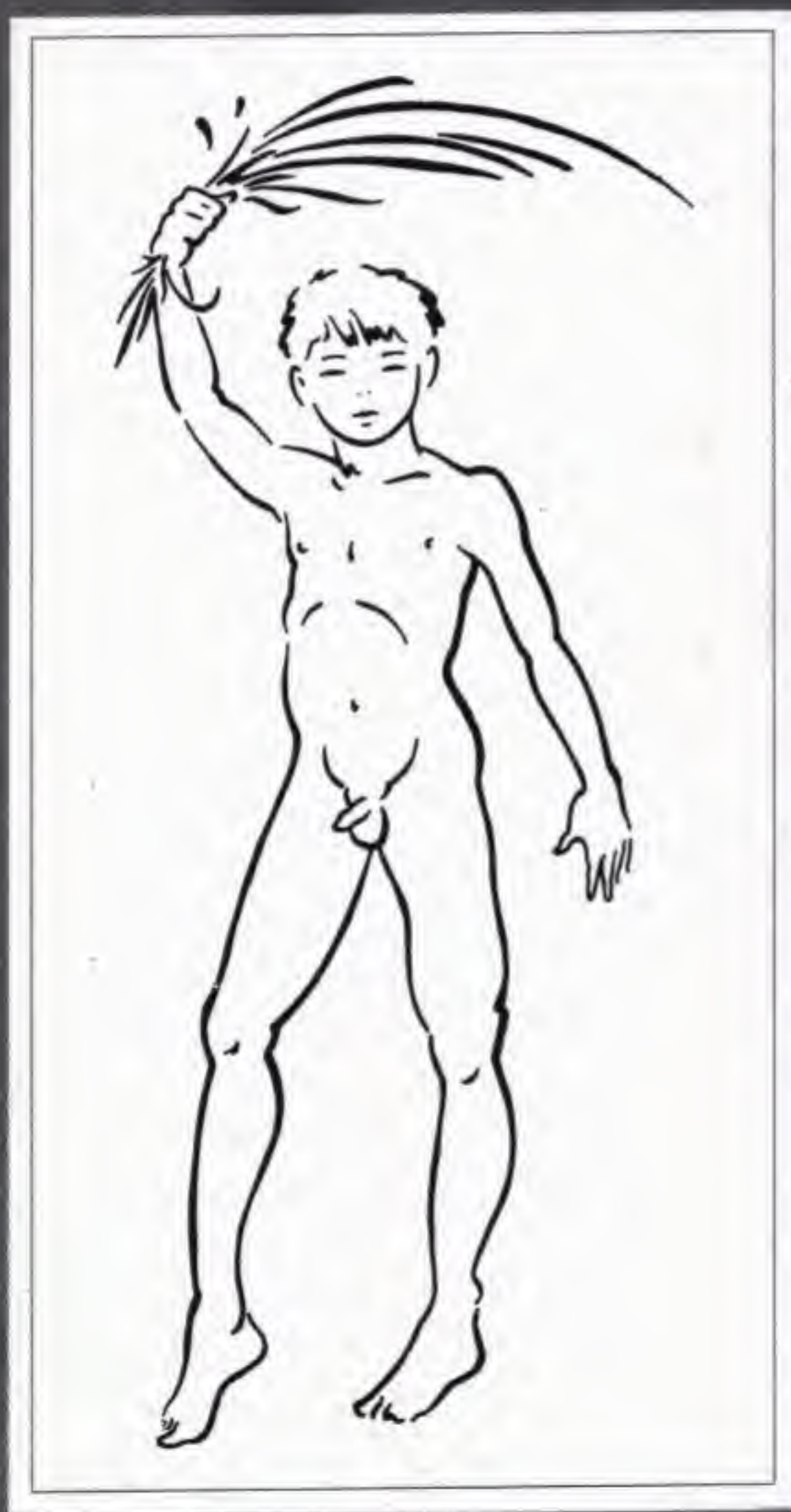


PAIDIKA

The Journal of Paedophilia



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[p.i]

CONTENTS

Interview: <u>Holida</u> Wakefield and Ralph Underwager	2	Hollida
The Netherlands Changes Its Age of Consent Law	Jan Schuijjer	13
Evensong and Morwe Song	Charles Scott-Moncrieff	18
The Sexual Experiences of Children, Part I	Theo Sandfort	21
François Augiéras (1925-1971)	Gert Hekma	57
Book Notes		65
Book Review: <u>Pedophilia: Biosocial Perspectives</u>		71
		Dimensions
Film Review: <i>Voor een verloren soldaat</i>		80

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INTERVIEW: HOLLIDA WAKEFIELD AND RALPH UNDERWAGER

Dr. Ralph Underwager earned his Masters of Divinity from Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri, and his Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota, and has been, since 1974, Director of the Institute for Psychological Therapies in Northfield, Minnesota. Besides being a staff psychologist in a clinic, Dr. Underwager has also been a pastor at Lutheran churches in Iowa and Minnesota. He is a member of the National Council for Children's Rights, the American Psychological Association, the Lutheran Academy for Scholarship, and the Society for the Scientific Study of Sex, among others.

Hollida Wakefield received her M.A. from the University of Maryland, where she also completed the course work for her Ph.D. She has worked as an elementary school teacher, a college psychology instructor, and since 1976 as a staff psychologist at the Institute for Psychological Therapies. Her memberships include the National Council for Children's Rights, the International Society for the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect, and the American College of Forensic Psychology. She and Dr. Underwager are married.

Ms. Wakefield and Dr. Underwager are the publishers of the journal, *Issues in Child Abuse Accusations*. They co-edited the volumes: *Accusations of Child Sexual Abuse* and *The Real World of Child Interrogations*. They have written numerous articles on the interrogation of children, the role of the psychologist in assessing child abuse cases, the evaluation of child witnesses, and the manipulation of the child abuse system. They regularly appear as expert witnesses and give training sessions to jurists, psychologists, and laymen.

This interview was conducted in Amsterdam in June 1991 by *Paidika* Editor-in-Chief, Joseph Geraci.

Paidika: *Could you describe your views on paedophilia, from your perspective as psychologists in the U.S.?*

Hollida Wakefield: Our main idea about paedophilia is that it's learned behavior. We don't think it's inborn, genetic, or hormonal. Like homosexuality, we believe it's learned at a young age and that the person has the subjective reality that they've always been this way.

There's an absence of anything in the research to show that paedophilia is anything other than learned. Such things as sexual orientation are an interaction. There may well be more of a propensity among some people to be affected by learning of various types. At the American Psychological Association's 1989 annual conference, we went to a presentation on homosexuality. The research was reviewed and the bottom line was that nothing biological had been established.

Ralph Underwager: We've been heavily involved in dealing with issues of child sexual abuse for a number of years. We've also been involved for a number of years in providing therapy for a variety of sexual dysfunctions, dysphorias, and paraphilias.

To our knowledge there has not been any convincing research that suggests there is a hormonal component, a hormonal involvement to sexual orientation. There's also nothing we know of that suggests there's a genetic component. As psychologists, we're more persuaded that behavior patterns are learned, rather than influenced by genes. We're also aware that the Minnesota twin studies are demonstrating a significant genetic component to some behavior, though I don't think they have come up with any data about paedophilia.

Is heterosexuality for you also learned behavior?

HW: Yes.

RU: Yes.

What do you mean when you say that sexual orientation is learned behavior; where do you go from there?

HW: It means that a person has more freedom. There is an element of choice for someone not happy with whatever their sexual life is. They can learn to improve it. If it's a sexual dysfunction, somebody who's a premature ejaculator or impotent for example, they can learn something different. If a homosexual did not want to be homosexual, really wanted to be a heterosexual, there would be techniques that would have a decent chance of allowing that person to change. I'm not saying the person should *want* to change. I'm only saying that there is an element of choice. A person can determine their own sexual direction, and there are many behavioral techniques available that would allow the person to change.

RU: The theory of learned behavior permits individuals to take personal responsibility for their own behavior. We find it difficult when people try to place the responsibility for their behavior on something else. In the great American game the blame is placed on bad parents who make bad kids. Explanations for homosexuality and paedophilia center on some kind of parental influence: mothers who are castrating, dominant, controlling, and hostile; fathers who are weak, and insipid. To say that my sexual responses at some level are learned is also to say that I am responsible for them.

Paedophiles can boldly and courageously affirm what they choose. They can say that what they want is to find the best way to love.

Is choosing paedophilia for you a responsible choice for the individual?

RU: Certainly it is responsible. What I have been struck by as I have come to know more about and understand people who choose paedophilia is that they let themselves be too much defined by other people. That is usually an essentially negative definition. Paedophiles spend a lot of time and energy defending their choice. I

don't think that a paedophile needs to do that. Paedophiles can boldly and courageously affirm what they choose. They can say that what they want is to find the best way to love. I am also a theologian and as a theologian I believe it is God's will that there be closeness and intimacy, unity of the flesh, between people. A paedophile can say: "This closeness is possible for me within the choices that I've made."

Paedophiles are too defensive. They go around saying, "You people out there are saying that what I choose is bad, that it's no good. You're putting me in prison, you're doing all these terrible things to me. I have to define my love as being in some way or other illicit." What I think is that paedophiles can make the assertion that the pursuit of intimacy and love is what they choose. With boldness they can say, "I believe this is in fact part of God's will." They have the right to make these statements for themselves as personal choices. Now whether or not they can persuade other people they are right is another matter (laughs).

Positive and Negative Views of Paedophilia

You've said that paedophiles speak negatively about themselves; they are defensive; they act negatively. Paedophiles are a disparate group, like any human group, so what kind of individuals are you talking about, and with whom are you having contact?

RU: Well, they are paedophiles I have come to know, to talk with as patients while providing treatment. But my contacts have not been limited to the therapeutic setting. I've also met others in a general context, here in the Netherlands, and in the U.S., and I've read some of the literature.

Let me give you another example. The paedophile literature keeps talking about relationships. Every time I hear the word "relationship" I wince. It's a peculiarly bloodless, essentially Latin word that may have a lot of intellectual or cognitive content, but has little emotion. I think it would be much more honest to use the good old Anglo-Saxon four letter word "love," more honest for paedophiles to say, "I want to

love somebody." Not, "I want a relationship." I mean, what the hell's a relationship?

Paedophiles can make the assertion that the pursuit of intimacy and love is what they choose. With boldness they can say, "I believe this is in fact part of God's will."

You say that paedophiles should affirm the fact that they believe that paedophilia is a part of "God's will." Are you also saying that for the paedophile to make this claim about God's will, is also to state what God's will is?

RU: (laughing) Of course, I'm not privy to God's will. I do believe it is God's will that we have freedom. I believe that God's will is that we have absolute freedom. No conditions, no contingencies. When the blessed apostle Paul says, "All things are lawful for me," he says it not once but four times. "All things are lawful for me." He also adds that not everything works.

Hollida, I can see you want to say something. Do you have a different point of view from Ralph's?

HW: I'd add one qualification to what Ralph has just said about there being no conditions or contingencies to the freedom given us by God. I would add you have to take the consequences of this freedom. That said, well, I guess I do feel differently about some things. For example, I find it difficult to envision how a paedophile relationship can have the potential of being the type of close, intimate, constantly developing relationship that would be possible in more traditional relationships, whether in heterosexual marriages, or a committed adult homosexual relationship. Speaking only about men and boys at least, what I have seen is that once the young man gets to be a certain age the paedophile is no longer interested in the young man sexually. These relationships start at around the age of eleven or twelve and then by sixteen, seventeen the paedophile is ready for a new one. The old relationship is, if not thrust aside, at least radi-

cally changed. It's hard for me to see how that is a deep, meaningful relationship, even if I'm using the word Ralph doesn't like. It doesn't have the same bad connotations for me.

I'm no expert on the way these relationships develop or on what happens to them when the boy turns seventeen, eighteen, or twenty. I can't imagine it just stays the same. It poses certain questions for me. Do paedophiles retain a close, intimate relationship with the boy, although the sex ends? Do they then add another boy while keeping the first boy, and then later repeat the pattern and add another and just keep adding new boys until they have a whole harem ranging in age from let's say twelve to forty? Or perhaps the paedophile doesn't keep the first boy around. Perhaps he disappears out of his life altogether only to be replaced by the next? If that is the way it is, which seems from my observation to be the case, then I don't understand how there can ever be a close, intimate, constantly progressing and developing relationship. Perhaps it is possible. I'm not saying it is not possible, but it does strike me as being a limitation of these relationships.

There's also a second set of questions I have around a completely different matter. The problem, as I would state it, is that in the United States paedophilia is viewed so negatively that I think the possibility of harming the young man would be very real. I don't know if a positive model is possible in the United States. The climate is such in the United States that it would be very, very difficult for a paedophile, even with the most idealistic of motives and aspirations, to make his relationship actually work in practice. Even if the boy at some point viewed it as positive, after coming into contact with the way the society as a whole viewed it, the very real danger would be created of making the experience harmful. Relationships and societal attitudes are, of course, two completely different areas. In such a negative climate I don't know if it would be possible for the relationship to be good for the parties involved when the entire society is so negative.

When I think about paedophilia these are some of the theoretical difficulties I have with it. In practice, how these relationships turn out is a

totally different issue. It might be that the relationships continue to grow but change in form and become positive. They might also develop negatively. As I said these are theoretical problems. For example, if the sex continued we would have to call that male homosexuality, not paedophilia. If a relationship started when the individuals were respectively twenty-two and twelve, and they stayed together until they were forty-two and thirty-two, we would not define that any longer as a paedophile relationship.

RU: I think that Holly and I agree that sexuality is a smaller part set within a larger whole of our humanity: our capacity for love, our ability to approach some form of unity with another person. Sexuality takes place within this larger context, but it is not exhaustive, nor necessary, nor sufficient as a cause unto itself. The necessary and sufficient cause of sexuality for us is the unity, the wholeness, the intimacy.

The history of human behavior surely demonstrates that sexual behavior can become a very volatile, explosive part of intimacy and closeness, such as in jealousy and possessiveness. There is, in other words, a potential for sexuality, even if it is a small part of the whole, to erupt into what can be pervasive, cataclysmic experiences. When the sex ends abruptly and the man has been saying to the boy, "I love you, I care for you. You and I are one in mind, body, spirit." and then suddenly says, "That's all fine, but we ain't gonna do it no more." What happens then?

Perhaps a loving friendship continues. I've certainly encountered relationships where it has. Aren't you saying that we should define relationships in terms of love?

RU: I was urging earlier that you make the loving image clearer to the outside world. What appears to the public is not the picture of a loving man but rather the picture of the dirty old man lurking in alleys waiting for nice innocent young lads to come by, grabbing their genitalia and hustling them off and sort of casting them aside and waiting for the next one.

Perhaps the question is, should we only define paedophilia or paedophiles by the worst examples of individual behavior?

HW: Well these terrible examples exist. We have to take them in. There are very negative aspects of paedophilia that we see from our experience in the United States. We saw a priest, for example, who started having sex with a child when the boy was nine. He told the child that he loved only him. But, in fact, at the same time he was also involved with half a dozen other nine- and ten-year-olds. He had had anal sex with the kid. And then he cast him aside at age fifteen. The boy was totally and hopelessly screwed up, his whole sexuality in confusion. Worse, the story leaked out, so the child was mercilessly teased at school, called a homosexual and gossiped about. There are children who have been abused, raped, and dropped on the side of the road.

I want to be clear though. Nobody has talked to us in the U.S. about their paedophilia who's engaged in an ongoing relationship, just individuals who were ordered into therapy. You have to remember, if somebody in the United States talked to us and said, "You know, I'm a paedophile and I have a sexual relationship with this boy and it's good," we would have to call the police and turn him in. We would turn him in too, because we would be in jail if we didn't. So, when we say we've talked to people we mean individuals sent to us for therapy.

The climate is such in the United States that the discussion would have to be carefully sanitized, completely abstract. There couldn't be any reference whatsoever to somebody who might be in an ongoing relationship, because we would have to call the police and say, "That person has been sexual with minors," and if we didn't do that, we would lose our licenses as psychologists, face a fine of \$5,000, and six months in jail.

There is research and some scientific opinion that demonstrates that more positive examples and personal experiences exist. Theo Sandfort's research, cross-cultural models, the writings of the German sexologist Bornemann. Shouldn't we be putting positive views into the picture in order to come to an understanding?

HW: We don't know about The Netherlands. Our impression is that it's somewhat easier here than at home.

But your point is that potentially there can be good, healthy, positive relationships between men and boys. It would be very difficult to come up with sexual research for that in the United States because it would frankly be suppressed. When I did a review of the literature on boy victims of child sexual abuse, some of the studies show not just negative effects in some of the boys. The authors try to explain this away. Their rationale is that because they didn't find negative things in their study does not mean there are none. They just haven't shown up yet! If anyone in the United States were to do a study that showed positive outcomes and then wrote it up as a scientific paper they probably would not succeed in getting it published. It could only be published if they found a way to explain away any positive findings. They would have to make it look like they found something other than what they found. They would be entirely vilified.

Doesn't your book, Accusations of Child Sexual Abuse, suggest that all sexual relationships between adults and children in the United States are abusive relationships?

HW: No. I think we would claim that these sexual relationships, in the U.S. at least, could range from neutral to harmful. We don't envision or hypothesize that they could be positive, but at best neutral.

The American Situation

You are speaking mostly about paedophiles in the U.S. What tack should they take given the societal attitudes? What solutions do you envision for their lives?

RU: The solution that I'm suggesting is that paedophiles become much more positive. They should directly attack the concept, the image, the picture of the paedophile as an evil, wicked, and reprehensible exploiter of children.

HW: The United States is really pretty schizophrenic right now in its attitudes. On the one hand it glorifies sex in things like underwear advertisements, or James Bond movies. On the other hand it's very puritanical. You don't have good sex education in the schools, just these ridiculous prevention programs.

Let me give another example. Video recorders and video cameras are in right now. Couples are making their own pornographic movies. The comparison is on the one hand people running around making their own pornographic movies but on the other hand reacting hysterically to child sexuality issues. There was actually the case of a man who had had the nine-year-old son of a friend spend the night at his house. He kissed him on the neck, patted him on the rear, told him good-night, and was later sentenced to two years in prison for these acts. They were labelled sexual abuse. The child later told his mother that it made him uncomfortable when the man kissed him on the cheek.

Given this schizophrenia and these hysterical attitudes about childhood sexuality, it's going to be difficult for paedophiles to appear more positive, to start saying they're not exploiters of children, that they love children, the sexual part included, even if it's a minor part. If they made such statements they would be arrested.

*What we see going on in the United States
is the most vitriolic and virulent
anti-sexuality I know of in our history.
It may take people being arrested.
Revolutionaries have always risked arrest.*

RU: I was in the courtroom for the case that Holly just cited and I actually heard the prosecutor say, "No man should ever be permitted to claim as an excuse that he was just being affectionate when a child says they were uncomfortable." I don't know; I don't think we can just label these attitudes "hysteria." Perhaps "madness" is better, or "pathology." What we see going on in the United States is the most vitriolic and virulent anti-sexuality I know of in

our history. It may take people being arrested. Revolutionaries have always risked arrest.

In your book you said that there was "a matter of national interest and a focus of federal interest in child abuse in 1974, but then in 1984 it seemed to suddenly shift and become more hysterical." What reasons do you see for the outbreak of a child abuse hysteria, or pathology, in the mid-80s America?

HW: I think that what we meant in that passage was that we had personally been observing a steady progression of awareness about actual child sexual abuse up to around that period, 1984. We had routinely been dealing with sex offenders and cases of incest. Around the mid '80s we began to see cases of false accusations to a degree we had not seen before. It was the rise of this incidence of false accusations that led us to use the term "hysteria."

RU: Child sexual abuse around that time became more a matter of attention and discussion. There had been child abuse before but the earlier focus was on rehabilitation and treatment. In the early '80s this focus shifted to prosecution. As more federal money became available, child protection teams and child molestation units were set up in every county in the United States. As this structure was put into place the emphasis changed to prosecution. This is where it is now, and as a consequence there is very little interest in treatment, rehabilitation, or healing. The emphasis is: punish the bastards, put them in jail, hang them up by their toes, or other appurtenances, get rid of them.

You seem to be saying that the shift to prosecution, and the sexual hysteria, are connected? Could you clarify how such a shift might make a country pathological about sex?

RU: I believe these shifts happen when the social contract in a given country or culture breaks down. What is happening in the United States is that the populace no longer has the sense that the country knows what it is about. During the Second World War, when I was about fourteen years old, it was a

great time to live in America. We stood together. Everybody knew and understood what we were all about, what we were doing in the world. Beginning in the '60s and through the '70s into the '80s that confidence disappeared. We became fractionalized into smaller and smaller groups, each group fighting for its own to the point where we have now evolved a political system of special interest groups. There's no longer consensus politics in America.

The result of the breakdown of the social contract is that people do not have sufficient ego to handle or tolerate the ambiguity in their society. They don't have the inner resources. What they must do, then, is find something outside of themselves, something external, to give them shape and identity. Sex throughout history has played a specific role. It has allowed people both to define themselves and to locate an enemy. A sexual minority becomes a scapegoat. Whenever there has been social upheaval, whenever the social contract has disappeared, there has always been violent anti-sexuality outbursts.

The breakdown of the social contract and anti-sexuality outbursts are interconnected because there is in times of social instability a need to say that someone else is evil, wicked. The blame for everything gets put on the so-called deviants while the true American remains at home, pure, probably mortifying the flesh, crucifying the body, being a good citizen. The citizen becomes the knight riding off into the sunset victorious, leaving behind him a trail of battered and beaten people that they have judged bad. And the citizen feels justified.

In a society in turmoil, people can't tolerate anything that is different from whatever the myth of that society is. The society holds on to the myth, the belief. The myth is what they must believe. There's not enough strength in the society to deal with the facts.

Why is sex the focus of the hysteria in that situation, why not something else?

RU: Sex has always been the penultimate answer to the ultimate question, which is unity and wholeness. In theological terms sex has been the

way that human beings have tried to avoid dealing with the mystery of the Trinity, the mystery of Unity. Sex is penultimate. This is why the root cause of sexual dysfunction is always some form of genitalization of sexuality. Sexuality has become, in the dysfunction, limited to genital tissue. It is not unified.

Would you say that the sexual hysteria is a kind of mystical or religious dysfunction?

RU: Yes, I would.

Your scenario for the child sexuality hysteria is the breakdown of the social contract and a religious/mystical dysfunction. Do you recognize other causes than these?

RU: I would add radical feminism, which includes a pretty hefty dose of anti-maleness. I think in a very real way these women may be jealous that males are able to love each other, be comrades, friends, be close, intimate, work cooperatively, function in groups. The point where men may say that maleness can include the intimacy and closeness of sex may make women jealous. This would hold true for male bonding, and paedophile sex too. The woman is jealous of the connection. She says, "Wait a minute, we're not going to let you do that!"

HW: I would disagree with that one hundred percent. That women are jealous because men have close bonds with one another doesn't seem to me to make sense. The common wisdom, whether one agrees with it or not, is that a man is handicapped in a divorce more than a woman, because the woman has female friends she can talk to. Women are socialized for relationships more than men. For women to become close and intimate is easier than for a man. Men can't express feelings. These are the common beliefs. And, after all, some of the most hostile, enraged people about sexual abuse are males. Jim Peters of the National Center for the Prosecution of Child Abuse, for example.

I think the radical feminist opposition to paedophilia comes out of the general perception

of men as aggressive and dominating. They use sex to dominate the weak. The weak would be women and children. That the opposition comes out of women's jealousy because men can have meaningful paedophile relationships, and they wish they could, I don't agree with at all.

RU: Certainly some men aid and abet the hysteria. They are opportunists. They have opportunistic rage. What I am proposing is that there is an aspect to femaleness that is hardly ever discussed. I believe that women also are violent, cruel, and hostile. Possibly more so than men. The radical feminists only express that side of femaleness against paedophilia.

Among certain Indian tribes, the people who did the torture were the women. A sociologist in Milwaukee who studied the records of domestic violence found that women are much more violent in domestic disputes than men, and paedophilia can be thought to be a domestic matter. My argument is that the radical feminist position arises more from women's nature than from a politics. That has been overlooked.

HW: Well, I wouldn't agree with this point of view at all. All the statistics, history too, show that violent crimes are committed more by men than by women. Violence, cruelty, hostility have been much more male domains.

The Questioning of Children

The main purpose of your book, it seems to me, is to devise a method for determining the facts when there is an allegation of child abuse. This has sometimes put you in opposition to the official system. How much have your methods been adopted at this point, and how much are they being opposed?

HW: Our main effort has been to develop methods that avoid suggestive questioning, that lead the child on. It's becoming increasingly apparent that what we are proposing is the right way to go. What we have suggested, other people are also suggesting. There is a developing consensus that this is the way to do it.

Not many people any more are advocating

suggestive or leading questioning. The problem is still that people who say they agree with us still go ahead and do leading questioning anyway. They don't know they're doing it. As you know, the main reason for the acquittals in the McMartin case is that the interviews were so terrible that the jurors said, "You can't tell what went on at all; because the interviews are so suggestive."

Unfortunately, there are still very few people thinking about what happens to the child if the adults make a mistake. The worst result of bad questioning for the child is that if it is not abused, and is taught through suggestive interviews that she has been abused, that is extremely harmful. It runs the risk of making children psychotic.

Take the McMartin case. I think we can assume that nothing happened to them. But now these children who are fourteen, fifteen years old believe that they were subjected to horrible, bizarre, ritualistic abuse. That's now part of their reality. How are these teenagers going to turn out as adults?

RU: Holly and I can demonstrate two basic things. We were the first people to publicly say, "Let's be more cautious, there's a better way to do this, we should be doing it differently." We're finding now that there is a growing consensus joining us. We can be more accurate in making discriminations between real abuse and false abuse.

In August 1990, when we were at the American Psychological Association convention, the majority of the programs were in the same direction that we have been taking about. There were two or three programs that were still saying, "Children must be believed at all cost, they can't talk about things they haven't experienced." The audiences at those symposia were violently critical of that approach. Four years ago that would never have happened. When you get to the people who are doing the actual taped interviews, though, it is another story.

We're urging caution because of the child, as Holly pointed out. What you do, when you require a child who has not been abused to engage in repeated statements about having been abused, is blur, if not destroy, the capacity of that

child to distinguish between reality and unreality. When a child is reinforced by adults to repeat over and over accounts of having been abused, of having been violated in these strange, bizarre ways, children come to believe it. It becomes subjectively real. You end up with, say, a sixteen-year-old who was never abused but who now has a subjective experience of being abused. The person becomes convinced that all these terribly bizarre things happened. "I was led into a tunnel; I was undressed; I was placed on an altar; I was drenched in sacrificial blood; I have observed people cutting the heart out of others and eating it." That is now subjectively real for that child. But, the person who's taught them to believe that is the one who actually abused them. They've distorted their reality. They've made them pathological.

Are you describing a distortion of reality that occurs because of ignorance or because of malice and evil?

HW: I think ignorance is a big part of it. These aren't evil, wicked people who are purposely setting out to make children believe they were abused when they weren't. They see themselves as child advocates, child savers. They're more or less convinced they're doing a good thing. Ignorance is a very large part of it.

We have no experimental verification of this, but our suspicion is that the front-line people are young and have no children of their own. They're not trained in child development. The social workers who do the initial interviews just don't know about what a normal child is like, how suggestible they are, how they behave.

Ignorance leads to a lot of things. Ordinary exploratory sex play between children is often misunderstood. It is seen as indicative of child sexual abuse, and can therefore result in false accusations. Say a parent walks in and a four-year-old has a three-year-old's clothes off and they're exploring. The parent becomes upset, angry. "Who taught you this? Where'd you learn how to do that?" If it's a divorce and custody case they might say, "Did Daddy ever do this?"

You get bizarre things. For example, we consulted in a case of a three-year-old child who re-

ported that a four-year-old had poked her in the genitals with a stick. This was in a preschool. The social services were called, and the first thing they did was go to the four-year-old's house to see if the four-year-old was being sexually abused. Their reasoning was that if the four-year-old poked the three-year-old in the genitals, he must have been sexually abused, or where would he have learned to do this?

There was also the incident of a ten-year-old girl and a twelve-year-old brother who were discovered fooling around with each other. The girl was put in a sexual abuse victims treatment program and the boy was put in a perpetrator's program. Seriously, these things are happening. The underlying feeling is that if you see children being sexual they must have learned it from some adult who abused them.

RU: I agree with Holly. Ignorance is a very large part of the hysteria. Almost all the people we encounter who are involved in the system of dealing with child sexual abuse allegations, have no knowledge, no sophistication in developmental psychology. At most they have been given, one, maybe two, weekend workshops. You can't make an expert in a weekend. They form something called "multidisciplinary teams," which is one of the favorite ways that abuse is somehow supposed to be controlled. Multidisciplinary teams do not result in any increase in accuracy of decision or any increase in the effectiveness of the decision. What it results in is a pooling of mediocrity and ignorance. Of course, the APA code of ethics maintains quite clearly that both ignorance and ineptitude are unethical (laughs). The dilemma, the reality is that we do savage things to our children; we brutalize them. Children do require the protection of society, and the protection of the law.

We've had a certain concept for a number of years. Simply stated it is that whenever two or more human beings get together and attempt to accomplish some joint task, one of the first things they do is to set up some rules. Now generally this works. You get the joint task accomplished. Rule-making is rewarded. As you add more than two people and you increase the re-

sources and the complexity of whatever the joint tasks are, rule-making does permit more effective functioning, and that's how making laws gets reinforced.

However, there is a finite number of laws in proportion to a given population that work effectively. Any law above this number results in an increment of ineffectiveness. Let's say the number of laws necessary in the U.S. is 13,246. Law number 13,247 would then be over the threshold. Each law you now add divides your society. People now begin to exploit. There is more and more opportunity for malice, evasion of responsibility and so on. The net effect is to begin to destroy that society. However, nobody realizes or understands it so they keep on making laws. You have now reached the point at which there is some form of revolution required to start the process all over again.

One of your goals in formulating questions for the child about possible abuse is to avoid distorting the child's reality. In your interrogation methods, do your questions presuppose for the children that they themselves see the sexual relationship as abuse?

RU: No, no. Not our methods.

HW: No. What we would do is get the child to use free recall, to describe what took place. As scientists our goal would be to get as much information from the child about what happened and what took place as possible. We would see it as somebody else's responsibility to interpret this, or see whether it's legal or illegal.

RU: We don't tell children things like, "Well, it's all the other person's fault, you were helpless, you were powerless, and you're not responsible." Some people are now saying that this is the best thing to tell children. If you tell them they were powerless it gives the children more power. We don't do that.

Paedophilia and Spirituality

We spoke at the beginning about paedophilia and spirituality. This is not an issue that is very often dis-

cussed. Given the opposition to and oppression of paedophilia in American society, how would you describe a spirituality for paedophiles?

RU: For me, the beginning of spiritual life is in knowing that God is gracious, knowing that it is God's purpose that we have a good life, knowing that it is God's purpose that we be free. The freedom that God intends for us to have is absolute. The only thing that can match absolute killing, and judgments that condemn us such as St. Paul's, "You have sinned and come short of the glory of God," is the absolute, "You are free." You are free, that is, from all accusation; nothing, no one can accuse you.

The issue is never what is right or wrong. That's a mistaken question. Paying attention to what is right and wrong is, I think, a penultimate goal because the issue is not right and wrong but good and evil. That's totally different. Right and wrong has to do with whether or not you hit the mark, whether a given behavior matches a certain standard. If it doesn't then it's wrong.

Good and evil only pays attention to outcomes. You can never know the outcomes until you have already acted. Spirituality that attends to the issue of good and evil must always be courageous, bold, operating always with incomplete information. You never know, so you are continually making a responsible choice about which there's always a risk. You can only know if something is good subsequent to having acted, and observing the outcomes.

As with all human behavior, I would suggest that paedophiles can say, "I have chosen; I choose; I will act in this fashion. I believe that the outcome will be good. I will pay the price for that act, whatever that price may be."

HW: The price might be the difficulty of integrating oneself into one's society.

RU: Or, going to jail, certainly. As I said before, it may take people being arrested. In a sense, what is, well, I guess I can say this, what is offensive about what I know about paedophiles is their intention to be able to do what they choose without paying the price. "I want to be able to do this, but the society

should let me do it without exacting any kind of price from me."

Is it reasonable for paedophiles to want and to work for the decriminalization of what they believe is right?

RU: It's not reasonable if the goal is "I want to do it, and I don't really care what other people tell me. I'm not going to engage in the attempt to communicate or to talk to people." It's like saying to somebody, "Accept me because after all I'm really the same as you are." That's what tolerance is supposed to be, and that's why tolerance always falls short. It is never to me acceptable.

I don't think it is honest to tolerate somebody only because they are saying "At rock bottom, I'm really the same as you." Or, conversely to say, I can tolerate you, I can accept you, because you are the same. I think it is much more honest and direct to say, "Yes we're different. You're black, I'm white, you're smart, I'm not. I'm paedophile, you're heterosexual." Those are real differences, real differences. Paedophiles should point out how different they are, what the differences are.

Still, isn't it a reasonable wish for paedophiles to want to see paedophile sex decriminalized? It may not be realistic right now in the U.S., but does that make it less legitimate a goal?

RU: Oh yes, sure, sure. I mean Jesus said, "I really don't want to do this. I don't want to go up there onto Calvary." But when it came down to it, he said, "Well, OK, I'm going to walk the steps." As for decriminalization the question is really if you're not there, how are you going to get there?

Any advice?

RU: Take the risk, the consequences of the risk, and make the claim: this is something good. Paedophiles need to become more positive and make the claim that paedophilia is an acceptable expression of God's will for love and unity among human beings. This is the only way the question is going to be answered, of whether or

not it is possible. Does it happen? Can it be good? That's what we don't know yet, the ways in which paedophiles can conduct themselves in loving ways. That's what you need to talk about. You need to get involved in discourse, and to do so while acting. Matthew 11 talks about the wisdom of God, and the way in which God's wisdom, like ours, can only follow after.

Paedophiles need to become more positive and make the claim that paedophilia is an acceptable expression of God's will for love and unity among human beings.

I think the paedophile movement makes a mistake when it seeks to label the church as the instrument of repression, and in a sense, the enemy. I'm certainly aware of the accusation that it's the church that represses sexuality. I don't believe that's the case at all. I believe that the repression of sexuality begins with Greek thought, not Hebrew thought. People who want to deal positively with human sexuality will do best to see the church as an ally, and to elicit from the church the positive responses about sexuality that are there.

You spoke about the need for paedophiles to engage in a discourse. What should that be?

HW: We can't presume to tell them specific behaviors, but in terms of goals, certainly the goal is that the experience be positive, at the very least not negative, for their partner and partner's family. And nurturing. Even if it were a good relationship with the boy, if the boy was not harmed and perhaps even benefitted, if it tore the family of the boy apart, that would be negative.

It would be nice if someone could get some kind of big research grant to do a longitudinal study of, let's say, a hundred twelve-year-old boys in relationships with loving paedophiles. Whoever was doing the study would have to follow them at five year intervals for twenty years. This is impossible in the U.S. right now. We're talking a long time in the future.

THE NETHERLANDS CHANGES ITS AGE OF CONSENT LAW

Jan Schuijjer

With a tone of astonishment, the American magazine *Newsweek*, on 26 November 1990, reported that the Netherlands had reduced the age of consent for sexual contacts from sixteen to twelve.¹ The author of the article was even more dismayed by the assurance, given to him by the Dutch Ministry of Justice, that not a single voice of protest had been raised in the entire country.

Newsweek was not alone in expressing shock. Mrs. Willie Swildens-Rozendaal, who chairs the Permanent Committee on Justice of the Dutch Lower House, received telephone calls from journalists in Great Britain, Canada, and Australia who, it seemed, were amazed at the bill that had just been passed by the legislators in The Hague.² The commotion in the foreign media reached such proportions that the Dutch Minister of Justice felt compelled to have the newly approved legislation translated into English and to make it available to the English-language press.³ Dutch paedophile groups also received letters from their foreign counterparts: might dawn be looming for them over the North Sea?

The excitement concerned a completely unexpected amendment of the Dutch Penal Code concerning sex with adolescents. Before the change, the main provisions in the Dutch penal legislation were as follows:

- *Section 247*: a general prohibition against sex with a person below sixteen years of age (maximum jail term: six years).
- *Section 249*: a general prohibition against sex with a person below eighteen years of age who is one's child or foster child, or who is

entrusted to one's care or education (maximum term also six years).

- *Section 244*: a general prohibition against vaginal intercourse with a girl under twelve (maximum term twelve years).
- *Section 245*: a prohibition against vaginal intercourse with a girl above twelve, but under sixteen years of age (maximum term eight years).

This last section was different from the others in one important respect: anyone engaging in vaginal intercourse with a girl between twelve and sixteen could be prosecuted only after a formal complaint had been made by the child's legal representatives (usually the parents). This has been the case since 1886, when the present Penal Code first became effective. The legislator of those days held the view that a young man who had violated a girl's chastity should be permitted to correct his error by marrying the child. Although this argument looks archaic now, section 245 has never been modified.

The one point of the *new* legislation that seemed to be the most shocking for *Newsweek* was that this requirement of a formal complaint would be extended to *all* types of sexual contact with adolescents between twelve and sixteen, both boys and girls. However, this requirement does not apply in the cases of section 249: whoever has sexual contacts with his own minor child or foster child, or with a child entrusted to his or her care or education, can be prosecuted without a formal complaint.

It must be stressed here that a complaint is not the same as reporting a crime to the police or

prosecutor. Under Dutch law, anyone is entitled to report a crime. But lodging a complaint is considered an exclusive privilege afforded those specifically designated by law. Under the new law, complaints may be made by the child's legal representatives, the child, and the various official child protection agencies that fall under the Ministry of Justice.

The present legislative reform was preceded by a long chain of events. During the '60s, the morals laws met with mounting criticism in the Netherlands, as well as in other countries. The Penal Code at that time prohibited, among other things, adultery, public nudity, homosexual contacts between an adult and a minor, abortion, the sale of pornographic books and pictures, and the public sale of contraceptives. A number of piecemeal liberalizations were made in the '60s and '70s – including the lowering of the age of consent for homosexual contacts to sixteen, equal to that for heterosexual contacts. In 1970, the government appointed an advisory committee to study and propose a comprehensive revision of the sections in the Penal Code concerning sexuality. The committee was chaired by Dr. A.L. Melai, professor of criminal law at the University of Leiden. It did not finish its task for ten years, discouraged as it was by the lack of response by the Minister of Justice to its interim reports.

The committee's final report proposed to limit the prohibition of sex with children under sixteen to those cases where the other party (i.e., the adult) had initiated the contacts. The media virtually ignored this recommendation. In November 1985, that is, five years later, the government announced the introduction of a bill on the matter. Like the Melai committee, it wished to limit the prohibition against sex with children: if the child were above twelve years of age, sexual contacts would only constitute a crime if these contacts had been induced or promoted by "gifts or promises of gifts, in money or in kind, abuse of a position of authority, or deception." The courts (the Netherlands does not have a jury system) were to specify in individual cases what "abuse of a position of authority" would mean.⁴

To many, the bill seemed tantamount to a repeal of the prohibition of sex with children over twelve. After a ferocious counter-campaign on television and in the press, the Minister of Justice, Frits Korthals Altes, announced that to him the proposal was not "a matter of life and death" and indeed it was never formally presented to parliament. This seemed to rule out any further attempts to change the age of consent laws. In line with this expectation, the government formally abandoned its plan for a comprehensive revision of the sex laws in 1988. Instead, only a number of partial changes were proposed, none of which related to minors.⁵

In the meantime, however, lobbying for greater change had been taking place behind the scenes, in particular by the Dutch Society for Sexual Reform (NVSH) and the gay rights movement. The feminist movement, also, criticized the government's minimalist approach. Some of the feminist goals, such as the ending of the legal distinction between rape and sexual assault, were threatened with defeat.

Pressures from these groups contributed to Parliament's change of heart in 1988, after its rejection of the reform proposals in 1985. All non-religious parties (which together make up some sixty per cent of the votes in the Lower House) insisted that a comprehensive revision of the morals laws should take place after all and that the sections on children and adolescents should be included. The Labor Party (PvdA) even pointed out that Dr. Theo Sandfort, in his 1988 dissertation, had demonstrated that consensual sexual contacts between adults and minors are not exceptional.⁶ The Minister of Justice agreed to amend the law, but also specified that the legislation would be evaluated one year after its enactment. The evaluation could lead to further changes.

In 1990, when the amendments proposed in 1988 were discussed on the floor of the Lower House, a string of almost comical events occurred, which produced the unexpected reform mentioned at the outset of this article. Comical, since the opponents of liberalization were beaten by their own arguments, after which they had no choice but to yield.

It started with the discovery by the Christian-Democrats – the largest party in the coalition government – that a form of discrimination between boys and girls existed in the prevailing laws. Intercourse with a girl between twelve and sixteen (section 245) carried a maximum jail term of eight years. “Penetrating” sexual contacts with boys, however, came under section 247, for which the maximum term was only six years. This discrepancy presented the parties with a liberal argument, namely, combating discrimination, to tighten up the laws against sex with children. The new Minister of Justice, Mr. Ernst Hirsch Ballin, a right-wing Christian-Democrat, agreed; he proposed a new amendment according to which the maximum jail term of eight years would apply to all forms of “sexual penetration,” both with boys and with girls between twelve and sixteen.

But this proposal sparked off protests from the non-religious parties. They pointed out that this new proposal was still discriminatory. After all, they argued, vaginal intercourse with a girl could only be prosecuted after a formal complaint by the girl’s parents, whereas such a complaint was not required in case of “sexual penetration” of a boy. As a man could hardly make a boy pregnant, let alone marry him, it did not make sense to distinguish between “penetrative” and other acts between men and boys: the prosecution of the former required a complaint; the prosecution of the latter did not. The conclusion was inevitable: only by requiring a formal complaint for the prosecution of *all* sexual contacts with children over twelve would discrimination be eliminated. In particular, Mrs. Willie Swildens-Rozendaal of the Labor Party worked hard behind the scenes to make the argument prevail. The Christian-Democrats, who themselves had first brought the discrimination argument, had no choice but to agree with her conclusion. The bill was adjusted accordingly and with only five opposing votes from the extreme right wing, the Lower House adopted it. The Upper House, which does not have the right of amendment, followed suit in October 1991. On 29 December 1991 the law became part of the Penal Code:

- *Section 247*: prohibition of sex with a person under sixteen. If the latter is twelve or older, prosecution requires a formal complaint by the child, his legal representative, or an official child protection agency. Maximum term six years.
- *Section 249*: (unchanged).
- *Section 244*: general prohibition of sexual penetration of the body of a child under twelve. Maximum term twelve years.
- *Section 245*: a prohibition of sexual penetration of the body of a child over twelve and under sixteen. Complaint requirement as in section 247. Maximum term eight years.

This new law has not ended the matter. Indeed, the Lower House has undertaken to consider further changes to the law in the near future. A committee of the Labor Party, chaired by Mrs. Willie Swildens-Rozendaal, and of which the author is a member, is studying possible proposals. At this stage several weak spots can already be detected in the current legislation. For example, prosecution of sex with someone over twelve requires a complaint. However, when the latter spends the night at home with his adult partner this is no longer true; in that case the adolescent is “entrusted to the care” of the adult. This means that section 249 applies (not section 247) in which a complaint is not required. It would seem to be more sensible to extend the complaint requirement also to section 249. Certain exceptions would have to be made, as for example, in a case where the perpetrator was the same as the person entitled to lodge a complaint, such as a parent or guardian.

Another weak spot is the fact that, in addition to the adolescent and his or her parents, the child protection agencies are entitled to make complaints. This could lead to conflicts, in particular when the agency makes a complaint to which the adolescent or even the parent objects. In that case prosecution can, nevertheless, go ahead. It is true that the prosecutor is obliged by law to hear the adolescent’s opinion on the matter, but he is not obliged to act on it. It would be desirable to give the adolescent the right to block

prosecution if he or she wants to. Granting such power to adolescents would not necessarily mean, however, that a sexual relationship could be continued. Current civil law provides that, as long as a minor is involved, it is the parents who can decide that matter.

The events surrounding the new Dutch legislation afford a number of important conclusions. The reaction to the new law in the Netherlands was very different from the one in the English-speaking countries, which were not even affected by such a domestic Dutch affair. The Dutch public did not give one hint of protest, whereas it angrily objected to the bill that was announced in 1985. The reason for this is the nature of what is sometimes referred to as "Dutch tolerance." It is a tolerance at arm's length, implying that the other party is allowed to do things his own way as long as one is not personally affected by their actions. The social cause of this phenomenon is probably the fact that Dutch society has long been a conglomerate of minorities (religious and other), none of which was large enough to dominate the others. The logical response to this was the pursuit of autonomy within one's own social group. The Dutch are used to living with minorities who have a different lifestyle or dissenting view, as long as they remain masters of their own houses. A paedophile would be feared, in this case, as an "intruder" into the family.⁷ The bill of 1985 was forcefully attacked because it suggested that parents would lose their authority to prevent sexual contacts of their children. The legislation recently adopted preserves the parents' right to lodge a complaint and thereby enables the prosecutor to act in the interests of the parents and the family, even if the prosecutor is not compelled to do so. That some parents might not feel the need, in a similar case, to lodge a complaint would not be relevant to the average Dutch person considering the law.

In the English-speaking world this tolerance at arm's length exists to a much lesser degree. There, sex with children is seen as an evil per se that has to be prevented and punished under any and all circumstances. If parents do not go along with prosecution, this would constitute a reason for taking action against the parents as well. If an

adolescent should object to interference by the law in a sexual relationship he or she was having with an adult, this would be interpreted as a demonstration of how badly such interference was warranted.⁸ It might be argued that this difference of social philosophy has added to the controversy in the United States and England about the new Dutch law, just as the Netherlands has been alleged to have played an important role in the dissemination of child pornography. The new law established principles in direct contradiction to social and legal principles in the English speaking countries, and one can see why the new Dutch law might have been threatening.

The events also indicate that a slightly more liberal attitude has been surfacing in Dutch politics as regards the age of consent. Although radical legislative reform can not be expected at the moment, a certain normalization, step by step, as regards the thinking on paedophilia cannot be excluded. But this is far from certain. In the Netherlands, the political discussion about sex has always been rather superficial, and the political parties, including those on the left of the spectrum, have shown a tendency to set their sails to the prevailing wind. They are all too ready to be influenced by the last lobbying group they have spoken to. Perhaps more importantly, the Christian-Democrats, by far the largest party in the country, will be inclined to regard the recent amendment as a one-time concession.

In practical terms the relevance of these amendments should not be overestimated. A vast majority of Dutch parents remain hostile to paedophilia and would be prepared to make the required formal complaint if their children appear to be engaged in sex with an adult. Nevertheless, the amendment of the sex laws in the Penal Code, including the age of consent, remains a part of the Dutch political agenda, even after the government had tried to shelve it indefinitely, so something positive has surely been achieved by the new law.

Editor's Note:

Jan Schuijjer is a member of the Paidika editorial board.

NOTES

1. "Hi! Are you 12 years old and Dutch?", *Newsweek*, November 26, 1990.
2. Mrs. W. Swildens-Rozendaal, personal communication.
3. *Memorie van Antwoord* (memorandum of response) by the Minister of Justice to the First Chamber of the States-General (Upper House), Bill to amend sections 242-249 of the Penal Code, nr. 20930.
4. We have translated the Dutch *gezag* as "authority." However, *gezag* indicates a position of formal, situational authority, such as that between an employer and employee, as distinct from *overzicht*, which denotes intrinsic authority arising from age differences, etc.

5. *Memorie van toelichting* (explanatory memorandum), Bill to amend sections 242, 243, 247, and 249 of the Penal Code, Second Chamber of the States-General (Lower House), nr. 20930, 3.
6. *Voorlopig verslag* (Preliminary report) by the Permanent Committee of Justice of the Lower House, Bill to amend sections 242, 243, 247, and 249 of the Penal Code, nr. 20930, 4.
7. Dutch attitudes about paedophilia are much discussed in: Jan Schuijjer, "Tolerance at Arm's Length; The Dutch Experience," *Journal of Homosexuality*, vol. 20, nrs. 1/2 (New York: Haworth Press, 1990).
8. See, e.g., A.W. Burgess, C.R. Hartman, M.P. McCausland, P. Powers, "Response Patterns in Children and Adolescents Exploited through Sex Rings and Pornography," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 1, 41:5

Vol.141, No.5, pp.656-662

ANNOUNCEMENT

We are pleased to announce that the Special Women's Issue edited by Marjan Sax and Sjuul Deckwitz has been published by the Schorer Stichting as a Dutch book entitled, *Op een oude fiets moet je het leren: erotische en seksuele relaties tussen vrouwen en jonge meisjes en jongens*. Our thanks to Schorer senior editor Robertine Rommeny for the assistance she provided in the compilation of *Paidika* Issue Nr. 8 and for her fine editing of the Dutch version. On behalf of our entire Board, we wish them every success.

**Romeny (see *Paidika* 8:13;
other sources corroborate)**

EVENSONG AND MORWE SONG

Charles Scott-Moncrieff

Editor's Introduction

Charles Kenneth Scott-Moncrieff's translation of Proust's *À la recherche du temps perdu* has long been considered one of the masterpieces of translation art. Even though recent revisions by Terence Kilmartin and D. J. Enright have superseded it, they are only revisions of what remains an extraordinarily accurate rendition of Proust's masterpiece.¹

Scott-Moncrieff, an English linguist born in 1889, also made lesser-known, though equally excellent, translations of Pirandello and of various works in Latin, Old English, and Old French. What is rarely mentioned is that starting as a young man he was part of various English literary circles where boy-love was common as a lifestyle, and as a literary theme. In England he was part of the Uranian milieu, that group of boy-love writers which published between the 1890s and the 1930s a large body of work on the subject under various names and pseudonyms.² He also befriended Norman Douglas and visited him on Capri. As biographies of Douglas reveal, he was himself attracted to 12-year-old boys, and it was not uncommon for Scott-Moncrieff to find one of Douglas's current friends also visiting.³

Scott-Moncrieff attended Winchester, one of the seven greatest English public schools, sometimes referred to as "the Clarendon Seven." In the common parlance, Winchester and Westminster were referred to as "clever" schools, that is, places where literary activities were valued above athletics.⁴ Very often the journals of these schools were the proving ground for budding authors, and Winchester's literary magazine, *New Field*, was recognized outside school circles. Scott-Moncrieff became the editor of *New Field*, a position of considerable influence for him to have achieved. He published the story that fol-

lows at the age of 18 in its special "Pageant" issue in 1908, and the issue was promptly withdrawn and suppressed because of the opening paragraph.⁵

This was not to be its last appearance. A rare book dealer, Francis Edwin Murray, who also published books of Uranian interest, printed it some time in the 1920s in a 30 page limited edition of fifty copies, for private circulation only. The edition was not for sale and most likely paid for by the author.⁶ The title is taken from the Prologue to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, line 380. "If Evensong and Morwe-song accorde." It is this edition that we transcribe below.

Scott-Moncrieff died on 28 February 1930 without having finished the final volume of his great translation of Proust.

NOTES

1. Marcel Proust, *In Search of Lost Time*, Translated by C.K. Scott-Moncrieff and Terence Kilmartin, revised by D.J. Enright (New York: Modern Library, 1992). The first edition of Scott-Moncrieff's translation was published in 1928.
2. Timothy D'Arch-Smith, *Love in Earnest* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970).
3. The most revealing biography to consult is: Mark Holloway, *Norman Douglas: A Biography* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1976).
4. Isabel Quigley, *The Heirs of Tom Brown* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1982), p. 13. The seven included: Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Harrow, Rugby, Charterhouse and Shrewsbury.
5. *New Field*, vol. II, nr. 9, 9 June 1908. The facts of its suppression are given in D'Arch-Smith, op. cit., p. 147.
6. D'Arch-Smith, op. cit., pp. 147-8. Murray also published his own boy-love poetry under the pen-name "A. Newman."

EVENSONG AND MORWE SONG

I

.... "And if we are found out?" asked Maurice. He was still on his knees in the thicket, and as he looked up to where his companion stood in an awkward fumbling attitude, his face seemed even more than usually pale and meagre in the grey broken light. It was with rather forced nonchalance that Carruthers answered "O, the sack, I suppose" – and he stopped aghast at the other's expression. Then as only at one other time in a long and well-rewarded life did he feel that a millstone round his neck might perhaps be less offensive than the picture of those small, startled features hung for all eternity before his eyes.

But all went well. Each returned to his house (they were at school at Gainsborough – this in the early eighties) without let or hindrance. When in the next autumn but one Carruthers went up to Oxford I doubt if he remembered his debt to the Creator of the soul of Edward Hilary Maurice. "After all, had he been so scrupulous?" he argued, "I am no worse than a dozen others and Maurice no better. Indeed, Maurice is getting quite a reputation. How dreadful all that sort of thing is!" And whatever he may have remembered at Oxford, we may be certain that when with his charming nonchalance he knelt before a golfer-bishop of no mean hysterical attraction to receive deacon's orders, he presented himself as a pure, sincere, and fragrant vessel, capable of containing any amount of truth.

II

William Carruthers turned a trifle uneasily in his stiff, new revolving chair as his victims entered. It was the last day of October. For a little more than a month he had occupied the headmaster's study at Cheddar, a school for which as a pious Gainsburgher he retained a profound contempt. This contempt was hardly diminished (to do him justice his salary was but moderate) by his having already to deal with one of those painful incidents which occur in second-rate schools almost as frequently as in the sacred Nine.

What he said to them is not our province. His weighty arguments (mainly borrowed from the boys' housemaster), his ears deaf to excuse or contradiction, his flaying sarcasm and his pessimistic prophecies drew great salt tears from the younger boy's eyes on to the gaudy new magisterial carpet before that unfortunate was sent away heavily warned against further outbreaks, and he was left free to damn the other in this world and disparage him in the next. He eyed him witheringly for some minutes, and then whispered: "Ah, Hilary! It were better for thee that a millstone were hanged about thy neck, and thou cast into the sea, than that thou shouldest offend one of these little ones." He had previously consulted a concordance, and in variously impressive tones rehearsed this and the parallel passages. Chance or inspiration might have prompted Hilary, whose whole life was being ruined to correct his first offence, to cite the following verses (read in Chapel an evening or two before) which enjoin that seven offences on the same day should be balanced by the offender's penitence. But he was silent. Carruthers, supposed him unrepentant and inveterate, lashed him with abuse that ranged from ribaldry to a little less than rhetoric; and finally dismissed him to remove his effects from his house and from Cheddar, whither he might, if well behaved, return in ten years' time.

These effectual workings over, the headmaster turned to the second part of the expulsion office – the letter to parent or guardian. It was then that he remembered his ignorance of the boy's address, and with some repugnance turned to a gaudy volume inscribed *Ordo Cheddarensis* in gold upon a red, blue and green back and sides, which had appeared there synchronically with himself. In the index he was faintly surprised to find: "Hilary, see Maurice, J. E. H."; and he was annoyed at the consequent delay. At last he found the reference, laid down the book (which crackled cheerily in its stiff, cheap binding), and read up his man:

"Maurice, James Edward Hilary (now J. E. H. Hilary). Born 13 Sept., 18 –. Only son of Edward Hilary Maurice (now E. H.

Hilary), of Leafisleigh, Co. Southampton, who on succeeding to that estate assumed the name of Hilary in lieu of that of Maurice. Addresses: 13 Worcester Gate Terrace, W.; Leafisleigh, Christchurch Road, R.S.O., Hants."

As he was transcribing the address this most consummate of headmasters received an unpleasant shock. Its pages released, the book crackled inexpensively and closed itself. In its place lay or floated a picture of two boys in a thicket; of the one's charming nonchalance; of terror sickening the other, a child that had just lost its soul. When at Oxford Carruthers had received a letter in which Maurice said: "It is not altogether because I must leave Gainsborough that I curse you now. But I can never send my sons there, nor to any decent school. Shorncliffe must receive them, or Milkmanthaite or even Cheddar — some hole that we have thought hardly worth our scorn. Because my sons will inherit the shame which you implanted, I now for the last time call you. . . ." Carruthers' fine British reserve had elided the next words from his memory.

Before his ordination he had prayed for spiritual armour, and had received a coat of self-satisfaction which had so far held out against all assaults of man or woman. Now it felt rusty. Rather half-heartedly he rang and told the butler to send someone to Mr. Herbertson's house to tell Mr. Hilary that the headmaster wanted him again and at once. Then he picked up the sheet of tremendously coat-armoured school notepaper, upon which a laboured and almost illegible "My dear Sir" was begun. On it he drew obscene figures for half-an-hour. Then the messenger returned. "Please sir", reported the butler, "James that I sent up, sir, says he couldn't find no one in Mr. Herbertson's house for him to speak to, leastways but Mrs. Wrenn, the housekeeper. She said, sir, as how Mr. Hilary had just gone off to the station in a fly with all his luggage."

The Headmaster of Cheddar took up his mortarboard and went out, swearing indiscriminately.

THE SEXUAL EXPERIENCES OF CHILDREN

Theo Sandfort

Editor's Note:

Dr. Theo Sandfort is currently President of Gay and Lesbian Studies at Utrecht University. He is the author of, among other works, *The Sexual Aspect of Paedophile Relations* (Amsterdam: Spartacus, 1982), *Boys and Their Contacts with Men* (Elmhurst, NY: Global Academic Publishers, 1987), and *Het belang van de ervaring* (Utrecht: Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht, 1988).

The following text is the first translation into English of the first three chapters of his most recent book, *Seksuele ervaringen van kinderen* (Deventer: Van Loghum Slaterus, 1989). The remaining two chapters will appear in Issue 10.

on

CHAPTER 1

CONCEPTS OF CHILDHOOD SEXUAL EXPERIENCE

We have heard a great deal about children and sex over the past few years, but relatively little attention has been paid to childhood sexuality itself. The focus of the discussion has been on sexual abuse, incest, and child pornography, all of which, it is claimed, have been increasing year by year. Sex, so the story goes, is something that is harmful to children; it has become a major topic of political discussion; it is the basis for zealously enforcing morals laws and for passing new, ever more draconian legislation. Yet one wonders on what facts the passage of these new laws is based. To judge by the discussion, one would be led to believe that sex per se is harmful to the child's later functioning. Yet is this actually true?

What do we really know about the influence of early sexual experience on later functioning?

Unfortunately, not a great deal. Such research as does exist, centers on sex between adults and children, which is labeled, a priori, "sexual abuse." These studies usually attempt to answer such questions as: "How often does it occur?" and "How harmful is it for the child?" Such questions as: "What causes harm?" or "What is the difference between sex with adults and sex with peers?" are almost never asked. If it is shown that the child suffers harm, researchers should investigate whether the cause is the single fact that the child's partner was an adult, or whether other significant factors might be the cause, or at least contributing factors.

When we formulated our research design, we attempted to avoid the many presuppositions which have biased most prior investigations into this subject. We thought that a more balanced

approach would lead to a method of research that framed the questions in a new and more neutral manner. We asked ourselves: is it important whether the children perceive their sexual contacts negatively or positively; or, as consensual or non-consensual acts? Does it make a difference whether a child's partner is an adult or a peer? We hoped that answers to these and the other questions outlined below would expand our knowledge about the role of sexual contacts in the development of children. Such answers could have important implications in social work, in the development of sex-abuse prevention programs, in the rational formulation of laws, and in the handling of court cases dealing with sex between children and adults. The result, we hoped, would be a broader understanding of childhood sexuality than had so far appeared in the literature.

Previous Research

Until now, most studies of childhood sexual behavior have focussed on children's sexual contacts with adults, concentrating on either their frequency or the type of child participating. The presumed consequences of such contacts, as well as the questions posed, have been couched negatively.

The question most frequently asked is: "How often do such contacts occur?" This question yields two distinct types of research: "incidence" and "prevalence."

"Incidence studies" enumerate sexual contacts during a particular period, and are almost always based on reports to an official agency, such as social services or the police. The researchers might try to discover, for example, whether during a particular period sex occurred more often than during some previous period. In the United States, for example, it has been reported that between 1976 and 1984, cases of adult-child sexual contacts increased nearly ten-fold.¹ Similarly, in The Netherlands, in data taken from criminal statistics and the records of the *vertrouwenartsen* (the medical examiners who investigate sexually-related complaints),² there has been a marked rise since 1981.³

It is difficult to know what conclusions should

be drawn from these statistics, which have been compiled from police and court records. Do they indicate a real increase in sexual abuse, or merely an increased awareness? Do they merely reflect more accurate record keeping? Clearly, they do reflect the increased attention paid to the "symptoms" a child exhibits when "sexually abused." People are more aware of potential symptoms, and as a consequence they will "detect" cases more often, resulting in higher incidence rates. They also reflect a lessening of the taboo against discussing incest and other sexually sensitive matters, and a greater readiness to report actual incidents. They are not a very reliable estimate of incidence: many cases do not come to light, or do not result in a police complaint.⁴

"Prevalence studies" attempt to determine how often people in certain specific groups are involved in such acts, and how often these acts happen in one group as compared to another. The research is generally carried out on psychiatric patients, prisoners, students, or people who have responded to a call for research subjects. Recently, however, more and more studies have been based upon representative population samples. For the general population, such studies yield more accurate results. Perhaps this, to some degree, explains the wide variance of results seen across the range of studies.

In some studies, the percentage of "children" having sexual contacts with adults varied from 6% to 62% for girls, and from 3% to 31% for boys.⁵ The greatest variance occurred in American research. In one study, 11% of the women and 3% of the men claimed they were "sexually abused" as children,⁶ while another researcher found that 38% of the women studied said they had had sexual experiences which, in the view of the investigator, could be categorized as sexual abuse.⁷

Dutch investigations show less variance. In one study, the number of women saying they had been sexually abused as children by a member of the family was 15%.⁸ Another concluded that 16% of the women and 13% of the men had had sexual experiences of one kind or another with an adult, while yet another, using the same questionnaire but basing the research on a sam-

ple of students, found that the percentages were 10% for women, and 6% for men.⁹

These wide discrepancies seem to be caused by variations in the research sampling design; that is, whether the sample is drawn from official records, from the general population, or from a group that feels itself specifically involved.¹⁰ No less important are the definition of terms, the setting of age parameters, and the framing of questions. In our own study, we have tried to select our sample and formulate our questions in a manner that answers our criticisms of prior studies. We sought a more neutral methodology that would elicit both the positive and the negative significance of early sexual experiences.

Children Who Have Sex with an Adult

What sort of child is likely to have sex with an adult? There is little agreement in the answers to this question, again perhaps because of differences in research methods. In some studies, children who had had sex with adults were compared with children who had not, while in other studies, background data was gathered only for those children who had had sex with adults; in the latter, comparison of the backgrounds of the two groups was not possible.

The studies also differ in the correlation of data. More background factors were analyzed and correlated in some than in others. At first glance, for example, it appears that there is a strong correlation between "low social class" and "sexual experience with an adult," but closer analysis reveals that "both parents working away from home" might really be the cause. The more background data that is gathered, the better the correlations that can be made between sexual involvement with adults and the so-called "risk factors": gender, age, social class, and home situation. Many variables are related to sex with an adult, although these "variables" need not necessarily be "causes."

Girls are said to have had sex with adults more often than boys, but here also the conclusions of various researchers differ widely: 11% of girls versus 3% of boys,¹¹ and in another, 16% of girls versus 13% of boys.¹² The age of the girl was also

important: frequency was greater between ages 6 and 7 years, and 10 and 12, than at other ages.¹³

The connection with social class, however, is unclear. According to some, children from the "lower" social classes are said to have more sex with adults,¹⁴ but Russell suggests this makes no difference at all.¹⁵

There is more agreement regarding the correlation between sexual contacts and the child's home life. Finkelhor and Baron concluded from their review of other studies that the most significant factors were: absence of parents through death, divorce, illness, or work away from home; bad relations of the child with one or both parents; conflict between the parents; and the presence in the home of step-parents or foster parents.¹⁶ Finkelhor had previously also found other background factors: sex with adults was more common for those girls who were frequently beaten and for those whose mothers disapproved of the girls' sexual behavior.¹⁷ Landis cited as reasons: the information the child was given about sex, and the bond between mother and child.¹⁸ Girls often reported that their mothers gave them little sexual information and seemed "remote." Another study, however, concluded quite the opposite: it was precisely those girls who had good relationships with their mothers who were most likely to have had sexual experiences with adults.¹⁹

What are the Consequences?

Researchers distinguish between long-term and short-term consequences of sexual experiences with adults. The consequences do not appear to be always negative; sometimes there are virtually none, and sometimes they appear to be positive.

Short-term effects are said to be those one can observe at the time of the sexual experience or shortly thereafter. These might include sexual problems (preoccupation with sexual matters, frequent masturbation), disturbed interpersonal relations (fear of contact with adults, greater seeking of affection from adults, running away from home), school problems including truancy, difficulties at home, psychological manifestations such as sleeplessness, eating prob-

lems, loss of self-respect, and behavior which shows that the child is anxious or confused.²⁰ Physical effects were also cited such as bodily injury and sexually transmitted diseases.²¹

Researchers found these effects in young people who had come into contact with the social services or the criminal justice system as a result of their sexual experiences; no one has investigated whether such short-term effects are observable in children with similar sexual experiences who have not had such contact with the authorities.²² In studies among select groups, this question was either ignored or only superficially investigated. In one study, for example, subjects were just asked how they had reacted at the time to the sex; the men's most common answer was "surprised but not afraid," while the women's was simply "afraid."²³

Long-term consequences cited include, in women, a negative feeling toward men in general, the perpetrators in particular, and also toward themselves, expressed as low self-esteem, self-hatred, and dislike of their own bodies.²⁴ Women were also said to have been made fearful, restless, suspicious, and prone to depression by early sexual contacts with adults. The experience had had a generally adverse effect on their sexual feelings. Some women also cited problems in their sexual lives: in attaining orgasm, for example.²⁵

Studies of street prostitutes who had been forced into sexual contacts as children showed drastic physical and emotional consequences. The women had almost all run away from home. The researchers claim that these forced contacts were responsible for their having become prostitutes.²⁶

In the same study, men who had had childhood sexual experiences with men seemed to have undergone no clear alteration in their sexual lives, although boys who were raped were "sexually blocked."²⁷ Men whose childhood contacts had been with women were more likely to have problems with orgasm or in maintaining a good image of themselves as a sexual partner.

One study suggests that sexual experiences between brothers and sisters did not always have the same long-term effects on self-esteem. It

made a difference to girls if their brothers were roughly the same age or were older. Self-esteem was *higher* after contacts with a similar-aged brother but lower after contacts with an older brother. With boys, however, contacts with brothers or sisters seemed to have no long-term effects on their self-esteem.²⁸

There does not, however, always have to be a connection between problems later in life and non-consensual experiences. Other factors, such as a bad family situation, might cause the problems observed, although the results are not uniform. Finkelhor seemed to think that the sexual experience was the most important factor;²⁹ Fromuth concluded that what made the greatest difference was whether the child was receiving psychological support and physical care from the parent; those who were had fewer problems later.³⁰ Kilpatrick also found that the child's background was of greatest importance.³¹ She found that later functioning was determined mainly by such things as income, marital status, ethnic background, the person's day-to-day life, and especially where the person was raised. Even the sexual experiences play hardly any part unless they are combined with other specific factors. Problems only arose if the sex had been forced upon the boy or girl by one of the parents, which did not seem to be the case in experiences with other adults.

Studies comparing young people who had had sexual experiences with those who had not showed that not all of the children with sexual experiences developed problems. A greater incidence of problems was found only when the subjects as a group were compared to a control sample of boys and girls who had had no experiences. There were individuals who, despite such contacts with adults, functioned no differently than others.³² Sex with adults, in other words, does not necessarily have terrible consequences: a number of studies have shown that, sometimes in a large and sometimes in a small proportion of the research subjects, there were simply no discernable consequences at all. In Russell, 20% of the women studied showed no adverse results,³³ and in an earlier study, Gagnon found this to be true in 75% of the women in his

sample.³⁴ More recent studies have yielded similar results.³⁵

The context in which the research was carried out seems to be significant as well. Those studies not carried out in a legal or social-work setting are more likely to reach the conclusion that no harm had been done. There was also a difference between boys and girls: negative consequences were less commonly determined with boys than with girls.

A few researchers also found some positive results from sexual experiences with adults, and that these had even "added to the quality of their lives."³⁶ Even in incest cases with a parent or sibling, more than half of the men and women said this had "led to feelings of greater closeness."³⁷ Some individuals in another sample "were no more neurotic and sometimes even more mentally stable than the average Dutchman" after sexual experiences with paedophiles.³⁸

The Causes of Problems

Some researchers have asked what exactly are the causes of recorded problems in sexual functioning in later life, although the results of this research are contradictory. These investigators studied several factors: length of the relationship and the number of sexual acts which took place within it, the kind of contact (whether there was force or aggression), age of the child, gender of the "perpetrator," age of the "perpetrator," and whether he or she was a member of the child's family.

There is much disagreement about whether these factors are related to the severity of later problems. While one study cited length of the relationship and the amount of the sex that took place within it as important,³⁹ another came to the opposite conclusion: longer-lasting sexual relationships had fewer negative consequences.⁴⁰ Similarly, some have claimed that more trauma and harm resulted from those contacts in which the sex was more intimate.⁴¹ Others found no such correlation, nor any correlation between the age of the boy or girl when the events occurred and the effects of the experience.⁴² Some reports also claim that less trauma is caused by contacts with an adult woman than with an adult

man. There is also little agreement regarding the significance of the age of the "perpetrator." Some studies have found it significant; Russell found less trauma if the "perpetrator" was younger than 26, or older than 50.⁴³

The greatest agreement was concerning the correlation between a broken family situation and later problems. Landis concluded it took longer for the boy or girl from such a family situation to "work through" the experience and more damage resulted.⁴⁴ Browne and Finkelhor said more problems resulted if the contact was with the father or a father-figure.⁴⁵

Other factors have also been cited, including those which result from the discovery of the sexual events. Negative reactions by parents strengthened the trauma. Also, children placed in care outside their homes as a result of such events showed more behavior problems.⁴⁶ Children frequently exhibited disturbed behavior if they had contact with the police, or if they were questioned by detectives and had to appear as witnesses in court.⁴⁷ According to these investigators, however, the link between negative effects and police involvement is in part explained by the fact that only the worst cases come to court.

Children showed fewer problems if they received support from their families (or even from a non-family member), if their parents responded with understanding, if the children were not afraid of what would happen if the situation were discovered, and if the family, in general, functioned well. Some researchers also concluded that older children were less traumatized by the experience than younger. They had fewer problems later on if there was little variety of sexual technique, if they had not been paid, if they had not been physically constrained, if they had tried to run away, or if they were passive during the sexual act.⁴⁸

These same researchers also concluded that problems were related to the kind of person the adult partner was and how he behaved. Children had fewer problems if the adult partner did not deny that sex had taken place, or if the child did not feel that the relationship was particularly important, regardless of whether there was a family or friendship relationship or not.

Premises of Previous Research

A great deal of criticism must be levelled against most of these investigations. The most important objection is that they proceed from the premise that all these sexual encounters between adults and children must be classified as abuse. Their methods of investigation must also be questioned. Research into the sexual experiences of young people is still in its infancy; thus it is not especially surprising that the literature so far is not entirely satisfactory.⁴⁹ Research is made more difficult because of the taboo on discussing childhood sexual experiences, as well as legal restrictions hampering research in the United States and other countries.

The "abuse premise," based upon dogmatic moral convictions, influences both the structuring of the research and its conclusions, which are sometimes in conflict with what the data actually shows. Justification of this premise is sometimes rationalized by the belief that every sexual contact between a child and an adult is, by definition, harmful to the child;⁵⁰ this claim is made despite the findings of several of the above-cited studies in which no harmful and even some beneficial results were found. Some justify it by appealing to the norms of society.⁵¹ Thus, what might be personally experienced as neutral or even pleasurable is labelled "sexual abuse."

In many of these studies the difference in age between the partners seems to be the only criterion of abuse. In our view, societal norms cannot simply be appropriated by social scientists. Researchers must base their findings on what they observe, not on what society tells them they ought to observe. Rather than simply accepting social norms, it would be better to examine them critically.⁵²

Another argument for the "abuse premise" is the conviction that children are incapable of making real choices; that they do not know what is and is not pleasurable; that they have no appreciation of the social meaning of sexuality, or of the possible consequences of sexual contacts with an adult.⁵³ Yet these same researchers do seem to admit that children can exercise choice regarding sex with age-mates. One might even

ask whether the opportunity to choose is really such an important criterion. Many things are demanded of children during their upbringing and education for which their consent is never asked.⁵⁴ It is also now generally recognized that the ability to make conscious choices is something which develops gradually during childhood. It is like any other learning process, and one should not put in the same category children of different ages, or even, for that matter, children of the same age. Each boy or girl learns at his or her own tempo.

The "inability to choose" argument is usually augmented by the "power argument": the adult has a natural power advantage over the child. Some state that children have no potential for self-expression and no capacity to realize their own desires.⁵⁵ The existence of a power imbalance in and of itself does not mean that power will be misused.⁵⁶ If the criterion is misuse of power rather than some intrinsic structural imbalance, then not only the existence of this power imbalance must be examined but also its expression. Is it detrimental or beneficial to the child? A misuse of power can only be established if it is shown to be detrimental.

Finally, the "abuse premise" is based on an appeal to the law, sometimes going so far as to state that sex with someone younger than a certain legally determined age of consent is abusive because it is a criminal act.⁵⁷ Others disagree, saying that in scientific research a distinction must be made between abuse and violating a law.⁵⁸ Disobeying the law doesn't have to be abuse, and, conversely, there are doubtless acts of abuse which violate no criminal statutes.

Despite the fact that all these arguments and justifications are unconvincing, the sexual abuse premise still continues to influence the structuring of research and hence our knowledge about sex between adults and children. "Sexual abuse" as an all-inclusive term loses its meaning when it encompasses virtually every kind of sexual contact, as, for example, those which both the adult and the child find pleasurable, or simply a sexual approach.

The use of the single term "abuse" to describe very different phenomena can explain some of

the conflicting research findings.⁵⁹ Fromuth, for example, found virtually no negative consequences, and this is most likely because of her broad definition of abuse which included even superficial contacts, which in all probability had no effect.⁶⁰

Obviously, defining all sex between an adult and a child as abusive immediately prejudices the research outcome. Any problems the child may have are immediately attributed to "the abuse," eliminating any consideration of other causes, such as the reaction of adults when the sexual experience was revealed,⁶¹ or the trauma of being questioned by the police.⁶² Consequences later in life might very well be caused by factors which had nothing whatsoever to do with the sexual experience.⁶³

Indiscriminately labelling sexual experiences as "abuse" makes it difficult to learn why and when certain experiences do have negative consequences. It also affects the kind of assistance offered. Merely by being labelled an "abuse victim" the child becomes a victim, because this labelling affects the way the child will be treated.⁶⁴ It does not seem sensible to label someone, a priori, "a perpetrator of sexual abuse," before any of the circumstances are known, yet this occurs routinely.

Real sexual abuse does, of course, occur, and one certainly should not minimize its seriousness. We would, however, like to make a plea for research which provides a more accurate view of reality by making more careful distinctions. The term "sexual abuse" is too broad and suggestive and could better be used only when there are good reasons for doing so.⁶⁵

Research Methods Used

The results of previous research, as we have seen, are often conflicting; these conflicts arise primarily from three factors: the definition of terms, the data collection methods, and the sample selection procedure.

Definitions

We have just noted how imprecise the concept of "sexual abuse" really is. There is similar lack

of clarity about what one means by a "sexual contact," by "a child," or the child's "partner."

"Sexual abuse," in previous studies, can include a broad range of "perpetrations" by an adult, and can even include events in which no physical contact occurred, such as exhibition of the genitals, making improper advances, showing pornography, or talking erotically about sexual matters. Where there was some kind of physical contact, "physical contact" can also be taken to include touching breasts through clothing and "passionate kissing."

A wide variety of upper age limits for the "child" has been used, varying from when the individual attains biological sexual maturity at puberty, all the way up to the age of 21. "Partners" can sometimes be taken to mean family members, or only blood relatives, or sometimes exclusively non-family members.

It is difficult to compare studies where, on the one hand, the subjects have been gathered from social welfare department records and on the other hand where subjects were selected from the population as a whole. It is also essential to keep clearly in mind the different kinds of sexual experiences found in any given report.

Data Collection

The formulation of questions put to research subjects can certainly have an influence on the results. If only one question is asked about previous sexual experience, then that question must be very clear; the respondent will have no other questions to use as a reference, or as clarification. A vague question, or one with two or more possible meanings, can easily be misunderstood. If, for example, everyone were asked, "As a child were you sometimes abused?", it is not at all clear that everyone would interpret the question the same way.⁶⁶

Superficial questioning tends to evoke fewer memories of sexual experiences than more searching questioning. If a very broad definition of "sexual experience" is being used, or if the respondents are questioned closely about their "experiences," a greater number seem to have had sex with adults.

Vague definitions and unclear questions can

lead to problems of interpretation. Russell, interviewing women about their early sexual experiences, defined the sexual contacts studied as "exploitative," but included experiences which the women themselves considered consensual. The norms and values of the researchers certainly influenced the data.⁶⁷

In some studies, the consequences of the sexual experiences were evaluated by the subjects themselves, while in others the investigator decided in advance what the likely consequences would be and then asked the subjects to what extent these consequences occurred. When considering such self-reported consequences, it is not clear whether what one person means by a particular problem is the same as what another person means, which makes it extremely difficult to compare subjects with one another. Russell also tells of someone who said his experience had had little effect on him, but drawing upon other events in the subject's life, Russell concluded that it had actually had a profoundly negative effect!⁶⁸

Studies in which the researcher uses standardized scales or questionnaires to measure the consequences usually afford a means of comparing answers from different people. Such studies have resulted in the most accurate picture of present-day functioning. It is thus best if respondents do not know in advance that a connection will be made between present-day problems and childhood sexual experiences, since this might influence their recollection of problems. The difficulty can be overcome by asking first about the subject's present sexual life and later about any early sexual experiences with adults.⁶⁹

It is certainly best to consider not just how the subjects think about themselves, but how they actually behave.⁷⁰ Women who had been "sexually abused" thought of themselves as being "promiscuous." They saw themselves as having many different sexual partners, but in fact, in comparison to the general population of women, this was simply not the case.

In drawing conclusions, one must take into account the way in which the data has been gathered. Finkelhor states that victims in the general population "had identifiable degrees of

impairment." But this conclusion was based upon answers to only one question in a written questionnaire generally dealing with whether the experiences in retrospect appeared positive or negative. Their responses were presented in a way which created a more negative picture than was justified by the actual data.⁷¹

Research Design

The manner in which subjects are recruited and selected affects the meaning of the data. The selective nature of samples drawn from reported cases is especially significant. Cases assembled from criminal or social-work records dealing with "sexual abuse" are colored from the start because children with positive or superficial experiences usually do not appear in these records. One cannot be certain from such records whether there is any connection at all between the sexual events and the claimed consequences, unless a comparison is also made with other young people who had not been "abused."

In studies among a select group of persons, comparisons are made between two sample groups which are divided on the basis of the presence or absence of childhood sexual experiences involving adults. Even in these studies there may be other factors which influence the results. Selective participation can result from the method used to recruit subjects. An invitation to participate in a study accompanying a magazine article about "the horrors of incest" will elicit a particular response, and consequently biases the sample and study. Even when the request is for people who had had "unpleasant and pleasant incest experiences," the context of the request colors the results.⁷² Likewise, a general, unspecified invitation to take part in an investigation might not encourage people with highly traumatizing experiences to participate. The choice of population group also influences the investigation. Studies based only on university students might uncover fewer instances of abuse than one based on the population at large. For a variety of reasons, one could hypothesize that students might have been less frequently abused.

Precisely what aspects the research focuses

upon can also influence the results, as is clearly illustrated by the conflicting results of the various investigations. If one wants to study precisely what risk factor is connected to a particular consequence, the connection must be established as accurately as possible. One way to ascertain this precisely is to examine as many background factors as possible. Is "one-parent home" actually most strongly connected to "less protected upbringing" or to something else? An investigation which examines only the social class of the child tells us too little about the background to make reliable correlations.

The same can be said about the possible consequences of the sexual experiences upon the child. To discover these, the research must specifically ask about them,⁷³ but many of the standard questionnaires used in "sexual abuse" cases were actually developed to test mental stability and psychological phenomena, and to examine broad, superficial areas such as "marriage" and "employment." They were not designed to explore the consequences of childhood sexual experiences with adults. Such inappropriate methods can overlook consequences which really are connected with sexual events.

The focus on "abuse" in most studies is obvious. Anyone who has had an "abuse" experience is placed in a separate category, and everyone else is put into another category, which can include those who had no sex at all. No further distinctions among the "abused" subjects are made regarding the varieties of sexual experience in an individual's life; everything is sexual abuse. The possible influence of other sexual experiences is not taken into account.

Previous research is not very representative. For example, most research into incest has been carried out on girls and women, and the applicability of the findings to boys is questionable. When boys are included in the study samples, their sexual experiences are more often seen to have neutral or even positive consequences. This difference might be caused by any number of factors: the kinds of sexual contacts boys or girls have, or perhaps to an inherent difference between boys and girls themselves.

Some investigations are already rather old and out of date. In a few cases the experiences reported happened so far in the past that it is doubtful whether conclusions drawn from them would be valid in the changed circumstances of today.

The culture of the country in which the investigation is conducted also influences the results. Many were carried out in the United States, where the climate for the sexual development of the young seems to be less favorable than in The Netherlands, where children are better prepared and educated for their sexual functioning.⁷⁴ In The Netherlands it is less common, for example, for both parents to be working and for their children to be left on their own for long periods each day. It may be that Dutch children are better protected.

Research Objectives

It can be seen from this brief review of prior research that many questions must be answered. Why do some studies show no negative consequences? Under what circumstances do early sexual experiences cause harm? What effect do the reactions of the adults in the child's environment have on the child? What risk factors are significant? Have all of them been investigated? How does an individual cope with abuse? To what degree do sexual experiences between girls and men differ from sexual experiences between boys and men? What are the effects of early sexual experiences upon sexual functioning in later life?

The body of available knowledge is limited and one-sided. Attention has been focused almost exclusively upon non-consensual contacts with adults, and this severely limits what we know about childhood sexuality. It is absolutely essential that sexual experiences between adults and children be examined in a broader context; they must be compared, for example, with contacts with age-mates. We must abandon the notion that each and every contact is abusive; such a premise has the result that the make-up of the study takes a negative direction.

In order to expand our knowledge of these experiences and place them in a broader con-

text, we posed the following research question: What is the influence on later sexual functioning of having had in early youth consensual or non-consensual sex with adults or age-mates, or no sex at all?

Our investigation was intended to expand our knowledge about the sexual development of children and to give us insight into the role played by various experiences in that development. The study of childhood sexuality must draw clear conclusions based on sound research. A clear and accurate understanding of childhood sexuality can only have a positive influence upon how people understand and deal with the sexuality of children.

A clear understanding of the mechanisms of early sexual experience in personality development is important for professionals dealing with children. When is it important to intervene in such relationships, and when should they be left alone? It can yield information useful to social workers and therapists, and the results of the research can also be used in attempting to forestall non-consensual contacts. A broader application is also possible: helping parents to deal constructively with childhood sexuality. Finally, solidly-based research can also be used in the courts to draw important distinctions between different kinds of sexual contacts involving an adult and a child.

NOTES

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CHAPTER 2

THE RESEARCH

Introductory Remarks

Current thinking about childhood sexuality, including sexual experiences between adults and young persons, is influenced by the "abuse" research we have just discussed, research which is limited and which does not accurately reflect reality. Clearly a need exists for research which does not begin with the premise that all sexual encounters between adults and young persons constitute abuse. Intimacy and sexual experiences with age-mates, both consensual and non-consensual, must also be examined. A Glossary will be found at the end of this chapter which defines some important terms.

There are too many a priori assumptions about childhood sexuality, and these should be identified and eliminated in so far as possible. By far the most common assumption is that, in sexual matters, children are innocent. The notion of the "sexually innocent child" leads to the categorization of all children sexually involved with adults as "abused children." For example, one often reads that the adult, making use of greater power to satisfy his or her own "perverse sexual urges," abuses the innocent child, who might only need affection or might simply be curious.¹ By this logic, the child is always a victim, even if the child took some initiative, or even if nothing happened contrary to the child's wishes. The only nuance in this categorization is a qualification regarding the nature of victimization; that is, the child may be classified as a "provocative" or "participating" victim.²

Standing in opposition to the concept of the "innocent child," for whom all sexuality is dangerous, is the concept of the child as sexual by nature. In this view, sex is associated with lust and pleasure, from which arises the conclusion that the adult can help the child to realize pleasurable sexual feelings. Those holding this view are not always realistic about what actually occurs.³

Our own theory is that sexuality is a given, present at birth, that is shaped by upbringing, societal norms, and experience. Sex is not per se either pleasurable or dangerous, but gradually assumes a unique meaning for each individual. It is, in other words, a developmental process which is influenced by many factors.

It is the purpose of this investigation to discover what role early sexual experience, as one factor among many, plays in this process. We assume that early sexual experiences are learning experiences which influence sexual development. Their significance depends upon the nature of these experiences and especially whether the child consented or did not consent.⁴

Besides consent, other issues can also affect later sexual functioning—one must also ask several related questions. How often did these contacts occur and with how many partners? Our hypothesis was that sexual experience can influence subsequent sexual experiences. We have therefore investigated not just the significance of atypical sexual experiences, but rather of all sexual experiences which a person has had, that is, his sexual history.

The investigation was designed so as not to suppress data which did not support our hypothesis. We tried to obtain a sample of subjects with as wide a variety of sexual experiences as possible. We conducted interviews with 283 young people aged 18 to 23 who were interviewed regarding their sexual experiences before age 16, their present sexual functioning, and their backgrounds, including the nature of their relationships with their parents and their sexual upbringing.

The age range of the sample was chosen because recollections of early sexual experiences should still be fresh, yet long-range effects should already be observable. When developing the interview scheme, we kept always in mind the difficulty of dredging up incidents out of memory.

There was a practical reason for limiting the sexual experiences discussed to those occurring before age 16. Some boundary had to be set, and as 16 was the age of consent established by the Dutch Penal Code, an investigation of the influences of experiences before this age could have a clear legal and social significance.

The Significance of the Sexual Experience

Each sexual encounter is part of a developmental process which can have many possible effects on a child's development; it can be a positive or negative learning experience depending on whether or not it was consensual. The following subsections describe our theoretical framework. Later we will describe the precise methodology of our research.

Sexuality as a Developmental Process

Sexuality may be considered as a developmental process in which a person acquires sexual knowledge, learns relevant skills, and develops an attitude towards sex. This process is fueled by sexual experiences. Children learn the meaning of words, and, through the reactions of others, come to an individual understanding of the importance placed on sexual images and behavior. Children are capable of absorbing the various motives people have for entering into a sexual contact. Parents, teachers, friends, media, etc., can and do teach children the sexual norms and values of their society. Through these influences, children acquire sexual knowledge and values.

A part of sexual development is the acquisition of certain skills, such as the ability to sexually excite oneself. While the sexual reflex may be inborn, it only becomes a skill when one learns how to bring about this excitement purposefully, for example, by masturbation.

The way one reacts to sexual stimulation varies as a result of the process of sexual development. Whether one finds something pleasant or unpleasant depends to a considerable extent upon the feelings and memories evoked by prior sexual experiences.

The acquisition of sexual knowledge, the

learning of skills, and the development of attitudes towards sexuality are intimately linked, and influence one another. For example, whether sex is thought of as agreeable or disagreeable influences to what extent one informs oneself about sex: people with a negative attitude seem to acquire less knowledge of sexual matters.⁵ On the other hand, the knowledge one has about sex, and the values one has acquired, also influence attitudes about the pleurability of sex.

The process of sexual development does not take place in isolation. It is integrated with other developmental processes which must also be considered. Children learn to behave as social creatures; in concert with their social and cognitive development, their sexuality evolves from ego-centered experiences to experiences with other persons. Learned gender roles are also important. By learning to behave "like a boy," boys learn that they should take the initiative. Girls learn that "as a girl" they should not.⁶ The methods one learns for dealing with such matters as aggression, power, and respect also influences one's sexuality later in life. Sexual development is fostered if parents are not too strict, if they help their children overcome shyness, and if they help them in their social behavior.⁷

Sexual Contact as a Learning Experience

In this study we have hypothesized that the influence of childhood sexual experiences upon an individual's later development mostly depends upon whether the experience was consensual or non-consensual. Consensual sexual experiences tend to be positive learning experiences; the converse is also true. The age of the partner is expected not to be of primary importance.

In contrast with most other investigations, we did not start with the premise that every sexual contact with an adult was by definition "abuse." Our categorization of whether a sexual experience was consensual or not was determined by the perceptions of the young person involved. If the experience occurred against the young person's will and could not be prevented, or if acts occurred during the contact which the young person did not want and could not prevent, it was classified as non-consensual.

The sexual experiences may affect a variety of aspects of sexual functioning at a later age. This study concentrates on several areas which constitute important criteria for evaluation from the perspective of a sex therapist: sexual desire, the ability to become aroused during sexual contacts, the ability to attain orgasm, and the level of anxiety experienced during contacts.

Of course, sexual problems can also be encountered during a sexual contact. This is evaluated in the study as well. It can happen that the penis does not become erect or the vagina lubricate. The person might not be able to attain orgasm, and sexual pleasure might be spoiled by distracting or disturbing thoughts or feelings. Also important is the degree to which the young person claims to be satisfied with his or her own sexual life, since it must be remembered that lack of sexual desire does not necessarily indicate an unsatisfactory sexual life.

Effects of Non-Consensual Experiences

During non-consensual sexual contacts, young people experience negative feelings such as disappointment, anxiety, guilt, anger, fear, or disgust. If these experiences are dominant, people may come to associate these negative feelings with sex in general. These feelings can be elicited by anything connected with sex, even fantasies or intimate but non-sexual contacts, and mutually consensual sexual experiences. They can cause problems in sexual functioning. Arousal and orgasm may not be achieved because the person does not find the act pleasurable. Sexual desire might be diminished or entirely suppressed.

Avoidance of sexual experience can in turn initiate a process whereby sexual development is disturbed. Avoidance of sexuality shields the individual from confrontation with the fear and negative feelings that have come to be associated with sex, which might in turn reinforce the avoidance behavior. This may further strengthen fear of sexual contact, because no new knowledge and no new skills are learned. Sexual development can all but cease.

Non-consensual contacts in early youth might later influence not only sexual functioning but

also general functioning. For example, it is possible that trust might become difficult or that a feeling of powerlessness might extend to other situations. A negative self-image or feelings of guilt and shame could also develop.

The degree to which non-consensual experiences are negative learning experiences depends upon several factors. The greater the degree to which the experience was felt as a violation, whether physical or psychological, the greater the adverse effect. The negative effect is proportional to how profound, or, in the jargon of the young, how "heavy," it was. The strength of the negative feelings generated would also be important. If the younger partner took even the slightest initiative, a feeling of responsibility might result. The more often non-consensual contacts were repeated, or the greater the number of non-consensual partners involved, the more serious the consequences would be.

During their development, children can, of course, have other "non-consensual" experiences. Nevertheless, it is generally supposed that sexual violations have the most disturbing effect upon a child's development, although it is acknowledged that other kinds of non-consensual experiences can also leave their mark. Such experiences, however, are considered a normal part of our culture. With sex, the violation is both physical and psychological; because of the great stress Western society lays upon sexuality, a sexual violation has the far greater "impact." (see Glossary)

Effects of Consensual Experiences

Consensual sexual experiences may be considered positive learning experiences to the degree to which they engender positive feelings. In fact, some would argue that positive feelings arise "by nature" from consensual sex and claim a "biologically normal connection between sex and pleasure."⁸ Others point out, however, that negative feelings, such as fear and anxiety, can arise as a consequence of a child's upbringing or through factors other than sexual experience.⁹

Pleasure also becomes associated with sexuality in general, and in contrast to avoidance, as mentioned in the previous section, young peo-

ple are more likely to repeat a pleasurable consensual experience. The individual anticipates that the pleasure will continue, as long as this expectation is not interfered with by a non-consensual experience.

It might be anticipated that young people having early consensual experiences would develop a better sex life than those having either no experiences, or non-consensual experiences. The knowledge gained and the skills acquired would reduce the likelihood that later problems would arise. The positive effects should increase with the number of such contacts, and would be stronger where sexual excitement and orgasm were more frequent, where the contacts were more intimate, and where the younger partner took the initiative. The anticipation of positive feelings can be expected to reduce such negative feelings as are caused by upbringing or the like.

Positive and Negative Learning Experiences

In this investigation we examined a person's "sexual experience history." If a young person has only consensual experiences, or only non-consensual experiences, then we categorized the learning experiences as positive or negative, respectively. It is expected that the positive feelings experienced in a consensual sexual contact become connected to sexuality in general. The same positive quality is anticipated in subsequent sexual experiences. The reverse applies to non-consensual experiences. If the young person has had both, however, then the sexual experience history is not so easy to categorize. Much would depend upon the relationship between the number of consensual, as opposed to non-consensual, experiences, and many additional factors. A consensual experience, influenced by the memory of a previous non-consensual contact, may be experienced differently than a consensual contact unburdened by such a memory.

Other Influences

The link between sexual experiences in youth and sexual functioning later in life may be obscured by other factors that have come into play. The opposite can also be true: the perceived link may be a consequence of other factors and not a

result of the sexual contact per se.

For example, a problem later in life might not be attributable to a non-consensual contact. Rather, it might be a result of the young person's upbringing, or of a negative attitude of one or both parents towards sex. It is also possible that a young person might not develop problems following a non-consensual contact if he or she was sexually well informed and consequently suffered relatively little shock.

Things related to the sexual experiences might happen which may greatly affect the influence of the experiences, reinforcing or moderating the feelings experienced in the sexual contact. An emotional reaction to a sexual contact in youth could be triggered by a sexual contact in adulthood, and this reaction might either reinforce or moderate the feelings arising from the experience itself. For example, positive feelings from a consensual contact could become negative if the young person were later subject to police questioning. Similarly, a child who is supported by parents or other adults following a bad sexual experience might later have fewer problems than a child not so supported.¹⁰

This research also considered the influence of sexual experiences after the age of sixteen which might have influenced sexual functioning at the time of the interview. A non-consensual sexual experience following a history of exclusively consensual experiences before the age of 16 might have a marked effect upon later functioning. Determining the effect turned out to be more difficult than anticipated.

The Design of the Research

Given the available data about consensual and non-consensual sexual experiences, and our own theoretical point of view, we were aware that we might have certain expectations about the conclusions to be reached by our research. We therefore designed it to test whether these expectations were correct. We expected, for example, that consensual experiences in youth would have a positive influence upon sexual functioning later in life. When compared with young people without any sexual experience, we also expected

that those who had had consensual experiences would have a greater desire for sex, be more easily aroused, have less fear of sexual contact, and be more satisfied with their present sexual lives. Conversely, we expected that the individuals who had had non-consensual experiences would show opposite effects: sexual functioning in later life would be adversely affected; their sexual desires would be weaker; they would be less easily sexually excited, would have more fear of sex, more problems with sexual contact, be less satisfied with their present sexual lives, and would in general be troubled by more psychic and bodily complaints. The greater the impact of the experience, the greater would be the negative consequences of non-consensual sex.

Research Design

The investigation was carried out on 283 persons between the ages of 18 and 23. It was important to represent different groups: those with no "sexual experiences" (see Glossary) before the age of 16; those with experiences with age-mates; and finally, those with experiences with adults. A broad sampling was sought in order to be able to examine both the positive and the negative experiences and to include young people with different social backgrounds. Both students and working persons were represented, as well as those still living with their parents and those living independently. Young people from different social classes were also included.

In order to achieve this variety, a cross-section of young people was selected, as well as a targeted sampling. The cross-section sample was

randomly selected from the population registers in and around Utrecht, and was primarily intended to find those with no early sexual experiences as well as those who had had sexual experiences with age-mates.¹¹

It was expected that in the cross-section sampling not enough young people would be found who had had sexual experiences with adults, and so a targeted canvassing was planned and carried out. In order to obtain as wide a sample as possible, we made use of the various social welfare divisions, the *Kinderbescherming* (Child Protection Agency), and the paedophile workgroups within the NVSH (Netherlands Society for Sexual Reform). We placed advertisements in newspapers, magazines, and on television programs; we approached those in this age category doing their military service; and finally, we mailed letters to a large group of students. Table 2.1 indicates how many persons fell into the cross-section and target categories, and their types of sexual experience.¹²

Each of the 283 young people was individually interviewed between January 1985 and June 1986, and each was allowed to choose whether the interviewer was a man or a woman. The interviews lasted on average about two hours; the shortest was 45 minutes and the longest six and a half hours. They followed a pre-determined pattern: after an introduction, the subjects were questioned about their background, upbringing, and youth. They were then asked to describe, in detail, the kinds of sexual experiences they had had before the age of 16, up to a maximum of five sexual contacts. The interview closed with questions about their present day sex life.

Table 2.1 Sexual experiences subdivided for the cross-section and the target samples

	<i>General Approach</i>	<i>Target Approach</i>	<i>Total</i>
No sexual contact	73	—	73
Only contact with age-mates	86	5	91
Contact with adults exclusively or also including age-mates	16	103	119
Total	175	108	283

If there were more than five sexual experiences, the young person was asked to select those which, in light of the aims of this study, were most appropriate. First the experience was selected which was most important from the perspective of the subject; then followed: the experience which gave the person the most positive feelings; a sexual experience with a person within the family (if the subject had had any); an experience with an adult or someone else quite a bit older than the subject; and finally, a sexual experience which was non-consensual. The most noteworthy experiences could thus be discussed in detail, ignoring the less significant events.

Most of the questions were oral, and most permitted multiple-choice responses. Sometimes, the subject's answers were written out verbatim. In designing a questionnaire, as much use as possible was made of questions used in previous, similar studies. Because some subjects would be uncomfortable discussing sex in general and unpleasant experiences in particular, all subjects were asked to fill out cards and to rank-order index cards regarding their early sexual experiences and current sex life. The variety of interviewing techniques also helped to hold the interviewee's attention.

Since a significant number of the questions dealt with past experiences, there was always the chance that recollections would be colored by distance in time. Previous research has provided tools to aid subjects in recalling forgotten and suppressed experiences. It is important to allow the person enough time to remember. If a person does not remember something immediately, it may mean that the interviewer did not pose the right question to help the person to retrieve the "forgotten" information. One way around this difficulty is to ask questions about past events associated with the sexual experience. By providing points of reference, these questions might help to restore the subject's memories.¹³ The sequence of the questions should also be logical, and the person should be encouraged to answer the questions fully. In our opening remarks, we informed the subjects that they could return to, and add to, previous answers, and we discussed various means of helping recall past

events. The interviewers were tutored in the use of interviewing techniques that assist subjects in recalling distant events. Interviewers were urged to be patient in order to encourage the subject to be as precise as possible in answering the questions. Interviewers were taught how to create a relaxed atmosphere in which subjects would not feel under pressure to come up with answers.

At the end of the interview, the interviewers asked subjects about their experience of the interview in order to assure that they had felt comfortable during the interview and had felt free to give accurate and complete responses. The responses indicated that subjects felt at ease and found the atmosphere sympathetic; they had felt involved in the project. One girl said she had found the interview "... rather pleasant, and well done. The way things were brought up, I didn't find it difficult to answer the questions." Another girl said that she had found the questions very stimulating. One boy said, "That business with the cards was very sensitive to people who don't find it so easy to talk."

Some young people found it difficult to speak about sex, but others remarked on the ease with which they had been able to discuss subjects that are normally taboo. They found the atmosphere comfortable and were reassured by the guarantee of confidentiality. One girl said, "It's nice that nobody can find out what I have said."

The interviewers also offered the young people access to professional help if they felt they wanted it. A few of them took advantage of this opportunity. For some, the interview was the beginning of being able to talk about negative experiences. It was sometimes even a means of coming to terms with these experiences. One girl said afterwards, "I found the interview wonderful. I feel good all over. I'm not afraid that as a result I'll go into panic. I feel stronger."

Limitations of the Investigation

The extent of our investigation was more limited than we would have wished. The number of young people participating in the study was less than we had intended, but we were able to assemble a broad sampling of young people

with varied sexual experiences. We think that the method of recruiting and selecting subjects minimized the possibility that the results of the study were biased.

Another limitation was that the results of the research did not permit the determination of cause and effect. We could only conclude that certain factors seemed to be related. Also, the fact that the data came from the past means that the apparent relationships appearing in the research must be applied to present-day circumstances with care. On the basis of this research, conclusions cannot be drawn about Dutch youth. The specific purpose of the study was not to assemble a sample of young people which would be representative of Dutch youth. Rather, we set out to discover the significance of sexual experience in a person's life prior to their sixteenth birthday, and for that a sample representing all Dutch youth was not necessary.

An important difference between our investigation and those mentioned in Chapter One was that not only sexual experiences with adults but also those with age-mates were studied. "Sexual contact" was defined more precisely than in most other investigations. Above all, we made no prior determination of which experiences were consensual and which were not. The ranking of the experiences was done by the researchers on the basis of the young person's judgment.

Glossary

Adult: someone older than 16 and at least 6 years older than the younger partner. Thus someone of 17 we considered adult when the sexual contact was with a child under 12 and as an age-mate if the partner was 12 or older.

Impact: the degree to which the younger partner's integrity was violated psychologically and physically during a non-consensual contact. Impact is expressed by a "severity score." This severity score was determined by a group of researchers and is based upon such considerations as: precisely what happened, the way in which the sexual contacts took place, and the relation-

ship between the partners (age difference and whether the person was a relative or not). Also considered was the young person's perception of the experience – for example, how threatened did he or she feel? – since a non-consensual contact can do a great deal of harm to one person, while a similar contact will have relatively little effect on another.

Intimacy: ranges from fondling the breasts to anal intercourse. A scale from 1 to 6 was assigned based on the degree of intimacy or extensiveness: the higher the score, the more intimate or extensive were the acts which took place during the contact. High scores usually imply that other, less intimate acts also occurred.

The following is the scale used for ranking heterosexual experiences:

- 1 = Fondling the breasts (actively or passively)
- 2 = Fondling the genitals (actively or passively)
- 3 = Vaginal intercourse;
- 4 = Passive oral contact;
- 5 = Active oral contact;
- 6 = Anal intercourse.

Non-Consensual: the contact or relationship was contrary to the will of the younger partner; he or she could not prevent it, or acts occurred which were against the will of the younger partner.

Sexual Experience: a sexual contact which involved, at a minimum, the touching of the bare breasts or genitals.

Youth: someone under the age of 16.

NOTES

- 1. Travin et al, op. cit.
- 2. M. Virkkunen, "Victim-Precipitated Pedophilia Offences," *British Journal of Criminology*, 15:2 (1975), pp. 175-180; Virkkunen, M., "The Child as Participating Victim," in M. Cook and K. Howells, eds., *Adult Sexual Interest in Children* (London: Academic Press, 1981), pp. 121-134.
- 3. Bernard, op. cit.

4. The Dutch word "relatie" connotes both the English "contact" and "relationship." Here we are sometimes describing a "sexual contact" and sometimes a "sexual relationship" often involving many sexual contacts, and have therefore settled on the English term "sexual experience" to connote the combination of the two concepts.

5. D. Byrne, "The Antecedents, Correlates, and Consequences of Erothophobia-Erothophilia," in C.M. Davis, ed., *Challenges in Sexual Research* (Syracuse: Society for the Scientific Study of Sex, 1983), pp. 53-75.

6. S. Jackson, *Childhood and Sexuality* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982).

7. C.J. Straver, *Toenadering van jongens and meisjes* (Zeist: NISSO, 1977).

8. Steele and Alexander, 1981, op. cit.; Byrne, 1983, "The Antecedents,....", op. cit.; D. Byrne, "Sex Without Contraception," in D. Byrne and W.A. Fisher, eds., *Adolescents, Sex and Contraception* (Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1983), pp. 3-31.

9. K. Kelly, "Adolescent Sexuality: The First Lesson," in D. Byrne and W.A. Fisher, 1983, op. cit., pp. 125-142.

10. See in this connection J. Godijn and Th. Sandfort, "Sociale ondersteuning bij de verwerking van traumatische seksuele ervaringen in de jeugdjaren," *Gedrag en Gezondheid*, 16:2 (1988), pp. 60-67.

11. Utrecht is a diverse city with a population of about 250,000 which is reasonably representative of The Netherlands as a whole. It is also the site of the university at which Dr. Sandfort teaches. Ed.

12. It was our original intent to distinguish between sexual experiences with adults within the family and sexual experiences with other adults. However only a few young people were identified who had had sexual experiences exclusively within the family, so this aim was abandoned due to the statistically insignificant sample size.

13. J. Blacker and W. Brass, "Experience of Retrospective Demographic Enquiries to Determine Vital Rates," in L. Moss and H. Goldstein, eds., *The Recall Method in Social Surveys* (London: University of London Institute of Education, 1979), pp. 48-65.

CHAPTER 3

SEXUAL EXPERIENCES: EXAMPLES AND COMPARISONS

The conversations we had with the young people participating in this study revealed a wide variety of sexual experiences. These will be described independently, after which we will discuss the history of sexual contacts, because it was not the specific experiences but rather the entire sexual experience history before the age of sixteen that was significant.

The individual sexual experiences will be described in terms of the characteristics which we expect will affect the sexual developmental process (see Chapter 2), used below as our standard of measurement. To illustrate these characteristics, we quote what the young people say. These quotes are often either the most extreme or the most illustrative and are intended only as examples. The most significant aspects of each factor will be examined, and whether there are differences between the experiences of boys and girls.

To compare the effects of varying sexual experiences, we subdivided the young people into groups with similar sexual histories. Because of the nature of the sampling procedure followed, the sample cannot be regarded as a representative cross-section of Dutch youth. For example, because of the recruitment procedures previously described, proportionally more subjects who had had sexual experiences with adults participated in this study than would be characteristic for the Dutch population as a whole. As a consequence, statements made here about young people apply to the subjects who participated in this study.

Specific Experiences

In our sample of 283 young people, 84 boys and 126 girls had had sexual contacts before age 16. A total of 572 separate experiences were discussed with these subjects. The experiences were often superficial, as with Eric, who told about what happened with a neighborhood girl:

I don't remember how I really felt about it then. It was nice, exciting. Something to

tell everybody about at school. But, well, you don't really know what you ought to be feeling then, do you? You just do it. Tongue kissing and making out, feeling her tits, no more. The affair only lasted a week.

Jos told about his contact with "... a nice girl I'd got to know at camp. It wasn't sexual intercourse, but it definitely was sex in the way you mean it: touching the sexual organs and other body parts."

Young people can sometimes be involved in contacts that actually go farther than this but still not consider it "real sex." Ellen told about an experience at the age of eight:

I took the dog out late in the afternoon, here in the village. It was still light. A car stood at the curb with its door open, and a man was sitting inside with his fly unzipped. He asked me if I wanted to touch him there, and I did. I thought he was feeling sick or something. I thought I'd try to help him, make him feel better. I wasn't at all afraid. I didn't have the faintest idea what it was really all about.

Most of these 572 experiences, however, were seen as sexual. Maarten, for example, said this about what happened with an older cousin from Canada who took the initiative:

It was very subtle. She treated me like I was a grown-up. I was flattered, and she knew it. I was afraid if I didn't do it she wouldn't go around with me anymore, which was what I really liked the most.

He found the contact, which did include sexual intercourse, exciting, but, "What I found not so nice was her being so experienced while I was so clumsy – feeling that she was so much better at it than me." He said that after the experience he

was upset for days. "I felt used, abused, like for her there was just no one else available. I was afraid she'd want me to do it again."

Antoinette told a similar story about sex with her brother:

I liked him. He protected me. I looked up to him, I admired him more than my other brothers, because I thought he was nicer. I didn't really dislike what he did with me. It was nice, felt good, also sort of crazy and unusual. But later it turned me off.

Antoinette said the sex consisted of stroking each other's genitals. "At first it was all right, but later it got dirty and secretive. I was disgusted by what I had to do. I was confused and upset."

Some persons had a series of sexual experiences. After Sandra had been forced to have sex for years with her father, two uncles, and a cousin, she was placed in a boarding school. There she was raped by one of the boys.

I was asleep in bed, and that's when he came in. He forced me. He was violent. He was big and strong. I couldn't do anything against him. I tried to push him away, but I didn't dare scream because I was afraid someone would come and I didn't know anybody. I'd only been there a week. It hurt, and I was scared to death. I was no longer interested in what happened to me; it was like my body was made of stone. I was afraid someone would come in and I'd be sent away.

There are obviously a number of differences between these experiences: the degree of consent, the kind of contact, the duration of the relationship and the number of sexual events which took place within it, the subject's relationship to the partner, the power differences, the impact of the experience, and finally how the subject experienced and perceived it.

Initiative and Consent

Consensual experiences should be distinguished from those where things were done against the

young person's will. The distinction must be drawn on the basis of the individual's perception of what took place. A sexual experience is non-consensual if sex with the other person is unwanted, and this is stated, or if the boy or girl thinks the sex cannot be prevented and therefore does not object. It is also possible that an experience may begin consensually but becomes non-consensual when undesired activities take place which the young person feels incapable of stopping.

The sexual initiative can come from either partner, but our interviews showed various motives for the boy or girl. Sometimes both participants thought it was "cool," as with the sex Kees had with his girl friend:

I had intercourse with her and thought she was one cool kid and I guess she thought I was pretty cool, too. I liked it. The first time is always the best, they say, and it's true. It was nice — but I was also relieved it was over.

Another motive might be that each wanted something from the other, such as warmth and affection. That was true of Lot, who said about her sexual contact with an older man: "He was calm, cool, and collected, and very good looking. Very fatherly. I'd just left home and I felt I needed protecting. It turned him on that I was so young."

Although the sexual initiative came from both sides, Lot said: "As he was leading up to it he talked about it as though it was normal. I guess he thought it was fun to challenge me. I didn't like the sex with him so much; making love was kind of neutral. I was looking for something else from him, such as warmth and protection."

For a variety of reasons, the girls said more often than the boys that they wanted to have sex simply because they liked their partners. For them "sexual pleasure" was second in importance and "curiosity" third, while for boys sexual pleasure usually took first place, followed by liking the other partner, with curiosity third.

Some of the subjects said they "found the other physically attractive," that it "just happened," that they "didn't want to disappoint the

other," that they "wanted to go along with it" or thought it was "what one did," or that they were "talked into it" by the other. Sometimes it happened because they had been drinking or had received a gift of some sort.

Non-consensual contacts, on the other hand, could even occur when the initiative came from the younger partner. Marleen told us that she had taken the initiative with a boy she had met at a youth center: "I found him very attractive, real nice, interesting. I was an easy prey. I was like that in those days. I didn't worry about it at the time — you do that later. I went to bed with him, willingly."

But then something happened that she didn't like, which is why we classified this contact as non-consensual: "He wanted to fuck and I didn't, but he persuaded me. I knew that sort of thing happened, but still... At first I was able to resist, but later I gave in." They had intercourse three times: "The first time I was curious. It was exciting, but not really nice. The second time it was nice. The third time I felt he had used me, like I'd been violated, raped, abused."

A contact where both partners initially took the initiative can end up being non-consensual, as in the case of Trudy and her older brother:

I didn't actually want sex, just love and attention, which I didn't get from my parents. I was also curious. But if I'd known what it really was I'd never have done it. Later I told him I didn't want to do it anymore, that I didn't like it, but one way or another he kept getting his way. I could always keep him from actually fucking me, because fortunately he was never able to find my cunt, and I knew I could get pregnant and I didn't want that to happen. Finally he stopped, because I always avoided him. And because I kept on refusing.

Trudy had had an earlier sexual experience which was completely forced:

It was with a boy in the neighborhood who I enjoyed playing marbles with but never anything more. He had the reputation of

being a little retarded. I found him not really nice or super-nice or anything, but not unpleasant either. One day when we were playing, though, and he locked the door, I was frightened because he was physically a lot stronger than I was. I was scared he'd do something bad. And his being retarded was another reason to be afraid. When you're a kid you think a boy like that would do something strange more than a normal person would. He pulled my hand against his cock, but I pulled it back and said I didn't like that. And then I tried to go out of the door, but it was locked. I thought it was dirty, vile. I was shocked, really shocked, by what happened . . . In the first place, I was scared of him, in the second place I found it dirty, filthy. And I didn't know what it was. I suspected what it was, but I couldn't imagine that a little penis could suddenly become something like that.

A non-consensual contact need not always happen through pressure from the partner: the pressure can also be environmental, as in the case of Anton who found himself at a party where everyone was "doing it." He told of a contact with a girl from his brother's class at school:

We were all six of us together upstairs and everybody had to do it. I had to do it. We were all coerced; I made her do it; I didn't dare not to. I coerced her because of the others' coercion. She didn't want to do it with so many people around, but between us power was balanced.

When Anita made love with her boy friend, she felt coerced because:

My girl friend and her boy friend were doing it together and they were right there. I was embarrassed to death. You just don't do that sort of thing. I thought it was very strange. We were lying naked against each other and he tried to get his penis in. That didn't work at all. And we kissed

each other with our mouths closed. I've regretted it for years. I can't talk about it with anybody. I was deadly ashamed of it until a couple of years ago. I still think about it a lot.

Lucie told about being forced into different sexual experiences by her step-father who was into magic and spiritualism:

My mother's second husband married my mother because, among other reasons, he saw she had three daughters he would like to make out with. There was a group which met at our house consisting of our family and a few others. We held seances where we called up ghosts and took orders from them. We had formed a bond with Satan; we had to obey his orders in order to go on to the next step. The orders were often different sexual acts we had to perform with each other. It was impossible to disobey the commands, because Satan and the other spirits were always present.

Lucie had sexual contacts with her step-father, her mother, sisters and female friends. According to Lucie these experiences were "horrible, revolting, bestial." In this atmosphere, where everything was supposed to be acceptable, Lucie also had sex with an acquaintance of her parents: "It was a jolly family evening, with cheese and wine, but also sex. Each woman went into a room, and then the men could choose. I could not get out of it, and that was because there was supposed to be absolutely no taboo on sex. I was just glad I only had to do it with a family member, not someone in the group."

Lucy was not sure, but thought possibly she had also had intercourse. "It made little impression on me. The conviviality of that party was more important."

Force can be applied in different ways. It can be physical, as in the case of Carla who was assaulted in a park:

... You walk through the park, and all of a sudden you are lying on the ground, too

scared to scream because they'll knife you for a couple of guilders. A lot goes through your mind: that you have to try to escape, get away as soon as you can, but you're also scared, that's what's most important. Scared of being hurt physically. Also scared because your mother had warned, watch out, soon you'll be walking around with a big belly.

More often force was a feeling of not being able to escape a situation, for example because of sitting in an automobile with the other person, as happened to Peter: "An acquaintance of my friend had a car. One time we went for a ride, and that's when it happened. It wasn't really nice. I didn't really want to do it. It wasn't really that voluntary."

Pressure can also result from dependency. For example, Monique gave in to the farmer who stabled her horse.

I felt that if I didn't do it, keeping the horse would be too expensive. The arrangement was that I'd pay less rent. My parents complained about how expensive the horse was. I was afraid it would be sold. And so I performed it as a kind of Noble Deed. At first, maybe the first few times, it was nice. He consoled me, because I was afraid of losing my horse, and I still remember how, as I rode home on my bike, I thought at last someone loved me. There was also the physical pleasure. He embraced me and comforted me. Later I found what I was doing unpleasant, because I didn't want to. Once I even threw up right afterwards. Ears closed, eyes shut, and soon it was over.

The experiences with adults were more often non-consensual than those with age-mates: half of the experiences with adults versus one-fifth of the age-mates. (See Table 3.1) This was especially true for girls; three-quarters of their contacts with adults were non-consensual, versus a third of their contacts with peers. Non-voluntary contacts between boys and age-mates occurred

Table 3.1 Non-consensual experiences by gender of subject and age of partner

	<i>With Age-Mates</i>	<i>With adults</i>	<i>All experiences</i>
Experiences of boys	4%	29%	10%
Experiences of girls	33%	76%	50%
Total youth	19%	60%	33%

only rarely. It is striking how greatly the ratio between voluntary and non-consensual contacts differs between boys and girls. Girls considered one-half non-consensual; boys only one experience in ten.

The Impact of the Experience

In order to determine just how serious an impact a non-consensual experience had on the young person, and also to what degree it might be said to violate his or her physical and mental integrity, we devised a "severity score," on a scale from 1 to 10. The scores were based on what had happened, the way it had happened, the setting in which it happened, how the child experienced the events, and the kind of relationship that existed, including age difference and family relationship.¹ We wanted to determine what influence the experience had had upon the young person's sense of self.

A non-consensual experience is not necessarily serious; a good example might be what happened between Karel and a slightly older girl friend, which he did not experience as being completely consensual.

I was in love with her; she was my first real girl friend. She was in love with me; I was her steady boy friend. She had a kind of power over me. Not really malicious – but still power over me. She was a little older than me. She chased after me, but I didn't chase after her. I did a lot more for her than I really should have done. She was also mentally stronger. I didn't put up any resistance when she wanted to have sex. One thing follows another and you finally just give in.

The experience didn't really affect Karel's sense of self very much. He didn't find it really unpleasant: "The first time I was a bit anxious because I was afraid that she was more experienced than I and I'd look like a fool. The second time she knew I was inexperienced. I liked it more. I could express myself."

We gave this a score of 1. Likewise, what happened over a six month period between Nan and a female domestic servant employed by her family was also given the low score of 3, though she considered the contacts non-consensual:

She was intimidating. It was hard for me to get away from her. After all, to me she was a "grown-up." It was confusing. I was doing something that you really weren't supposed to do. I didn't like it, except that when she washed me she put the shower nozzle against my sex organs and let the water spray over them, and that was a nice feeling.

But it wasn't so shocking or awful. Sitting here talking about it now makes it sound like it had been a horrible, earth-shaking business, but really it wasn't so bad as all that.

The average non-consensual experience was, however, more serious, as can be seen with Karen the first time she had sex with another person. We scored this experience 6:

It was my summer camp leader. He was still pretty much a stranger. I'd got to know him there in camp. I liked him and felt attracted to him. He held the power, because he was older, and I found that

quite intriguing. I'd immediately do everything he told me to do, so I'd make a good impression. Actually, I wanted something sexual, but I also didn't want it to go quite so far. I was with him at his birthday party. Suddenly everyone had left. I was afraid he'd ask me to go, too, that I'd be out on the street. I couldn't leave, then, in the middle of the night. I was afraid he would do something. I disliked the sex. I can't really say anything else about it.

An experience we scored as 3.5 was that of Maarten with the man in the local record shop, who coerced him into having sex: "He talked me into it and I agreed on the condition that I get something in return. He wanted me to blow him and I told him I didn't want to do that. I put up a struggle, but he more or less forced me by shoving my head down."

For a number of young people the sex was a very serious event. Jan's experiences with his step-father, which we scored as 9, included anal penetration, and continued until Jan ran away from home:

He just did it — as though it was something he had a right to. One time when I resisted he beat me, so I didn't try that again. It continued from the time I was 8 until I was 15. I always behaved passively during the sex — did what he wanted me to do. I couldn't be active; I never took any initiative. In those days I was very anxious and depressed.

Nelleke (a score of 9) had non-consensual sex over 50 times with her father. It started when she was 5 and continued until she was six and a half. Her father was then 56. The sex included coitus and fellatio:

I thought of him as a lovable person, someone who lit the way for me, but I didn't know why. He had kept that always in the back of his mind. He paid me lots of attention. I was also afraid of him, because he

drank so much. Sometimes I tried to avoid it by being busy, doing the dishes or taking the dog out for a walk. My mother used a lot of Valium, and when she was asleep my father would come looking for me. He had all kinds of reasons for me to do it: because Mama was sick, or because all fathers did it. Just before it happened the first time I had to go get a kilo of white beans for my mother, and ever since then I've found this kind of bean horrible. My father told me that I had to eat my beans, otherwise he would say I'd liked the sex; he even threatened me with burning cigarettes. Once he even did it. I'd lie in bed stiff and numb. On the one hand I knew it wasn't normal, but on the other hand I wasn't really sure. All I felt was pain. I didn't like it. You just try to turn off all your feelings.

In general, it appeared that the non-consensual contacts were more serious, for boys and girls alike, if they were with adults than with age-mates. For boys the mean scores were, respectively, 4 and 2; for girls 6 and 4.

Kinds of Sexual Contacts

In most cases the sexual intimacy was limited, and usually only consisted of fondling the breasts and sexual organs, or being fondled. It was, as Olaf put it, "... feeling a little here, feeling a little there. The more serious stuff didn't start until I was 14." And, when Ed was 12 he thought his girl friend: "...wanted now and then to go too far. She wanted more than just squeezing her breasts. I didn't think that was right. I felt I was too young to do much more."

Often the next step was stroking the sex organs, or allowing them to be stroked, as with the sexual "fooling around" Marieke did with:

... all the boys I went around with and sometimes fell in love with. I'd fool around with them. I loved them and liked going out with them in the evening. I didn't want to have intercourse. We didn't do anything special. I liked being out of doors, and we did it there. Sometimes I

took the initiative and chatted up a boy. But if we were outside I usually waited until the boy started to come on. I didn't like jerking them off; my arm would get so tired! Then sometimes I'd just tell them, "Finish it at home."

At first Anja thought masturbation was unpleasant. She described her first intercourse, when she was 14:

He started it, but I wanted to do it too. He began to finger me. He took my hand and I had to jerk him off, and I didn't want to. I can tell you that I'd never done that before. About a week later the same thing happened, and I still thought it was pretty awful. In the beginning I thought jerking off was really nasty, but later I came to enjoy it.

Likewise, the contact Robbie had with his father consisted of genital fondling:

We had a "father doing things with his son" sort of contact. Not much was said about it, and he didn't demand that much. I accepted it as something that just happened once in a while. It wasn't really nice, but there are worse things that aren't nice. It wasn't pleasant, but I didn't find it unpleasant either. It was something that just seemed to have to happen. I had no real feelings. He played with my penis, and that part was nice. The whole business, though, just wasn't so pleasant.

Active and passive oral sex was less common. Inge told of the first time it happened to her with her boy friend:

The first time that we went farther than kissing, I was so surprised. He did things I hardly knew existed. He licked me. I told him that I didn't like it and he immediately stopped. Then we talked about it, and after that he didn't just jump in and do something new.

Active oral contact was as common as passive. Connie told about non-consensual experiences with her brother:

He could usually make me do it, but he never seriously mistreated me. He would drop his pants and demand that I take hold of his penis, and I had to suck him off. Even now I find the taste and smell of sperm so repulsive I don't want anything to do with the stuff. I had to perform all those things you see in sex books – especially blow-jobs, where you get that disgusting stuff in your mouth.

Coitus sometimes took place. Roy had this to say about sex with a girl friend: "To me it was exciting and felt good. It was my first time, and for a boy it's like a whole new world when you get in there for the first time."

Kristel had sex with a friend of her brother's, and she found it "quite exciting and very nice because it was secret. He did all sorts of things: sexy things I didn't even know might have existed. That was exciting. What I thought was really nice was the way he asked if I liked something. That made it easier to say no if I wanted to. He ended my virginity. I had the feeling that suddenly I was somebody else, like I had taken on a new identity."

Tommy, too, felt changed by sexual intercourse. It happened with someone who lived in the home of a friend: "I thought he was a nice guy. He fucked me and I liked it a whole lot. And I thought then, 'Now I'm a real man!'"

With boys, consensual acts went further than non-consensual. For girls in non-consensual contacts, the more advanced the sexual techniques, the more impact they had. Sexual acts with adult partners generally went further than with age-mates, most particularly with girls in their non-consensual contacts, and with boys in their consensual contacts.

Frequency and Duration of Contacts

In some of the 572 sexual experiences examined, only a single episode occurred. For example, Hanneke said:

It happened with two boys I didn't really know who belonged to a group I was walking with. I'd never seen them before. They asked me to jerk them off. That gave me a feeling of power, because I was in control of what was going to happen. I had it in my hand – that gave me a nice feeling. My feelings were rather neutral. I was curious about how cocks worked. I was thunderstruck when I saw how they got bigger, and when they came!

With most experiences, however, sex took place more than once, such as within the short affair between Yvonne and her step-father:

The whole thing only lasted one week, because my step-father's vacation lasted a week longer than my mother's and we were home alone. In the mornings I would crawl into his bed when Mother went to work. It only happened about three times. He aroused my curiosity. I wasn't talked into it, but he'd kind of set up the right situation. I didn't think it was especially unusual then – I realized that much later.

Similarly, Pauline described her sexual relations with a friend of her girl friend:

I saw him frequently. I thought he was an unusual boy, very nice; he was even a bit shy. I was in love with him. We had sex eight times, and each time was wonderful. Often other boys wanted to go farther than I did, but with them I never gave in.

Some of the young people had sex many times within one relationship. Jessica had regular contacts with her older brother, at first just once in a while, but by the time it ended, after many years, there was sex once or twice a week. In most cases where the relations were long-lasting, the partner was a family member.

The following three examples took place within the family. Sandra, for example, had non-consensual contacts with her father from her 4th to her 16th year: "I can't remember a

time when he didn't have sex with me. It happened at least every week, and wasn't completely against my will. To be fondled and receive love – that I liked a lot. The other just seemed to go along with it and I was never strong enough to say no."

Inge had a long-lasting relationship with her father: "I can only remember from when I was six, but it started earlier – I don't know when. It all came out when I was 15. He tried to get it on with my brother's girl friend; she went to the police and they came and arrested him.

Robbie said that sexual contact with his father lasted from his 8th to his 13th year.

It wasn't as though he had a right to it, but you don't say no to your father so easily. I was afraid if I didn't do it he would wreck everything, because that's what he always used to say, and that was a good reason for me to keep my mouth shut. I accepted it as something that would happen every so often, that is, something that wasn't nice, but there were worse things than that. But when I was 15 he tried it again a couple of times, and then I told him I didn't do that any more.

Non-consensual relationships lasted on average longer than consensual relationships, and sex occurred within them more often. The girls' non-consensual contacts lasted on average 5 years and involved about 35 contacts. Their consensual contacts lasted slightly less than 3 years and involved about 20 contacts. The more frequent the sex and the longer the relationship, the more impact non-consensual relationships between girls and adults was seen to have on later functioning. With boys it was the consensual relationships with adults which lasted the longest and contained the most sex: on average 30 contacts over about 4 years.

The Partners

We categorized partners on the basis of the relationship to the young person. Was it a member of the immediate or extended family, a friend, an acquaintance, or a total stranger?

The large majority of experiences were with age-mates. When considering experiences with adults, boys had consensual experiences more frequently than girls, usually with someone outside the family.

For boys, non-consensual contacts occurred just as often with people in all the categories. With girls, these sorts of experiences tended to be with family members: a father, step-father, or brother, but almost as often it was with some relative outside the immediate family: an acquaintance or a friend of the same age.

Non-consensual contacts with those who cared for the young person (parents, guardians) tended to be more disturbing than similar sexual experiences with other partners.

a. Experiences with Friends

In three-quarters of the instances the partner was another boy or girl of roughly the same age.

Brian said that his first girl friend, in his first sexual experience, "...was everything to me. I was head over heels in love. She was 5 and I was 6 and we both wanted to do it. It started with us playing doctor. Nice. That's how you learn. We were 6 years old; you've only just started school and have to learn everything. It's exciting."

Brian said he had also had a sexual experience with an adult man:

He was just a friend, an acquaintance I knew through the football club. One day when I was visiting him he let me see some naked photos, and all of a sudden he said, "I'd like to suck you off." I just stared at him, and then he said it again. So then I went over to him. That's how it began. Sleeping with him at night. Telling my parents I was sleeping somewhere else, and then I'd stay with him the whole weekend. I got all kinds of things from him - bracelets, rings, etc. Then one day he just vanished, without telling anybody. I've no idea why. I really don't. And that was a big blow for me.

Vera described a sexual experience with a girl friend. "She was my best friend. We did a lot of

things together, experienced them together. It was sexually wonderful, beautiful; it created a kind of bond between us. When I got a boy friend I debated whether to tell him I made love with a girl as well. I didn't tell him, and kept right on making love with my girl friend."

In many cases the experience was similar to that of Loes. She said, "We had intercourse and I was totally in love; he was in love with me, too. You just want to get closer and closer to each other. I found the love-making really wonderful. Only the first time I touched his penis I was sort of shocked - I still remember that."

b. Experiences with Family Members

In one-fifth of the interviews the young people said they had had sexual contact with a relative, sometimes a close family member

According to Simone it happened with her father, for the first time when she was 3 or 4 years old:

I can't remember much before that. I really never realized what was going on. I knew it was something you weren't supposed to do and that I couldn't tell my mother. I think I was a little put off by it. Your father sort of sinks in your estimation; you can't respect him any more. There was something wrong with it, I felt, otherwise he would have been doing it when Mother was around.

Mark also told of a sexual relationship with his father. "My father and mother were divorced, and I lived for a while with him. There was only one bed, and that's how it happened - because we slept together. I was the one who took the initiative. It was the first time I had an orgasm. He showed me how you do it. He did it to himself first, and then he did it to me."

In addition to fathers and step-fathers, brothers figured among the partners. Linda told of having intercourse with her brother:

I really didn't want to do it, but I was reluctant to say so. He was older and he wanted it a lot. For him it was very serious,

but for me it was more like a game. I had no idea what was going on. It overwhelmed me. It really bothers me that it was my brother. That's not supposed to happen – with a relative, someone from your own family.

The partner was also sometimes a relative but not a member of the immediate family. There were grandfathers, uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces, and brothers-in-law. For example, José said that her grandfather, starting when she was only 6, used to force her, persuade her, or take her by surprise. "He was big. I was afraid of him. I stood frozen against the door and couldn't move. He was so huge; a powerhouse. I couldn't get around him." The sex happened quite often but she couldn't, "... remember any more what really went on – fortunately I've forgotten all that."

Birgit told about her uncle. "He was an intruder. Father went away and he stayed behind. I never had a good relationship with him, because he was always hitting me."

She said the sex always happened unexpectedly. "I'd try to run away, but sometimes that didn't work, and if it did he got me later even worse. He hit me a lot, really mistreated me. I had to go to the emergency room often – and he always had some good excuse."

Peter said that when he used to sleep over at his aunt and uncle's home, his aunt would often come to him at night. If they had gone out that evening her husband always came back blind drunk, and she wanted to do something so she would come into the room where he slept. "We always had to be careful that my uncle didn't notice anything, but that didn't make the contact any less pleasurable."

c. Experiences with Others

One-quarter of the 572 contacts took place with someone the boy or girl knew but who was neither a relative nor member of his or her circle of friends.

Natasja, for example, told about her gym instructor:

He was a horrible person. I always knew what would happen when I went to the gym class. I could never reach the rings or climb up the ropes, and then he would lift me – and give me a pinch. And if I kicked back I'd get punished. I had to go to his home. There he forced me down onto the couch and started to fumble with me. I was frightened – he was so much stronger. I had to do what he told me, because he was my teacher. I was terrified he would do that in the gym itself, with all the other people watching. And then the school directors would find out and force me to tell, and everyone would think I was to blame, because I'd provoked it.

With Wim, it was the school janitor:

I guess he was a pedophile. I think that he really dug me. I had to stay after school – everybody else had left – he asked if I would take a shower with him. Then we sat on a couch and jerked each other off. That felt good. After I'd come I teased him with, "Can't you come quicker than that?" Later I started to hate him more and more. He was a strong Christian, went to church twice on Sunday – a real hypocrite.

Often the acquaintance lived in the same area, as with Ruud and a neighbor boy. "We played together, and then he took the initiative and I didn't want to be a spoil-sport. It felt nice enough, but I always felt guilty about it – you weren't supposed to do those things."

Sometimes it is somebody who was treated as part of the family, as with the friend of Katinka's brother:

He was there a couple of times a week and also on the weekends if he and my brother went out to the local bar. And then, from my 13th year, I was hopelessly in love with him. It was real love, not just a passing infatuation. It went very deep. True love. He taught me everything. At first I thought making love was mostly just exciting.

We'd do it in my room at home, and I'd listen for sounds in the hall, beside my door. I knew he was drunk, but I just accepted that – I just wanted to do it too much!

Sometimes it happened with a stranger. In one-tenth of the contacts, the partner was previously unknown to the boy or girl. Els, for example, said she'd never seen the boy who tried to rape her:

I must have been 7 or 8. We were outside playing. Suddenly there was this guy – I didn't know him. Later I estimated he was probably around 24 years old. He played football all afternoon with us, then everybody had to go home to eat except my sister and me. The boy asked us if we'd keep on playing with him. He took us to his home. To his bedroom. There he locked the door. We were told to undress. I knew something was wrong. Then first he threw my sister on the bed and put his hand on her cunt. He threw me on the bed, too, and tried to fuck me. At least I think that's what happened, because there was a lot of pain. I just went stiff. When it was over we had to dress. And he acted like nothing was wrong. Suddenly we were outside. At home we told what had happened. Mother then put us in the bath – and scrubbed us down with a hard brush such as we normally never used – so hard. And then we had to go to our father and tell him we would never do that again.

Bart's experience was also with a strange man:

He thought it would be nice to have sex with me. I myself decided how far we were going to go, and when I'd go off home. It was terrific. I found it so pleasurable I thought I'd like to do that again. And when I went to visit him at home, his friend opened the door and told me he didn't care what his friend did cruising, but that didn't mean I could just drop in that way.

Most of the consensual experiences were with friends or acquaintances of the same age. Boys had consensual experiences with adults – usually someone outside of the family – more frequently than girls. No particular group of partners was more involved in non-consensual experiences. With girls, it tended to be with family members – the father, step-father or brother, but almost as often it was with some relative outside the immediate family – an acquaintance or a friend of the same age. With boys, non-consensual contacts occurred just as often with people in all the categories. Non-consensual contacts with those who, acting in a parental role, had care of the young person tended to be more intrusive than similar sexual experiences with other partners.

Power Differences

The power differences in a sexual relationship can derive from several factors: a large age difference, more experience or physical strength, and mental power. Often it is a combination of several factors, as Robert-Jan indicated. "When you're a little kid of 8 you can't set yourself up against your grandfather, and so obviously there's an imbalance of power. I didn't know anything about sex then. I didn't know that there was something wrong with doing that with him. Besides, it wasn't really unpleasant."

Age difference need not necessarily lead to a power imbalance, as Ingeborg described:

Well, we were in love, and with an older man you start to have sex sooner than you would with somebody your own age. I don't think it was a matter of power. We ran away together and went to live in the same room. I was financially dependent, but he didn't really have more power. At the most, he had power because he was a Turk, and Turks think differently about women – they're supposed to be obedient. He was very jealous. I couldn't go anywhere alone, and that's why our relationship wound down, I think.

In a number of relationships, however, a significant age difference between partners did result in a power imbalance, as with Marijke and her guitar instructor. Marijke was 7 when the sex began; he was somewhere between 70 and 75.

It started with him asking me, "Haven't I earned a reward from you?" And I had to kiss him. But soon he had his hand inside my pants. Fortunately I didn't have to do anything but give him kisses. When his wife was away, I had to come and listen to records, and then my pants came off. I was never asked. He just went ahead and did it and I let him. He never threatened me; I was never afraid of that.

It was real dirty of him. He'd give me tongue kisses; he called them intimate kisses. I found that awful, another tongue inside my mouth!

Often, the younger partner felt the other was more experienced. Joyce said this about having sex with a disk-jockey:

I looked up to him. I was afraid of what might happen sexually. I was frightened of sex. He was also much more experienced than I. He forced me once. He wanted to go to bed with me; I didn't, and he forced me. I pushed him away, and then we started fighting; that was one of the last times. If I didn't want to do something I always pushed him away, or I turned over. Then he'd start yelling, calling me a stupid little brat. But when I'd push him off I still wanted to kiss him. I wanted to fool around with him, but not go to bed with him. Some of the things I liked. He'd bring me off, and I found that wonderful.

In addition to age differences, experience and physical strength, power imbalances can be based upon something the younger partner considers to be a sign of power. Being dependent upon the other for one or another reason also contributes to a power imbalance. Power can also be based

upon social courtesy, or upon something one partner has which the other wants.

Luc thought the power balance between him and a school friend with whom he had sex, "... was pretty much even. I found it especially nice to visit him because he had a go-cart. Doesn't that give you a bit of power edge? Maybe he looked up to me because I was stronger than he was; on the other hand he could play the guitar."

Willem attributed the power edge to his girl friend because of her popularity. "I was the one who chased her. She decided what we were going to do, when we were going to go out and when we were going to go to bed. She knew how popular she was; she could find a replacement for me any time she wanted."

Frank thought that the power balance was not exactly as it seemed. "Once there were five boys and two girls. And those girls knew exactly what they wanted. They went with us and we fingered them, one after the other. I think you could say that they had somewhat more power. That might seem strange because we were five of us boys and just the two girls. But if they hadn't wanted to do it absolutely nothing would have happened."

Suzan said that the neighbor with whom she had had non-consensual sex had more power. According to her it was more a matter of politeness. "Just like when you're somebody's guest. You did what your mother and father wanted you to do. He was older. When you're 11 you still listen to grown-ups."

In looking at the power factors – differences in age, experience, and strength – it was found that in non-consensual contacts there was more often a larger age and power difference than in consensual contacts. Although the power factors existed, that is not to say that they necessarily lead to non-consensual experiences. Consensual experiences also occurred between partners with great differences in age and strength.

In all the categories of sexual contacts, more experience was usually attributed to adults. The distribution of power in sexual experiences with adults depended upon the degree of consent: with non-consensual experiences it was more

commonly reported that the adult had more power; with voluntary experiences the young persons said more often that they felt more powerful than the adult.

The Young Person's Experience

In order to determine how the young person viewed the experiences, we spoke about the feelings they had had at the time. We also asked if they had become sexually excited and obtained an orgasm. In most contacts they had been aroused.

Treesje said, "The first time he touched me it was like liquid gold flowing through me. It was really out of this world, a marvelous feeling. It was a fantastic first experience. We turned each other completely on. When compared with other feelings, these were just a lot nicer."

Hans was also enthusiastic. "I was terrifically aroused, because it was the first time, and it was with a boy. That was really mind-blowing!"

Sometimes the younger partner was not so sexually excited, as with Henny. "It was so ordinary. I asked myself if this was truly what everyone got so excited about. I didn't think it was all that great. But I couldn't really complain; it wasn't so bad. I was just indifferent."

And then sometimes there was absolutely no arousal at all. Ellen said, "I felt nothing. I thought it was normal for a girl to feel nothing."

Often the person didn't have an orgasm. Marieke said that, despite several sexual contacts, she "didn't know what orgasm was." And likewise with one sexual experience Kees said he didn't climax "because it was all so one-sided; she didn't caress me; I didn't get an orgasm, and that wasn't much fun, because I was sexually aroused."

Bert, on the other hand, said he did have a climax; it happened with an older friend. "The first time we made love he gave me an orgasm. It was certainly a positive experience, the whole thing. I had a sore cock afterwards. A really important event."

In general, when the young people were asked how they had felt, they cited negative as well as positive feelings. Wilma thoroughly disliked the non-consensual contact she had had with a family acquaintance because she

... felt really dirty, all over. Afterwards I thought about that man very differently, how he had two sides: the nice family man, and the other side, a dragon. He had me completely in his power; I couldn't get out of it. I was ashamed. The powerlessness! Close your eyes and start counting. Really filthy. And then, pain, each time. But no physical violence.

Sometimes the feelings about the sex were both positive and negative, or, as Mark said, "... all mixed up. On the one hand exciting; on the other hand horrible." He told about a non-consensual contact with a man who hung around the station:

He spoke to me. He said he wanted to fool around with me. I didn't know what he meant. Then he took me to the toilets and let me see his penis. As a "homo," on the one hand, I wanted to do it, but on the other hand I found it unpleasant. He asked me then if I would go with him into one of the stalls. Fortunately I didn't do that. He didn't look all that good - sort of dirty. But I thought his cock was interesting. So I was at war with myself.

Willeke said she liked it a great deal. "Only that first time it was a bit cold because we were doing it outside. Everything went real nice, and felt wonderful. I was crazy about him, but I knew he wasn't the faithful sort and had other girls. I was just another friend he took out every so often. The sex was very nice and exciting."

Erik told about one very positive experience he had with a girl at his sailing camp:

It was fantastic, absolutely the best; really unbelievable. You just felt so good, totally excited. She had these beautiful long legs which she tangled around me, and those fingers that ran over my back, a kind of massage, marvelous. She asked me if I went to bed with girls every now and then, and I said yes, because otherwise you fail dismally, like a surfing teacher who

tries to impress the crowd. And she just said she wanted to go to bed with me, that she wanted to fuck. It wasn't like anything that had ever happened to me before.

As might be expected, the consensual contacts were more positively experienced than those which were non-consensual: arousal occurred more often, as did orgasms. As for sex with adults, the boys were more frequently aroused and more commonly had orgasms than was the case with the girls. It was also found that the more forced the sexual contact was perceived, the less aroused the boy or girl became and the more negatively he or she experienced the incident. The next sections discuss these findings in more detail.

Individual Histories

The sexual biographies of these young people varied greatly. Some had had just one partner before their 16th birthday, others more. There was also considerable difference in the type and quality of these experiences.

As to the influence of these contacts upon later life, it is not sufficient to examine sexual experiences individually. The various experiences before the individual's 16th birthday must in some manner be considered. In the course of this investigation we established that the sexual experiences could be distinguished by certain characteristics, and that these characteristics could form the basis on which the young people were divided into different categories which could then be compared with one another.

The young people were divided into four general categories based on sexual experience before age 16: those who had had no sexual experiences (26% of the total); those who had had only consensual experiences (31%); those who had had only non-consensual experiences (16%); and those who had had both (27%).

For each factor considered, a comparison was made between the four groups to determine the influence of that factor upon sexual development. The factors examined for each group were as follows: Was the contact with an adult or with an age-mate? With how many people were

there consensual and how many people non-consensual experiences? How profound was the contact felt to be? How far had the sex acts gone? How was the sex in general experienced? How aroused did the young person become, and did orgasm occur?

Age of the Partner

With young people who had had exclusively consensual experiences, the partner was usually an age-mate. Young people having exclusively consensual experiences accounted for 31% of the sample: 23% only with age-mates, 2% only with adults, and 7% with both.

With young people who had had exclusively non-consensual experiences, the girls' partners were usually adults (15% of all girls). For both boys and girls who had both consensual and non-consensual experiences, the partner in the non-consensual contacts was usually an adult. Of the girls, 6% had only non-consensual experiences with age-mates, 4% with both adults and age-mates.

Young people who had had exclusively non-consensual experiences accounted for 16% of the sample. This segment of the sample was composed of 4% of all girls and 26% of all boys. For boys as well as for girls in this segment, most of the non-consensual experiences took place with adults. For both boys and girls who had had both consensual and non-consensual experiences, the partner in the non-consensual contacts was more often an adult. This trend was particularly evident with the girls.

Table 3.2 shows the number of young people in the various categories who had had experiences with age-mates, adults, or both age-mates and adults.

Number of Partners

The number of sexual partners who had at least one experience ranged from 1 to 24. Those who had had consensual and non-consensual contacts had, on average, under 5 partners – rather more partners than those in the other two groups; those who only had consensual experiences averaged more than 3 partners; those with only non-consensual contacts averaged less than 2.

Table 3.2 Comparison of age category of partner with respect to consent in the sexual biographies

	<i>Exclusively Consensual Experiences</i>			<i>Exclusively Non-Consensual Experiences</i>			<i>Consensual and Non-Consensual Experiences</i>		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
With Age Mates	46	18	64	1	10	11	4	12	16
With Adults	3	2	5	4	24	28	2	2	4
With Both	14	5	19	–	7	7	10	46	56

Severity of the Experience

Severity applies only to those sexual experiences which were non-consensual, thus only two of the three groups of youths having had sexual experiences before age 16 can be compared. The highest severity scores were among young people who had had the greatest number of non-consensual contacts.

Boys and girls with only non-consensual experiences had, on average, the highest average severity scores – 6 on a scale of 10. The scores tended to be greater as the number of non-consensual partners increased. The highest scores of all were for girls with exclusively non-consensual sex experiences with both adults and age-mates – an average of 8.

Intimacy of Sexual Technique

Boys and girls with both consensual and non-consensual contacts had, in general, experienced the most advanced sex practices – an average form score of 4.4 out of a maximum of 6. There was hardly any difference between the scores for the other two categories of sexual biographies (consensual only: 3.4; non-consensual only: 3.5). Boys who had had only non-consensual experiences had the lowest average form score, 2.4.

Experience of the Sexual Contact

Here there was a significant difference between the various groups. (See Table 3.3, next page) The boys and girls who had had only consensual contacts on the whole experienced them the most positively (an average of 4.6 on a scale of 5).

Those with both sorts of contacts experienced them significantly more negatively (2.6), while those whose experiences were only non-consensual proved the most negative (1.5).

Boys and girls with only consensual contacts became aroused and had orgasms just as frequently as those with both consensual and non-consensual contacts. For these two groups, the average (arousal 2.5, and orgasm 2, both on a scale of 1 to 3) was higher than for boys and girls with only non-consensual contacts (arousal slightly over 1 and orgasm 1). Considering boys only, those with both sorts of contacts had, on average, higher arousal scores than those with only consensual experiences. The difference might be attributed to the more advanced sexual techniques these boys had experienced and the greater number of partners they had had.

Summary

A great diversity of sexual experiences emerges from this study. What is particularly striking is the difference between consensual and non-consensual experiences, and the fact that it was mostly girls who had had to cope with non-consensual sex.

In making comparisons between the experiences, a number of tendencies emerge. Consent or non-consent appears to be connected to a number of other characteristics of the sexual contact, especially the young person's perception of the event. In general, consensual contacts were more positively experienced; the reverse is true for non-consensual experiences.

Table 3.3 Experience scores* categorized by consent

	<i>Exclusively Consensual Experiences</i>	<i>Exclusively Non-Consensual Experiences</i>	<i>Consensual and Non-Consensual Experiences</i>
Boys	4.7	1.4	3.1
Girls	4.3	1.5	2.4
Total Boys and Girls	4.6	1.5	2.6

* Averages on a scale of 1 to 5, from "Contacts only or especially unpleasant" (1) to "Contacts mostly or exclusively pleasant" (5).

Non-consensual experiences were more common among girls, especially in their contacts with adults. When the adult was someone taking care of the boy or girl, the contact had a greater negative impact.

One important conclusion which can be made is that, although a statistical correlation emerged between a power imbalance and non-consent, this does not mean that the one always implies the other. Power imbalances also occurred in mutually consensual relations.

We also saw in the research that the young people with only consensual sex contacts had in general experienced them the most positively; those with both sorts of contacts experienced them somewhat more negatively, and those with only non-consensual contacts experienced them the most negatively.

The young people who had had both consensual and non-consensual contacts had the most variegated sexual histories: they had participated, on average, in more advanced sexual acts, and had had more partners. They also felt that their non-consensual contacts were not as significant, and, in general, experienced greater sexual arousal and more frequent orgasms. They also appeared to be more sexually active than the others, and this might be because they had a greater need for sexual contacts, a need which might have led them more frequently into non-consensual contacts.

Finally, in concluding this chapter, we should point out that, despite the fact that the attention was focussed on sexual experience, there remained a large group of young people who had

had no sex contacts at all before their 16th birthdays – 32% of the boys and 21% of the girls.

The great difference in the amount of sex the others had had must also be kept in mind: with some, sex had started very early in life and continued steadily thereafter, while with others there was just one contact which often took place shortly before the sixteenth birthday.

Translated from the Dutch by Frank Torey.

NOTE

1. See Th.G.M. Sandfort, *Het belang van de ervaring* (Utrecht: Homostudies, 1988) for the procedure that was followed.

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FRANÇOIS AUGIÉRAS (1925-1971)

Gert Hekma

In 1950 an unknown writer dispatched his story, *Le vieillard et l'enfant* [The Old Man and the Child], to various individuals who, he thought, could help secure its publication. He had already had it printed at his own expense.¹ One copy was received by André Gide, who wrote in his journal that he had experienced "... an intense and bizarre joy. . . in reading and rereading these remarkable pages."² A copy was also sent to Marguerite Yourcenar, and she too says that she read it with much pleasure.³ Later Michel Tournier delivered this assessment: "Perhaps because of a certain awkwardness in style, this description of the misery and beauty of contemporary life in the Sahara acquires a tone of strict chastity and incomparable truth."⁴ The author was listed as "Abdallah Chaamba," the pseudonym that François Augiéras used until the mid-1960s. His stories of the Sahara, despite all the literary praise they have received, are still unjustly neglected, even in his native France.

Augiéras was born to French parents on 18 July 1925 in Rochester, New York, where his father, a well-known pianist, had been teaching music at the Eastman School of Music. Two months before Augiéras' birth, however, his father died, and soon after his birth his mother returned with the baby to Paris, where she tried to make a living decorating pottery. She was of Slavic extraction, and Augiéras speculated throughout his life about his identity: French, American, Russian, or perhaps Arab? He loathed France, and particularly Paris; neither did America agree with him. Rather, he imagined his pagan forefathers storming Europe from the Siberian steppes. Later he identified himself as an Arab, or even as someone with no identity.



Wood engraving from title page of *La trajectoire*

The family's stay in Paris was short, and in 1931 his mother moved with him to Périgueux in the Dordogne; this would become one of Augiéras' favorite homes, and an area to which he continually returned. As an adolescent, Augiéras had a falling out with his mother: "I was happy when at age fourteen I said farewell to my mother, who remains a symbol of the tyrannical neurotic woman. . . from then on I more or less consciously loathed women. . . I believe that the world of women is more or less foreign to the world of men, that there is an antagonism, a constant war that neither love nor family life can exclude. . . Women want to create life, in contrast to the role of men, who create objects, ideas, who make art."⁵

Augiéras' schooling was interrupted by the war. However, the local library offered him an

opportunity to satisfy his hunger for books. By his own account, he read Nietzsche, Rimbaud, and de Sade. For a short time during the war he joined the Jeunesse de France et d'Outre-Mer, the youth movement of Vichy France. The German National Socialist ideology stirred deep feelings in him. He viewed the return to a kind of paganism as part of his heritage. The idea of one Europe, the emphasis on the values of nature and Teutonic myth, as opposed to Christian influences, struck a chord in him. But he did not find himself attracted to their other cultural ideas: "Anti-Christian, yes; Nazi, no."⁶ He saw himself as, at heart, a drifter, and he found the Fascist petit bourgeois mentality abhorrent. For six months he travelled through France as an actor with a theater troupe. In 1943 he spent a short time caring for fifty boys with learning disabilities who were more or less dumped on him in an isolated castle. Later, he followed a work-study course in agriculture, and lived for a while with an aunt in her comfortable country house.

In September, 1944, he joined the French Navy at Toulon, with the expectation that he thus might be able to get in contact with an uncle who lived in El-Goléa, Algeria, and about whom he had heard many stories. He did find him about a year later, but not before being committed to a psychiatric institution and spending time in a monastery, both of which experiences he claimed happened quite by accident. In his autobiography, he attributes the hospital stay to a medical check-up that got out of hand. He had been suffering from starvation, and the resulting faintness and tremors were mistaken for a mental disorder.⁷ This might be a bit of dissembling – he had had nervous troubles in the past.

His uncle was a retired colonel who had set up a desert museum in a deserted fort in the Sahara. El-Goléa was, and remains, a small oasis about 300 kilometers from the nearest village. It was here that Augiéras' themes first began to take shape: boy-love, sadism, and incest, in an atmosphere of mystic paganism. It was here that he conceived the idea for his first book.

Le vieillard et l'enfant, which did not appear in a regular edition until November 1951, is, at least to some degree, an autobiographical account of

his relationship with his uncle, though the biographical data on Augiéras is so slim that we cannot be sure how much of the book is real and how much fantasy. His other works are certainly based on his own life, but we also know from the observations of his friends that he had a rich fantasy life. Placet, his life-long friend, once said to him: "In your work, are there any heroes other than François Augiéras, surrounded by his doppelgangers? You live in a kaleidoscope. Don't ever try to get out. Your unique style is a product of this closed universe."⁸

Augiéras was already twenty when he first met his uncle. He already had behind him the experiences of the army, a theater company, a psychiatric institution, and a monastery. He most certainly was not the naïve, inexperienced, young Algerian boy who is the central character of the book. The fictionalization, and the Arab nom-de-plume, demonstrate an urge to create a separate, objectified literary reality that at the same time comes to terms with personal experience. The pseudonym combines the name of one of his Arab friends with the name of the Berber tribe that lived in the desert near El-Goléa, the Chaamba. It shows his temporary identification with that milieu as well as a literary need to become Arab (or, conversely, to stop being French), or at least to identify with his subject.

This work sets the tone for the whole oeuvre. "The old man" of the title enslaves his nephew, forces him to have intercourse, and beats him whenever he feels the urge, although this is sometimes described romantically. In one scene the beating takes place on an iron bed on the roof of the house, under the starry skies of the Sahara. Certainly one of the models for the old man was his uncle. Augiéras saw him more as God than as the devil; the protagonist becomes addicted to such treatment, and to being the child ("l'enfant"). The stay at El-Goléa did not last long, perhaps a couple of months. But Augiéras continually referred to it, which the colonel did not always appreciate.

From the beginning of the war until his death, Augiéras was to wander. His important stopping places were the Maghreb in North Africa, the Dordogne, and the sacred Mount Athos. He also

visited Morocco (where he was a male prostitute), Mali, and Tunisia. When Gide sent him a letter of praise, he set off immediately for Taormina, where Gide was then staying, in order to meet the great writer. In 1960, he married a second cousin, but the homosexual wanderer did not succeed in establishing himself as a heterosexual. He always returned to the Vézère River valley of the Dordogne.

Augiéras was a true writer's writer: publishing small editions, enjoying only a limited public, and having no earnings. He was a drifter who lived on almost nothing, without home or possessions to curtail his freedom of movement. He was a pagan who lived in and from nature, and for whom the love of other "enlightened ones" was more nourishing than real food.

The Work

His oeuvre falls, by locale, into several categories. There are, first of all, the two North African desert books: *Le vieillard et l'enfant* and *Le voyage des morts* (1954) [The Travels of the Dead]. There are three volumes set in the French Dordogne region: *L'apprenti sorcier* (1964) [The Sorcerer's Apprentice], *Homme ou L'essai d'occupation* * (1981) [Homme, or the Test of the Occupation], and *Les barbares d'Occident* (1990) [The Western Barbarians]. His Greek book is *Un voyage au Mont Athos* (1970) [A Trip to Mount Athos]. *Une adolescence au temps du Maréchal, et de multiples aventures* (1968) [An Adolescence during the Maréchal, and Multiple Adventures], is an autobiographical account about his youth in Vichy France; it takes place in both France and Algeria.⁹ All these volumes are highly autobiographical, even, it might be argued, *L'apprenti sorcier*, which is set in the Dordogne but tells much the same tale as *Le vieillard*, although the character of the colonel is here replaced by a priest. Perhaps an exception can be made for *Un voyage au Mont Athos*, a highly mythologized account of Augiéras's stay on the Greek monastic peninsula, where neither women nor even female animals are permitted.

Augiéras' use of language is clear and sometimes bold, with sudden, surprising twists. In *Le*

vieillard he describes thus the relationship between the old man and the boy, lying together in bed:

... this evening, I am brutally beaten. With blows of the stick, this man makes me free forever, thrashing my eternal face, saying to me, "How can it be said that a child is innocent?" ... The old man seeks my lips; as soon as he finds them, he shudders violently and cries out, surprised by the abundance and the violence of the flood that rips from him, that pours out over me.¹⁰

These are typical passages: direct, erotic, and with a striking reversal of perspective. The narrator finds a kind of liberation in bondage and being beaten. The old man begins to doubt the innocence of children even as he is driving out that innocence. The "eternal face" refers to the soul, because the old man beats not only the body but also the soul. In the original version there is a passage, removed in later editions, in which the old man says, "The idea of a zoo, which I thought of long ago, returned even more powerfully, with this variation: an animal reserve surrounded by fences, but no longer for animals, but for a child, for you."¹¹

Le voyage des morts is a poetic account of Augiéras's journey through the Maghreb. It comprises five chapters, each named for a place: Tadmit, Gardaia, El-Goléa, Agadir and "the river," the Senegal. The subject of the book is Augiéras's life. Again, in chapter five, the uncle plays a role: "I love you so, bleeding, at night."¹² But in addition to the uncle there are other lovers and sexual partners: boys, men, and whores. In Tadmit he falls in love with an Arab lad with whom he goes to the whores. After the lad has been upstairs, the narrator wants to go to bed with the same prostitute: "I desired her after my comrade had had her. I thought it was beautiful and noble that boys make love with one another, advisable that they should also go with girls."¹³ This triangle (man loves man and copulates with the beloved's woman) is sometimes a homosexual evasion, but not in the case of Augiéras, who ends in the arms of the beloved

boy.¹⁴ There are also scenes of bestiality. He describes the goats that he tends as his "harem." "My prick is big and hard, I have been among the women; after I have shut the iron door of the goat pen behind me, I screw my women. . . . Am I not a young king with a court in the mountains?"¹⁵

Augiéras has little to say about masturbation, but much to say about boys and beatings. The scene in which a man orders Augiéras and a Berber boy to embrace each other offers a remarkable tableau. "I submitted gladly. The other took a belt of red leather. When I was stretched out next to my friend, face to face, hands in front of our eyes, he hit us so that the whip struck us at the same time. The same pain at the same instant made our lips tremble in unison. He left us, saying that he had only wanted to see us happy."¹⁶ The book has as a sub-text bizarre but unique sexual descriptions: "I sometimes burned my semen; what joy to mix my young force with that of the stars and plants. . . ."¹⁷ At the end of the book he describes, always in very honest terms, how he prostituted himself in Agadir.

Augiéras considerably mythologized his life. For example, in both *Le vieillard* and *Le voyage*, Augiéras describes himself as an adolescent boy, but during his stay in Agadir he was thirty, not the best age to earn money in Morocco as a French rent-boy. We should not interpret this in psychiatric terms as infantilism, but as his wish to look at the world through the eyes of a boy: openly and without inhibition. The books explore the border between innocence and experience, where one does not necessarily exclude the other.

L'apprenti sorcier is the El-Goléa experience transposed to the Dordogne. The theme is familiar: the young narrator is turned over by his parents to a priest who by turns mishandles and caresses him: "I followed him into my room where, having tied me across a chair, he flogged me with the switch. Then, kneeling down next to me, he covered me with a thousand caresses."¹⁸ The priest's sadism only increases the child's love for him. The boy also flagellates himself: "I felt no remorse for anything, nor guilt for anything, but only a violent and wild desire to

suffer and to live. Shutters drawn, door closed, I did as I had said. I whipped myself, half-naked, in the dark room, kneeling on the prie-dieu, a shadowy accomplice in my determination to tear myself apart. After the hundredth blow I granted myself a temporary reprieve, as I was too tired to do more. . . ."¹⁹ Meanwhile, he falls in love with a baker's boy. A scandal erupts and the police arrive to investigate the affair. Augiéras' narrator is torn: on the one hand is the eternal soul, elevated far above such sexual matters; on the other hand is the body, victim of local, hypocritical morality. But of what concern are the affairs of men, and prosecutions for morals offenses? The narrator, an enlightened soul, is convinced of the goodness of his love; it is both worldly and heavenly. The novel ends with the suggestion that the boy will lose the trial, but his soul will continue to strive for new loves, uncorrupted by the banalities of earthly life.

Un voyage au Mont Athos is the tale of a pagan hermit living on an island of Orthodox monks. The narrator describes the island as a half-way house on the road to the other life. The first days after his arrival are rendered in great detail. He visits various monasteries, where he is sometimes received with extravagant friendliness, and sometimes with great harshness. As in the other books there is a lot of sex: a welcome that turns into a rape, a beautiful episode with a serving boy, another with a novice. In Part Two, the narrator goes to the Holy Mountain where the hermits dwell. He meets a hermit, a simple fellow who helps install him in a cave. The narrator strikes up a friendship with him and his boy apprentice, who disappear almost immediately from the narrative, partly because of the hermit's jealousy. The narrator's life becomes one of enforced isolation and detachment. Nonetheless, one unexpected sex scene occurs: "The lack of food renders me extremely weak, without defense against the newest rebound of my basest instincts; the feminine part of my character arises to the surface again to make me a wife. I cut a stick and carve a member, and sodomize myself; then, furious at this stupidity, I throw the stinking piece of wood in the fire. But then I ask myself, is such an aberration not an

archaic technique for *awakening* so ancient that the good produced by it is now forgotten and it passes only for something despicable?"²⁰

As the books progress, there is an evolution in the portrayal of love. They might be said to become more transcendental. *Domme ou L'essai d'occupation*, written toward the end of his life and published posthumously in 1982, describes his stay in a hospital, and his incessant walks around the institution. His bizarre conduct awakens the suspicion of the local police and mayor, although we are never certain from the narrative whether it is truly others' suspicion or merely the narrator's paranoia. He builds a refuge in the woods near the village, but twice vandals destroy it. He goes further into the woods, and falls in love, first with a girl, and then with a 13-year-old orphan named Krishna.

He often stayed with me far into the night. I have the tastes and tendencies of the other world, and no intention of changing to please men who live in an illusory time and who know nothing of the Eternal. I pay no attention to a civilization in Domme that I cannot call mine, a condemned civilization that is entirely dead and that has no connection to the God-Eternal.²¹

Augiéras no longer lives in the here and now. He closes the novel with a sigh: will people ever leave him alone?

Conclusions

Augiéras died in the hospital at Périgueux on 13 December 1971, several days after a heart attack. He died alone. He wished to be cremated on an island in the Vézère, but was instead buried with a view over the river. Only three friends attended the burial. There were no obituaries in the French press; he was too obscure.

Augiéras, a traditional prose stylist with unusual themes, occupies an odd position in homosexual literary history. Like other homosexual authors, he sought definition of his identity outside the metropolitan West, in this case,

not just in north Africa, but also in an imaginary world. He resembles Jan Hanlo, Paul Bowles, and Michel Tournier. Homosexuals, he seems to say, have an identity imposed upon them by their own societies, and can be freer to evolve something that is specifically personal if they live elsewhere. His themes are not just those of boy-love and violence, but include sadism and masochism, incest, bestiality, and a youth's passion for an elderly man. Nature and artifice, perversion and mysticism figure in his work, which links him to the work of the decadents, such as Fersen, though to describe him as one of the decadents would be inaccurate. His descriptions are too precisely natural and lack too much the romanticism of the decadents for him to be closely identified with that school. His world is sensual. He describes the sound, the color, the texture, and the smell of his surroundings with great precision. His work almost has the character of random notations, plainly written, with little embellishment. His scenes flow smoothly, informally, even the erotic ones. The transcendental theme of the separation of body and soul in *L'apprenti sorcier* appears to arise from the intention to save homosexual love from the ugly prejudices of life in this world. In *Un voyage au Mont Athos*, he describes the solitary sodomy as though it were an ancient religious ritual. He wastes few words theorizing about pederasty. To him sex is submission, whether to an uncle, to a priest, or to a monk on Mount Athos. Love is recognition, two related "enlightened" souls — nearly always boys — recognizing each other.

Every individual has a feminine and a masculine side, able to communicate with each other physically, as in the self-sodomy scene on Mount Athos. On only one occasion does he philosophize about "pederasty."²² He hypothesizes two forms: the first represents a superabundance (*surabondance*) of manhood, the second represents decadence. "In both cases there is sexual hesitation; certain youths of Greece are of the first type, healthy, robust, useful to society, with mutable desires overwhelmed by a powerful flood of the libido; the second type arises from a diminution of vitality and a despising of morality."²³ Nevertheless, we cannot really call Augiéras a philo-

sophical writer. He sought his own way in life and love, and gathered insights as he went.

Augiéras does fit into a certain tradition. The German defenders of *Liebling/minne* (the Uranian Eros), Elisar von Kupffer and Benedict Friedländer, set the tone at the beginning of this century for a reevaluation of the Greek eros as a model for male love, in opposition to the medical models of homosexuality which Magnus Hirschfeld and others in the sexual liberation movement promoted. The cultural model of von Kupffer and Friedländer, meant that the homosexual male was masculine and loved boys and young men. They criticized Hirschfeld's "third sex" males as being too feminine; they too often fell for "normal" adult men.²⁴ Gide and Tournier typify this first tradition, as opposed to Proust or Genet writing in the Hirschfeld mold. Augiéras is at home with the former, with his predilection for the masculine, men and boys alike.

Augiéras' misfortune was to be born into a Judeo-Christian world where only parents have the right to love children. His incestuous relationship with the colonel has been described by critics as wretched and miserable, but Augiéras would doubtless have disagreed. Regarding *La trajectoire* he said, "There is not one moment of pessimism in this book. Indeed, from beginning to end it is carried by a magnificent vitality."²⁵ This constant triumph over wretchedness and misery makes Augiéras' work and life admirable. In a very Nietzschean way he has made himself over from victim to victor. For him, suffering and pain generated intense life.

WORKS BY FRANÇOIS AUGIÉRAS

[Abdallah Chaamba]. *Le vieillard et l'enfant*. Périgueux: Pierre Fanlac, 1949. First edition. 3 parts.

Le vieillard et l'enfant. Paris: les Éd. de Minuit, 1985. Seventh edition.

[Abdallah Chaamba]. *Le voyage des morts*. Périgueux: [François Augiéras], 1954-1955. First edition.

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[Abdallah Chaamba]. "Spoutnik marqu-t-il la fin de l'ère chrétienne?" in: *Structure*, nr. 4, January-March 1958.

[Abdallah Chaamba]. "L'écriture au-delà du talent," in: *Structure*, nr. 5, April-June 1958.

[Abdallah Chaamba]. *Zirara*. Périgueux: Structure, 1959. First edition. 200 copies.

L'apprenti sorcier: roman. Paris: Juillard, Société nouv. Sequana, 1964. First edition.

L'apprenti sorcier. [Montpellier]: Éd. Fata Morgana, 1976. Second edition.

Une adolescence au temps du Maréchal, et de multiples aventures. Paris: Christian Bourgois, 1968. First edition.

La trajectoire: une adolescence au temps du Maréchal. [Montpellier]: Fata Morgana, 1989 (Cognac: Georges Monti, June 1989). Third edition of *Une adolescence au temps du Maréchal*.

Un voyage au Mont Athos: roman. Paris: Flammarion, 1970. First edition.

Un voyage au Mont Athos: roman. Paris: Flammarion, 1988. Second edition.

Les noces avec l'Occident: poème-prose inédit. [n.p.]: le Change, 1981. First edition. 61 copies.

Les noces avec l'Occident. [Montpellier]: Éd. Fata Morgana, 1981. First trade edition.

Domme ou L'essai d'occupation. Montpellier: Fata Morgana, 1982. First edition.

Domme ou L'essai d'occupation. Monaco: Éd. du Rocher, Jean-Paul Bertrand, 1990. Second edition; first complete edition of the text.

François Augiéras and Paul Placet. *La chasse fantastique*. Cubjac: Éd. Phalène, 1984. First edition.

Les barbares d'Occident. [Montpellier]: Fata Morgana, 1990. First edition.

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Barozzi, Jacques. "François Augiéras et l'amour polymorphe." In: *Gai Pied*, nr. 332 (25 August 1988), pp. 78-80.

Bonnefoy, Yves. in: *Les lettres nouvelles* nr. 6. August 1953.

Brenner, Jacques. *Histoire de la littérature française*. Paris: Fayard. 1978

Cahiers du Théâtre du Port de la Lune. 2. Bordeaux: Centre dramatique national Bordeaux-Aquitaine: William Blake and Co éd., 1991.

Caroutch, Yvonne. *Dictionnaire des oeuvres érotiques*. Paris: Mercure de France, 1971.

Chalon, Jean. *L'avenir est à ceux qui s'aiment*. Paris: Stock, 1979.

Dictionnaire des littératures de langue française. Paris: Bordas, 1984.

Étiemble, [René]. "Littérature dégagée: les temps modernes: 1942-1953," in: *Poésie*. Pierre Seghers, 1954.

Fanlac, Pierre. *Quarante ans d'édition*. 1984.

Gavotti, Teresa. *Augiéras*. Genova, 1972.

Lontin, d'Annick, ed. *Pour François Augiéras cahier publié à l'occasion de l'exposition "François Augiéras, un barbare en Occident," Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, 7 au 30 juin 1990*. Lyon: Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon; Cognac: le Temps qu'il fait, 1990.

Loth, Marcel. *Les noces avec l'Occident*. 1981.

Masques 13 (Spring 1982), pp. 26-68, special issue on François Augiéras.

Nivière, Pierre-Charles. *François Augiéras ou Une extraordinaire trajectoire*.

Placet, Paul. *François Augiéras: un barbare en Occident*. Périgueux: Pierre Fanlac, 1988.

Rodier, Christian and Georges Monti (dir.). *François Augiéras*. Cognac: le Temps qu'il fait, 1984. (Cahiers; 2).

Seghers, Pierre. *Poètes maudits d'aujourd'hui*. 1978. **1972**

Editor's Note:

Dr. Gert Hekma is Lecturer in Gay Studies at the University of Amsterdam, and has most recently

edited the volumes: *Honderd jaar homoseksuelen*. (Amsterdam: Het Spuihuis, 1992), and *De roze rand van donker Amsterdam: De opkomst van een homoseksuele vroegcultuur, 1930-1970*. (Amsterdam, Van Gennep 1992).

The bibliography for this article was compiled with the assistance of Erick Pontalley.

Translated from the Dutch by Words and Pictures.

NOTES

1. See the Chronological Bibliography which follows this Introduction for the works cited and a complete listing of Augiéras's publications as well as critical works about him. I have made use mostly of Rodier & Monti (1984) and Placet (1988).

2. Christian Rodier and Georges Monti (dir.), *François Augiéras*, in (Cognac: le Temps qu'il fait, 1984). *Cahiers*; 2. See facing page 121. Because of the subject matter of the book there was even some speculation that this was a posthumous publication of Gide himself, which one may take as sort of praise of Augiéras' writing ability.

3. Ibid, p. 37.

4. Ibid, p. 127.

5. Placet, op. cit., p. 148.

6. *La trajectoire* (1989), pp. 47-49, quotation on p. 49.

7. Placet, op. cit., pp. 185-186.

8. Placet, p. 79.

9. In a posthumous edition, 1989, this was titled *La trajectoire*.

10. *Le vieillard et l'enfant*, op. cit. (1985), pp. 73, 76.

11. *Le vieillard et l'enfant*, op. cit. (1954), p. 208.

12. *Le voyage des morts*, op. cit. (1976), p. 96.

13. Ibid, p. 37.

14. E. Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985). Kosofsky discusses the construction in English literature of homosocial bonds and love triangles.

15. *Le voyage des morts*, op. cit. (1979), p. 39.

16. Ibid, p. 69.

17. Ibid, p. 146.

18. *L'apprenti sorcier*, op. cit. (1976), p. 17.

19. Ibid, p. 71.

20. *Un voyage au Mont Athos*, op. cit. (1970), p. 238.

21. *Homme ou L'essai d'occupation*, op. cit., pp. 175-176.

22. It is not very clear what Augiéras meant by the word "pederasty" which he uses rarely, although more often than "homosexuality." Sodomy would refer to anal sex. The French "pédérastie" can refer to homosexuality in general, although Augiéras seems to use it to mean reciprocal man-boy love.

23. *Le voyage des morts*, op. cit. (1979), p. 45.

24. Elisar von Kupffer, **Lieblingsminne und Freundesliebe in der Weltliteratur* (Berlin: 1900); Benedikt Friedlander, *Renaissance des Eros Uranios* (Berlin: 1904); and the journal *Der Eigene*. Harry Oosterhuis has prepared a collection of essays from this periodical with introduction and commentaries, *Male Bonding and Homosexuality in Pre-Nazi Germany*, which was published as a special issue by the *Journal of Homosexuality*, 22:1/2 (1991).

25. Placet, op. cit., pp. 172-173.

**Lieblingsminne (cf Paidika 11:33; other sources corroborate)*

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BOOK NOTES

Compiled by Edward Brongersma, Joel Crawford, Joseph Geraci, Hubert Kennedy, and Will Ogrinc.

Books:

Adair, Gilbert. *Love and Death on Long Island*. London: Minerva, 1991.

Novel about a writer who wanders into the wrong movie theater and falls in love with the teenage star, who looks 15 but is 20. He tracks down the star to his home on Long Island. Highly recommended.

Austen, Roger. (ed. John W. Crowley). *Genteel Pagan: The Double Life of Charles Warren Stoddard*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1991.

Stoddard was a minor 19th century American writer of travel books. He was also a boy lover. This biography is very well researched and written, and the introduction discusses certain interesting problems of interpretation. In Stoddard's era, when there was not yet such a thing as a "gay" identity, Stoddard found no contradiction in desiring both 12-year-old boys and men. The age boundary was not rigidly fixed for him, and John Crowley speculates that the reason might be that neither the medical model, nor specific terms, had yet been introduced to circumscribe Stoddard's view of his inclinations. The book is also very beautifully produced. If there is to be a new genre of literature – biographies of boy-lovers – this is the model.

Bader, Birgit & Ellinor Lang, (eds.). *Stricher-Leben*. Hamburg: Galgenberg, 1991.

Sociological study about male hustlers, including young boys.

Bailey, Paul. *An Immaculate Mistake*. London: Penguin Books, 1991.

Novel about a gay childhood and teenage years.

Barkan, Leonard. *Transuming Passion: Ganymede and the Erotics of Humanism*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991.

The book's thesis is that the Renaissance defined humanism in homoerotic terms, "homoerotic" meaning the love of adolescent boys.

Bernard, Frits. *Minorité persécutée*. Rotterdam: Éditions Enclave, 1992.

French translation of the Dutch novel *Vervolgde Minderheid*.

Böhm, Karl Werner. *Zwischen Selbstzucht und Verlangen: Thomas Mann und das Stigma Homosexualität. Untersuchungen zu Frühwerk und Jugend*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1991.

A doctoral dissertation (Mainz University, 1989) attempting to establish a link between Mann's experiences at puberty and his "latent homosexuality." The book also inconclusively discusses the boy-theme in his work.

Bramly, Serge. *Leonardo: Discovering the Life of Leonardo da Vinci*. San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1991.

Brongersma, Edward. *Loving Boys: Das Pädosexuelle Abenteuer*. Frankfurt: Foerster Verlag, 1992.

German translation of the English *Loving Boys*, vol. I.

Bruyn, E.B. de. *Uit een leven*. Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers/Privé Domein, 1991.

Memoirs: describes the author's boarding school years and sexual awakening. Written in an ironic, comic style.

Cardon, Patrick, (ed.). *Dossier Jacques d'Adelswärd-Fersen*. Lille: Cahier Gai-Kitsch-Camp. XX-4, 1991.

Anthology of secondary source material. Includes

selections from Alfred Jarry, and Jean Lorrain; reprints the important, rare *Les Mémoires du Baron Jacques* by A.S. Lagail (aka. Alphonse Gallais) published in 1904. *Paidika* Issue nr. 10 will contain an important article about Fersen by Will H.L. Ogrinc.

Constantine, Storm. *The Enchantments of Flesh and Spirit: The First Book of Wraeththu*. New York: Tom Doherty Associates, 1990.

Novel describing a love affair between a young teenage boy and a boy ghost.

Dantzig, Rudi van. *For a Lost Soldier*. London: The Bodley Head, 1991.

English translation of the Dutch, *Voor een verloren soldaat* (1986). A novel in the form of a memoir, about a boy who has a brief affair with a soldier at the end of World War II. See a review of the film in this issue.

Daverveld, M.J.C. *Scripts van kindersexualiteit: een exploratief onderzoek naar scripts van kindersexualiteit bij leerkrachten*. Maastricht: Rijksuniversiteit Limburg, 1991.

Research into the ways in which children understand and use sexual words.

Davis, Richard. *Vermin Blond*. London: Black Swan, 1991.

A lawyer recalls his love for a schoolmate.

Dijk (cf *Paidika* 10:80)

Dick, Lutz van. *Verdammt starke Liebe. Eine wahre Geschichte*. Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1991.

Novel in which a Polish boy is accused of conspiring with the enemy when a love letter to a German soldier is discovered.

Drevet, Patrick. *A Room in the Woods*. London: Quartet Books, 1991.

Translation of *Une Chambre dans les Bois*. See *Paidika* 2:2.* A 12-year-old boy becomes enamored of a young lumberjack. Very erotic; the sex scenes between the two are intense but delicate.

Dukahz, Casimir. *Shakespeare's Boy*. Amsterdam: Acolyte Press, 1991.

***i.e., V2 N2 (*Paidika* issue 6)**

Historical novel about a 13-year-old Elizabethan boy-actor and his sexual exploits. The biographical Afterword and Bibliography by D.H. Mader are a useful reference to Dukahz's earlier (and better) works.

Franssens, Jean-Paul. *Een gouden kind*. Amsterdam: De Harmonie, 1991.

Novel about a 17-year-old boy reflecting on his childhood while attending his mother's funeral. Moving passages about his coming to terms with his sexuality. A very honest and strong book.

Geerts, Leo. *Sapfo's lief*. Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 1991.

Life of a 13-year-old boy-prostitute.

Gil'adi, Avner. *Children of Islam: concepts of Childhood in Medieval Muslim Society*. London: Macmillan, 1992.

The first comprehensive study of childhood in medieval Muslim society. It deals with the images of children, with adults' attitudes towards them, and with the concepts of childhood as reflected in legal, theological, philosophical, ethical, and medical writings as well as works of belles lettres.

Goldschmidt, Georges-Arthur. *Die Absonderung*. Zürich: Ammann Verlag, 1991.

Novel about a 13-year-old boy expatriated from Germany to a French orphanage. He feels spiritually isolated and confused by the stirrings of puberty.

Gras, Hendrik Karel. *All Semblative a Woman's Part? Studies in the Staging of and Audience Response to Boy Actors in Sexual Disguise in the Elizabethan Theater: 1580-1615*. Utrecht: Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht, 1991.

Doctoral thesis regarding boys aged 8 to 22 rented out by their parents as apprentice actors. Discusses homosexual behavior and the possible effects on the audience of boys cross-dressing as girls.

Hanley, James. *Boy*. London: André Deutsch, 1990.

First modern unexpurgated edition of this 1931 novel. A 1934 trial found the publisher guilty of obscenity. A 13-year-old boy stows away aboard a merchant ship where he is bullied and sexually assaulted. Flawed but historically interesting.

Harris, Michael. *Unholy Orders: Tragedy at Mont Cashel*. New York: Viking, 1991.

Interesting data about paedophilia in the North American Catholic church not previously published. Deals with a "child abuse scandal" in Newfoundland. Very negative about paedophilia.

Hekma, Gert (ed.). *Honderd jaar homoseksuelen*. Amsterdam: ***Het Spinhuis**, 1992.

_____. *De roze rand van donker Amsterdam: De opkomst van een homoseksuele vroegcultuur, 1930-1970*. Amsterdam: Van Genneep, 1992.

Hinsch, Bret. *Passions of the Cut Sleeve: The Male Homosexual Tradition in China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.

Homosexuality, especially as ephebophilia, was socially accepted in China until the advent of Western influence.

Hyde, H. Montgomery. *Christopher Slater Millard (Stuart Mason): Bibliographer and Antiquarian Book Dealer*. New York: Global Academic Publishers, 1990.

Biography of a famous Uranian figure, first bibliographer of Oscar Wilde.

Jarman, Derek. *Modern Nature: The Journals of Derek Jarman*. London: Century, 1991.

Description of his early sex life with other boys, and the consequences of being discovered in bed with another boy at prep school.

Johnson, Paul R. *Ancient Answers to Modern Gay Problems: A New Discovery of Old Manuscripts*. Privately printed.

Analysis of "The Song of Songs"; theorizes that it really describes a love affair between two boys: Asher (Solomon's son) and a beautiful shepherd.

Lanoye, Tom. *Kartonnen dozen*. Amsterdam: Prometheus, 1991.

Novel about a young boy's obsession with one of his classmates.

Lewald, Kuno Richard. *Unser täglicher Heterorismus*. Privately printed.

Very positive defense of paedophilia.

Ley, Herman de. *Eros en polis: het socio-seksuele syteem in klassiek Athene*. Gent: Rijksuniversiteit Gent, 1992.

The politics of eros in ancient Athens.

Liebrand-Cup, M. *Tieners seks: een onderzoek naar seksualiteit bij 12-19 jarigen in de regio Geldrop-Valkenswaard*. 2 vols. Geldrop: GGD 1991.

Study about the sexuality of teenagers in the Dutch province of Brabant.

Loonen, Nard. *De magische drie in "Il fiore delle mille e una notte" van Pier Paolo Pasolini: Een analyse*. Amsterdam: Stichting Rode Emma, 1990.

Discusses briefly the boy issue in Pasolini's movie, *Arabian Nights*.

Mackay, John Henry. *John Henry Mackay*. Ed. Karl **Scwedhelm**. **Schwedhelm**

Anthology of his works, including *Der Schwimmer*, *Abrechnung*, and *Der Freiheitssucher*.

_____. *Dear Tucker*. Ed. Hubert Kennedy. San Francisco: Peremptory Publications, 1991.

Letters from Mackay to Benjamin R. Tucker.

Mand, Andreas. *Grovers Erfindung*. Augsburg: Maro Verlag, 1990.

Novel: a pubertal boy describes his daily life, including sexual fantasies.

McBride, Will. *Will McBride: 40 Jahre Fotografie*. Schaffhausen: Edition Stemmler, 1992.

_____. *Situationen/Projekte/Ein Fotobuch*. Introduction by Peter Weiermair. Aachen: Rimbaud, 1992.

The first book is a catalogue of a retrospective exhibition of the photographer's work over a forty-year period. The second contrasts his sculpture work with his photographs. Both give us a chance to assess his work in general, not just his boy photos. He is certainly in the Magnum

school of progressive, humanistic documentary photography: photographs of poor slum children, an extraordinary photo of an elderly woman grasping a barbed wire fence. The photographs are moody, interested in the erotic, and work best when they are not staged. There are lovely portraits of boys and some nude studies as well. Especially notable is a nude portrait of two boys with their mother from a series on families. His sculptures of boys, illustrated in the second book, are quite remarkable. One, of a crouching boy, and another, a white plaster group of boys in various poses, are respectful, erotic, joyful.

Michon, Pierre. *Rimbaud le fils*. Paris: Gallimard, 1991.

Mitchell, Donald & Philip Reed, (eds.). *Letters from a Life: Selected Letters and Diaries of Benjamin Britten*. 2 Vols. London: Faber and Faber, 1991.

Numerous discussions of Britten's attraction to 12-year-old boys. He could not reconcile his desires and admitted that his music for boy choristers was an attempt at sublimation. A moving record that demonstrates the importance of paedophile self-acceptance. Expensive.

Morant, George Soulié de. *Pei Yu: Boy Actress*. San Francisco: Alamo Square Press, 1991.

First English translation of the French *Bijou-de-Ceinture* (1925), about a boy actor living in an all-male world, and trained to play female roles.

Mulder, Jan. *Jacob's Wapen*. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1991.

A novel about a young boy growing up in Indonesia during the war years. From age five he attempts to satisfy his large sexual appetite with his nurse, then his father, and later friends.

Nieuwenborggh, Marchel van. *Rimbaud: Een seizoen in Brussel*. [Groot Bygaarden]: Infotex, 1991.

Oosterhuis, Harry, ed. *Homosexuality and Male Bonding in Pre-Nazi Germany: The Youth Movement, the Gay Movement, and Male Bonding*

before Hitler's Rise; Original Transcripts from Der Eigene, the First Gay Journal in the World. New York: The Haworth Press, 1991.

An anthology of writings mostly about boy-love from an early homosexual journal that considered itself an alternative to Hirschfeld's *Jahrbuch*. These writers replace the medical model with a cultural and historical discussion of the role of homosexuality in the spiritual and psychic makeup of both adults and children. The volume was translated from German by one of *Paidika*'s editors, Dr. Hubert Kennedy.

Parise, Goffredo. *Fibel der Gefühle. Geschichten von der Kürze und Süsse des Lebens*. Translation by Dirk J. Blask and Christiane Engels. Hamburg: Luchterhand, 1991.

German version of the *Italian Sillabario I* (1972); *Sillabario II* (1982).

Short stories about childhood, desire, and the beauty of youth. No known English translation of this important work.

Penna, Sandro. *Felicità più tardi mettere le ali / Later krijgt geluk vleugels*. Dutch translation by Eric M. Moormann. Privately printed in an edition of 55 copies, 1989.

Italian/Dutch edition of poems selected from *Confuso sogno* (Elio Pecora, ed. Milano: Aldo Garzanti, 1980).

_____. *Pecatto di Gola: poesie al fermo posta*. Milan: Libri Scheiwiller, 1990.

Contains 26 love poems written to the son of one of Penna's close friends. Only 1000 copies.

_____. *Qual und Entzücken*. Freiburg: Beck und Glückler, 1985.

Bi-lingual German/Italian edition from Penna's *Tutte le Poesie* (1970) describing his melancholic love for young boys.

Pohl, Peter. *Jan, mijn vriend*. Translation by Cora Polet. Amsterdam: Querido, 1991.

Novel: Dutch translation of the Swedish *Janne min vän* (1985). A 13-year-old boy is infatuated with his mysterious friend, Jan.

_____. *Nennen wir ihn Anna*. Translation by Birgitta Kicherer. Ravensburg: Otto Maier, 1991.

German translation of the Swedish *Vi kallar*

honom Anna (1986). An introverted 14-year-old boy is bullied by his classmates and raped at summer camp. The adults do not understand him and he commits suicide. Bleak but well written, and filled with great sympathy for the boy.

Pollard, Patrick. *André Gide: Homosexual Moralist*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991. Excellent book analyzing Gide's boy-love. A ground breaking book about the historical origins of boy-love theories.

Proust, Marcel. *Mon cher petit: Lettres à Lucien Daudet 1895-1897, 1904, 1907, 1908*. Ed. Michel Bonduelle. Paris: Gallimard, 1991.

Reid, Anthony. *The Eternal Flame: A World Anthology of Homosexual Verse (2000 B.C.-2000 A.D.)*. Volume 1: Greece, Italy, Islam, France. New York: Dyanthus Press, 1992.

Verse translations of mostly boy-love poetry which calls itself "The first [volume] in any language to present a comprehensive World Anthology of Homosexual Verse." Volume 1 of a projected two-volume work, with notes and explanatory introductions to sections. It provides the first translations of much unknown material.

Reinsberg, Carola. *Ehe, Hetärentum und Knabenliebe im antiken Griechenland*. München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1989.

Very interesting discussion of boy-love; adds new information to K.J. Dover.

Rossen, Benjamin and Jan Schuijjer, (eds.). *Het seksuele gevaar voor kinderen: mythen en feiten*. Lisse: Swets en Zeitlinger, 1992.

Rutschky, Katharina. *Erregte Aufklärung: Kindermissbrauch: Fakten und Fiktionen*. Hamburg: Klein, 1992. Analysis of the movement against child abuse. The author compares this new folly with its predecessors: the campaigns against masturbation, using sugar, and watching television.

Saintogne, Pierre de. *Livre d'Or des Textes Pédophiles: Des Origines à nos Jours*. Paris: Société Corydon, 1990.

An anthology of main-stream French literature containing paedophile themes. Expensive and badly edited, but Contents worth examining.

Santi, Piero. *Cronos Eros. Romanzi e Racconti*. Bologna: Transeuropa, 1990.

Collected prose works about boy-love by a relatively unknown Italian writer born in 1912. He shared Pasolini's passion for street-urchins.

Sax, Marjan and Sjuul Deckwitz, (eds.). *Op en oude fiets moet je het leren: Erotische seksuele relaties tussen vrouwen en jonge meisjes en jongens*. Amsterdam: Schorer Stichting, 1992.

Dutch version of Paidika issue nr. 8: Special Women's Issue.

Schmitt, Arno and Jehoeda Sofer, (eds.). *Sexuality and Eroticism Among Males in Moslem Societies*. New York: Harrington Park Press, 1992.

The first book presenting a general theory of Moslem homosexual behavior and containing a good deal of information about man/boy sexuality. Ground-breaking but dissatisfying. The main thesis is that Moslem attitudes are defined solely by physical acts. Completely ignores some recent studies (viz., Ingeborg Baldauf, *Paidika* 2:2) and the tradition of boy love poetry, which suggest emotional dimensions.

Sox, David. *Bachelors of Art: Edward Perry Warren & the Lewes House Brotherhood*. London: Fourth Estate, 1991.

Centers on Warren's career as an art collector and consultant; only mentions in passing his boy-love poems and the philosophical tract, *A Defense of Uranian Love*.

Smith, Sidney. *Handful of Angels*. Ed. Donald H. Mader. Amsterdam: Entimos Press, 1992. A collection of drawings and graphic works by the well-know artist whose bibliography we featured in issue nr. 3.

Termeer, Elisabeth. *Het goede voorbeeld*. Amsterdam: Contact, 1991.

A rejected young son becomes a hustler.

Till, Tilly. *Solange Gefühle schweigen: Gewalt gegen Kinder und das Tabu Pädophilie.* Hamburg: Jahn und Ernst, 1990.
Positive study.

Treffers, Bert. *Caravaggio: Genie in Opdracht.* Nijmegen: SUN, 1991.

Analysis of the painter along the lines of Leo Steinberg's *The Sexuality of Christ*. . . , which attempts to uncover the hidden meaning of sexual symbolisms in Caravaggio's work by referring to the theology of his time.

Vogel, Bruno. *Alf.* London: Gay Men's Press, 1992.

First English translation of an important German novel published in 1929. A 15-year-old boy falls in love with his younger class-mate, Alf. The war separates them. Very controversial for its time, and one of the most reprinted 20th century German novels.

Werkman, Hans. *De Mérode en de jongens. Biografische fragmenten.* Baarn: de Prom, 1991.

A sequel and addition to Werkman's official biography of de Mérode (see *Paidika* 1:1). Devoted to the poet's relationships with boys, some of whom were not aware of his feelings. Also discusses related topics, such as the publication of the boy-love poem, "Ganymedes," and 50 boy-love poems the author had not seen when writing his earlier work. Illustrated.

Wiedemann, Thomas. *Adults and Children in the Roman Empire.* London: Routledge, 1989.
Interesting addition to the growing body of literature on the history of childhood.

Articles:

Bleys, Rudi. "Roger Casement ou l'Amour aux Colonies: Historiographie et Imaginaire de l'Altérité." *Homosexualité et Lesbianisme. Mythes, Mémoires, Historiographies. Actes du Colloque Internationale.* Paris, Sorbonne, 1-2 Décembre 1989. Série Histoire. Paris-Lille: G.R.E.H./ C.E.A.Q./Cahier Gai-Kitsch-Camp, 1989. pp. 41-51.

Discusses, among other things, Casement's (1864-

1916) involvement with young Indian boys during his stay in South America.

Bredbeck, Gregory. "Milton's Ganymede: Negotiations of Homoerotic Tradition in *Paradise Regained*." Publication of the Modern Language Association, 106:2 (1991), pp. 262-276.

Geyer-Ryan, Helga. "Over de meest verbreide vernedering: het liefdesleven van de Zögling Törless." *Tijdschrift voor Vrouwenstudies* 46:2 (1991), pp. 197-215.

Interesting article about the novelist Robert Musil.

Hafkamp, Hans. "'Hij heeft voor mij van pijn gezongen / Bij elke zweeps slag op zijn kont': Notities over Slaan en Homo-Erotiek." *BZZLLETIN Literair Magazine* 21:188 (1991) pp. 14-25.

88
Corporal punishment in English and Dutch boys' boarding schools, and its connection to the erotic.

Kelly, R.J. "Theories of pedophilia." *Sexual Abuse of Children* 1 (1992), pp. 168-203.

Kutchinsky, B. "Sexueller Missbrauch von Kinder." *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung* 4:1 (1991).

An open-minded discussion.

Penna, Sandro. *The European Gay Review* 6/7 (1991).

A special issue devoted to Penna, with articles by Alberto Moravia, John MacRhea, et al.

Prick, Harry G.M. "Op weg naar een interpretatie: Over P.C. Boutens' gedicht 'Na den overval'." In *BZZLLETIN Literair Magazine* 21:88 (1991) pp. 33-38.

Discovers the paedophile theme in a poem by one of Holland's most famous poets (1870-1943).

Sherr, Richard. "A Canon, a Choirboy, and Homosexuality in Late 16th Century Italy." *Journal of Homosexuality* 21:3 (1991).

cf.

BOOK REVIEW

Dimensions

Pedophilia: Biosocial Perspectives, Jay Feierman (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1990), 594 pages. Reviewed by Lawrence A. Stanley.

In the summer of 1987, Jay Feierman convened the Jemez Springs Symposium, where approximately 50 behavioral scientists from around the world gathered to discuss paedophilia from a multi-disciplinary, cross-cultural, and cross-species perspective. The Symposium was an ambitious conference, and *Pedophilia: Biosocial Dimensions*, an outgrowth of the conference, is an ambitious book.¹ The reason for the book, Feierman states in his introduction, is to take a more comprehensive look at paedophilia. As Feierman correctly states:

Most of the lay and professional literature, although voluminous, reflects a narrow anthropo-, ethno-, and chronocentrism that precludes any real understanding of the topic with anything more than the preconceptions of our times. (p. 1)

Yet, with few exceptions, the authors in the book, including Feierman, repeat the errors of their predecessors in making over-generalizations, in applying psychoanalytic or victimological-based concepts to little or no empirical data, and in parading, as scientific fact, wild speculations regarding the biology and evolution of paedophilia. Because of the enormous amount and diversity of material in the book, this review will focus on the introduction and conclusion, since it is here that Feierman synthesizes the many ideas presented in the volume and offers them as an evolving body of work.

Feierman and other proponents of biosocial theory (such as Eibl-Eibesfeldt, Medicus and Hopf, and John Money, all of whom have contributed to this volume), believe that certain patterns of desire and behavior are not the products of socialization and learning, but are substan-

tially determined by biology and evolution – or more precisely, programmed by the genes during the process of embryological hormonalization. What happens during this process, according to Feierman, is “masculinization” and “de-feminization,” which are not mere pre- and peri-natal hormonal (i.e., physical) events, but a kind of predetermination of the range of social responses of which each individual is capable. Thus, “masculinization” is the

association of social dominance and all that is connected with it (e.g., male-male competitive aggressivity; proceptive, searching, appetitive behavior, and mounting behavior) with sexuality. It is also the functional dissociation and distancing of fear from sexuality. (p. 45)

“Defeminization,” in turn, is

the process by which the male comes to exhibit less female-more-frequent, proceptive, and mount-receiving behavior. (p. 47)

“Female-more-frequent” behaviors are, according to Feierman, “feminine” behaviors, which are “stationary, proceptive, expressive displays,” and include “tongue thrusting, vertical eye-rolling, increased social smiling, and eyebrow flashing.”

If individuals can be both masculinized and defeminized, the biosocial theorists argue, then the brain will fall into one of four “attraction quadrants” according to the degree to which brains and the bodies they operate are “masculinized” or not, and “defeminized” or not. (See figure 1.11., p. 42., reproduced here.)

Simply put, brains which are masculinized are turned on by their own dominance and brains which are defeminized are turned on by their sexual partner’s submission. As Feierman puts it,

the process of masculinization and defeminization would explain why

the predisposition of most males to associate social dominance (in themselves) with their own sexuality causes submissive attributes (in others) to become sexually alluring to them. Also, submissive displays by others inhibit aggressivity and allow courtship by self to proceed. (p. 46)

And thus it is "masculinization," Feierman theorizes, which

is mainly responsible for the very strong eroticism of diminutive, submissive-like attributes of children and adolescents and forms the major proximate basis for pedophilia and ephebophilia. (p. 49)

The masculinization/defeminization theory also requires that: (a) all paedophiles are more masculinized than all ephebophiles (p. 50); (b) "pedophiles and ephebophiles have more masculinized brains than male heterosexuals; slightly less defeminized brains than male heterosexuals; more defeminized and more masculinized brains than male homosexuals; and more defeminized and more masculinized brains than male transsexuals" (p. 53); and (c) "androphilic pedo- and ephebophiles 'are less defeminized' than gynephilic individuals." (p. 50)

If the masculinization/defeminization theory is to be taken as more than mere speculation, one should be able to find support in both biochemical and behavioral correlates. Although Gladue (Chapter 10) states that, since the mid-1970s, "the study of psychoendocrinology of human sexuality has begun to yield a body of evidence that suggests that hormonal factors are influential in the development and expression of sexual orientation and sexual object choice," (p. 281) this seems to be wishful thinking. Such optimistic statements should be contrasted with statements of greater candor:

Substantial research efforts from numerous laboratories indicate that simple hormonal

correlates for differences in sexual object choice preference do not exist. Alternative approaches to understanding brain/hormone/behavior relationships suggest, with some degree of caution, that dynamic neuroendocrine differences between heterosexual and homosexual adult males might exist. (p. 290)

However, none of the theories regarding hormonal or neuro-endocrinal correlates entertained by the authors in this volume (or by any other authors, for that matter) – e.g., enhanced LH response or the elevation of T blood levels – have tended to support the masculinization/defeminization theory. As Gladue admits:

The variance in neuro-endocrine hormone response among adult homosexual males, along with the variability of the outcome of treatment reported in studies of sex offenders all argue against obvious simple biological correlates for atypical sexual behavior. (p. 290)

Neither Feierman nor his co-authors have found empirical support in human behavior. Although Feierman believes that "all pedophiles and ephebophiles. . . are in very dominant roles in their sexual interactions with children and adolescents" because their "brains are extra-masculinized throughout their life span," (p. 46), he offers no supporting data that this is so. Furthermore, such over-generalizations are no less politically suspect than those victimological formulations (e.g., the notion that adult sexual contacts with younger persons are per se an abuse of power) which Feierman implicitly criticizes by his inclusion of Paul Okami's excellent dissection of victimology in Chapter 3. While there may indeed be males "aroused by the lust of submission," (p. 162) as Eibl-Eibesfeldt calls it, such males would represent a sub-class of paedophilia and ephebophilia, just as they represent a sub-class of "age-appropriate" heterosexuality and homosexuality.²

Feierman is also unable to explain a number of other aspects of his theory, for instance: (a) why

"pedophiles" or "ephebophiles" would have less "defeminized" brains than heterosexuals; (b) why androphilic paedo- and ephebophiles would be "less defeminized" than gynephilic individuals; and (c) why more masculinization and less defeminization would result in attraction toward children or children's bodies, rather than women who are short or slight of build or "child-like" and "submissive," of which there are, according to Feierman, no shortage.³ To be sure, he does cite his own two-dimensional model, which would seem to require such a hierarchy.

Remarkably, although Feierman claims that "pedophiles" and "ephebophiles" exhibit more "male" and less "female" behaviors than "age-appropriate" heterosexual and homosexual males, no evidence at all is offered to show that this is so, and no research is presented or cited comparing the degree to which paedophilic, ephebophilic, and age-appropriate hetero- and homosexual individuals engage in more or less "male" and "female" behaviors. Feierman's reference (without citation) to studies which have suggested that "self-reported heterosexual males *may tend* to prefer the dominant role somewhat more than do self-reported, bi-sexual and homosexual males" (p. 46, emphasis added) and that "[m]ost self-reported heterosexual males exhibit relatively little female-more-frequent, proceptive expressive behavior" (p. 49) have no relevance to paedophilia or ephebophilia *per se*. Such studies, if valid at all, would merely suggest differences between heterosexual, bi-sexual, and homosexual males. The further claim that paedophiles and ephebophiles exhibit a "relative lack of female-more-frequent proceptive behaviors in this population as compared to homosexual and transsexual males" (p. 50) is also pure fiction and unsupported by any data presented or cited by the authors in this volume.

It is extraordinary that in a book about paedophilia and ephebophilia, neither Feierman nor his co-authors have even attempted to investigate the characteristics of paedophilic and ephebophilic desires or to define the parameters of paedo-sexual or ephebo-sexual relationships. The citation by many of the book's authors

(Feierman included) of the existing victimologically-based literature on paedophilia appears disingenuous in light of Feierman's admission that "nearly all" such studies are "the products of sampling biases" and "may say more about the characteristics of individuals who have poor self-control over their impulses or who cannot negotiate their way out of the prison system than they say about pedophilia or ephebophilia."⁴ Moreover, equating an age and social power difference with extreme dominance and submission *per se* would appear easily refutable in light of research by Sandfort, among others, regarding the nature of paedo- and ephebo-sexual relationships.

Feierman also appears to have ignored the most obvious empirical evidence regarding paedo-sexual behavior. If paedophiles are more masculinized than either ephebophiles or heterosexuals, then why would evidence of "mounting behavior" – which one would think is the *sine qua non* of masculinization – be so scarce among this group? Feierman's answer that "mounting behavior is conspicuous by its relative absence with children" might seem funny if he were not being serious. (p. 49). If paedophiles are more "masculinized" than homosexual males, then what evidence is there that "searching, proceptive behaviors" (which Feierman calls "cruising") are more pronounced in paedophiles and ephebophiles than in homosexual males? Feierman says that these behaviors are "very evident" but offers no explanation of what such behavior looks like or by whom it is exhibited. Finally, although Feierman claims that sexual orientation determines profession and socioeconomic status, he can only point to a lack of research which might support his theory. That Feierman relies primarily on stereotypes rather than research and careful analysis is unfortunate, particularly in light of his purported aim to be more global than his predecessors.

An adjunct to Feierman's masculinization/defeminization theory is the notion that as a result of hormonal differences and the arousal to "high (extreme) diminutive submission" (p. 53), paedophiles and ephebophiles are unable to distinguish between erotic and parental love. This

notion is expressed by various authors in the book in various ways. For Eibl-Eibesfeldt (Chapter 5), paedophilia and ephebophilia represent a confusion between the "lust of submission" and "romantic love"; this confusion (or "misplaced eroticization") is caused by the overly masculinized brain and the "size discrepancy between an adult human male and a child or an adolescent." (p. 162)

For Money, the explanation is a bit more arcane. Human existence, according to Money, can be divided into discrete building blocks, or "phylisms," which are aspects of each individual "through their heritage as members of their species" (p. 445), for example,

breathing, coughing, sneezing, hiccupping, drinking, swallowing, biting, chewing, pissing, shitting, fucking, laughing, crying, walking, grasping, holding, sweating, touching, hurting, tasting, smelling, hearing, and seeing. (p. 446)

Human emotions, too, are divided into these building blocks, such that paedophilia and ephebophilia are the result of a confusion of categories, specifically, the

failure of an adult to keep the love of a child separate and different from the love of a sexual partner. The phylism of the sexuo-eroticism of lover-lover bonding becomes entrained with the care-taking of the phylism of parent-child bonding.

In other words, in paedophilia, parent-child pairbonding becomes "diverted" from its usual expression into the service of sexual arousal. This is why, Money explains, "the pedophile is likely to have undergone the experience of **limerance* – i.e., the sexuo-erotic pair-bonding of falling in love." (p. 457)⁵

Money doesn't explain by what mechanism entrainment occurs, but he entertains the "possibility" that "the cross-over is a minor error in the genome [which carries the phylism], or in biochemistry in the developing brain." Following this biological viewpoint, Money is

able to conclude that "pedophilia is not voluntarily chosen, nor can it be shed by voluntary decision. It is not a preference but a sexuo-erotic orientation or status. It may be viewed as analogous to left-handedness or color-blindness" – or age-appropriate heterosexuality. (p. 448)

Feierman's formulation of paedophilia as a confusion between parent-child pairbonding and erotic or romantic love is explained by reference to the "functional proximity" of male sexual behavior to "aspects of male parental behavior." The idea of functional proximity is that "adult/adult romantic love" grew out of "parent/offspring love" and that heterosexual males in particular "are attracted by adult females who combine the sexual signals of the mature female with infantile facial characteristics, such as a small mouth and delicate features." Thus, according to Feierman, it "will always be more difficult for males than for females" to keep "their sexual and parental motor patterns separated." "At the level of the social group," Feierman conjectures, "the primary determinants of pedo- and ephebophilia, with their sometimes resultant pedo- and ephebosexual behaviors, are the parental-like interactions that adult males in certain social roles play with children and adolescents." (p. 163)

Feierman offers no empirical evidence to support the "functional proximity" hypothesis. Another glaring problem in the volume is the failure to define paedophilia and ephebophilia in a scientifically rigorous manner. Although Feierman acknowledges that sexual desire for younger persons is not always exclusive (pp. 553–54), he and his co-authors often confound desire (which may be fleeting, occasional, or persistent), behavior (which may occur only once or not at all, several times during a particular period, or persistently throughout one's life), and sexual identity (in which one defines oneself as having a particular sexual orientation or "preference"). The result is that anyone who engages in "pedo-sexual" or "ephebo-sexual" conduct, that is, sexual conduct (that is, sexual conduct with a pre-pubertal, peri-pubertal, or adolescent person) "suffers from" paedophilia or

ephebophilia (a state of desire or being) and is labeled a paedophile or ephebophile (i.e., someone with a particular sexual orientation). The result is that the evolutionary and biological discussions become muddy and the developmental and psychological discussions meaningless. Feierman and his co-authors have also confused paedophilic desires and behaviors *per se* with incestuous ones, despite the fact that a careful reading of the clinical literature (particularly plethysmography studies, for example, by Freund and Langevin) suggests that such distinctions ought to be made for the purposes of conceptualization and discussion.

Yet another aspect of this definitional failure is the *de facto* collapsing by nearly all of Feierman's co-authors of "ephebophilia" into "pedophilia." Although the two terms are defined separately (with "ephebophilia" meaning sexual attraction to adolescents) and although Feierman warns in his conclusion that "pedophilia and ephebophilia may be quite different etiologically and may resemble each other only to a degree," the various authors in general and Feierman in particular treat the two as if they were a unitary phenomenon, with "ephebophilia" being a less serious form of "pedophilia."

Setting aside the apparently mysterious question of how patterns of behavior or desire are genetically linked or how patterns of desire/behavior become genetically encoded, has Feierman found an evolutionary basis for paedophilia? The answer is: not really.

According to Feierman, human behavior, like human anatomy, has evolved. At first glance, this would appear to be an obvious statement. Yet, none of the authors in the book seems able to explain just how human behavior has evolved since prehistoric times. This is an important point, since Feierman and his co-authors make many claims regarding the adaptability or non-adaptability of very specific human behaviors, from wearing high heels in order to attract men to delaying pregnancy in order to finish school.

The evolutionary basis for sexual behavior may be understood, according to Feierman, in terms of the mechanisms of "natural, sexual and kin selection." What must be asked of any partic-

ular behavior, then, is whether it has been selected for; in other words, whether it is "adaptive." (p. 2) A "behavior" is expected to be adaptive if it "leads to an increased chance for the individual to survive and reproduce" (p. 2). Conversely, a "behavior" will be selected against if it leads to a decreased chance for the individual to survive and reproduce. The third possibility is that the behavior may not be selected for or against if it has no effect on the chances for the individual to survive and reproduce.

Individual authors throughout the volume answer these questions in different ways. For example, in Chapter 12, Dienske entertains the possibility, following Weinrich's speculation regarding non-exclusive homosexuality, that paedophilia and ephebophilia in combination with procreative behavior may be "more adaptive" because heterosexual extra-marital behavior may result in offspring who "could deplete and divert resources from legitimate offspring." (p. 332) Feierman entertains the possibility that paedophilia and ephebophilia, this time following Weinrich's speculations about exclusive homosexuality, may represent a "sacrifice altruism," i.e.,

an involuntary class of behavior [that is required] of a small percentage of males in the breeding population so that the average male can have an average amount of appropriately directed mating behavior. (pp. 558-9)

This theory would require that an individual's paedophilic and ephebophilic behavior would remain exclusive and, for heterosexual ephebophilic behavior, that it did not lead to procreation as it is likely to do without some form of contraception.

Amidst these speculations, Feierman concludes that

the individual adaptationist, or selectionist, conceptualization of human pedo- and ephebophilia *per se* appears to have little direct scientific support at this time. The pertinent nonhuman-primate data, which

have been reviewed and discussed in this volume, also do not lend support to such an interpretation. . . . (p. 556)

This leads inexorably to his conclusion that paedophilia and ephebophilia are "rank-ordered by-products" of the process of natural selection. In terms of the two-dimensional model of brain masculinization and defeminization, this would mean that paedophilia and ephebophilia are both a question of chance:

It is simply inevitable that some adult males in a population will be sexually attracted to individuals who are younger and more feminine than self but whose attributes are more young and less feminine than can be found within the range of fertile females. (p. 559)

Apart from Feierman's unsubstantiated notion that paedophiles and ephebophiles are more masculinized and more defeminized than other males, this is the closest Feierman has come in the book to an honest statement that the experts really don't know anything about paedophilia from an evolutionary or biological standpoint. Feierman's speculation that paedophiles "have no primary adaptive function in themselves" (p. 559), because it is unverifiable, shows him naïve, at best, to the oppressive ends to which such speculation might be applied.

Given the lack of any real empirical support either for an evolutionary or biological basis for paedophilia and ephebophilia, it is not surprising that the entire volume is plagued by what Okami refers to as "highly subjective and untested assumptions" in making theory, "slippage" between legal constructs and scientific validity, and "the utilization of legal, moral, and political criteria rather than empirically-based criteria in establishing operational definitions." (p. 106)

While Feierman appears to be on the verge of making the discovery that sexual categories may be, to a large degree, socially constructed, he continues to speak about such categories – gynephilic ephebophilia in particular – as if these

were discrete and trans-historical categories of desire, behavior, or identity. If Feierman notes that the steady rise of the age of consent for females, the steady drop in the age of menarche, and the steady upward rise in the "chronological definition of 'nubile' female" may conspire to cause "many upstanding adult male citizens [to] come dangerously close to never-to-be crossed boundaries" (p. 554), he never makes clear that these "boundaries" were once commonly crossed and have only recently been socially constructed applying contemporary concepts of sexuality and social relationships. It is odd, however, that Feierman cannot imagine "a meaningful, individual *raison d'être* per se [for heterosexual ephebophilia] from the perspective of evolutionary biology," (p. 556) since sex between any fertile male and an adolescent female is likely to result in reproduction, a fact which might be deduced, for instance, from the adolescent pregnancy rate in the United States. From the standpoint of evolutionary biology, male sexual attraction to adolescent females – despite current social mores – could serve to give the male so predisposed the "first" opportunity to impregnate such females. Had Feierman incorporated Vern Bullough's insights from Chapter 2 into his reasoning, he might have asked why desire for or behavior with a peri-pubescent or adolescent female was labeled a "philia" at all. Prior to the late 19th Century, men who engaged in such sexual contacts were merely "heterosexual" males, both legally and by social convention, and, depending upon the type of contact and the social classes of the individuals involved, were guilty only of (a) inappropriate pre-marital sex, (b) courting behavior of a pre-marriageable or marriageable female, or (c) an exchange of money for sex (prostitution). In other words, Feierman might have found gynephilic ephebophilia to be a "species typical behavior" constructed as a "species atypical behavior" for socio-political and economic reasons.

It is through Feierman's relative blindness to social construction theory that he is able to avoid difficult questions about human behavior and desire, attributing all manner and kinds of sexual attraction to, or sexual interaction with, younger

persons to an apparently small and identifiable population. Nowhere are questions asked which might threaten the recently-constructed categories of "age-appropriate" heterosexuality and homosexuality which are used throughout the book although such questions beg to be answered.

Confusions between categories, sex and class bias, and confused theorizing bordering on racism also abound throughout the volume. In attempting to discuss some differences between gynephilic paedo- and ephebophilic and androphilic paedo- and ephebophilic contacts, Feierman may say more about his own biases than about either androphilic or gynephilic behaviors. Sex between an adult female and an adolescent male, Feierman tells us, causes "no harm" "as long as the adolescent male did not *acquire* a sexually transmitted disease." (p. 57, emphasis added) Sex between an adult male and an adolescent female is treated rhetorically differently:

Adult males can *give* adolescent females sexually transmitted diseases, some of which are a threat to future pregnancies and life. (p. 56, emphasis added.)

Adolescent males are represented by Feierman as "engage[ing] in sexual behavior with male androphilic ephebophiles for purely short-term economic gain," but adolescent girls are portrayed as being involved in "prostitution" with adult males. Moreover, while Feierman points out that "[a]dult males also can injure female children and adolescents by forcibly attempting intercourse with them," he fails to mention a similar risk to male children and adolescents. Feierman further considers an adolescent female's "reputation of sexual promiscuity" to be a measurable harm of sexual contact with an adult male, but never considers the double standard by which any sex engaged in by an adolescent female (whether with an adult male or a peer) can be detrimental to her "reputation." Nor does Feierman consider the possibility that an adolescent male might suffer harm to his reputation by being labeled a "homosexual" or "hustler." Likewise, the very real threat of sexu-

ally transmitted diseases to male reproductive health is overlooked by Feierman, who inexplicably calls such a threat "negligible." (pp. 56-57.)

Feierman and his co-authors also appear to confuse "feminine" attributes, "submissiveness," and the behavior of children. Besides the fact that the equation of "femininity" and "submissiveness" of women is polemical at best, none of the authors offer evidence to suggest that "submissiveness" is a characteristic of children *per se* any more than is "blond hair." Without studying the younger partners involved in paedophilic and ephebophilic relationships, this assumption remains untested. The same is true for the theory offered by Medicus and Hopf (Chapter 4) that "some body traits of adult human females such as smooth skin, relative hairlessness, and softness make them resemble children" (p. 139) and thus "makes it easier for the male pedophile or ephebophile to substitute a child or an adolescent for an adult female partner." (p. 141) Throughout the volume, females are so often described as "child-like" in appearance or behavior that one begins to wonder why adult males would desire children or adolescents at all when adult females are available. Moreover, if women resemble children in appearance or behavior so closely, then one must ask what all the fuss is about, since men are obviously confused by the lack of differences.

The answer is that Medicus and Hopf have it backwards. Men who engage in sex with pubescent or pre-pubescent girls are not "substituting" girls for adult women any more than they are "substituting" adult women for young girls. This is not to deny that some adult women do not bear some characteristics which may be similar to those of children or adolescents, but rather to suggest that the authors take their metaphors too literally. Most adults probably have some "child-like" characteristics or attributes, since all adults were once children and adolescents. But men who are sexually aroused primarily by children or adolescents probably engage in sex with adults for the simple reason that their attraction is not exclusive, whether sexually, emotionally, or otherwise.

Labeling the small size and relative hairlessness of Japanese women "pedomorphic," as Eibl-Eibesfeldt does in Chapter 5, seems rather racist, as if Japanese men, who are also smaller and relatively hairless, are naturally pre-disposed to paedophilia or ephebophilia. Eibl-Eibesfeldt also misconstrues "the short-stepped gait [of Japanese women] that is enforced by a dress that does not allow them to take long strides" as something making them "child-like," rather than an example of institutionalized male oppression. (p. 163) On the basis of this simple observation, in fact, the steps of children and adolescents have little in common with the small, delicate steps of a Japanese woman brought up in a traditional household and wearing traditional dress.

Furthermore, Feierman and his co-authors discuss the attractiveness of "feminine" traits as if these did not change over time. For instance, Eibl-Eibesfeldt's claim that men are attracted to small mouths would not explain why the most popular fashion models in the world currently have large lips or sport the "bee sting" look which began with model Isabella Rossellini and Kelly LeBroc in the late '70s and early '80s. The look is so popular (and attractive to men) that many women have had their lips enlarged in the past decade with injections of collagen.

Other examples of bias occur in discussions of homosexuality. The entire discussion of masculinization, defeminization, and sexual dimorphism is informed by prejudices – for instance, Feierman's unsubstantiated belief that homosexual males are more likely to be interior decorators (presumably a "feminine," "weak," or "submissive" profession) than stock brokers (presumably a "masculine," "competitive," and "aggressive" profession) because "[m]ale-male, resource-competitive aggressiveness is not under cultural selection pressures from heterosexual females. . . ." (p. 52) In other words, from the standpoint of evolution, bankers are superior to construction workers. Class bias is also operational in Feierman's belief that when a female delays reproduction by finishing high school or attending college, she is "maximizing parental investment." (p. 56) Not surprisingly, there is no

evidence presented that mothers who receive extended formal educations are superior, biologically, evolutionarily, or socially to mothers who do not receive extended formal educations. Feierman also appears unaware of the fact that sexual attraction to (and sexual behaviors with) adolescent males was generally considered to be "mere" homosexuality and was not considered a "perversion" in and of itself until the moment that homosexuality was de-classified as a psychological disorder. "Age-appropriate" homosexuality appeared as a category, not because scientists or society came to a better understanding of homosexuality, but because such a qualification was necessary to achieve a modicum of social tolerance, just as the further qualification of engaging in "stable" relationships, i.e., relative monogamy, was needed.

With this volume, Feierman missed a marvelous opportunity to engage in a re-conceptualization of the complex issues surrounding paedophilia and ephebophilia. Speculations regarding biology and evolution may not be fruitless in themselves if one is at the same time rigorous in defining concepts, in identifying bias, and in weighing the empirical evidence. In the final analysis, Feierman is able to conclude only what the reader knew before reading the book: that paedophilia is an enormously complex and difficult subject and that there is no one explanation for the existence of pedophilic desire and adult-child sexual interactions. His reliance upon half-truths and stereotypes and his construction of unverifiable theories is, at best, counter-productive to the discussion of such a controversial subject.

Editor's Note:

Lawrence A. Stanley is an attorney with a practice in entertainment and obscenity law.

NOTES

1. Not all of the authors included in the book participated in the conference and vice versa.

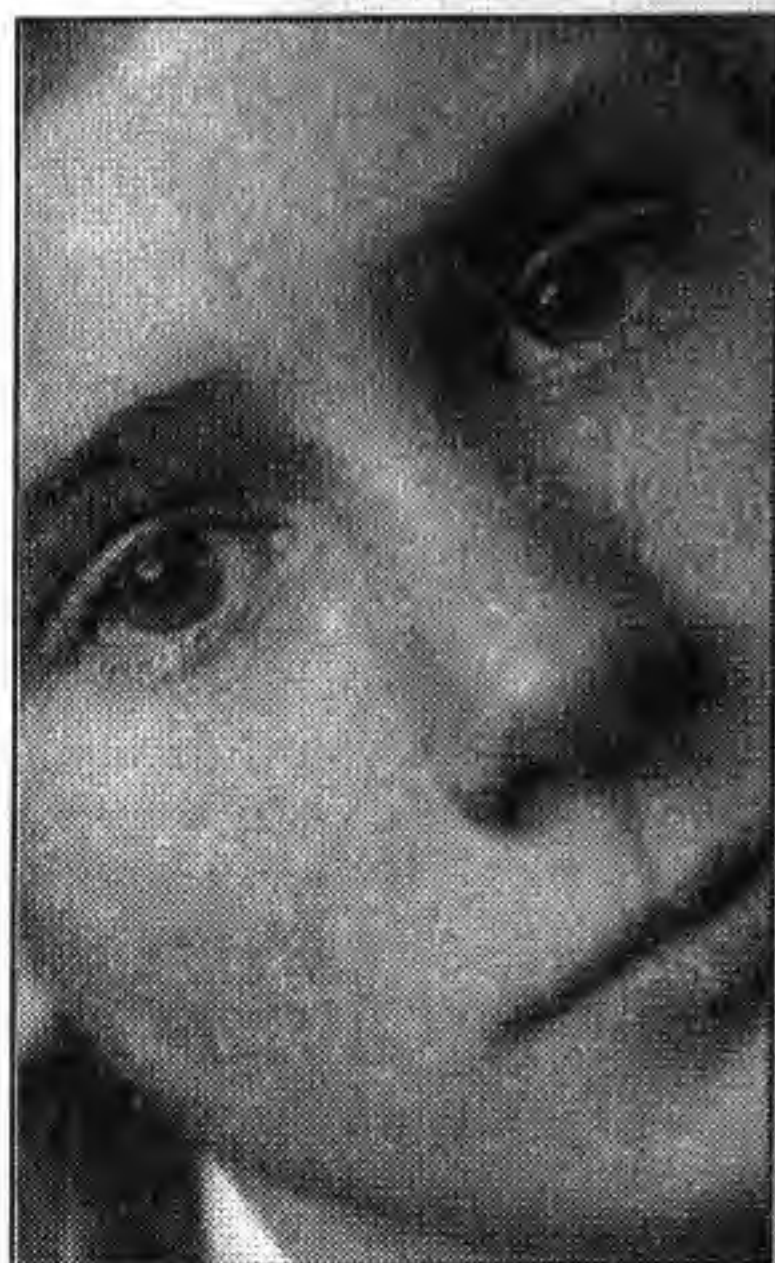
2. Feierman may be misreading Eibl-Eibesfeldt's distinction between "paraphilic lust for children and adolescents" and erotic attraction based upon the confusion between "adult/adult romantic love" and "parent/offspring love." Eibl-Eibesfeldt's statement that since "children and adolescents are younger and smaller than adults," then "role-related (adult) dominance and (child and adolescent) submission are inevitable" (pp. 161-2) appears to apply only to those adults whose behavior is driven by the "lust of submission" and is thus expressed in impersonal and indiscriminate behavior. Eibl-Eibesfeldt specifically contrasts such behavior with those sexual interactions which "grow out of a love relationship." (p. 162)

3. For instance, see his statement (p. 46) that "many ado-

lescent and adult females not only dress themselves so that they appear to be submissive and helpless but also behave more submissively and helplessly in the presence of males than in the presence of other females."

4. On the other hand, perhaps these criticisms were never meant as sincere, since Feierman refers to this same literature as "very fine work."

5. Money actually contradicts himself several pages later when he declares pedophilia and ephebophilia to be part of the "eligibilic/stigmatic category" which "incorporates a grand stratagem whereby lust and carnality are dissociated from love and romantic affection." (p. 453) Internal consistency is lacking not just in Money's chapter, but throughout the entire volume.



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FILM REVIEW

Voor een verloren soldaat [For a Lost Soldier], directed by Roeland Kerbosch; starring Maarten Smit, Andrew Kelly, and Jeroen Krabbé, 1992. Based on the novel by Rudi van Dantzig. Reviewed by Joel Crawford.

This is the first film we know of to treat a man-boy sexual relationship in entirely positive terms. Remarkably, it was financed by AVRO, one of the largest Dutch television networks, and opened on 22 May 1992 in the country's leading movie theater, the Tuschinski in Amsterdam. It played at a small art-theater for the next 30 weeks. The film may in part owe its existence to the respect accorded Rudi van Dantzig, Director of the Dutch National Ballet and a world-renowned choreographer. However, the tone of the film is considerably more positive about the relationship than Van Dantzig's rather ambivalent novel. When Van Dantzig, himself openly gay, was interviewed on Dutch television he said that he would not want a young son of his own to have a sexual relationship with a man.

Although important, the film is flawed. The ending is melodramatic, and the use of symbolism is at times tedious. The production was somewhat sloppy: a few scenes were shot in the wrong weather, there are some minor lapses of continuity, and post-war slang crops up throughout. These minor flaws, however, should not distract us from the significance of the film or the courage of its creators.

The film begins with a brief introduction: the adult Jeroen (Jeroen Krabbé), a choreographer, is struggling to mould a piece about the Liberation. He is frustrated by his inability to make clear to his young dancers what a momentous event this was for those who experienced it. At the time of the Liberation, he, like thousands of Dutch city children, was living with a foster family in the countryside. As the film begins, he has just received notice of the death of his foster mother. Before leaving to attend the funeral, he

asks an assistant to check the color of the packaging of the Life Savers candies handed out by the Canadians, the significance of which becomes clear later in the film. While attending the funeral at the village church, he has a flash-back in which he meets himself as a boy.

The film then shifts to the Hunger Winter of 1944-45. The German occupiers retaliated in 1944 against Dutch resistance by cutting off food supplies to the large cities, and tens of thousands starved to death. To spare them the worst of the suffering, some 50,000 city children were sent to the countryside. Jeroen (Maarten Smit), aged about 11, is leaving his home in Amsterdam on the back of his mother's bicycle. A truck takes him and a dozen other children, including his older friend Jan, to a Frisian village, where the children are welcomed with prayers, warm milk, and a check for head lice. It all seems foreign to the city-bred boy. One by one, the children are parcelled out to various families until only Jeroen is left. According to the records, he was supposed to have been a girl, but Hait (Freak Smink) comes forward and says that it doesn't make any difference, he will take Jeroen anyway.

They ride off to the family's home, where Jeroen is greeted warmly. He shares a bed with Henk, a boy of about 18, and on his first night, frightened by a thunderstorm, he wets the bed. The following morning, deeply humiliated and burning with homesickness, he sits gazing out to sea. Hait sits down beside him, turns the boy's head gently, and says, "Amsterdam is that way." He pats Jeroen on the head and leaves quietly. This gentleness, understanding, and concern are characteristic of Hait.

As the months pass, we see Jeroen's developing interest in the bodies of Henk and Jan. In 1945, German soldiers haul down the swastika and flee. A small Canadian communications unit rolls into town to a tumultuous welcome. Jeroen climbs aboard one of the jeeps, and Walt (Andrew

Kelly), standing in the truck behind, smiles at Jeroen and throws him a chocolate bar. As the Canadians pitch camp, the villagers stand around gawking and talking. Walt comes up to Jeroen and offers him another chocolate bar. Jeroen accepts it warily, and Walt talks to him briefly, until duty calls.

That same evening the Canadians put on a skit, followed by a dance. Jeroen, dressed in his Sunday best, leans against the bar, watching Walt dance with one of the girls. He and Walt look at each other and smile. After everyone else has left, Walt and Jeroen, in what is one of the most beautiful scenes in the film, dance together. Walt, holding him under the arms, whirls him around and up in the air. It is filmed slow motion and gives a sense not just of the boy's weightlessness and joy but also of the man's power that swings him so gracefully and effortlessly. This dreamlike, ethereal scene summarizes man and boy together.

The following day Walt, driving a jeep, meets Jeroen walking along a road. They play a little game of approach and avoidance before Jeroen, with a big smile, springs into the jeep. Walt drives to a small abandoned hotel which has been pressed into service by the Canadians as a place to bring girls for sex. Jeroen goes exploring while Walt helps repair a truck. Walt later walks Jeroen home in the pouring rain.

In the morning they go for a walk. In English, Walt tries to tell a largely uncomprehending Jeroen of his life and troubles. Finally, he turns to the boy and says, "You know, when I saw you, I knew you were different. I was sure you were my kind of guy. So what kind of a guy are you? You're special, Jeroen." Back at the hotel Walt goes in search of a car part. Jeroen gets tired of waiting and goes looking for Walt. He peeks into several rooms where seductions are in progress. Walt, the unit's leader, has his own room with an adjoining bath. He is in the shower when Jeroen opens the bathroom door a crack and asks, "Walt, what is 'buddy'?" Walt answers, "That's you and me, that's best friends." Walt then grabs Jeroen and hauls him fully clothed, laughing and struggling, into the shower.

In the next scene, Walt and Jeroen cuddle in

bed under a blanket. Jeroen's wet clothes hang from a string above. Walt strums on the string and sings to him softly, "... my baby..." Jeroen complains indignantly, "Me no baby." Walt says, "You're *my* baby." When Walt falls asleep, Jeroen goes to the dresser mirror and combs his hair, trying an entirely new way of arranging it. He smiles at his changed image and is obviously pleased with himself.

On Sunday, a church service is held for the villagers and the soldiers. In an amusing scene, the preacher sternly warns the parents to protect the chastity of their daughters. After church, Hait sees Walt giving Jeroen the symbolic Life Savers referred to at the beginning of the film, though now their connection to Walt becomes clear. Hait starts to scold Jeroen, who begins to sob, thinking he is going to be criticized for his relationship with Walt. Hait then hugs him and proceeds to tell him that he meant that he must share his candy with the other children. He is not criticizing him for being with Walt. The candy is a token for Jeroen of something exclusive he shares with the soldier.

In a lovely scene Walt teaches Jeroen to drive the jeep. They look very happy together. They return to the hotel again to have sex with no indication that the boy might be reluctant. In a tender love scene, Walt prepares to penetrate the boy. Jeroen looks uneasy, but Walt reassures him, stroking his face and telling him how much he loves him. Jeroen bites down on Walt's finger in evident pain as Walt enters him, but he does not protest. As Walt naps, Jeroen leaves the bed without dressing and stands in front of the dresser mirror. He puts on Walt's dog-tags and sunglasses, identifying with the man with whom he has just made love. He searches through Walt's collection of photographs until he finds one of Walt, which he puts in the pocket of his shirt, hanging on the bed post. The dog-tags and the photographs become icons of their love affair. When Walt awakens, they exchange hugs and a soulful kiss, and start singing childish ditties.

At school the students are assigned a composition entitled "The Liberation." As Jeroen gazes off into space, there is a flash-back to the scene in

which he danced with Walt, already symbolic for Jeroen of his own liberation and perhaps foreshadowing his career as a choreographer. After school, Walt prepares to take a family photograph. When Jeroen protests to Walt that he isn't in the picture, Jan grabs a scarecrow and stabs it into the ground next to Jeroen. Walt throws his dog tags to Jan, who hangs them around the scarecrow's neck. More photographs are taken, including ones of Walt and Jeroen together.

Later, at the hotel, Jeroen reassembles Walt's gun while Walt unloads the camera. Walt tells Jeroen, "You made me happy." When Jeroen cocks the gun, Walt drops the film to grab the gun, and the film unrolls. Walt says they're all spoiled, but Jeroen rolls the film back up anyway. Jeroen says, "You and me, always *samen* [together]." Walt replies, "Yeah, we'll make new ones, some day," in a sad tone that implies that this will never happen. Even their language is at odds. While the boy talks about staying together, Walt thinks the photographs imply a separation.

The following morning, Jeroen learns that one of the girls has received a parting gift from a soldier. After a moment, it dawns on him that this means that the soldiers have left. He shoves his younger foster sister Ellie off a bicycle and pedals away frantically in search of Walt. He checks everywhere, and everywhere the soldiers and their gear are gone. He finally returns in the pouring rain and sees his older foster sister hanging up the wash. He reaches into his pocket for the photograph of Walt and realizes the shirt is in the wash. He screams, "Where is my photo, what have you done with my photo?" He retrieves its sodden remains and begins to weep. The soldier is gone, and he has no photograph of him.

That night during a storm, Jeroen dreams that he sees a light reflecting from the scarecrow. He runs outside, imagining that the scarecrow is really Walt, and grabs at it, gashing his hand on the barbed wire. He falls to the ground. Hait realizes something is amiss and comes to carry the drenched and weeping boy inside.

Some days later Jeroen's mother comes to col-

lect him. In a little speech Hait says, "Jeroen has become our child, too, and so will he always remain." As they bicycle away, Hait calls, "Send us a photograph."

On the boat back to Amsterdam, the mature Jeroen reappears in what is one of the film's more heavy-handed moments. He stands at the railing of the ferry boat next to the boy and says, "The photograph, I don't understand why Hait called out for it?" The boy replies, "I understood. But he will forget us," apparently referring to the soldier. The man tells him that only one photograph from the roll came out.

The film's final scene is the dress rehearsal for the dance that had been so troublesome to the adult Jeroen. He has expressed his vision clearly to his dancers, who are now dressed in the colors of Life Savers. One youth, dressed in school-boy shorts, is raised up high by the others in celebration of his liberation. An assistant comes over to hand him an envelope containing a newly-made enlargement of the one photograph that came out, along with an enormous blowup of the scarecrow. There, on Walt's dog tags, is his name: "W. Cook." Jeroen realizes after all these years that he had had a means of contacting the soldier. The film closes with Jeroen staring off into space, an ending which seems contrived and melodramatic.

Certainly, the film suffers from the use of too many obvious symbols, and, perhaps unconsciously, mimics the plot of Hollywood wartime romances from the 1940s: boy-meets-girl, boy-loves-girl, boy-leaves-girl. In this film, of course, the girl is a young boy. The film's significance is that it treats the sexually-expressed love-affair with the usual, non-judgmental romanticism. Remarkably, the film's reviews in Dutch magazines and newspapers, while often unfavorable, did not criticize the decision to portray such a relationship in a positive light.

The beautiful Maarten Smit is wonderfully convincing, as is the beautiful Andrew Kelly. Their pairing, rather than of actors who might have satisfied clichés, was one of the film's more daring choices. We do get the sense throughout the film that not only is Walt really in love with Jeroen but that the sentiment is returned. It is, in

other words, an old-fashioned war romance.

The film's minor flaws should not distract us from its significance or courage. It was apparently made on a tight budget and perhaps a bit hastily to save money. As already mentioned, there are indeed technical flaws, and the dramatic device of having the grown Jeroen meet the young Jeroen at two different times is grating. The studied symbolism is too often merely tedious. Yet despite these flaws, it is a film of conviction and courage. The script, written by the American

novelist and scriptwriter Don Bloch, eliminated all the ambivalence about the relationship that had existed in the book. It is a simple and touching story. The scenes where Walt and Jeroen dance together and make love show a man and boy together in a tender and beautiful way. The film's appearance in such repressive times is sufficient to assure its place in history.

Joel Crawford is a member of Paidika's Editorial Board.

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