970; Groth and Birnbaum, 1978), whose conclusions are overbroad and emotional (Burgess, Hartman, McCausland and Powers, 1984), or whose "research" consists mostly of secondary sources (Pierce, 1984) and focuses on extreme, lurid, non-representative and intentionally shocking case material (Baker, 1978; Densen-Gerber, 1980 and wherever she appears in print; Janus, 1981) should be challenged. "Scholars" whose expertise is limited to law-enforcement (Tyler, 1982a 1982b) or other narrowly specialized training should be exposed. Finally, writers who cite estimates or unfounded statistics and figures (Densen-Gerber and Hutchinson, 1979) should be held to answer.

### **THE POLITICAL CLIMATE: SUPPRESSION OF RESEARCH**

In addition to criticizing existing research, it is also important to consider the work that remains to be done. It is becoming apparent that the broad-based study of pedophilia and related issues is being limited by emotional public reaction and unprecedented attention from local and federal government officials. This is related to the fact that, according to newspaper and other reports, routine child-adult relationships, especially in professional settings such as day-care centers, also are being limited and restricted (Baker, 1985; Gardner, 1985). The suppression of research dealing with sex is nothing new. Sonenschein (1987) documents this history in chilling detail, from the purge of John Watson from Johns Hopkins just after WW I, to Kinsey's loss of Rockefeller Foundation funding and attendant FBI "monitoring." The FBI interest in Kinsey, according to documents obtained under the Freedom of Information Act, resulted from that agency's "feeling that continued research in Kinsey's direction would corrupt and endanger the nation's children" (p. 1). Sonenschein also documents recent seizures of sex-related research materials, including his own (in 1984), and those of the present author (in 1985). This is convincing evidence that Constantine and Martinson's (1981) warning about the special risks of research on children's sexuality, incest and pedophilia was well advised. In case one might think the discouragement of certain types of research comes only from outside the profession, Sonenschein (1987) cites almost unbelievable evidence to the contrary:

The first [way in which professional and scientific integrity is broken down] is perhaps the most astounding and involves the direct and conscious abandonment of science itself. . . . By asserting his personal belief that children inherently cannot consent to sex with adults, [David] Finkelhor says he deliberately "puts the argument on a moral, rather than empirical footing" (1979, p. 695). . . . Finkelhor . . . further insists that any empirical evidence to the contrary is irrelevant and is to be totally discounted. (p. 412)



### **DIRECTIONS FOR THE STUDY OF INTERGENERATIONAL INTIMACY**

Research outside the child sexual abuse tradition is available, and should be consulted and integrated into a framework that is more inclusive of the full range of actual and potential intergenerational behavior. This research, from longitudinal studies beginning in the 1930s (Bender and Grugett, 1952) through the present volume provides alternatives to the narrow focus on sexual abuse, and occasionally shows how intergenerational relationships can be studied without looking at sexual behavior at all (e.g., Seidl's [1982] study of Big Sisters, an organization in the United States which matches adult women with motherless girls).

Future research into adult-child sexual contacts conceptually should be considered part of the spectrum of behavior which also includes relationships between coaches and their team members, Big Sister/Little Sister and Big Brother/Little Brother pairs, parents and children, indeed all intergenerational contacts. The use of such a conceptual scheme may be the only way to understand fully the reality of the human behavior involved, to inform accurately public policy and popular attitudes, and to liberate research from the unfortunate biases and limitations of the past. In short, correctly identifying and outlining the whole picture may be the only way effectively to reduce true child abuse. Without accurate definitions and dependable research regarding true abuse the clarity needed to attack the problem effectively will remain elusive.

Some feminists have highlighted another important issue in the study of intergenerational relationships with their concern that male dominance and power needs may be the motivation for the adult who seeks contact with children (Lederer, 1980). Feminists rightly condemn the use of male power wherever it is used to maintain male dominance, and many see parallels between sexual adult-child contacts and the rape of adolescent or adult women. The available research, however, fails to support this position. Even explicitly sexual pedophilia—particularly homosexual (i.e., man-boy) contact—rarely involves the use of force or violence (Quinsey, 1977). The few studies done outside institutional settings (e.g., Ingram, 1981; Sandfort, 1981; 1983) suggest that such relationships can ex-

ist without the exercise of any manipulative power on the part of the adult.

The study of intergenerational relationships could point to alternatives to what feminist scholars have identified as destructive male dominance, provided that such relationships are characterized by intimacy and interpersonal equality, instead of the man-over-boy power imbalance typical of so many father/son or coach/player relationships, for example. Late childhood and early adolescence represent a turning point in development after which attitudes, roles and behavior patterns—especially friendship patterns (Jones and Dembo, 1986)—often are not as flexible as they were before. If qualities like warmth, intimacy or anti-sexism are going to be encouraged, the pre-adult years are probably the time to do so. After the age of 11 or 12, puberty begins to highlight physical differences of males and females, social pressures toward heterosexuality intensify, and homophobia begins to appear (Jones, 1985; see also Friday, 1981, for personal accounts of men whose childhood homosexual experiences stopped around puberty because of fears associated with homosexuality). Of course, "mainstream" man-boy contacts, typically revolving around sports and macho posturing, tend to reinforce sexist attitudes and glorification of violence, but not all intergenerational contacts are "mainstream." Systematic study of such relationships might reveal that some can result in behavioral outcomes on the part of boys that feminists would welcome.<sup>5</sup>

Indeed, the whole question of just what images of masculinity are functional in the socialization of boys could well be investigated, regardless of the question of sexual activity. Riddle's (1978) review of the literature shows how children—those who will be involved in homosexual behavior as well as those who will not—might well benefit from gay role models. Morin and Schultz (1978) have asserted that access to gay role models is indeed a right to which growing persons are entitled.

It may be that the study of intergenerational intimacy, especially when same-sex pairs are involved, is particularly well-suited to the growing community of lesbian and gay scholars. Morin (1977) has documented the effects of pro-heterosexual bias on research into homosexual behavior, which raises the legitimate question of whether heterosexual scholars in general are able to view non-het-



erosexual behavior objectively. Heterosexual researchers often are encumbered by biases such as Erikson's (e.g., 1968) in which he defined intimacy as the type of relationship characteristic of marriage, therefore characteristic of late adolescence and early adulthood. If he had been able to give same-sex relationships the same importance as heterosexual ones, he might have theorized, as did Sullivan (who was himself homosexual), that intimacy in its early forms begins in what he called life's first love relationships, those of the same-sex "chumships" of preadolescence (1953a, 1953b).

The possibility should be considered that intergenerational attraction on the part of some adults could constitute a lifestyle "orientation," rather than a pathological maladjustment as is typically assumed. It has been suggested, for example, that some forms of intergenerational contact, particularly male homosexual relationships involving boys at or around puberty, are a result of an integral, lifelong social/sexual preference on the part of the adult (Quinsey, 1977) which is analogous to the more familiar lesbian, androphile homosexual, or heterosexual orientations. This orientation is seen as different from situational, or transitory pedophile actions in which an adult male who usually fulfils his sexuality with adult females turns to children under temporary, unusual circumstances (Groth and Birnbaum, 1978). Further information regarding this distinction is needed, and it should be ascertained whether pedophile-like impulses are rare or relatively common, even in the general population (Righton, 1981).

Interview and projective-test studies should be designed to assess the importance of role-modeling, hero worship and similar constructs at various ages—and whether such relationships are more likely to be intergenerational or peer-based. We can't really know, as we move into a more egalitarian society with more egalitarian role definitions, whether same-sex role modeling and hero worship is necessary at some basic level. Intuitively it may seem likely that it is, considering its presence cross-culturally (Herdt, 1984; Williams, 1986), and the fact that core gender identity is one of the earliest acquired notions (Stoller, 1965), but we don't know until we identify the issue and begin to study it as such, both within our culture and in cross-cultural research.

Retrospective studies with a wide range of adults could provide

more information about people's reactions to early sexual involvement with adults, including trauma associated with sexual contacts and whether sexual activity in and of itself contributes to such trauma. With regard to the issue of consent, comparative studies could be conducted to determine how one's general ability to comprehend the world develops, and how or when competence and consent develop in non-sexual situations, such as choice of friends, activities outside the home, hobbies, personal responsibility or the ability to handle money effectively. These activities typically don't wait for an arbitrary age of consent.

### CONCLUSION

As in all research, the study of intimate intergenerational relationships, pedophilia, child sexuality and related issues will be effective only to the extent that professionals involved in such study resolve to identify and reject emotionality in all its forms and influences. Terminology must be neutral and each researcher and author must acknowledge the probability that society's emotional reactions are affecting her or his results or interpretations.

The study of these issues must include accurate definitions, and these definitions should whenever possible be standardized across studies. This includes specification of the ages and other characteristics associated with the terms child, adolescent, adult, pedophile, child molester, etc.; delineation of what constitutes sexual activity (e.g., does it include hugging? kissing? caressing?); and distinctions between such terms as erotica and pornography, sexual behavior and molestation, and so forth. In general, the criteria of social science literature, when a rationale exists, should be differentiated from criteria of the law.

Effective public policy in a free society is only possible when the best information is available for decisionmaking. Regardless of trends in popular culture, social science needs to rise above special-interest research, attain the highest standards, and provide that information. The limited concepts appropriate for the child sexual abuse research tradition should be augmented and expanded into the more inclusive study of intergenerational intimacy.



## NOTES

1. For a more complete background and development of a definition of interpersonal intimacy, see Jones, 1985.
2. This is not to diminish the importance of cross-sex intimacy between generations. Such relationships also should be studied as part of the overall picture of intergenerational intimacy.
3. A further discussion of developmental research and theory regarding intergenerational intimacy, including theoretical propositions about needs for intergenerational intimacy, critical periods for the development of interpersonal skills, and a comprehensive model for future study, may be found in this author's invited contribution (Jones, 1987b) to the Jemez Springs (New Mexico) Symposium of the International Society for Human Ethology. The subject under consideration at the Symposium was "Adult Human Sexual Behavior with Children and Adolescents."
4. The term "child abuse industry" first came to the attention of the present author in a speech by Berkeley, California psychiatrist Lee Coleman, delivered in Altadena, California on June 19, 1985. Dr. Coleman's talk, a critique of the widely-used Child Sexual Abuse Accommodation Syndrome (Summit, 1983), was entitled "False Allegations of Child Sexual Abuse: Have the Experts Been Caught With Their Pants Down?"
5. These points are developed further by the present author (Jones, 1987a) in a paper presented at a recent conference of feminist scholars. The paper was invited for inclusion in a conference session on "Men and Feminism."

## REFERENCES

- American Psychiatric Association. (1980). *Diagnostic and statistical manual, 3rd edition*. Washington, D.C.: American Psychiatric Association.
- Baker, B. (1985). Child abuse fears chill relationships. *Los Angeles Times*, May 19.
- Baker, C. D. (1978). Preying on playgrounds: The sexploitation of children in pornography and prostitution. *Pepperdine Law Review*, 5, 809.
- Bakwin, H. (1971). Erotic feelings in children. *Indian Journal of Pediatrics*, 38, 135-137.
- Bender, L., & Gruett, A. E. (1952). Follow-up report on children who had atypical sexual experience. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 22, 825-837.
- Broderick, C. B. (1968). Preadolescent sexual behavior. *Medical Aspects of Human Sexuality*, 2(1), 20-29.
- Brongersma, E. (1984). Aggression against pedophiles. *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry*, 7, 79-87.
- Burgess, A. W., Hartman, C. R., McCausland, M. P., & Powers, P. (1984). Response patterns in children and adolescents exploited through sex rings and pornography. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 141, 656-662.

- Constantine, L. L., & Martinson, F. M. (1981). *Children and sex: New findings, new perspectives*. Boston: Little Brown.
- DeJong, A. R., Hervada, A. R., & Emmett, G. A. (1983). Epidemiologic variations in childhood sexual abuse. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 7, 155-162.
- Densen-Gerber, J. (1980). Child prostitution and child pornography: Medical, legal and social aspects of the commercial exploitation of children. In B. M. Jones, L. L. Jenstrom and K. MacFarlane, *Sexual abuse of children: Selected readings* (pp. 767-82). Washington, D.C.: National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.
- Densen-Gerber, J., & Hutchinson, S. F. (1977). Developing federal and state legislation to combat the exploitation of children in the production of pornography. *Legal Aspects of Medical Practice (The Journal of Legal Medicine)*, 5(9), 19-23.
- Densen-Gerber, J., & Hutchinson, S. F. (1979). Sexual and commercial exploitation of children: Legislative responses and treatment challenges. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 3, 61-66.
- Diamond, I. (1980). Pornography and repression: A reconsideration of "Who" and "What." In L. Lederer, *Take back the night: Women on pornography* (pp. 187-203), New York: William Morrow.
- Dworin, W. (1984). Testimony before the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Governmental Affairs, United States Senate, November 30. *Child Pornography and Pedophilia, Part 1*. Washington, D.C.: Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office (S. Hrg. 98-1277).
- Eberle, P., & Eberle, S. (1986). *The politics of child abuse*. Secaucus, New Jersey: Lyle Stuart.
- Eliasoph, N. (1986). Drive-in morality, child abuse and the media. *The Socialist Review*, No. 90, 16(6), 7-31.
- Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Farson, R. (1974). *Birthrights*. New York: MacMillan.
- Finkelhor, D. (1979). What's wrong with sex between adults and children? *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 49, 692-697.
- Fisher, G., & Howell, L. M. (1970). Psychological needs of homosexual pedophiliacs. *Diseases of the Nervous System*, 31, 623-625.
- Freedman, A. M., Kaplan, H. I., & Sadock, B. J. (1976). *Modern synopsis of comprehensive textbook of psychiatry* (Second Edition). Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins.
- Friday, N. (1981). *Men in love*. New York: Dell.
- Gardner, M. (1985). Men who tend children: Abuse cases may drive them from child-care field. *The Christian Science Monitor*, June 24.
- Gentile, D. (1982). Tells of babies in porn. (Report of testimony before the New York State Senate Select Committee on Crime.) *New York Post*, July 28.
- Goldstein, M., Kant, H., Judd, L., Rice, C., & Green, R. (1971). Experience with pornography: Rapists, pedophiles, homosexuals, transsexuals and controls. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 1, 1-15.



- Goldstein, M., & Kant, H. S. (1973). *Pornography and sexual deviance*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gross, B., & Gross, R. (1977). *The children's rights movement: Overcoming the oppression of young people*. Garden City, New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday.
- Groth, A. N., & Birnbaum, H. J. (1978). Adult sexual orientation and attraction to underage persons. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 7(3), 175-181.
- Groth, A. N., Burgess, A., Birnbaum, H. J., & Gary, T. S. (1978). A study of the child molester: Myths and realities. *LAE Journal of the American Criminal Justice Association*, 41, 17-22.
- Herd, G. H. (1984). Ritualized homosexual behavior in the male cults of Melanesia, 1862-1983: An introduction. In G. H. Herdt (Ed.), *Ritualized homosexuality in Melanesia* (pp. 1-81). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hoffman, M. (1970). Homosexuality. *Today's Education*, 59, (7), 46-48.
- Ingram, M. (1981). Participating victims: A study of sexual offenses with boys. In L. L. Constantine and F. M. Martinson, *Children and sex: New findings, new perspectives* (pp. 177-187). Boston: Little Brown.
- Jackson, S. (1982). *Childhood and sexuality*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Janus, S. (1981). *The death of innocence: How our children are endangered by the new sexual freedom*. New York: William Morrow.
- Jones, G. P. (1982). The social study of pederasty: In search of a literature base: An annotated bibliography of sources in English. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 8, 61-95.
- Jones, G. P. (1984). Book reviews of *Paedophilia: The radical case*, by T. O'Carroll, and *Adult sexual interest in children*, edited by M. Cook and K. Howells. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 9(4), 95-102.
- Jones, G. P. (1985). *The development of intimate friendship in childhood and adolescence*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California.
- Jones, G. P., & Dembo, M. H. (1986, April). The development of friendship and intimacy in childhood and adolescence. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco, California. (ERIC Catalogue No.: ED 270 483).
- Jones, G. P. (1987a, February 14). Male intergenerational intimacy: Enhancing future alliances through the transmission of anti-sexist values. Paper presented at the Conference on the New Gender Scholarship: Women's and Men's Studies, Program for the Study of Women and Men in Society, University of Southern California, Los Angeles.
- Jones, G. P. (1987b, June 29). Intergenerational intimacy involving children or adolescents: Developmental research and theory. Paper presented at the Jemez Springs Symposium of the International Society for Human Ethology, Jemez Springs, New Mexico.
- Jones, J. G. (1982). Sexual abuse of children. *American Journal of the Diseases of Children*, 136(2), 142-146.
- Kercher, G. A., & McShane, M. (1984). The prevalence of child sexual abuse

- victimization in an adult sample of Texas residents. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 8, 495-501.
- Kinsey, A. C., Pomeroy, W. B., & Martin, C. E. (1948). *Sexual behavior in the human male*. Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders.
- Kinsey, A. C., Pomeroy, W. B., & Martin, C. E., & Gebhard, P. H. (1953). *Sexual behavior in the human female*. Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders.
- Landis, J. T. (1956). The experiences of 500 children with adult sexual deviation. *Psychiatric Quarterly Supplement*, 30, 91-109.
- Lanning, K. (1984). Collectors. In A. Burgess & M. Clark (Eds.), *Child pornography and sex rings* (pp. 83-92). Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath Co.
- Lanning, K., & Burgess, A. W. (1984). Child pornography and sex rings. *Federal Bureau of Investigation Law Enforcement Bulletin*, 53, 10-16.
- Lederer, L. (Ed.) (1980). *Take back the night*. New York: William Morrow.
- Lempp, R. (1978). Psychological damage to children as a result of sexual offenses. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 2, 243-245.
- Lipton, M. A. (1976). Pornography. In B. J. Sadock, H. I. Kaplan & A. M. Freedman (Eds.), *The sexual experience* (pp. 584-593). Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins.
- Los Angeles Times. (1984). The news in brief. (Article quoting Assistant U.S. Attorney Joyce Karlin on the prosecution of convicted pornographer Catherine Wilson.) Page 2, Part I, July 24.
- MacFarlane, K. (1978). Sexual abuse of children. In J. Chapman & M. Gates (Eds.), *The victimization of women* (pp. 81-109). Los Angeles: Sage Publications.
- Marcia, J. E. (1980). Identity in adolescence. In J. Adelson (Ed.), *Handbook of adolescent psychology* (pp. 159-187). New York: John Wiley.
- Mohr, J. W. (1968). A child has been molested. *Medical Aspects of Human Sexuality*, 2(11), 43-50.
- Morin, S. F. (1977). Heterosexual bias in psychological research on lesbianism and male homosexuality. *American Psychologist*, 32, 629-637.
- Morin, S. F., & Schultz, S. J. (1978). The gay movement and the rights of children. *Journal of Social Issues*, 34(2), 137-148.
- Nielsen, T. (1983). Sexual abuse of boys: Current perspectives. *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 62(3), 139-142.
- Oaks, R. (1979/80). Perceptions of homosexuality by justices of the peace in colonial Virginia. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 5(1/2), 35-41.
- Pierce, R. L. (1984). Child pornography: A hidden dimension of child abuse. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 8, 483-493.
- Pierce, R., & Pierce, L. H. (1985). The sexually abused child: A comparison of male and female victims. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 9, 191-199.
- Quinsey, V. L. (1977). The assessment and treatment of child molesters: A review. *Canadian Psychological Review*, 18, (3), 204-220.
- Radovich, J. (1984). Pornography called trigger for child molesting. (Report of U.S. Senate testimony of Special Agent Kenneth Lanning, the FBI's expert on sexual victimization of children.) *Los Angeles Times*, August 9.



- Reide, G., Capron, T., Ivey, P., Lawrence, R., & Somolo, C. (1979). *A Texas study of child sexual abuse and child pornography*, Huntsville, TX: Sam Houston State University.
- Riddle, D. I. (1978). Relating to children: Gays as role models. *Journal of Social Issues*, 34(3), 38-58.
- Righton, P. (1981). The adult. In B. Taylor (Ed.), *Perspectives on paedophilia* (pp. 24-40). London: Batsford.
- Rodman, H., Lewis, S. H., & Griffith, S. B. (1984). *The sexual rights of adolescents: Competence, vulnerability and parental control*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Sandfort, T. (1981). *Het seksuele aspekt van pedofiele relaties: Ervaringen van jongens* [The sexual aspect of pedophile relations: The experience of twenty-five boys. Amsterdam: Spartacus, 1982]. Utrecht: The State University, Sociological Institute.
- Sandfort, T. (1983). Pedophile relationships in the Netherlands: Alternative lifestyle for children? *Alternative Lifestyles*, 5, 164-183.
- Seidl, F. W. (1982). Big Sisters: An experimental evaluation. *Adolescence*, 17, 117-128.
- Sharabany, R., Gershoni, R. & Hofman, J. E. (1981). Girlfriend, boyfriend: Age and sex differences in intimate friendship. *Developmental Psychology*, 17, 800-808.
- Sonenschein, D. (1987). On having one's research seized. *Journal of Sex Research*, 23, 408-414.
- Stoller, R. J. (1965). The sense of maleness. *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 34, 207-218.
- Stone, L. E., Tyler, R. P., & Mead, J. J. (1984). Law enforcement officers as investigators and therapists in child sexual abuse: A training model. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 8, 75-82.
- Sullivan, H. S. (1953a). *Conceptions of modern psychiatry*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Sullivan, H. S. (1953b). *The interpersonal theory of psychiatry*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Summit, R. C. (1983). The child sexual abuse accommodation syndrome. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 7, 177-193.
- Tindall, R. H. (1978). The male adolescent involved with a pederast becomes an adult. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 3, 373-382.
- Tyler, R. P. (1982a, September). Child pornography: The international exploitation of children. Paper presented in plenary at the Fourth International Conference on Child Abuse and Neglect, Paris.
- Tyler, R. P. (1982b). Sexual maltreatment of children. In A. Haralambie (Ed.), *Practical child advocacy*. Denver: National Association of Counsel for Children.
- Tyler, R. P., & Stone, L. E. (1985). Child pornography: Perpetuating the sexual victimization of children. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 9, 313-318.

- United States Senate. (1986). *Child pornography and pedophilia: Investigation report*. Washington, D.C.: Permanent Senate Subcommittee on Investigations.
- Weeks, R. B. (1976). The sexually exploited child. *Southern Medical Journal*, 69, 848-850.
- Williams, W. L. (1986). *The spirit and the flesh: Sexual diversity in American Indian culture*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Wilson, G. D., & Cox, D. N. (1983). *The child-lovers: A study of paedophiles in society*, London: Peter Owen.