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**Male Age-Discrepant Intergenerational
Sexualities and Relationships**

**Volume One
Chapters One-Thirteen**

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**University of Glasgow
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Author's Declaration

I declare that the contents of this thesis are all my own work.

Richard Alexander Yuill

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Abstract

This thesis examines the construction of male age-discrepant intergenerational sexualities and relationships (MADIS) - primarily in the United Kingdom. It analyses the way in which such relationships have been constituted within hegemonic child sexual abuse (CSA) discourses, and how these in turn have been influenced by late modern material, social and cultural conditions. These include: the growing professionalisation of education and welfare institutions; the increasing problematisation of child and youth sexuality; and finally the popularisation of taboos on such relationships through a series of media and political campaigns. It also examines the varied ways such perspectives have been contested: ranging from liberationist claims for young people's sexual rights, to boylover identity groups stressing the positive and beneficial aspects of such relationships.

The theoretical approach will apply Foucauldian, Bourdieusian and Queer insights on social theory, evaluating how far they can provide a critical framework for explaining how CSA has achieved dominant status in relation to MADIS. It will also examine key contested paradigms on social power and sexual subjectivity, and open up discussions as to whether late modern transformations in the intimate sphere can be incorporated within this area.

The historical and cross-cultural components will address: the social and discursive origins of the current injunctions on MADIS; the growth of 'expert' knowledges and proliferation of highly specialised and localised centres of power around young people's sexuality and MADIS; and how these have affected the scripting of MADIS. It will also look at MADIS across a wide range of historical and cross-cultural case

studies, focussing on the differing modes of representation, contested meanings, and the multiple ways these have been refracted through the criss-crossing interstices of gender, class, race, age and sexuality.

The empirical element utilises qualitative, semi-structured interviews as the main tool for data collection. Questionnaires were sent out to respondents, and follow-up semi-structured interviews of existing and retrospective gay MADIS were conducted. Other interviews were carried out with young gay men, male survivors, and boylovers. All the above tools were designed with the aim of exploring, and analysing the different meanings and experiences respondents articulated, in order to achieve a broader, more balanced account of MADIS. In addition, child protection, sex offender and health professionals, and religious and political figures who were recently involved in recent controversies over a range of issues (Clause 28 and the gay male age of consent), were interviewed.

The above perspectives were analysed in relation to their impact on the contested and competing agendas on CSA and MADIS, and in explaining how certain sexual stories and narratives have achieved prominence within public and expert discourses, contributing to the subsequent marginalisation of both boylover perspectives and positively experienced accounts of MADIS from young people.

Introduction

The primary focus of this study is an historical, theoretical, and contemporary analysis of male age-discrepant and intergenerational sexualities and relationships (MADIS). This involves examining socio-sexual experiences (outside the family) between adult males and boys (under thirteen) or youths¹ (thirteen-seventeen),² along with a detailed exploration of the identities of males who are predominantly attracted to boys and youths, and younger males who are attracted to adult males. There will also be a substantial focus on intergenerational relationships between adult males.³

A major impetus for this study arose from the high-profile public debates, expressed through political institutions, professional organisations and the media in the UK over paedophilia, child sexual abuse (CSA), sex offenders, the gay male age of consent, and sex education in schools. These issues have also had a significant impact across a range of academic disciplines,⁴ suggesting a widespread interest in the relationship between sexual behaviours, identities and age-categories.

These debates also highlight contested perspectives over what constitutes “age – appropriate” sexual behaviours, and how far children and young people⁵ should be given access to sexual knowledge. Consequently, the task for this study is to engage with contested sociological, CSA, and boylover⁶ (defined as adult males who would like to form socio-sexual relationships with boys and / or youths, and who use this term to define their sexual identity perspectives). This includes examining the different meanings each applies to age, sexuality and relationships, and the particular way each theorise the topic.

¹ In this study youth will refer exclusively to young males.

² See page four, footnote sixteen for an explanation of this age classification.

³ This implies intergenerational relationships between adults aged eighteen or over.

⁴ Including sociology, cultural studies, psychology, psychiatry, psychoanalysis, social policy, philosophy and law (see chapter one).

⁵ Throughout the study, an attempt has been made to distinguish the age-classifications of children and young people along the chronological lines established. However, in order to avoid continuous repetition, the term young people has generally been inserted to denote under eighteens in general.

⁶ Using this term itself is contestable, if not questionable, and some may feel it warrants quotation marks. However, this was consciously avoided as it would give the impression to individuals who use

The theoretical and policy implications of concerns over child sexuality and paedophilia⁷ also involve engaging with contributions on risk and moral panics⁸ to highlight the multiple ways in which age of consent and Clause 28 debates⁹ have been constituted in terms of adult males presenting a danger to young people.¹⁰ The need to incorporate structure-agency debates, and relate this specifically to issues over how much agentic capacity could be assigned to young people, relative to macro-structural considerations, was also given particular emphasis. It was also felt necessary to supplement this with interactionist perspectives, by examining the micro-contexts and inter-personal domains, in which socio-sexual age-relations are negotiated.

The predominance of current conceptions of MADIS within mainstream academic, professional and political discourses would clearly impact on the conduct of the study, creating obstacles accessing alternative perspectives to CSA.¹¹ Pejorative characterisations have also entered legal and social policy discourses, whereby all sexual contacts between adults and young people are characterised as an infraction of the law (offender), medical-psychiatric condition (paedophilia), naturally aggressive (predator), or distorted personality.¹²

The wholesale adoption of the above typologies in recent contributions to MADIS is seen as problematic, and requiring a critical theorisation of the relationship between the construction of such analytical categories and subject positions. It also suggests a thorough interrogation of the way such definitions are framed, and how satisfactory they have been in explaining the social construction of - and relational dynamics within - MADIS.

this label that their version of reality was not accorded due status or credibility. See page five for further elaboration of these difficulties.

⁷ In relation to the way in which the paedophile has been symbolically constructed as an omnipresent danger to children and young people.

⁸ This term will be developed throughout the course of the thesis (see chapters one and two).

⁹ In Scotland and the UK.

¹⁰ And crucially how these in turn have been presented in professional, political and academic discourses.

¹¹ For example, within popular and media discourses, paedophilia has been demonised as indistinguishable from child murder and violence. For example, in the course of this study the murders of Sarah Payne, Jessica Chapman and Holly Wells were generally linked in the media to the issue of paedophilia in general (see appendix twenty-one).

¹² Behaviouralist-oriented approaches, which proffer multiple explanations such as a failure in male socialisation and / or specific aetiological causes of sexual offending, are clearly recognised as the dominant model in this area (see chapters one and seven).

At the outset, it was recognised that contested positions from boylover individuals and groups, and positively experienced accounts of MADIS from young people were severely under-represented within mainstream academic contributions. In spite of likely problems in accessing and recruiting such opinions, their participation was seen as essential for this study.

This thesis does not have a set of hypotheses, but rather is informed by a series of critical perspectives within social theory. Firstly, that MADIS has been discursively constituted through hegemonic CSA approaches. Secondly, that the privileged position held by such discourses has produced unitary, reductionist, and monolithic theorising and research formulations on MADIS which have been inattentive to the range of individual experiences and subject positions. This has therefore provided the context and space for a critical approach to consider contested perspectives - including understandings and meanings which have previously been marginalised - and evaluates their potential for developing further theorising and research.

After initial approaches to specialists in the area of childhood and youth, a lack of any consensus over the boundaries marking age-classifications was clearly evident.¹³ Consequently, assigning any definition on the relationship between age, age of attraction and sexuality was likely to be problematic. For example, biological and developmental considerations emphasising physical puberty, cognitive and behavioural aspects vie with sociological approaches which eschew any “naturalistic” model in favour of analysing life-course transitions within the social context of labour markets, housing and education (see chapter three).

Legal demarcations over the boundaries between childhood, youth and adulthood are also variable. For example, in the UK sixteen has increasingly been established as a chronological marker, in which individuals are deemed capable of “consenting” to sexual acts. However, there are a number of conflicting issues which regulate how subject status is conferred within the intimate sphere.¹⁴ Furthermore, terms have been

¹³ This lack of agreement and clarity is developed and theorised extensively in chapter three.

¹⁴ These include factors such as falling puberty rates, variations in individual sexual development, the socio-cultural context, access to sexual knowledge, and an increasing awareness of sexual identity.

applied to denote status differences such as race or class irrespective of age,¹⁵ and in the UK the term 'boy' can have particular social and sexual connotations, commensurate with a subservient and domesticated position. However, for this study child denotes any individual under thirteen, and young person anyone between thirteen and eighteen.¹⁶

There are further problems in establishing specific age-differential criteria for MADIS; relating to methodological weaknesses amongst CSA researchers in failing to establish agreement on an upper-age limit for victims (see Rind et al. 1998). However, most CSA studies (see chapter one) define sexual interactions as abusive when they involve age gaps of more than five years when the younger person is under thirteen, and ten years when the younger person is between thirteen and sixteen or eighteen. The current research will focus on sexual encounters and relationships where there is at least a ten-year age differential or more between those involved.

Secondly, incorporating a wide spectrum of experiences – ranging from short-term encounters to lengthy relationships;¹⁷ disparate ages of those involved; and different sexual identities¹⁸ - within a singular generic term, could create conceptual difficulties. However, adopting such a generic term does not imply sameness across the range of experiences within it, or prevent comparison of such differences.

Thirdly, the issue of the relative status accorded to paedophilic and ephebophilic - adapted from the Greek term meaning adult male love of youth (ephebe)¹⁹ – sexualities, as opposed to intergenerational sexual relationships between adults,

¹⁵ For example, black South Africans were commonly referred to as 'boy' under Apartheid.

¹⁶ Although this demarcation is contestable due to the fact that it appears to assign non-child status to thirteen-fifteen year-olds who are legally defined as children in UK law, it helps when differentiating adult sexual attraction to different age groups. Furthermore, distinctions are also made within the CSA literature between under thirteens and thirteen-eighteen year-olds, in relation to the alleged link between age-gaps and abuse. However, in the context of this study, applying such a distinction is intended to recognise, and highlight the differential subjective capacities between under-thirteens and teenagers. Finally, terms such as child or youth are applied consistently within criminal and social policy areas. The controversies surrounding assigning subjective capabilities, and terminology to particular age groups will be addressed more fully in chapter three.

¹⁷ Including individuals who may explain their involvement in such encounters as situational as opposed to those who define them more definitively as part of a lifelong sexual identity.

¹⁸ For example, conflating gay and boylover identities.

¹⁹ Hebephilia refers to heterosexual attraction to pubertal and post-pubertal girls and young women.

requires careful attention.²⁰ Although adopting a generic term, such as MADIS appears to collapse the different components of MADIS (paedophilia, ephebophilia and intergenerational adult sexuality), consequently conflating differing identities (boylover or gay),²¹ it facilitates a central aim of the thesis namely, to interrogate the relationship between age, age groups and sexuality. Adopting this term also recognises the above differences, and the potential for substantial discrepancies within subject positions (see chapter five).²²

The acronym MADIS may appear to some professionals a cumbersome, or euphemistic term which fails to address aggressive pathological characteristics, distorted personality traits, or personal social deficits. However, in this area, any attempt to impose a generic term is likely to come up against problems, reflecting ownership issues between professionals and identitarian groups over the application of particular meanings and constructs. Consequently, the current theoretical and research methodological framework sought to avoid slippage into legal, moral-political constructs (victim-perpetrator), whilst also recognising that the language of advocacy groups (boylove) was equally problematic in assigning overly eulogistic meanings to such relationships.

The highly contested aspects of this study also brings to the fore issues concerning the use of terminology to define respective subjectivities and identities of persons involved - a task further complicated by the wide diversity of subject positions, identitarian groups, professional frames of reference and emotive content.²³ Adopting MADIS was intended to avoid such pit-falls, without conveying any specific positive or negative connotations, or proclaiming a definitive lexicon.

²⁰ Clearly an adult male who is sexually attracted to a seven year-old boy would be viewed very differently to a fifty year-old adult male who is attracted to a twenty-five year-old male.

²¹ For example, there are many in the gay and lesbian community who would eschew any attempt to conflate same-sex attraction with same-sex attraction to children or young people.

²² In addition, there will also be critical attention paid throughout to the relational complexity between the above, along with an evaluation of the significance of the categories themselves, and a clear reference made in the literature review, cross-cultural chapter and data analysis sections, as to which facets of MADIS are being analysed.

²³ For example, professional conceptual tools and survivor accounts on the nature of the relationship, and the status of the persons involved in MADIS, vary significantly from boylover identity positions (see chapters six and seven).

In contrast to positivist approaches, which would deploy such terms to institute a claim for greater value-neutrality, MADIS is applied here to facilitate subsequent theorising and engagement with a range of issues relating to the interaction between age, gender and sexuality (see chapter three). It also establishes a flexible research methodology which can accommodate the range of contested discursive perspectives, micro-contexts, subject positions and meanings on this topic.

Establishing the area of study

Recent approaches to MADIS have focussed on chronological age, defined through biological and / or psychodynamic perspectives. Consequently, paedophilia is defined as sexual attraction to pre-pubertal children under thirteen, and ephebophilia as adult male attraction to youth. This will be adopted by the current study, but with an additional focus on MADIS between adult males. Although, the bulk of the data was collected in the UK, the impact of global agendas on child sex tourism and Internet downloading of child pornography in shaping attitudes to MADIS was clearly recognised. Furthermore, many of the boylover respondents came from outside the UK.

Through a literature review (chapter one) and theoretical component (chapter three), key issues within the sociology of sexuality concerning power, and the formation of sexual subjectivities, will be addressed. This will engage with the wider debates on young people's rights and sexual citizenship claims, with a particular focus on feminist critiques of MADIS. It will also situate these issues within broader sociological theorising over contested notions of age, masculinity and sexuality, and engage with gay, lesbian and Queer contributions on MADIS. It also examines sociological approaches to childhood and age transitions, to evaluate how far they can inform the debates over young people's agency vis-à-vis macro-structural considerations.

The above themes also require a critical analysis of contemporary contributions of Giddens, Plummer, and Weeks on "reflexive transformations" within the intimate sphere. These will all be examined to evaluate how far each can provide adequate theorisation on MADIS, specifically with regard to sexual citizenship claims for young people. The work of Foucault and Bourdieu will also be examined to evaluate

how far each can provide useful insights and critical perspectives in this area.

Three facets of the constructionist-essentialist debate will be examined. Firstly, the extent to which historical and cross-cultural meanings on MADIS can provide insights on contemporary contested perspectives. Secondly, how far contemporary debates in the UK on age of consent and sex education in schools are informed by essentialist notions of child sexuality as immutable. Finally, adult sexual attraction to young people has often been conceptualised within essentialist paradigms (biological or psychodynamic) as pathological or genetic aberrations. However, boylover advocacy groups also deploy essentialist claims that such an attraction is an immutable aspect of their persona, and therefore integral to their socio-sexual identity.²⁴ In contrast, CSA constructionist positions stress the socio-cultural context in which such desires are constituted, alongside the relational power dynamics within such relationships.

This study is also informed by nominalist-realist debates in the social sciences on the degree to which any phenomena can be abstracted from specific cultural contexts. It will address how diverse meanings on MADIS have been constructed across a range of temporal case studies (classical Greek City-States, Islamic societies, early modern and modern Europe, Japan and China, and small-scale tribal societies). A range of historical and cross-cultural secondary sources will be studied to provide a broader temporal and spatial analysis of MADIS. There will also be a look at how far such cross-cultural studies can provide insights on the contemporary debates on MADIS.

There will be a thorough examination of the contested meanings and conceptual tools applied to the relational dynamics within MADIS, ranging from CSA categories (victim-perpetrator) to boylovers (young friend-boylover). This entails a critical look at both positions, along with a detailed analysis of how such terminology is constructed, the contexts in which they are deployed, the different strategies used by contesting groups to articulate their position, and the difficulties this poses for conceptualising the range of behaviours and identities surrounding MADIS.²⁵

²⁴ Similar to many gay activist discourses on 'strategic essentialism' (see Rahman 2000).

²⁵ There will also be a focus in chapter one on how such constructs have increasingly been woven into the language and typologies within academic, professional, and political contexts, and how far these have been influential over the passage of a number of legislative Acts over the last two decades in the

The research design is extensively influenced by qualitative, reflexive and ethnographic approaches to the social sciences, which stress the importance of 'thick descriptive' accounts from the contested perspectives on MADIS (boylovers, professionals, political accounts, gay youth,²⁶ male survivors, and gay MADIS). This multi-discursive feature also provides scope for analysing the different meanings each of the various perspectives bring to the topic, providing the thesis with a broad, comparative and interpretative framework for analysing the contested narratives.

Representing such a wide spectrum of perspectives raises substantive ethical issues regarding how and why respondents were selected, informed consent, and the potential for distress caused by revealing highly emotional and personal details. Due to the above concerns, interviews were not conducted with anyone under eighteen. In approaches to gatekeepers, particular care was taken to highlight the contested and highly sensitive nature of topics covered in face-to-face and email interviews.

Although the perspectives covered on MADIS are labelled "contested," the considerable discrepancy between the resources and space available to respective positions is clearly recognised. For example, libertarian alternatives to hegemonic CSA positions have noticeably been marginalised over the last twenty years. There was also recognition of the relative lack of attention and funding given to male survivor groups, and of the difficulties many have faced in achieving recognition for their plight. Finally, the widespread lack of opportunities for young people to place their own meanings on such experiences (outside professional and familial contexts) was likely to be a major (and unfortunately intractable) obstacle for the current study.

Summary

Having outlined the main facets and substantive content of the study, there will now be a synopsis of the overall structure of each of the chapters.

Chapter One looks at the research problem which underpins the study. This is followed up by a review of the literature covering a broad range of the research,

areas of child protection and sex offenders.

²⁶ All gay youth who were interviewed in this study were over eighteen.

theoretical contributions and contested perspectives on MADIS.

Chapter Two situates the production of this thesis within a socio-historical context. It examines how the particular social and discursive context of western modernity has led to the problematisation of MADIS. This chapter uses aspects of Foucault's approach, and more traditional historical contextual perspectives, to provide insights into the origins of contemporary formulations on MADIS.

Chapter Three takes a critical look at recent approaches to the sociology of sexuality, through analysing Foucauldian, Queer and Bourdesian theoretical insights on MADIS. It also looks at how age and generational differences have been theorised across the contested perspectives, and how each have made use of particular formulations on power and subjectivity, and subsequently applied them to MADIS.

Chapter Four supplements the above with an historical and cross-cultural focus. It sets out key methodological issues in analysing historical and cross-cultural data, and explores a number of diverse case studies of MADIS.

Chapter Five outlines the key methodological aspects of the study including general contributions to ethics, narrative theory and reflexivity, coupled with a specific attention to its multi-discursive design.

Chapters Six to Eleven cover the data analysis, with each chapter corresponding to the differing populations (boylovers, professionals, political accounts, gay youth, male survivors, gay MADIS). It critically compares the meanings each of the above place on MADIS identifying areas of similarity and divergence in the respective accounts.

Chapter Twelve outlines a synthesis of the research findings.

Chapter Thirteen provides an overall conclusion to the thesis.

Chapter One Literature Review

1.1 Research problem

A series of initial literature searches suggested that a specific focus on the inter-relationship between age, sexuality and gender was relatively underdeveloped in sociology. It also found that MADIS tended to be analysed coterminous with CSA paradigms. This highlighted an incremental, "creeping" normalisation in research and theoretical approaches in this area, requiring a thorough and critical analysis of the ontological and epistemological adequacy of CSA and other perspectives on MADIS.

This literature review will focus on the sexuality of adult attraction to children and young people. This will involve addressing key issues and debates (including aetiological approaches to paedophilia, CSA analyses on the relational dynamics, and libertarian and boylover critiques). In order to contextualise and analyse the transformation in approaches to MADIS, the early literature from the 1960s to the mid-1980s is set out in appendix two, and more recent contributions (late-1980s to the 2000s) introduced in the main text.

The second section examines the construction of young people's sexuality, including contested analyses of their positioning within agency-structure and citizenship debates in sociology. Following on from this, is an examination of the impact such debates on establishing dominant perspectives on young people within MADIS. It also looks at problematic – in CSA frameworks - aspects of young people's sexuality namely, as sexual offenders and young people sexually attracted to older men. The final section addresses the neglected aspect of adult male intergenerational socio-sexual relationships.

1.2 Adult sexual attraction to children (paedophilia) and young people (ephebophilia)²⁷ (See appendix one).

This section will examine how the paedophilia and / or sex offender has been essentialised by medical-psychiatry and psychoanalysis, with a range of pathological symptoms, and constituted through broadly constructionist CSA and behaviouralist

²⁷ See page four for a definition of this term.

approaches which highlight specific relational power issues and / or multi-factor individual / societal explanations.

1.21 Later Transformations (1980s-2000s)

Howitt's multi-disciplinary study

Howitt (1995) examines approaches to paedophilia over the past twenty years. He makes use of a number of psychoanalytical approaches, which claim: that "homosexual paedophiles are less inclined to identify with their father" (Lang and Langevin quoted in *ibid* 1995: 36); or that "the major mechanism in homosexual paedophilia was the incorporation of the male child in order to reinforce the sense of masculinity, overcome death anxiety and remain young forever, as well as return to the material breast" (Socarides quoted in *ibid*: 138); or that paedophilia is "narcissistic," "self-gratifying," with no regard for "the autonomy and personal needs of the child" (Glasser quoted in *ibid*: 145).

Howitt also examines behavioural approaches, including Finkelhor, which focus on distorted cognitive framework of the 'child molester'²⁸ (*Ibid*: 92); feminist analyses which prioritise systemic factors²⁹ in sex offending against children; biological models which highlight genetic and physiological factors (*Ibid*: 146-148, 150); and finally, pro-paedophilic views contesting such formulations (*Ibid*: Chapter eight).

Although Howitt's study is broad in its scope, encompassing different approaches, it fails to offer substantive theoretical and empirical critiques of many of their central assumptions. Constructivist and alternatives to aetiological formulas are inadequately addressed, and his title is typical of more polemical works.³⁰ Finally, his general approach tends to assume an a priori normative framework and fails to situate the above discursive frameworks within specific socio-historical locales, or a substantive critical analysis of them.

²⁸ This approach has attained almost established 'truth status' in framing the operational guidelines of Sex Offender Treatment Programmes or SOTPS (see Wyre 1996; chapter seven).

²⁹ These include family violence and the expression of dominant forms of masculinity.

³⁰ "*Paedophiles and Sexual Offences against Children*".

Ethics

Over a thirty-year period an increasing inter-disciplinary consensus has developed that sexual acts, behaviours and identities are context-sensitive, assuming a variety of different discursive meanings, and potentially open to radical transformations.³¹ However, with respect to MADIS, there has been an increasing attempt to apply a universal ethical benchmark on such relationships.

In order to help explain this in relation to the various approaches to paedophilia and MADIS, Leahy's conceptual schema will be used (see Leahy 1996). Leahy outlines two approaches to adult-child interaction. The first maintains that 'all sexual contact between people of unequal power is immoral', which he terms a deontological argument (Ibid: 5, 6). The second is defined as a teleological position, whereby notions of harm and likely outcomes require empirical substantiation (Ibid: 7, 9).

Scruton characterises paedophilia as incomplete because a 'child cannot bear the full weight of interpersonal responses...with full reciprocity neither possible or desirable'; consequently the 'emotion of Freudian child desire cannot love', and creates obstacles to sexual fulfilment (Ibid 1986: 296). For Scruton, 'the task of sexual morality is to unite the personal and the sexual', with perversion acting as a barrier to 'tenderness, intimacy, fidelity, dependency' (Ibid: 343).

In applying the vague notion of paedophilia as 'absence of something', Scruton relies on psychoanalytical theories, which invoke unverifiable constructs and speculative language. Furthermore, he fails to make it clear what constitutes 'a full weight of interpersonal responses' (Ibid: 296); whilst tending to use reformulated Victorian discourses of childhood asexuality and innocence, without any critical evaluation of their relevance to contemporary presentations of children's sexuality.

Ellison advocates a sexual ethic which eroticises 'equality between persons and groups', whereby 'mutual respect' constitutes the normal expectation for all social interaction (Ibid 1996: 29, 77). He criticises sexual libertarians for 'sidestepping power and conflict within interpersonal relations', and for a lack of moral evaluation

on intergenerational sex (Ibid: 8, 20).

However, Ellison can be criticised for his naïve egalitarianism. In order for the kind of sexual relationships to constitute such a reformulated norm, all socio-economic inequalities must be eliminated, thereby rendering any sexual relationship with power disparities impermissible.

Primoratz characterises Ketchum's criterion for interpersonal relationships, as a "reciprocal of awareness and symmetrical of thoughts and feelings" (Quoted in *ibid* 1997: 8). He views this as sufficient to raise moral questions about paedophilia. In a later work, he contends that the concept of 'valid consent' to adult-child sexual relationships provides

ground for both its [paedophilia's] moral condemnation and legal prohibition...[] ...owing to the child's limited experience and limited psychological resources, both cognitive and emotional, its knowledge and understanding of self and the world is invariably limited too. Because of that, a child does not merely happen to have, but cannot help having a very limited comprehension of the physical, psychological, and social aspects of sex. Accordingly, all children are at a considerable and inescapable disadvantage on this count

(Ibid 1999: 108, 106, 107).

Spiecker and Steutel claim that 'because of their hormonal condition, prepubescent children are not yet capable of experiencing sexual desire' (Ibid 1997: 333). They also use current educational praxis to critique paedophilic justifications of "pedagogical eros", which the above see, as a 'cover for more mundane and less acceptable motives' (Ibid: 335). For the above, mutual consent and non-exploitation are absent in such asymmetrical relationships, and as the sexual desire is based on harming another individual, it can be judged as morally wrong (Ibid: 336-340).

However, the question of harm in intergenerational sexual experiences is contestable,

³¹ See Beach (ed.)1976; Bullough 1976; Greenberg 1988; Plummer (ed.)1992; Stein (ed.)1992.

and a significant body of research findings has questioned unmediated correlations.³² Consequently, if harm is context-dependent and influenced more by the nature of the experience and societal attitudes, then any attempt to use this for a universalistic proscription against MADIS is flawed.

Furthermore, the assumption of young people's underdeveloped bargaining power, and their limited capacity of looking after their own interests in such interactions, can be questioned in two ways. Firstly, such inequalities reflect the conduct of all adult-child / adolescent relationships, and cannot therefore act as an injunction against MADIS.³³ Secondly, the above authors fail to address the complexity of inter-personal contacts in MADIS (including differential subject positions and experiences) and differing contexts in which such relationships take place.

Ehman presents an alternative ethical approach to the above formulations on child-adult sex (Ibid 2000). He argues that asymmetry of power and lack of informed consent are inadequate to construct prohibitions, but maintains that the 'child's retrospective consent as an adult to the earlier encounter' would likely place fundamental constraints on 'child-adult sex' (Ibid: 129). Ehman adds that 'the fact our society generally forbids child sexual activity means that there are no established positive rules that prescribe the expectations that children might reasonably entertain as to the character of their sexual interactions with adults' (Ibid: 135). He concludes that since most adults would not wish such an experience, prohibition would be the most likely outcome.

Male survivors do stress retrospective harm and feelings of guilt (see page 41), whilst other studies highlight how neutral or positive experiences of adult-child sexual relationships can fade over time (see Urquiza 1988). However, this does not eliminate the difficulties with retrospective accounts as problematic, variable and open to mediation through a range of individual and cultural factors.³⁴ Although Ehman recognises that contemporary socio-cultural scripting of child-adult sex provides little

³² See Okami 1991; Leahy 1992a; Kilpatrick 1992; Nelson and Oliver 1998; Sandfort 1987; Rind et al. 1998.

³³ Unless the case can be made that the intimate and sexual sphere of human interaction is significantly different. A claim which Spiecker and Steutel fail to substantiate.

opportunities for articulating positive retrospective accounts, he does not address how shifts in attitudes to MADIS would affect his ethical framework.³⁵

Seidman argues for a 'libertarian sexual ethic', incorporated within a broader social framework, and attentive to 'the different meanings and consequences for those individuals implicated' (Ibid 1992: 214, 200). In the case of 'intergenerational sex', he identifies 'age, gender, kind of relationship, sexual acts and the broader social conventions governing acts, and crucially how emotionally and intellectually capable the younger partner is of understanding the effects of sex' as crucial (Ibid: 202-203).

Seidman's socially grounded approach to MADIS offers promising insights. However, he pays insufficient attention to how socially and culturally embedded meanings can impact on MADIS, and how the continuing dominance of CSA perspectives can affect how individuals subsequently position themselves.

Criminological constructions

Meloy refers to how late modernity has effectively "othered" the sex offender to distance him / her from the rest of society³⁶ (Ibid 2000: 13). Sampson however maintains that '[t]he current panic about sexual crime...is grounded in a real truth', as 'the threat posed by sexual offenders...appears to be growing' (Ibid 1994: X111). (See appendix three).

The positioning of the sex offender, as either a social danger or medical anomaly, has been constructed across a range of studies, through behavioural typologies and aetiological classifications, based on victim-perpetrator behavioural dynamics, or potential recidivism rates (see Hanson and Bussiere 1998; Greenberg et al. 2000). Some have also attempted to use such findings to direct public policies in this area (Waterhouse et al. 1994; Pibby (ed.)1996).

³⁴ See ML's account in chapter nine.

³⁵ The idea of a "self-fulfilling prophecy", whereby victim status is imposed through professional or media influence on a younger person at the time, or eventually internalised through societal pressure and lack of an available alternative to make sense of his or her experiences over time, has been a source of concern amongst many critics (see Evans 1993: 295, Note 47).

³⁶ Kincaid takes a similar approach to theorising the way in which paedophile has been effectively 'othered' in western societies (see Kincaid 1998; chapter three).

The above literature also tends to sub-divide according to: prevalence rates; causative studies which examine cyclical correlations between CSA histories and future abusive behaviour; offender motivation;³⁷ potential levels of risk and dangerousness of offenders; and debates over the appropriacy of particular prison or community-based treatment programmes.³⁸

Finkelhor's four-factor model, based on motivational factors among sex offenders, is often seen as the forerunner in approaches to sex offenders (see *ibid* 1984: chapter four). His first component relates to 'emotional congruence', whereby the offender feels closer emotionally to a child, due to feelings of inadequacy and low self-esteem. The second focuses on 'deviant patterns of sexual arousal and fantasy', often exacerbated by pornography, or a consequence of being sexually victimised as a child. Thirdly, 'blockage', which can be either developmentally or situationally induced, manifesting itself as a failure to socially interact within adult peer networks. Finally, 'disinhibitors', through poor self-control or alcoholism, act to produce abusive contexts and acts (see *ibid*: 37-47).

Finkelhor's model has several weaknesses. Firstly, loaded terminology appears within all of his descriptors. Secondly, he gives the impression that these constitute the sole explanation for all MADIS interactions. For example, an adult may develop a close and intimate relationship with a younger person for a number of reasons, which may not be a consequence of feelings of inadequacy. Furthermore, Finkelhor's model takes no account of alternative explanations, instead imposing psychodynamic and behavioural constructs which speculate on the motivation of offenders. Finally, he does not allow for active initiation by a younger person, or an extended non-sexual relationship.

Waterhouse et al. examined fifty-three 'child sexual abusers' in a Scottish prison (*Ibid* 1994). They posited a link between 'non-familial abusers', and their tendency 'to have

³⁷ According to the age and gender of the victim, or whether they were known to the victim or not.

³⁸ Although academic and professional approaches to sex offenders have been examined separately for clarification purposes, the scope for extensive overlap is clearly recognised. For example, the Association for the Treatment of Sexual Abusers in its annual call for papers stress the importance of both clinical and research collaboration. Their 2003 Conference is entitled: "Gateway to Knowledge: Steps to Effective Treatment" (see WWW.atsa.com).

grown up in disrupted families', with 52% of this non-familial group admitting to using 'physical coercion or force in abusing the child' (Ibid: V1). They identify four main groups of abusers: '(Rapid) Random abusers, paedophiles, incest and deniers' (Ibid: V11). They argue that 'men need to be appealed to more generally to respect children' and for the development of 'programmes aimed at identified child sexual abusers' (Ibid: XXXV1).

However, constructing generalisations of whole populations from prison samples is problematic (see Fisher 1994). The above authors also uncritically adopt legal constructs, without examining the nature of the encounter or relationship, or the applicability of such constructs to all MADIS experiences. Finally, their study makes such blanket assertions, allowing for no opportunities for non-violent offenders, who feel they respect young people in their relationships, to proffer alternative explanations.

Alexander (1999), Greenberg et al. (2000), and Soothill et al. (2000) focus on the link between sex offenders and recidivism rates. Alexander examines recidivism rate by 'offender age and sexual offender type...with type distinguished by: juveniles, child molesters, exhibitionists and unspecified (Ibid: 3, 5). She contends that the success of treatment is shown by the fact that 34.1% of an untreated sample re-offend, whereas 18.2% do so when treated (Ibid: 8). However, she cautions that 'few studies have investigated how to treat exhibitionists and child molesters with male victims' (Ibid: 11).

Greenberg et al. use a broad definition employed by the Canadian National Population Survey, which found that '50% of females and 33% of males have been victims of unwanted sexual acts...defined as the perpetrator exposing any sex parts, or threatening to have sex, or touching parts of the victims body, or attempting to or committing a sexual assault' (Ibid 2000: 1486). They conclude that the 'stranger variable as an important predictor of sexual recidivism in child molesters', proving the 'dangerousness of these individuals' (Ibid: 1491).³⁹ Finally, Soothill et al.⁴⁰ prioritise

³⁹ Greenberg et al. reveal the symbiotic relationship (see chapters three and seven) between definitions and alleged prevalence rates of CSA, and the attended risk to children and young people from adult

the threat posed by 'a significant minority...convicted of the homosexual offence of indecent assault on a male' (Ibid 2000: 65).

The literature on sex offenders has been criticised for: methodological weaknesses; reductionist typologies; and presenting reified conceptions of individual socio-sexual characteristics which fails to capture the range of meanings on all intergenerational sexual experiences (Sandfort 1987; Leahy 1992b; Kincaid 1998). They have also been accused of initiating specific research-agendas, which produces countrified and biased policy prescriptions and terminology (Okami 1992; Rind et al.1998).

Professional constructions

The close association between notions of child sexuality as vulnerable, necessitating protection, and the sex offender as a risk to children, prevalent in professional and CSA and sex offender studies, is given particular emphasis here.⁴¹ Wyre attaches several characteristics to 'fixated paedophiles', including: primary arousal to children, addictive behaviour and social inadequacy (Wyre 1996: 88). For Wyre, such individuals will construct shared friendships and language with fellow paedophiles, to reinforce 'strong cognitive distortions and beliefs' (Ibid: 91). He lists a number of techniques which paedophiles will use (including adopting pseudo-parental roles, seduction, selection of vulnerable children, marriages of convenience, and joining children's organisations) (Ibid: 88, 91, 93).

Wyre identifies the type of abuser, and the kind of relationship formed with the child as important (Ibid: 97, 98). Within treatment programmes, he stresses controlling sex offenders' behaviour, and challenging the way they think and fantasise.⁴² Finally, Wyre argues that any strategy for empowering children should be based on a greater assertiveness and an enhanced knowledge of sex offenders (Ibid: 99).

perpetrators. A further example of this is Morrison et al. who claim their contribution provides a resource for both practitioners and clinicians, in order to highlight how 'male sex offending against children is a serious and widespread problem in this country' (the UK), in which the effects on 'children are both enduring and damaging' (Morrison et al. 1994: XV11).

⁴⁰ After a thirty-two year period of observation of prison samples.

⁴¹ Although applying similar terminology, they tend to sub-divide into specialist interests, either as academic and / or professionals working with CSA or sex offenders.

⁴² Wyre focuses on five aspects within his programmes: cognitive distortion; victim awareness; sexual fantasy; gender sexuality; and assertiveness training (see Wyre cited in Renvoize 1993: 166).

Wyre's chosen title gives the impression that he is able to probe into 'The Paedophile's Mind'.⁴³ Furthermore, he alludes to justifications given by paedophile organisations for their behaviour, 'at times, it is hard to credit the arguments that they will use to justify their behaviour' (Ibid: 92).⁴⁴ The current study has spent a significant amount of time examining the literature produced by support groups and found no such justifications.⁴⁵ Wyre is therefore guilty of misconstruing the motivations of such groups. Finally, he encumbers young people with a one-sided script on the perceived risks and dangers of sex offenders without offering them genuine empowerment opportunities.

Critiques of aetiological approaches

Sandfort⁴⁶ eschews any association between paedophilia and particular social characteristics (Ibid 1987: 31). Okami and Goldberg accuse approaches, which link paedophilia with other personality traits, of imposing 'legal and moral constructs into operational criteria and research methodology' (Ibid 1992: 297). The latter criticise such studies for taking no account 'of the sexual preferences and motivations of the older participant and...the level of sexual maturity of the younger participant' (Ibid: 301, 302). They maintain that paedophiles possess a variety of 'attitudes, beliefs and needs in regard to children', and criticise previous approaches for sampling biases, a 'motivational tautology', an 'heterocentric bias', and introducing terms such as aggression and assault to describe all sexual activity between an adult and a minor (Ibid: 303, 314, 315, 320).⁴⁷

⁴³ Attention has been drawn to the role professional have played in heightening popular "moral panics" over the existence of sex offenders in the community (see Jenkins 1992; Kincaid 1998). Critics also point to the particular motivations of such "experts" in creating exaggerated numbers to enhance their respective roles, whilst helping to reinforce stylised images of sex offenders as dangerous. For example, Bagley admits that his own writings may have contributed to the hysteria surrounding CSA (see ibid 1999: 27).

⁴⁴ Wyre cites an example in such literature of a person who claimed that his experience of being "molested" was positive, and therefore constituted a justification for paedophilic experiences.

⁴⁵ Even if such a statement was made, they do not appear to be typical of the range of arguments which have been put forward for a greater acceptance of their viewpoints.

⁴⁶ Sandfort conducted his study on twenty-five on-going man-boy relationships in the Netherlands in the late 1970s (see Sandfort 1982, 1987).

⁴⁷ In future studies, Okami and Goldberg suggest that '1) offenders against same-sex victims should be differentiated from heterosexual offenders; 2) age and level of sexual maturity of victim and offender should be considered critical variables; 3) phenomenological characteristics of the crime should be considered separately from legal or moral characteristics; 4) crimes involving close relatives should be differentiated from extrafamilial contacts; 5) taxonomic systems and psychometric instruments should not be validated on samples likely to be particularly nonrepresentative; and 6) results of offender

For Bernard, 'paedophilia is not an isolated phenomenon, but one end of a continuum...of the ensemble of all possible forms of human (sexual) relationships (Ibid 1985: 17). Bernard in his study of a paedophile work group (NVSH) based in the Netherlands,⁴⁸ found that most respondents were unmarried, had a higher than average education level and came from a variety of occupational backgrounds (Ibid: 52).

Bernard identifies the psychological impact of continual socio-cultural rejection as a key factor in high scores of anxiety amongst one-third of his sample (Ibid: 80). However, he notes that despite all the difficulties faced by paedophiles, two-thirds fall within a "normal functioning" range (Ibid: 80). Bernard contends that the 'paedophile is...an ordinary human being', who, in spite of oppression, is generally convivial, and non-violent but who become more isolated through their life-course, due to the stigma associated with their sexuality (Ibid: 85). Finally, he poses a challenge to future research on paedophilia, to remove prejudices by treating paedophiles as ordinary citizens, whilst examining more closely the qualitative aspects of their relationships with young people (Ibid: 86). (See appendix four).

According to NAMBLA (North American Man Boy Love Association), 'around 5,000 men are incarcerated in U.S. state and federal prisons for consensual and harmless contacts with boys', and a further '25,000 to 30,000 boy-lovers caught up in the criminal system' (Ibid 1995: 3).⁴⁹ For NAMBLA, these prisoners are victims of a state-sponsored witch-hunt against boylovers and should be categorised as political prisoners. In the same publication, NAMBLA give the opportunity to a current prisoner to document his experiences. For Horowitz, '[b]eing a lover of children is the defining characteristic of our identities', and creates a 'beacon which shines from us' (Ibid: 7). Within the prison system, he identifies an attempt to re-format personality structures and impose a series of truths, whereby '[d]epression and identity dissolution

studies should be compared to victim or participant self-reports collected from non-clinical, representative samples' (Ibid: 322).

⁴⁸ The full title of the group is the Netherlands Association for Sexual Reform, which included a Work-Group on Paedophilia.

⁴⁹ As in the case of the UK, such assertions are difficult to substantiate, as Home Office statistics do not make such a distinction between consensual and non-consensual encounters and / or relationships involving adults with minors. However, clearly, NAMBLA, as a campaigning organisation for the removal of current injunctions on such relationships, clearly has a vested interest in inflating prison figures in order to add more weight to their position.

combine to make us vulnerable...to the manipulations of prosecutors, unscrupulous "defense" lawyers' (Ibid: 7). For Horowitz, this can result in 'child-lovers' viewing 'themselves through the eyes of the professional "victimologists"', thereby contributing to the collapse of any positive identity (Ibid: 13). However, he argues that it is up to child-lovers to get beyond a negative self-image through challenging negative societal labelling and building a positive view of self, to effect a re-engagement with the outside world (Ibid: 14, 15).

Ephedophilia

Feierman distinguishes "pedophilia" (sexual attraction to prepubertal children), from "ephebophilia" (adult sexual attraction to adolescents) (Feierman (ed.)1990: 3). Primoratz identifies the advent of puberty as the distinction between paedophilia and ephebophilia⁵⁰ (Ibid 1999: 99). For Money, 'the true ephebophile has an adolescent erotosexual status and is attracted toward, and is attractive to teenagers' (Ibid in Sandfort 1987: 6).⁵¹

Despite such distinctions between paedophilia, pederasty and ephebophilia, most feminist and CSA researchers have tended to merge the two, claiming that since both children and adolescents generally lack power in sexual relationships with adults, both sexualities are equally problematic (Jeffreys 1990; Alcoff 1996). However, this collapses potential socio-sexual differences between children and young people, and fails to account for the often-higher rates of positive experiences within intergenerational sexual relationships reported by young people as opposed to children (see Rind et al. 1998).

A further conflation lies in the tendency to apply age of consent boundaries as the sole criteria for defining paedophilia.⁵² However, the concept of an age of consent is itself problematically infused with heteronormative assumptions (see Waites 2000a).

⁵⁰ However, he confusingly adds a further distinction namely, between ephebophilia and pederasty. The use of the term pederasty is problematic in contemporary western contexts. Although being deployed most commonly to denote a sexual relationship between an adult male and a youth, it is imbued with archaic connotations which has also seen it used to define generic homosexuality (see chapter two).

⁵¹ In another contribution, he argues for paedophilia and hebephilia to be incorporated within a broader analysis of intergenerational sexualities which includes older adults attracted to younger partners in their twenties and thirties (see Money in Paidika 1991).

⁵² Often applied in popular campaigns against adult-child sexual relationships.

Secondly, societal norms which define the age when sexual activity is deemed acceptable, are historically and cross-culturally mutable (Bullough 1976; Graupner 2000a). Thirdly, in failing to differentiate the above sexualities, the position of young people or adolescents up to eighteen, becomes conflated with very young children, heightening their infantilisation (Mirkin 1999; Killias 2000). Finally, discussions over how to demark such boundaries can be important in setting respective gay and boylover identity agendas.⁵³ Finally, Money suggests that despite common usage definitions of paedophilia being used to encompass "infantophilia" and "ephebophilia," 'genuine, personal emotional understanding just simply doesn't exist between people in those categories' (Ibid in Paidika 1991: 4).⁵⁴

1.3 Childhood and youth

Contested notions

Postman argues 'that the dividing line between childhood and adulthood is rapidly eroding' (Ibid 1994: X11). Rather than seeing adulthood as a 'biological achievement', he views it as a 'symbolic' attainment of status and competence (Ibid: 36). He cites an '11,000% increase in serious crimes by under 15s' between 1950-79, the reduction of physical differences, lowering puberty rates, "adultification" of childhood in films' and the changing pattern of communication and knowledge, as signalling the end of childhood (Ibid: 3, 4, 120, 124, 74).

Criticism of Postman's "end of childhood thesis" as 'facile' (see Freeman 1997: 6) maybe unduly harsh, however it does address its apparent lack of fit with contemporary discursive practices and social trends over the last twenty years.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, one of Postman's most significant insights is over the temporal proximity between the obsolescence of childhood and its construction as a permanent fixture on the social and cultural landscape (Ibid: 74). Indeed more studies (especially in the area of sexuality) could examine the degree to which dominant constructions of

⁵³ For example, gay activists such as Graupner (2000a) and Tatchell (www.tatchellgayarchive.freemove.co.uk) have advocated reducing the age of consent to fourteen - a move which would include most ephebophiles, but marginalise the majority of paedophiles.

⁵⁴ Although NAMBLA attempt get around such problems by advocating the abolition of all age of consent laws, this does not address deep-seated differences over age of consent within the political strategy of paedophilic and boylover groups.

⁵⁵ As developed through public policy-makers and academic theorising.

childhood sufficiently explain how young people perceive their status vis-à-vis adults.⁵⁶ For example, analyses on the interchanging of work and education roles in the worlds of adult and young people (see Wyn and Dwyer 1999), along with continuing trends of children adopting “adult sexual behaviours”, criminal conduct and challenging parental and pedagogical authority, may give some credence to Postman's original thesis, and suggest a more critical approach to the immutability of age boundaries in late modernity.

Early proselytisers of young people's sexual rights argued for maximizing their social and sexual opportunities (Farson 1974; Holt 1975). Such libertarian perspectives also drew on Marxist-psychoanalytical theories adjoining the sexual liberation of younger people, to the dismantling of capitalism (Reich 1969; Marcuse 1974). Some went even further in arguing for the complete removal of taboos on child sexuality, claiming that it was the very societal and cultural injunctions which induced negative responses to intergenerational sexual experiences (see Constantine 1981).⁵⁷

Current sociological approaches critique developmental approaches, contesting that young people should be treated as subjects with participatory status, rather than being processed through an “adult gaze” (Jenks 1996; James and Prout (ed.)1997), or positioned as 'socially out of play' (Bourdieu 1993: 96).⁵⁸ Others⁵⁹ have addressed the theoretical and policy implications of re-positioning children and young people as "competent interpreters of the social world" (MacKay quoted in James and Prout (ed.)1997: 15), or as 'competent social actors' (Wyness 2000: 2). However, in the area of CSA such approaches have tended to take a less consistent approach.⁶⁰

CSA and “qualified” critiques

It is in the area of CSA that the contested issues surrounding children's social and sexual rights become most contentious. Although there is a stress on citizenship,

⁵⁶ Such studies could examine for example, the extent to which children and young people acquire adult sexual scripts, or develop alternative conceptions of the intimate sphere.

⁵⁷ In an arguably similar fashion to the paedophile advocacy literature.

⁵⁸ Bourdieu claims that youth in late modernity is 'just a word' (see *ibid* 1993: 94).

⁵⁹ See also Wyness (2000), Freeman (1997), Jenks (1996), Archard (1993) and James and Prout ed. (1997).

⁶⁰ It is here that the complaints of Jenks and James and Prout that notions of children's rights are rarely more than tokenistic appear most pertinent (see Jenks 1996; James and Prout (ed.)1997).

subjective agency and autonomy in the above contributions, there is also a more cautious theoretical position on how far it is possible, or desirable, to countenance a completely libertarian framework. Consequently, existing theorising and policy initiatives on young people's rights, are able to co-exist with CSA as the singular frame of reference for approaching MADIS.

For example, Freeman highlights the 'discovery of child abuse' as evidence of 'the dangers of complete liberation', effectively undercutting earlier claims for child liberation, in favour of theoretical and policy approaches which 'combine protection and autonomy' (Ibid 1997: 38, 37; Freeman 1992: 36). He concludes that any claims for children's agency must guard against the 'clear danger of a paedophile's charter', by installing safeguards which protect against exploitation (Ibid: 39).

Cutting across the contested positions on MADIS is some common ground over attempts to empower young people through increased access to sexual information.⁶¹ However, within CSA approaches the scripting of such strategies is adjoined to the risk posed by sex offenders, with empowerment strategies viewed as necessarily limited.⁶² Jenks argues that CSA has led not only to increased scrutiny and surveillance, but produced wider reformulations of children's sexuality, whereby 'the erotic in child-adult relationships has been newly articulated in relation to the axes of purity and danger' (Ibid 1996: 87, 86).

James and Prout refer to the 'problematic contradiction in combating CSA by questioning the assumption of the passive child' (Ibid 1997: 30). Wyness highlights how the 'top-down model of child abuse derives partly from the dominant image of the vulnerable child', which he contrasts with the inclusion of boys under fourteen as sex offenders by the 1993 Act, and the apparent similarity of sex crimes committed by both children and adults (Ibid 2000: 56, 83, 85).

⁶¹ For example, in the paedophilic and boylover advocacy literature, earlier libertarian positions and in CSA perspectives, there is a broad consensus that children and young people should have access to information on sexual matters.

⁶² For example, for Wyre, any empowerment strategy needs to focus on warning young people over the dangers of sex offenders (Ibid 1996), whilst Finkelhor maintains that any component in future strategies against abuse, must involve a greater access by young people to sexual knowledge (Finkelhor 1984: 146-7).

Kitzinger outlines how 'images of frightened children', proselytised in CSA literature, rely on a 'fetishistic glorification of innocence' which 'excludes those who do not conform to an asexual ideal', denying them 'access to knowledge and power' (Ibid 1997: 165, 167). In an earlier contribution, she criticises the way CSA markets images of children as passive, consequently stigmatising 'knowing' children, but also commodifying sexual innocence in the form of an ideology (Ibid 1988: 77). Kitzinger argues that young people are kept increasingly more dependent in late modernity, but disavows reductionist positions which assume they are helpless and therefore require protection, and contemporary child protection individualist solutions, which create illusions of power rather than any "genuine" empowerment strategies (Ibid: 82, 83).

Federle views such empowering conceptions of rights as potentially transformative through reducing the victimisation of children by declassifying them as "as powerless beings" (Quoted in Freeman 1997: 11). In relation to MADIS, such empowerment strategies have the potential to challenge dominant CSA notions that younger people in such relationships are effectively "cultural dupes." However, Thorogood cautions that it is the very empowerment strategies themselves which are guilty of merely re-constituting young people 'as objects of disciplinary power' (Ibid 2000: 436). Clearly the full implications of any transformative empowering agenda require greater theorising and research.

Risk

Waites identifies two important considerations for MADIS (Waites 2000a). The first concerns the ability of a child to give "meaningful consent", and the second involves the role of society in establishing protective laws (see chapter two in Ibid). In relation to the first, he lists seven key factors including: levels of sex education and education about relationships; economic power;⁶³ the age of the child and the age difference between the child and adult; the various forms of incentive and /or compulsion involved; the existence of incestuous relationships; the effects of various social differences, including gender and class; and the importance of the institutional and cultural contexts in which such relationships take place (Ibid: 69). Waites maintains that any 'child's competence is determined by the relationship between its subjective

capacities for agency and the structural social context within which it is situated' (Ibid: 71).

Waites puts forward several critiques of previous arguments in favour of 'paedophile relationships' (Ibid: 71). Firstly, he argues such positions neglect the fact that children do not possess the necessary rationality and knowledge within such contexts; and secondly, that these very forms of competence available to children invariably effect how they are able act within 'structurally unequal social contexts' (Ibid: 71). Waites argues that such positions are flawed through 'underestimating structural power relations', granting children 'moral agency without challenging the social contexts in which they are embedded'; and failing to recognise the 'different objectives which two parties may bring to an interaction' (Ibid: 72).

Waites views the above as particularly significant in the area of sexuality because current socio-cultural norms view child sexual behaviour as problematic, and due to their inability to assess such risks, protective laws are required (Ibid: 73). He concludes that '[b]y operating universally...age of consent laws prevent all children being placed in circumstances of risk in the context of relationships with adults where power relations are necessarily unequal' (Ibid: 73).

Waites' case for maintaining the current injunction on sexual interactions between adults and young people contains a number of weaknesses. Firstly, he makes an over-quick assumption that any analysis of MADIS implies a shift away 'from a preoccupation with the effects of sexual acts, to an awareness of the potentially damaging effects of sexual relationships' (Ibid: 72), thereby introducing overly negative terms, and slanting the debate towards a protectionist agenda. Waites also underplays the capacity of young people to interact with their peers and adults in interpersonal relations, thereby uncritically reinforcing dominant conceptions of them as lacking such competence. He also fails to cite empirical studies which show any marked distinction in young people's ability to acquire knowledge of the intimate and

⁶³ Including susceptibility to bribes, inducements or withdrawal of financial benefits.

interpersonal sphere, as distinct from other areas which he does address.⁶⁴

This creates a problem with Waites' position concerning how age of consent legislation can facilitate protection. For example, he suggests that 'serious attention be given to lowering the age of consent for all - possibly...to 14' (Ibid: 75). However, it is by no means clear that a fourteen year-old in an institutional care home would be able to "consensually" negotiate a sexual interaction with an adult care worker. Thirdly, Waites makes no specific reference to sources which challenge the current injunction. Rather, he assigns to such perspectives general positions without any citations, or engaging in any detailed analysis of their substantive case.⁶⁵

By imposing global notions of risk as an inherent by-product of the lack of competence which children exhibit in structurally uneven contexts, Waites fails to allow for the very policy prescription which he calls for namely, 'a clearer exploration of the forms and degrees of risk operating in these circumstances which could potentially draw upon recent theory concerning risk' (Ibid: 74). This could include a focus on the micro-terrains and practices in which risk is generated, along with an examination of the social and intimate contexts in which adults interact with young people. It would also address Kelly's concern that the 'view that all young people are potentially at-risk, signals a historically novel development', in expert attempts institute "truth" claims over youth identities (Kelly 1999: 204).⁶⁶

Finally, by applying global notions of risk to all contexts and subjectivities in MADIS, Waites merely creates the opportunity for the reproduction of reductionist language to such relationships. As Elliott queries, '[i]s it right to see the means-ended rationality of risk, and thus the economic language of preference, assessment and choice, as spreading into personal and intimate spheres of life (such as marriage, friendship and child-rearing) in such a determined and unified way?' (Ibid 2002: 300).

⁶⁴ For example, Waites engages with the debates over children and young people's ability to consent to medical operations (see chapter two in Waites 2000a).

⁶⁵ For example, as far back in the literature as Constantine and Martinson (ed.)(1981) and in frequent NAMBLA publications, the present structural inequalities in the position of children and young people were recognised, and constituted the central axiom in their subsequent critical analyses.

⁶⁶ Indeed West notes how sex education programmes in schools deliberately stress 'the avoidance of risk' rather than 'pleasure' (West 1999: 534).

Child and youth sexualities

For Evans, childhood sexuality under capitalism has been inscribed within a "naturalised" model, and subject to intense surveillance (Ibid 1993: 210-211). Despite a range of legal and institutional measures designed to restrict children's sexuality, he identifies transformations in contemporary 'sexual discourses' moving children in a similar direction to adult developments in sexual citizenship (Ibid: 216). Evans draws on earlier work on child sexuality,⁶⁷ recognising the capacity of even young children to attach particular meanings to somatic sensations, and to learn about sex in a variety of familial, institutional and informal settings (Ibid: 222). In this area, Evans notes the potential for a 'scripting disjuncture', where children may ascribe sexual meanings to a range of playful and intimate acts (Ibid: 223). He argues that even in CSA scripts children have been 'infused with sexual commodified meanings', but with the scripting less overly sexual, and more intent on encouraging consumer purchases which endow children with a particular 'status and lifestyle' (Ibid: 227).

Evans sees PIE⁶⁸ as a victim of 'New Right conservatism', which used the threat to produce 'a crude reification of the sanctity of traditional family life threatened by a range of forces' (Ibid: 233). This produced 'a subtle gear change', whereby 'childhood sexuality was mainly addressed in utopian essentialist terms, threatened by the legacy of the permissive 1960s which had weakened parental authority', but which also saw, contrary to New Right privatist tenets, a 'heightened bureaucratisation and professionalisation of interventionist child care' (Ibid: 233). This latter trend has transformed childhood 'from privacy, non-regulation and minimal legal protection into public regulation by a phalanx of specialist agencies' (Ibid: 237).

Evans maintains that child liberationist claims 'have crystallised around the conjunction of sexual, economic and political independence in ways usually concealed when the dimensions of adult sexual citizenship are discussed' (Ibid: 239). Within such notions of rights, he notes an explicit recognition of 'the child's protocols as consumer and earner as well as sexual citizen', and of the potential for children's autonomy in such matters (Ibid: 239).

⁶⁷ Including Freud (1905), Kinsey et al. (1948), Simon and Gagnon (1967), and Martinson (1976).

⁶⁸ Paedophile Information Exchange.

Evan's approach is important for contextualising how contemporary discourses on children's sexuality have contributed to a "discursive explosion". For the purposes of the present study however it is unclear how the existence of wider discourses on child sexuality, and access to alternative socio-sexual scripts by them, would affect the continued dominance of current injunctions on MADIS. It is also unclear how far children's incorporation as consumers can equip them in the field of interpersonal and sexual relations. This issue suggests further research on the way children's agency is conceded more easily in some areas, and strongly resisted in others (see chapter three).

Monk highlights how sex education now constitutes a primary 'contested site for the production of knowledge about sexuality' (Monk 1998: 99). For Thorogood, it has become vital for the 'transmission of values and by implication acts as a form of control' in the 'sexual socialisation of young people' (Ibid 2000: 435, 436), reinforcing the dominant model which seeks to infantilise and shield young people 'from sexual knowledge' (West 1999: 543, 526).⁶⁹ West concludes by bemoaning the fact that 'effective strategies for realising sexual democracy are neither widely available, nor an integral element of the curriculum' (Ibid: 542).

By focussing on education, the above contributors clearly recognise the importance of institutional analyses in disseminating sexual knowledge (and for MADIS).⁷⁰ As West argues, future theorisation has to account for the way age acts as a 'discrete dynamic', and how this constitutes the school as 'a critical site' in the reproduction of sexual norms (Ibid: 526). (See chapter eight and appendix five).

Other researchers see child sexuality hampered by current preoccupations with CSA (see Sandfort et al. 2000), whereby children are conceived 'as objects of sexual abuse', as opposed to 'a subject learning about sexuality and capable of experiencing sexual pleasures' (Sandford and Rodemakers Ibid: 1). They also argue this has had a major impact in the way children acquire sexual knowledge (Ibid: 6).

⁶⁹ In the UK but this can arguably be applied to North American and European contexts as well.

In a study of two to six year-olds, Schuhike claims that 'results show that curiosity about other people's genitals is a quite general phenomena', confirming 'the expectation that the child's occupation with their own genitals is a developmental forerunner of the occupation with the genitals of other people' (Schuhike Ibid: 42). In the same volume, contributors suggest that 'one third of 8 and 9 year olds, displayed a positive attitude toward intimate physical contact', which they were also 'able to reflect' upon (Rodemakers, Iaan and Staver Ibid: 49). They also identify a similar confusion in children of this age in describing love, as would be found in the minds of adolescents and adults, but that the greatest difference was 'between children who don't yet have an active interest and own experiences in this area, and the children who do' (Ibid: 58).

Sandfort and Cohen-Ketternis conclude that 'sexually related behaviours' are 'strongly present in children' (Ibid: 105). They criticise the focus on CSA as 'very one-sided', neglecting the 'sexual behaviours children actually perform' in 'relation to gender, age, family background', and of the urgent need for further research to see 'how children themselves experience these behaviours' within cultural contexts (Ibid: 106, 113, 115).

The above study provides useful insights on socio-culture influences on child sexual development, and of the way different age groups construe particular intimate and sexual meanings. However, any attempt to take such research further would be hampered by the school context in which the above studies were conducted – a factor which would likely curtail young people's willingness to express their awareness of sexuality, in contrast to less formal, peer social contexts. It would also have been useful if Sandfort et al. had managed to research early adolescent sexuality, to explore whether the former revealed more privatised notions over expressions of intimacy and sexuality.

Pattman, Frosh and Phoenix,⁷¹ advocate an approach which views their respondents 'as active subjects interpretative and critical', but which situates subsequent meanings

⁷⁰ As the recent policy debates in both the Scottish and UK Parliaments over the age of consent, sex education and Clause 28 highlight.

obtained, within the 'structures or institutionalised practices embodying power relations' (Ibid 1998: 126). They stress how 'sexual talk in the peer group revolved around manhood', through which young men cling 'desperately to their masculinity and project otherness', whilst investing 'in particular subject positions in popular sexual discourses' (Ibid: 140). Although their study did not address MADIS, it has developed important insights for the present study: specifically concerning 'the public / private dichotomy in the ways boys construct and experience their identities' (Ibid: 135). (See appendix six).

*"Anomalies": sex offending children and gerontophiles*⁷²

Masson and Erooga identify the 1990s as the period when sex offending children 'emerged as a problem', and that by 1997, '23 % aged between 10-20 were guilty of sex offences' (Ibid 1999: 1). They highlight the inability of the "cycle of abuse theory" to explain a significant proportion of such cases, identifying instead a broad range of individual, familial and societal factors (Ibid: 3). Masson and Erooga highlight the difficulties intervention programmes face in 'separating normal male adolescence from adolescent sex offending', yet maintain that it is crucial for subsequent programmes to challenge 'pro-offending beliefs or attitudes that justify, rationalise or support the sexual abuser's behaviour' (Ibid: 15).

Okami criticises current approaches to "child perpetrators of sexual abuse", for conflating sexual behaviours deemed "unusual" with abuse, and for attempting to establish a moral hegemony over the expression of childhood sexuality (Ibid 1992: 112, 114). He argues that the literature on "child perpetrators" needs to be understood within a wider context, in which 'certain moral and economic interests' have set out to oppose "sex-positive" trends in sexuality begun in the 1960s (Ibid: 115). He charts the rise of such movements with their success in expanding interest in previously neglected groups including: 'female perpetrators, adolescent perpetrators, victims in late adolescence, and male victims' (Ibid: 121).

Mirkin claims that the very idea of young people being seen as 'partners or initiators

⁷¹ In relation to their research on eleven to fourteen year-old boys in the UK. (See appendix six).

⁷² This term is defined in page thirty-two.

or willing participants' is contrary to late modern dominant conceptions (Ibid 1999: 13). Indeed, the very term "gerontophile", defined by Sandfort as child sexual attraction to an older person (see *ibid* 1987: 31), has vanished from the contemporary lexicon. Within gay communities, youths have been regularly objectified and feminised as "chickens", and their older partners labelled "chicken hawks". However, such labels have arguably produced stylised notions of intergenerational sexual contacts without addressing the socio-sexual agency of young people, or self-appropriated meanings to define their attraction to older people. This crucial omission in current contributions to MADIS will be addressed in chapter nine.

1.4 MADIS

This section concentrates on debates over the relational aspects of MADIS.

Finkelhor's thesis

Finkelhor argues 'that children, by their very nature, are incapable of truly consenting to sex with adults' as they lack essential information, and 'are ignorant about sex and sexual relationships' (*Ibid* 1979: 694). He contends that 'adult-child sex is wrong because the fundamental conditions of consent cannot prevail...due to the excessive dependency and socialisation of trust whereby children are taught to obey adults' (*Ibid*: 695). For Finkelhor, it comes down, in the final analysis, to a lack of knowledge possessed by children on sexuality, and their lack of power vis-à-vis adults (*Ibid*: 696).

However, he provides no definition of a child, or how notions of childhood are culturally mediated.⁷³ This has led to wider criticisms of the way CSA researchers assign victim status to anyone falling below a designated age.⁷⁴ Finkelhor also tends to objectify children, effectively reducing them to essentialised, static dupes - a tendency arguably reinforced within the language and conceptual framework employed by CSA researchers over the last twenty years. Finally, Finkelhor elevates "meaningful" or "inability to consent" as foundational "articles of faith" - terms which

⁷³ This problem of adequately defining childhood has long been recognised a source of confusion in seeking meaningful cross-comparisons on CSA studies (see Okami 1991).

have arguably been applied in the subsequent debates, more as foreclosures of discussions rather than as a basis for elaborate theorisation or research.⁷⁵

Early gay and lesbian perspectives

Gay and lesbian contributions to this topic have been varied and informed by a range of contested inputs.⁷⁶ Although attentive to children's sexual rights, significant concerns over social power and subjective imbalances were raised at the outset (see GLC 1981: 60). More recently, there has been a tendency for mainstream gay and lesbian organisations to avoid pro-paedophilic groups, and adopt a critical stance to such perspectives.⁷⁷

Plummer criticises previous approaches for excluding intergenerational sexual encounters from the social and emotional contexts in which they take place (Plummer 1981b: 228). He identifies the conflict between paedophilia and classical liberalism over the tenet that a child cannot give consent (Ibid: 238). Plummer argues for the '[n]eed to relativize it, humanize it, normalize it, and politicize it' (Ibid: 244), whilst connecting the accounts of both the paedophile and the child 'to wider matters of historical and social structure' (Ibid: 245).

Plummer also recognises sexual stigma and ageism as crucial barriers for the acceptance of paedophilia in society (Plummer 1981a: 115). He states that the 'paedophile...lives in a fundamentally alien world where the truths projected in the dominant culture seem strikingly at odds with his or her own experience' (Ibid: 122). He outlines four reasons for the failure of paedophilia: a weak sub-cultural identity; legal sanctions; widespread publicly despised sexual persona; and a problematic paternalistic ideology which tends to produce an 'unequal, objectifying relationship', motivated by 'emotional and sexual control over children' (Ibid: 130, 131).

⁷⁴ This has led to criticisms of such research in lumping together older adolescents with very young children, with a minimal recognition of how older children and adolescents can acquire relative degrees of autonomy and decision-making in their interactions with adults (see Rind et al. 2001a; Mirkin 1999).

⁷⁵ For example, Spiegel contends that studies which draw on consent as a mediating factor in CSA, rest 'upon the fallacious assumption that children can (or should) make a reasonable decision about sex with an adult' (Spiegel 2000: 64).

⁷⁶ These began in debates within the Gay Left Collective (GLC) on how the gay and lesbian community should respond to man-boy relationships and paedophilia in the 1970s. Some of these issues and debates are covered in O'Carroll (1980), Tsang (ed.)(1981) and in Jeffreys (1990).

Plummer's recognition of the disjuncture between the "truths" of the dominant culture and the paedophile's own experience is particularly important in the context of this study.⁷⁸ However, missing from his account is the multi-faceted ways young peoples' sexuality has been problematised in late modernity.⁷⁹ Plummer's characterisation of paedophilic justifications is also contestable. Although paternalistic versions of "Greek Love"⁸⁰ have previously been used as justifications for pederasty, they are not generally espoused by contemporary boylover organisations.⁸¹ A further counterpoint to this is that wider cultural discourses and institutional practices have produced over-objectified, depersonalised and infantilised presentations of children (see Kincaid 1998).

Weeks considers gender, subjectivity and the nature of the sexual acts and behaviour as important criteria for evaluating MADIS (Ibid 1985: 226). He criticises 'stifling paternalism and adult oppression' within protectionist discourses, arguing for young people to be given 'full access to sexual knowledge and protection as it becomes appropriate' (Ibid: 230). Weeks outlines a 'radical positive nature of consent', which is attentive to 'forms of power in which it is enmeshed, and the limits these inscribe for the free play of consent' (Ibid: 231).

Week's position⁸² seems to open up the possibility for some intergenerational relationships. Furthermore, the factors outlined by him for consideration are not only consistent with much of the recent research on MADIS, but are important for theorising how far MADIS can be incorporated within recent sociological approaches to sexual citizenship (see chapter three).

⁷⁷ See the statement put out by Seattle IGLA in 1994 banning NAMBLA from the Gay Pride March.

⁷⁸ In particular, how medical and social scientific "truths" have increasingly marginalised alternative sexual stories such as positively experienced MADIS, and how "professional voices" have placed themselves in a privileged position in speaking about such relationships (see chapter three).

⁷⁹ For example, it is very difficult to analyse the trajectory of the paedophile without reference to the voluminous rise in academic publications, media campaigns and professional associations on concerns over CSA.

⁸⁰ The term 'Greek Love' has often been applied to denote a socio-sexual relationship between an adolescent male (12-18) and an adult male (see Eglinton 1971).

⁸¹ For example, both NAMBLA in their home web site at <http://www.NAMBLA.org>, and the IPCE at <http://www.ipce.org>, consciously eschew such arguments in favour of more child liberationist discourses.

CSA: theory and research

One of the main implications of CSA perspectives assuming an increasingly dominant position in the recent discourses surrounding MADIS has been a considerable lessening of the use of the term paedophilia.⁸³ CSA theorists have instead concentrated on "inherent imbalances" within such relationships, whereby children and adolescents, due to their social, developmental and legal status, are incapable of understanding the full meaning of sexual activities with adults (Finkelhor 1986; Renvoize 1993).

Such perspectives also draw on a widespread consensus in late modern western societies that such relationships violate deeply held socio-cultural beliefs. Renvoize articulates the paradigmatic case for child protection: 'as long as any person anywhere is bigger and stronger than another he /she will be in a position to impose his / her needs on a smaller / weaker person unless society in the form of law or morality intervene' (Ibid 1993: 29).

The deployment of 'informed consent' in CSA discourses does not depend on legal statutes, but on the inferior developmental and social position of children and young people relative to adults. For Finkelhor, CSA is defined as the "involvement of dependent, developmentally immature children and adolescents in sexual activities they do not truly comprehend, to which they are unable to give informed consent" (Quoted in *ibid*: 34). Echoing this, Sampson argues that it is '[m]isleading to claim that children can give genuine consent to an activity about which they are often very ignorant, when they have not yet developed the emotional experience to deal with the experience' (Ibid 1994: 5).⁸⁴

CSA also involves

⁸² Seemingly in contrast to his more recent contribution to the debates over sexual citizenship, in which the paedophile is only cursorily mentioned, in order to mark the border of sexual citizenry (see Weeks 1998: 41).

⁸³ Itzin for example, argues for the abandonment of the word paedophile in place of the generic category of CSA (Itzin 1996: 190), and Brownmiller adds that "pedophilia...was not a psychological abnormality, it was a cultural malady" (Quoted in Talbot 1999: 9).

⁸⁴ Archard identifies CSA as the direct outcome and expression of a 'double inequality' whereby, the child does not consent and cannot know, with the consequence that harm is inflicted upon a young person's 'psychological being' and 'normal functioning' (Ibid 1998: 158, 150).

[a]ny type of sexual exploitation of a child or adolescent by any older person or adult for the stimulation and / or gratification of that person, which is not necessarily confined to physical contact and which may range from exhibitionism or involvement with pornography to full intercourse or child prostitution; where the developmentally immature victim lacks the authority or power to prevent her/himself being coerced into activities which she/he is unable to give informed consent, which he/she does not properly comprehend but which - either at the time or later - the victim considers sexually abusive

(Renvoize 1993: 36).

CSA advocates also highlight how it involves sexual exploitation by an adult of a child in 'an abuse of power', which is reflective of 'inequities in society and violence in its different forms' (Peake 1996: 132). Glaser and Frosh argue that there is no need to specify the power dynamics in CSA, as adult-child sex 'always designates an exploitation of power', and consequently differentiates it 'from other forms of sexual encounter and can never be anything but abuse' (Ibid 1993: 7).

Archard counters that since 'the sexual abuse of children has been perpetrated in the name of a kind of love...[]...sexual abuse definitions must be clear and unambiguous' (Ibid 1993: 92, 149). Other contributors highlight that adult-child sexual interaction can be defined as abusive regardless of the intent of the perpetrator or the opinions of the victim (Lews and Bass 1990), and that '[c]hildren are never responsible for inviting the sexual abuse: that is most certainly the role responsibility of the adult-abuser' (Calder 2000: 15).

Finkelhor identifies four preconditions for CSA (social isolation, the ideology of the patriarchal family, barriers to women's equality, and the social powerlessness of children) (see ibid 1984). He emphasises the socio-sexualisation of men which encourages them to sexualise contacts, as opposed to forming intimate relationships (Ibid: 9). Finkelhor also identifies wider familial and socio-cultural preconditions for CSA including: the excessive erotic value placed by males on 'youth, smallness and submissiveness'; patriarchy; the nuclear family; and a lack of sexual information available to children (Ibid: 64-65).

Finkelhor's approach has been widely applied in CSA research, and in professional responses to sex offenders (see chapter seven). It has the advantage of drawing attention to individual and social explanations for CSA. He cannot be criticised for either being "sex-negative", or ignoring childhood sexuality as he accepts sexual experiences between peers, and countenances an age of consent around fifteen or sixteen⁸⁵ (Ibid: 21). However, he can be accused of excessive functionalism, by ascribing reified roles to young people, in being conditioned to obey adults and ignorant about sex, and to adult sex offenders, whom he endows with overly negative personality traits.

A further criticism made against CSA-based models is that they have contributed to a climate whereby imparting any sexual information, or displaying intimacy to children, can be construed as abuse. Finkelhor may criticise the latter approach, but by encouraging adults to take their suspicions to professionals, who are then obligated to pass such information on to reporting agencies, he is arguably guilty of fanning potentially exaggerated and false abuse claims. Finally, informed consent is not only applied selectively in CSA positions as many critics have pointed out (see O'Carroll 1980), it also assumes a "self-fulfilling character", whereby the very lack of information given to young people on sexuality (on account of CSA-inspired concerns) reproduces the very scripting for "un-knowing" children. (See appendix seven).

CSA approaches since the 1970s have focussed on: incidence and prevalence; correlations between CSA and adult social functioning; family background; parental and state intervention; the different types of abusive sexual acts and behaviours; the contexts in which CSA takes place; medical-psychiatric effects including PTSD;⁸⁶ secondary iatrogenic dynamics; the nature of the relationship between abuser and abused (including cycles of abuse);⁸⁷ and wider questions surrounding male socialisation, children's rights and the family.

Some researchers indicate concerns over a failings to reach agreed definitions of CSA

⁸⁵ In-line with (and even lower than) many current western legal statutes (see Graupner 2000b).

⁸⁶ Post Traumatic Stress Disorder.

(see Parton and Wattam (eds.)1999: 7), whilst others maintain that broad, 'ad hoc' operational definitions, constituted in the field can create problematic variations in statistics (Glaser and Frosh 1993: 4). However, the majority of CSA researchers covered in this study, have generally defined abuse as any age-gap sexual interaction involving anyone under thirteen and a person five years older, and someone between thirteen-sixteen or eighteen and any person ten years older (see Finkelhor 1984: 23-24).

CSA researchers have also sought to establish a link between such experiences and long-term harm, in the form of psychological disorders (Berliner 1991: 148); as an 'important risk factor for later mental health impairment' (Finkelhor in *ibid*: 13); and in contributing to negative sequelae (including alcohol and drug dependency, suicide and the development of aggressive socio-sexual behaviours) (Urquiza 1988). Finally, others identify long-term traumagenic consequences in CSA including traumatic sexualisation, betrayal, powerlessness, and stigmatisation (see Browne and Finkelhor 1986).

Male sexual abuse (MSA)

Bolton et al. claim that in past CSA studies, male victims were taken less seriously (*Ibid* 1989: 39). They cite Finkelhor, who found that 9% of his male sample had suffered abuse, and Groth's study of convicted male sex offenders which identified 28% who had exclusively male victims (*Ibid*: 40-42). They highlight the greater risk to males outside the home, concluding that they 'experience emotional distress as a result of sexually abusive experiences', and encourage future research to examine 'the relationship between covert sexually abusive events and a male's development view of sexuality' (*Ibid*: 45, 75, 197).

Finkelhor claims that due to a concentration on female intrafamilial CSA, MSA has been overlooked (*Ibid* 1984: 150). He argues that hegemonic masculine values of self-reliance, autonomy and homophobia, contribute to a climate of non-disclosure (*Ibid*: 156). Finkelhor concludes that the prevalence of MSA varies between 2.5%-8.7%, with a median age of 11.2 years old, and that most male sexual abuse takes place

⁸⁷ Whereby victims of abuse internalise such behaviours and go on to offend.

outside the family, with most victims coming from low socio-economic families (Ibid: 166). On long-term consequences, he identifies 'long-term deficits' (including lower self-esteem, sexually aggressive behaviours and a homosexual identity) (Ibid: 195).

In listing homosexuality as a problematic outcome of MSA, Finkelhor could be accused of a homophobic bias. Furthermore, he doesn't explain findings which show more positive outcomes in gay youth sexual encounters with older men (see Leahy 1992a; Rind 2001a), or address the possibility that many gay boys actively initiate such experiences, proffering instead speculative claims supporting victimological ideological tenets (see *ibid*: 195).

Finkelhor also claims that the greater association between MSA and later homosexual identification, as opposed to peer homosexuality, may be explained by the fact that a 'relationship with an adult may receive stronger confirmation of homosexuality' (Ibid: 195). However, he provides no convincing substantiation as to why this should occur, suggesting the need to consider other explanations for the link between MADIS and later gay identification. (See appendix eight).

Horne and Kiselica see their task as raising an 'awareness about the problems of boys' and sharing 'what we have learned about the developmental challenges of boys and adolescent males' (Ibid (eds.) 1999: XV11). They highlight 'recent research'⁸⁸ noting a figure of 393,000 boys as victims of child abuse or neglect⁸⁹ (Ibid: XV1).

Buckley and Head, although identifying ambiguities in drawing a line on adult-child sexual behaviours, contend that 'acceptable sexual behaviours, and the formation of any identity or support group around it, have to be based on consensuality and the absence of abusive behaviour' (Ibid 2000: 9). They also maintain that 'the nature of power and consent in a relationship between a forty year-old and a sixteen year-old of whatever sexual identity will be very different from that between two peers' (Ibid: 9).

However, such a relationship does not necessarily violate Buckley and Head's prior

⁸⁸ From the US Bureau of the Census in 1997.

⁸⁹ Figures relate to the US.

assumptions of consensuality and abusive behaviour. In view of the potential significance impact which coercion,⁹⁰ and levels of consent can have in differentiating perceptions in MADIS, such considerations could be crucial provisos in framing any conclusions. This possibility however would be ruled out if Buckley and Head accept the discursive disclosure perspective (see appendix fifteen). If so, it seems puzzling to introduce such a supplementary criterion if one set of relationships (MADIS) can never meet them due to an a priori injunction.

Perry states that 'sexual abuse is an act of violence; it is committed against the will of the victim; it causes damage to the victim' (Perry 2000: 75, 76). He cites the position of an offender who argued that 'the victim consented and no harm was done', as 'unacceptable to the professionals in both the prison and probation services', and being symptomatic of 'distorted beliefs and attitudes' highlighted by the fact that he 'could not see that it was an inappropriate age' to develop emotional and sexual needs (Ibid: 77). Perry completes his look at MADIS within the gay community by examining the narrative of a fourteen-year-old boy, who, despite seeking and enjoying sex, was vulnerable to sexually abusive males (Ibid: 78-80).

The above contribution reveals a wider problem with how notions of abuse and harm are defined by CSA researchers so vaguely and widely that any MADIS experience can be inscribed within their schema. This also recognises that the very ability to deploy an operational criteria of CSA can act as a powerful tool for extending the pastoral monitoring power of the professional "gaze."⁹¹

In a sample of 2474 men attending eighteen general practices, Coxell et al. found that non-consensual sex in childhood occurred in 128 / 2423 cases,⁹² with a mean age of eleven, and "consensual sex" (involving a child with a person at least five years older), reported in 185 / 2406 cases,⁹³ with a mean age of 14 (Ibid 1999: 5). Although their findings indicate a high prevalence of women having consensual sex with boys,

⁹⁰ That is, presence or absence of force.

⁹¹ This is an example of what Rind et al. call, a 'procrustean bed' in which experiences are tailored to fit the normative expectations of any CSA researcher or professional framework (see Rind et al. 2001a: 753).

⁹² Translated into a statistical range of 5.35%, 4.39% to 6.31%.

⁹³ Translated into a statistical range of 7.66%, 6.54% to 8.77%.

Coxell et al. found that consensual experiences involving MADIS constituted 13% of their sample (Ibid: 5). They conclude that whereas 'the effects of non-consensual sex in childhood are severe and last into adulthood', '[t]he effect of consensual experiences is unknown', suggesting that the causal relationship 'between severity of assault and reported psychological problems require(s) further investigation' (Ibid 5, 7).

West highlights how, after the passage in the UK of the Sex Offenders Act in 1993, the age for rape perpetrators and being placed on the Sex Offenders Register was lowered to ten (Ibid 1998: 540). He sees the increasing prevalence of male victims as part of a 'media-fed moral panic', and identifies wide discrepancies in CSA research in 'operational definitions of abuse and differences in response rates' (Ibid: 541, 543). West points a lower prevalence amongst males than females, suggesting that this may be accounted for by fears amongst heterosexual males of being seen as effeminate, coupled with the fact that a significant proportion of contacts between adolescent boys are with women, and less likely to be viewed as abusive (Ibid: 544). He also highlights socialisation differences between the genders, claiming that 'boys tend to be sexually less inhibited and more adventurous than girls', whereby hegemonic masculine traits of being in control of sexual interactions may also account for boys greater ability to reject unwanted encounters (Ibid: 546, 547).

In examining the nature and context of such encounters for boys, West points to the importance of both situational factors and the persona of the older person (Ibid: 548). He cites studies to substantiate his claim that the vast majority of self-identified gay men found such experiences as boys overwhelmingly positive, and that even in wider samples, non-coercive encounters were viewed predominantly neutral or positive (Ibid: 548, 549). In the case of abused boys who go on to abuse, West points out that the evidence suggests a correlation with physical and sexual maltreatment, rather than any wider pattern (Ibid: 550, 551).

Male survivor literature

In the case of the literature on male survivors of sexual abuse, three studies will be

examined (King 1995; Hunter 1991; and Lew and Bass 1990).⁹⁴ For King, such relationships are impermissible because 'children are utterly dependent, powerless, and unable to understand about sexuality', and consequently, for a boy, 'adult sexuality is foreign and incomprehensible' (King Ibid: 20, 21). Hunter adds that 'children are uninformed about sexual matters' (Hunter Ibid: 63). The above all characterise young people in their sexual experiences with adults as powerless, helpless and betrayed, and draw a clear distinction between "normal" sexuality and MSA.

The language in the previous texts relies predominantly on naturalistic conceptions of sexual development. For example, King states that 'any boy naturally gives great power to his male role model', and that MSA constitutes an 'intrusion into his own natural developmental progression' and 'his own natural sexuality' (King Ibid: 55, 68, 99). Furthermore, the adult abuser is often pathologised or demonised as one of the 'few evil, sick individuals who abuse children' (Lew and Bass Ibid: 11), and characterised as being driven solely by a need for power (King 1995: 17; Hunter 1991: 34).

Abuse is generally defined as 'an expression of power, compulsiveness, a desire for control, or an act of vengeance, which comes masked as an act of love' (Hunter Ibid: 3), or an 'aggressive, destructive violation of another human being' (Lew and Bass Ibid: 54). According to these accounts, the long-term effects of MSA invariably 'inhibits and stifles a man's fullness of being and experience of self in the world' (King Ibid: 5), resulting in 'dissociation', 'depersonalisation disorders' and 'Post Traumatic Stress Disorder' (Hunter Ibid: 66, 67, 73). The above also stress the need to recognise: the incidence and extent of MSA; the societal neglect of male victims; and the sexual behaviour of adult abusers to provide the necessary resources to enable men who have experienced such abuse to come forward as survivors to resolve their traumatic experiences.

The sensitive aspects covered within survivor accounts often make it difficult to

⁹⁴ Etherington's study was initially included here, but due to concerns over word count was subsequently left out (see Etherington 2000).

proffer any critical evaluation.⁹⁵ However, akin to the way positively experienced accounts are challenged by professionals, victim-based narratives also need to be rendered open to scrutiny. A large amount of the survivor literature relies on inputs from clinical samples and practitioners, creating difficulties in evaluating how far such accounts are representative, or justify why such voices should be the only ones to speak for all retrospective accounts. Secondly, much of the language draws on US and UK sources during the 1990s and 2000s, with most collaborators adopting mainstream feminist perspectives. A clear example of this can be found in the ideological collaboration between Lew and Bass⁹⁶ (see *ibid*: 38).

Furthermore, much of their tone takes a polemical form.⁹⁷ Although sensitive to their client's construction of their experiences as abusive, such contributors offer no opportunities for positive experiences to be accepted as valid. As Hunter states, 'just because some people wouldn't agree that it is abusive doesn't mean that it isn't... [] ...even if the child enjoyed all aspects of the relationship physically and emotionally, abuse still took place' (*Ibid*: 4, 62). Consequently, they acquire for themselves 'official truth status', through which they can obtain access to a variety of powerful sites to publicly disseminate their particular perspective on MADIS. (See appendix nine).

1.41 CSA as social construction

This section examines what Atmore terms 'contextual constructionism' (see Atmore 1999), thereby shifting the focus away from the relational dynamics, to how CSA has been constructed, including the way various interest groups have framed the debates, and subsequently positioned themselves.

Wise asks three questions pertinent to the emergent discourses and the position of groups around CSA namely, how it came to be defined as problematic? Who defined it as such? And, who owns it? (Wise 1999). For Wise, this leads to the further issue of

⁹⁵ Particularly in the cases of those who self-identify as victims or survivors of abuse.

⁹⁶ Consequently the issue of MSA became juxtaposed alongside incest and CSA theories which stress the link between the abuse of children, the patriarchal family structure and wider patterns of male socialisation (Finkelhor 1984; Ellison 1996; Jeffreys 1984, 1990).

⁹⁷ It is also significant that the vast bulk of male survivor stories cite incestuous, coercive and violent experiences, whilst rarely referring to what Nava calls the problematic merging of coercion into consent within intergenerational sexual encounters and relationships (see chapter three).

how perpetrators, victims and others involved are positioned within such discourses (Ibid: 1). She recognises that 'problematizing [*its*] existence as a social construction', inevitably involves interrogating the very 'foundational and absolutist notions of truth and reality' which CSA has assumed (Ibid: 2). Wise concludes that the 'claims and counter-claims that constitutes the discourse surrounding child abuse', and over what defines it are irrelevant; but rather what is needed is an understanding of 'what "abuse" means to different people in different contexts, and how those meanings have consequences and are sometimes translated into official interventions in people's lives' (Ibid: 3, 4).

Victor applies previous theories on moral panics⁹⁸ to examine how CSA as been established as a central feature in the political and moral landscape (Victor 1998). The initial step involves defining a person or group as a threat to societal values. Once this has been achieved, social movements coalesce around the issues through articulating, reproducing and reformulating stories (Ibid: 542-543). The final stage involves stereotyping the behaviour of such sexual deviants through producing typologies of their variations, alongside descriptions of the dangers and harm they cause (Ibid: 544).

For Victor, CSA has achieved its dominant status through effectively medicalising abuse as a 'sickness due to sexual activity being forced on a child by an adult' (Ibid: 552). Furthermore, by identifying, selecting and organising particular problems as a master frame,⁹⁹ and through demonising the dangers and exaggerating its extent, CSA has attracted the attention of various interest groups, ranging from feminists to religious Conservatives (Ibid: 554-556). Finally, Victor attaches particular importance to the way in which the media and professional journals have transmitted CSA, with most of the initial impetus coming from the US (Ibid: 556-559).

Beckett adopts Nelson's concept of 'valence issues' for approaching contemporary constructions on CSA (Ibid 1996: 57). For Nelson, such issues provoke "a single, strong, fairly uniform emotional response and do not have an adversarial quality" (Quoted in *ibid*: 57). For Beckett this befits this topic as no such entity as a "pro-child

⁹⁸ Victor draws predominantly on the work of Cohen (1972) and Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994).

abuse" lobby exist, so consequently a 'coalition of claimsmakers' can develop a range of domain-expanding activities relatively unchecked (Ibid: 58). As CSA became identified as a separate category of behaviour between 1976-1980, victims and offenders were then codified 'according to age, gender, social / professional type' (Ibid: 62). For Beckett, related issues and contested positions were subsequently framed in terms of 'positive pedophilia verses collective denial verses male prerogative verses survivors speak verses false accusations verses official misconduct verses false memories' (Ibid: 62).

Beckett claims that high-ranking moral entrepreneurs¹⁰⁰ enjoy hegemonic position largely due to their greater access to the media, whereas 'advocates of positive pedophilia', are highly marginalised (Ibid: 10, 11). Consequently, the 'media's tendency to accord those at the top of the status hierarchies greater legitimacy, helps to account for the presence of some issue packages and the absence of others', creating a 'cultural consensus regarding children's vulnerability to exploitation by adults' (Ibid: 11).

Backlash discourses

Although the "backlash" against CSA has taken various forms, most who are assigned such a label criticise CSA perspectives for being conservative, anti-sex, whipping-up populist hysteria through scapegoating specific groups, and for medicalising and politicising CSA, consequently wielding an undue influence amongst powerful political lobbies.¹⁰¹

Some also criticise the way particular professional and political groups have imposed self-serving agendas in constituting the "victimological paradigm" as the singular dominant "truth" on all intergenerational sexual relationships (Rind et al. 1998). Such positions identify the conjunction of a number of particular social and historical factors, ranging from "second wave feminism" to the revival of Conservative fortunes

⁹⁹ Such as male dominance and / or liberal permissiveness. See chapter two for further elaboration of this concept.

¹⁰⁰ See Becker (1966).

¹⁰¹ See Rind et al. (1998, 2001a); Jenkins (1998); Kincaid (1998).

in the UK and the US throughout the 1980s as especially significant.¹⁰²

Similarly, Talbot argues that CSA has brought to the fore a "'re-Victorianized hyper-vigilance" about "good" touch and "bad" touch," spawning 'a new and intrusive monitoring of so-called "sexually reactive" or "sexualised" children"' (Ibid 1999: 3). She claims this has created 'various constituencies with a vested interest in publicizing the threat of sexual abuse' (Ibid: 9).

Mirkin notes how '[s]exual panics directed against discrete groups have become a recurrent phenomenon', whereby 'dominant ideologies have been largely formulated by religious people, feminists and psychologists', who 'consistently exploit the fact that people can be mobilized if they perceive that children are in danger' (Ibid 1999: 16). This has brought about a paradigmatic shift, in which the sexual realm has become politicised, affecting the way certain sexual groups and communities are marginalised, and how the general public view particular sexual groups (Ibid: 17).

In a later contribution, Mirkin expands on a familiar theme in backlash discourses namely, the central role of young people in the discourses of 'cultural conservatives' and 'traditional feminists' (Ibid 2000: 83-84). He likens contemporary sexual discourses on young people to previous moral crusades' reliance on moral absolutes to control specific groups (Ibid: 87)

Bagley cites Margolin,¹⁰³ who cautions against applying 'taken-for-granted categories' in social work professional praxis, and ignoring the best interests of the child (Bagley 1999: 29). Similarly, West argues that '[t]he emotive terms adopted in professional discourse - *abuse, perpetrator, victim, survivor*' - have been unhelpful 'and introduced a tone of moral revulsion alien to scientific inquiry' (Ibid 1998: 539).

¹⁰² Some also criticise the way moral entrepreneurial claims makers have successfully positioned themselves to act as spokespersons for victims of CSA, in order to reinforce whatever the ideological or professional tenets demand, and enhance their subsequent status and financial position (Underwager and Wakefield 1995). Other critiques highlight the role child welfare professions, mainstream feminist-based ideologies, and "official" gay and lesbian organisations have played in supporting CSA models and assumptions to enhance their own normative status (Grey 1993; Thorstad 1998).

¹⁰³ The latter conducted research on social work involvement in 120 CSA cases in Iowa.

Lamb criticises 'some therapists, victim advocates, TV talk-show hosts, and others', for portraying 'victimhood as a women's issue' (Ibid (ed.)1999: 2). She contends that 'social categories and labels such as "victim"' are part of a changing landscape which 'will mean different things in different contexts' (Ibid: 3). She challenges the contrived juxtaposition in CSA discourses of the victim as 'pure, innocent, blameless, and free of problems (before the abuse)', with the perpetrator as evil monster (Ibid: 108). She concludes that abuse is not necessarily bad and harmful to women, and that feminist theorising needs to recognise 'agency as well as passivity, strength as well as vulnerability' (Ibid: 2, 109).¹⁰⁴

Philips¹⁰⁵ considers the issues of consent, subjectivity, agency and power imbalances in heterosexual adult-teen sexual relationships (Philips 1999).¹⁰⁶ She states that many young women in such relationships 'often describe their experiences as both chosen and pleasurable' (Ibid: 83). Although Philips challenges the problem of reductionism in legal age of consent legislation, and the automatic labelling of victim to all teenage girls, she cautions that agentic positions of women in her study reveal only a partial truth which omits more negative aspects in retrospective accounts, coupled with problematic power imbalances (Ibid: 87, 101).

Other critics have accused CSA studies of an over-reliance on clinical samples, and for attributing CSA as the sole cause in socio-psychological adjustment, thereby ignoring other factors such as family background and prior mental health problems (Okami 1991; Rind et al. 1998). Such perspectives identify additional factors such as the role of intervention by welfare authorities in extracting negative experiences, and the greater economic resources available to particular interest groups (Ollerich 2000). Others have criticised CSA researchers for minimising positively experienced accounts, characterising them as denial or masculinist traits, in contrast to the treatment of survivors whose accounts are treated uncritically (Rind et al. 2001a).

¹⁰⁴ Garvey in the same volume, although still maintaining a 'victimisation framework', questions 'whether it is always appropriate or wise to talk about all the different forms and occasions of sexual coercion, sexual assault, sexual abuse, and sexual violence as victimisation', as such a strategy could provide 'a fertile gap for a backlash discourse to take hold' (Garvey 1999: 77).

¹⁰⁵ In the same volume.

Okami criticises the prevalence of 'subjective and untested assumptions regarding childhood experience and human sexuality' in the 'victimology-based literature' (Ibid 1990: 91). He bemoans the absence of 'in-depth critiques of the victimological paradigm, or of the research and writings supporting it' (Ibid: 92), and blames "cultural feminism" for proselytising the claim that all intergenerational encounters necessarily involve rape and male aggression (Ibid: 93-95).¹⁰⁷

Okami argues that CSA researchers have employed a moral bias and dubious psychological approach, to attribute such responses to victim "denial" (Ibid: 106, 107). He concludes that '[c]ultural feminists and victimologists are able to advance with impunity, "under the cover" of considerations of child sexual abuse, fundamentally reactionary and sex-negative propositions', which neglects child and adolescent sexuality (Ibid: 113). (See appendix ten).

1.42 Researching positive intergenerational sexual relationships

The literature covering positive experiences of MADIS is complicated by the fact that researching on-going MADIS can place a researcher in a difficult legal position.¹⁰⁸ Although some studies (even with CSA biases) have found a heterogeneity of responses to MADIS,¹⁰⁹ this section will focus on those studies which provide more substantive space for positive responses within their methodological framework. (See appendix eleven).

Sandfort carried out one of the most important and contested studies on this topic in the Netherlands (Sandfort 1982). His aim was 'to show that sexual relations with adults could be also experienced by boys in a different way' (Ibid 1987: 29). He

¹⁰⁶ This study was not given detailed examination due to the fact that it was exclusively concerned with relationships involving teenage girls and older men.

¹⁰⁷ Okami singles out both Russell and Finkelhor for 'intentional, structural and ideological' biases in their research, which present for both respondent and reader alike, 'a circumscribed universe of experiences-a continuum with a severely truncated positive end-while being told that this universe is "inclusive of even the most unusual and unlikely" experiences', which lead to the "obvious" 'impression that...catastrophic sequelae are intrinsic to any sexual interaction between an individual under 18 (or 16) and someone five or more years older' (Ibid: 99, 103, 105).

¹⁰⁸ This consideration was recognised at the outset for the data-collection component of this study, in effect ruling out interviewing on-going MADIS relationships where the younger person was under eighteen.

¹⁰⁹ With some indicating a significant number of neutral and positive self-reporting (see Rind et al. 1998).

criticises the 'contemporary preoccupation with power imbalance' for creating 'suspicions which blight social interaction' (Ibid: 26). The respondents in his study of twenty-five boys (aged 10-16) involved in on-going relationships with men cite largely positive accounts of their experiences (Sandfort 1982, 1987).¹¹⁰

The importance of Sandfort's work lies less in his methodological or research design, than in the fact that he carried out such a study, and was able to do so. However, the fact that it was conducted in the Netherlands during a relatively less hostile period to the issue of MADIS¹¹¹ questions its generalisability. Furthermore, critics have voiced moral and methodological concerns, most notably over how respondent's testimonies could be unduly influenced (see Mrazek 1991).

Leahy studied nineteen respondents (as the younger partner)¹¹² who claimed positive experiences of intergenerational sexual relationships (Leahy 1992b). Using a post-structuralist perspective, he analysed how the interviewees position themselves in relation to the dominant discourses of abuse. Leahy contends that while some respondents saw their relationships as an essential precondition of their sexual identity, others conceptualised it within 'the framework of autonomy and citizenship' (Ibid: 82). He concludes that 'in both sets of interviews¹¹³ there was an emphasis on these events as sexual emergence as discovering sexuality in adolescence and initiating sexual relationships as a response to the manifestation of inner sexual needs' (Ibid: 86).

In man-boy relationships, Leahy notes how essentialist discourses were appropriated by heterosexual respondents to 'refute the discourse of homosexual seduction' by claiming an essentially heterosexual identity (Ibid: 74). For gay-identified interviewees, participation in such relationships was viewed as 'an explicit rejection of hegemonic masculinity', whereby respondents viewed themselves not as 'a victim to be seduced but as an active agent pursuing the blossoming sexual desires of adolescence', and discovering their homosexuality (Ibid: 76, 78).

¹¹⁰ A more thorough analysis of these findings would have been undertaken, however it was felt that Sandfort's research was insufficiently contemporary for this chapter.

¹¹¹ Late seventies / early eighties.

¹¹² Drawn from personal social networks.

For Leahy, the heterosexual respondents saw the relationship as a by-product of greater 'autonomy and citizenship', and 'a natural growth away from parental authority and influence', viewing their older partner as a mentor (Ibid: 82, 83). Their predominant discursive strategy was to make a clear 'distinction between sexuality and sexual practices', and that 'since they were not in their essential being homosexuals', they were not at risk of becoming gay (Ibid: 81, 79).

In another contribution, Leahy claims his respondents clearly rejected their experiences as CSA, arguing against the latter's central tenets of harm and informed consent, by minimising age categories, and refusing child status through adopting a proto-adult subject position as consenting individuals (Leahy 1996: 40-41). Leahy conceptualises participation by his male interviewees in such relationships, as an essential 'individual's right to sexual expression', against what they perceived as oppressive control by straight people and adults in 'restricting the sexual rights of children and those with a different sexual orientation' (Ibid: 21, 22). Finally, in regard to power imbalances, respondents stressed how the 'power of the adult can be used to the benefit of the younger party' (Ibid: 18).

Okami describes his contribution 'as an explanatory, descriptive study of a self-selected sample of persons reporting childhood or adolescent sexual experiences with adults or older children...predicated on an a priori assumption that intergenerational sexual experiences in childhood and adolescence are variable in reported characteristics and effects' (Ibid 1991: 439). He examines the responses of a nonclinical sample of 63 (26 females and 37 males between the ages of 16 and 69) and a clinical control group of 7 (all female between the ages of 23 to 66) who had been referred to clinics for CSA.

Okami focussed on gender differences, cognitive and affective schemata,¹¹⁴ and mediators (including the older partner's gender, the age of the younger person, the age discrepancy, intrafamilial or extrafamilial contact, whether coercion was used, the duration and frequency of the contacts, the types of sexual behaviour, clinical

¹¹³ Those involved in man-boy and man-girl relationships respectively.

background, parental attitudes, societal responses to disclosure, and overall childhood functioning (Ibid: 440).

Amongst the non-clinical group, Okami found that respondents viewed their experiences 67.1% positive, 21.5% negative and 11.4% neutral (Ibid: 444). He found greater negative responses when there was an age-discrepancy between the persons greater than twenty years, but no significant trend when the gap was 5-10 years (Ibid: 447). He concludes that '[a] wide range of characteristics and possible effects of the experiences were reported, suggesting that intergenerational sexual contacts may represent a continuum of experience rather than a unitary and discrete pathological phenomenon' (Ibid: 437).

There are however significant problems with the above studies. Firstly, they were established with the expressed intent to find positive accounts of intergenerational relationships, questioning their generalisability to the wider population. Furthermore, by avoiding qualitative interviews, Okami leaves unanswered the different ways his interviewees constructed their experiences, other than simply positively, negatively or neutrally. Although CSA researchers regularly employ such criteria, it places interviewee responses in crude blocks, preventing a more detailed, critical analysis of how such accounts are scripted, and how experiences are mediated through temporal and socio-cultural influences.

Furthermore, Okami's sample was drawn largely from middle-class, higher educated groups which tend to reveal greater levels of positive responses, whilst none of the nineteen interviewees in Leahy's sample were economically dependent on their older partners at the time of the relationship - a situation which may not be typical in such relationships. Finally, many critics could retort that citing positive experiences alone fails to address problematic issues concerning: potential risk factors; developmental and cultural notions of what is age-appropriate sexual behaviour; and power differences.

¹¹⁴ This relates to any differences between the way respondents viewed their experiences as the time, as opposed to later as an adult.

Nelson and Oliver preface their study with the proviso of recognising 'the reality of adolescents as sexual subjects, not just objects', whereby degrees of power, consent and coercion were incorporated to help understand 'the complex interplay of gender and age in the construction of sexuality' (Ibid 1998: 556). They found that 'despite their legal incapacity to provide consent, many saw their experience as consensual' (Ibid: 565). Their results also revealed that women-boy contact was more prevalent than man-boy, and that of the five boys who reported sexual contact with men, three said they were forced, one reported a mixture of consent and coercion, and the other characterised the experience as experimentation (Ibid: 566). They conclude that 'it matters to children what is done, how it is done, and who does it', identifying the gendered construction of sexuality as a significant factor affecting 'children's subjective interpretation of their experiences' (Ibid: 572).

The above study suggests that feminist and CSA claims that intergenerational sexual encounters are masculine preserves may be overstated. Due to the relatively small sample and attention given to man-boy sexual encounters, Nelson and Oliver's study is less relevant for MADIS, however the higher prevalence rates and positive experiences for adolescent boy's sexual experiences with older women has important consequences for future theorising on gender and sexuality.

1.43 Continuum-based approaches

In their analysis of the impact of intergenerational encounters, West and Woodhouse identify 'a victim's age, temperament, gender, and stage of socio-sexual development' as crucial determinants (West and Woodhouse 1993: 11). However, they caution against over-relying on retrospective accounts which can be 'subjective and liable to distortion, suppression and faulty attribution of cause and effect' (Ibid: 11). The authors eschew attempts to label MADIS as abusive purely on the basis of an age-gap, encouraging their respondents 'to describe their subsequent attitudes and feelings in their own way' (Ibid: 18).

West and Woodhouse found that although 82% of their male respondents defined

there experiences¹¹⁵ with older men as 'not pleasant', over half regarded the experience with indifference, with none facing physical violence, and where they were in situations in which they could easily escape (Ibid: 29, 31).¹¹⁶ Amongst their interviewees who had experienced unwanted sexual approaches by strangers, the authors saw no 'constant stereotype of 'at risk' boys that would have any great predictive validity' (Ibid: 91). They also state that while their sample of heterosexual boys tended to exhibit a general disinterest and / or resistance to sexual advances from adult men, gay respondents claimed to have exercised 'considerable self-determination in their sexual interchanges with adults', defining them as 'attempts at seduction rather than assault' (Ibid: 118, 121).

West and Woodhouse conclude that their research shows that 'boys were generally aware of what they wanted or did not want, were not easily persuaded into unappealing sexual acts and had not much difficulty extricating themselves from unwelcome situations' (Ibid: 121). They also make several additional claims pertinent to MADIS. Firstly, the authors claim that '[c]hildren's interest in and exposure to explicit adult sexuality can come about in any number of ways'; secondly, that violence is exceptional in adult male encounters with boys, suggesting that most pederasts are looking for a loving relationship; and finally, that 'adult-child sexual interactions include a wide range of behaviours and situations, many of which are much less horrendous than the cases that turn up among police and clinic referrals or in sensational media accounts' (Ibid: 126, 127).

Li's contribution is essentially a condensed version of his unpublished PhD.¹¹⁷ In his review of the CSA literature Li highlights significant methodological and theoretical problems (Li 1993: 146-180). He critiques Finkelhor's four-factor model of 'traumagenic dynamics' for obfuscation, by casually and uncritically constructing 'thing-like entities that could *cause* harm to children', whilst giving the impression that the harmful effects derived from such dynamics are objectively grounded, rather than attempts to reinforce an ideological stance (Ibid: 169). Li's second criticism focuses

¹¹⁵ These experiences predominantly involved no overt sexual acts, but mainly touching, suggestive language and innuendo.

¹¹⁶ They also found that the majority of respondents who had had relationships with older women found them 'pleasant' or 'enjoyable' (West and Woodhouse 1993: 29).

on interpretations of such experiences. He argues that such findings are mediated through a victimological labelling process, creating the potential for a 'self-fulfilling potential' of 'iatrogenesis',¹¹⁸ and driven by a "research/survey-genic," whereby respondents construe their experiences in a particular way (often negatively) after participating in the survey (Ibid: 177-178).

Li identifies seven theoretical models of paedophilia (psychoanalytical, biological, genetic, trait/typology, behavioural, family system, feminist and Finkelhor's four factor model) (Ibid: 181-218). For Li, all these perspectives adopt classifications or multifactor theories, concurrent with a 'professionally/academically constructed reality', rather than how individual paedophiles make sense of their experience (Ibid: 218).

In his own study, Li adopts a phenomenological approach, which he defines as 'a description of the subjective world of the individual' that allows paedophile respondents themselves to construct their own experience (Ibid: 225, 230). He interviewed twenty self-identified paedophiles drawn from clinics, a paedophile organisation and a forum magazine. After conducting extensive open-ended interviews, Li identified four explanations given by paedophiles for their behaviour: firstly, as natural and in-born; secondly as part of a free expression of normal sex; the third viewed their sexuality as a continuation of early sexual experiences when they were kids, and the final group explained their attraction to difficulties experienced in adult relationships (Ibid: 263-265).

Li identifies four key aspects which respondents identified as central to their attraction: the specific appeal of child characteristics; curiosity; the physical act of sexual release; and the establishment of a loving relationship based on the child's needs (Ibid: 276-287). Respondents were also keen to stress 'the consensual and mutual nature of their involvement with children', which they viewed 'as benign and beneficial' (Ibid: 287).

¹¹⁷ See Li (1987).

¹¹⁸ The induced creation of symptoms by the medical profession.

With regard to paedophilic relationships, Li argues that current mores conflate violent assault with consensual paedophilic activities, excluding the possibility that a child or adolescent may acquire or possess sexual knowledge (Ibid: 306-307). On the debate over such relationships, Li places himself on a 'middle ground',¹¹⁹ arguing for a flexible approach to consent which is 'situation-specific', and allows paedophilic relationships to occur without coercion, pressure or deception (Ibid: 314).

Some of the problems with Li's approach lie in his over-reliance on phenomenology for analysing his respondent's accounts. Consequently, their testimonies tend to come across as a definitive account of all sexual encounters between adults and children, omitting more critical analyses. A further problem is his omission of the accounts of children and young people, along with any retrospective views of adults who were involved in such relationships when they were younger. As the study is limited to the voices of self-identified adult male paedophiles, any wider application is problematic. However by interviewing paedophiles outside prisons and clinics, challenging pathological and victimological assumptions, Li's work has been able to take research on MADIS in a new and promising direction which has not been followed-up.

Nelson argues for an alternative to models on intergenerational sexual interaction, in contrast to narrow CSA approaches whose 'operational definitions include only unwanted or problematic experiences or samples taken entirely from disturbed populations' (J. Nelson 1989: 3). She calls for a continuum-based approach, which encompasses a range of motivations and sexualities of adults ('pathological', 'pedophilic' and 'visionary') who advocate, or participate in, intergenerational sexual relationships (Ibid: 4, 5). Nelson's approach allows for a range of possibilities to take account of the potential differences in young peoples' sexual knowledge and behaviour, and whether it involves informed, consenting and initiating behaviour (Ibid: 5, 6). She argues for the adoption of an alternative 'nomenclature' that includes terms such as intergenerational sexuality, sexual experience and participant, whilst recognising the diversity and plurality of meanings, contexts, and motivations within such relationships (Ibid: 10).

¹¹⁹ Between Finkelhor's discursive closure position and pro-paedophilic perspectives.

Nelson's constructivist approach to MADIS has the advantages of being context-sensitive, thereby allowing for the development of plural constructs, greater flexibility, and a broader framework for analysing the range of subjectivities and discursive positions on MADIS. It is therefore highly important for this study.

1.44 Later gay, lesbian and Queer¹²⁰ approaches

From the 1970s onward, Gay and Lesbian approaches to MADIS have been affected by policy shifts occasioned by the current focus on CSA, marginalising libertarian elements, which previously argued for dialogue between gays and boylovers.¹²¹ Consequently, more recent contributions have tended to omit detailed discussions of MADIS, whilst others condemn gay activists who support 'cross-generational relationships' by arguing that the implications of adopting such 'extreme libertarianism' would sanction a relationship between 'adult men and a 6 year old child' (Jackson 1998: 71).

Edwards cites five considerations on intergenerational sexualities (age and age difference, gender and sexual orientation, context, sexual activities, interpersonal nature and implications of the relationship) (Ibid 1994: 56, 57). He situates MADIS within the construction of gendered power structures, whereby the 'eroticisation of physical differences', 'psychological' schema and differential experiences conform more to male-female relations, rendering such experiences 'more open to physical violence' and therefore problematic (Ibid: 68-72).

Edwards is guilty of conflating age with gender differences. He offers no empirical substantiation for his implied link between such relationships and physical violence, and fails to address the number of case-studies on MADIS where respondents place very different meanings on such experiences: as an assertion of their masculinity and / or sexual identity, rather than as a passive, feminised position (see Leahy 1992b).

¹²⁰ Despite the attempt of Queer theorists to challenge the binary constructs around gender / sexual identities (Butler 1990; Sedgwick 1991), and transgress normative sexual boundaries (Halperin 1995), they have provided a disappointing lack of theorising on the mutability of age boundaries (see chapter three). In particular, how such boundaries have been increasingly constituted within 'power / knowledge' privileged sites of 'truth', which have constructed such relationships along binary lines, discursively produced the 'sexual other' as the paedophile or sex offender, and colonised child sexuality through deploying a range of 'expert' taxonomies.

¹²¹ See page thirty-three.

Grey criticises current ageist strictures for imposing 'arbitrary limits of tolerance for inter-generational sexual relationships'; treating 'adolescents as overgrown children', and unfairly demonising paedophiles (Ibid 1993: 20, 92, 94). He criticises 'sexhating child protectors' for perpetuating myths of 'sexless children' and adolescents, and for instilling a climate of 'sex shame and sex hate' (Ibid: 95, 91). Finally, Grey draws a clear distinction between 'paedophilia (child love)' and 'child abuse' (Ibid: 94).

Grey is open to similar criticisms made against sexual libertarians by: overlooking power issues in intergenerational relationships; simplifying the debate by unfairly characterising all opponents of intergenerational sexuality as "sexhating"; and inferring that supporting child sexuality necessarily implies a greater acceptance of paedophilia. He also ignores the reasons for the disjuncture in western societies, between a greater recognition for some sexual minorities¹²² as opposed to paedophilia, which has failed to achieve any substantial credibility. (See appendix twelve).

1.45 Pro-paedophile and boylover perspectives

Literature supporting paedophilia and MADIS has been limited.¹²³ (See appendix thirteen). The most oft-cited proponents of paedophilia and boylove are O'Carroll (1980) and Tsang's edited collection (1981). (See appendix fourteen). O'Carroll criticises the general context of fear and prohibition engendered by many child protection measures for creating an artificial generational divide (Ibid: 19). He characterises paedophilia as more feminine in character than male domination and aggression, and more akin to parental love and affection (Ibid: 56, 59). O'Carroll highlights the dichotomy between the extensive sexual capacity of pre-adolescent boys and the societal laws which keep them in subjugation (Ibid: 38, 50, 109), and perpetuate 'ignorance', 'inhibition' and 'guilt' (Ibid: 147, 161). Instead, he advocates a radical approach to child sex, which offers 'spontaneity', opportunities to consent to sexual relations, and the pleasure of giving and receiving affection and sex play (Ibid: 165, 160, 172).

¹²² Gay, lesbian bisexual and transgender.

¹²³ Most University libraries contain a preponderance of literature from the CSA perspective, and very few academics over the last twenty years have challenged the central tenets of the abuse model in

On paedophilic relationships, O'Carroll claims that the 'experience of an adult can be more beneficial than someone of a child's own age' in sexual matters, and that the characteristics of 'affiliation and mutuality' within a boylove mentor role has an extensive historical and cultural precedent (Ibid: 166). He challenges the way victim-status has been universally conferred on all children in such relationships, and how the language of 'disadvantage', 'manipulation' and 'vulnerability' acts to stigmatise, in contrast to more 'pro-sex cultures', which apply alternative constructs to such relationships including 'guidance' and 'initiation' (Ibid: 62, 155).

O'Carroll sees power as affected more by individual personality, and just as capable of being employed by the younger person, through blackmail and threats of disclosure (Ibid: 173, 180). He addresses the issues surrounding consent and desire as 'negotiated through hints and signals' (Ibid: 55). For O'Carroll, 'paedophilia is an alienable aspect of sense of self', which by the mid 1970s, 'become a crusading badge of identity for those whom the term has been designed to oppress', and which can be utilised as a vanguard 'to emancipate affectivity in all human relationships' (Ibid: 213, 207, 246).

There are a number of problems with O'Carroll's position. Firstly, he is guilty of a sweeping generalisation when he states that the 'truth is that children twelve and over only become involved because they want to be' (Ibid: 160). For example, some studies note greater degrees of harm and physical violence in adult-adolescent sexual encounters against teenage girls (Rind et al. 1998). It cannot therefore be assumed that all individuals over twelve possess sufficient capacities to "freely" enter or exit such relationships.

O'Carroll claims that it is the 'responsibility of the adult to detect unwillingness in a child' (Ibid: 155). Although it could be argued that there are many adults who would take such a role seriously, and with sensitivity, it is difficult to ignore the voluminous accounts of survivors which suggests a number of instances where adults have largely ignored the emotional and sexual needs of children, or exerted such an influence, enabling him / her to exact "consent" and leaving the younger person with limited

journals or in texts. Finally, due to the current climate in the UK, even being associated with muted support for such positions may actually endanger personal safety and hamper career prospects.

opportunities to reject such approaches.

Finally, O'Carroll and PIE have been criticised for exaggerating the benevolent aspects in paedophilic sexual relationships and downplaying the prevalence of abusive cases (see Plummer in Paidika 1990). This introduces a further inconsistency in pro-paedophiliac approaches. They claim on the one hand that abuse and survivor stories are merely 'iatrogenically induced' products of state intervention, yet state on the other, that positive accounts should be accorded substantive weight, and promoted as the definitive "truth" on MADIS.

Tsang gives space to feminist, boylover, and gay youth contributions on MADIS (see Tsang (ed.)1981). He articulates the position of NAMBLA¹²⁴ in dismissing Greek Love, because it suggests a 'sexist and ageist relationship between a male adult mentor and young male student', in favour of a liberatory man-boy relationship (Ibid: 8), and removing age-barriers thwarting the 'empowerment of young people' (Ibid: 10).

Moffett¹²⁵ claims that 'it is the basic attraction that is equal [a]nd a kind of care about the other' in man-boy relationships (Moffett 1981: 20). However, Alhoute¹²⁶ refers to a problematic aspect in man-boy relationships namely, the objectifying tendency of men who 'adore boys as abstract sexual beings', whilst not allowing for 'natural growth and change in the relationship' (Ibid 1981: 157, 159).

Millett refers to how the sexual freedom of children can facilitate a wider sexual revolution, and criticises 'ageist ghettoization' for creating new sexual criminals, and depersonalising boys as victims (Ibid 1981: 80, 98, 93, 101). Rubin takes issue with "official" feminist and gay positions on MADIS, claiming that 'the recent treatment of boy-love should caution that the self-interests of the feminist and gay movements are not always linked to simple justice for stigmatised sexual minorities' (Ibid: 113). Califia argues for an 'ethics of self-determination, for human happiness', and how 'loving relationships are one way to cross barriers, forge alliances and redistribute power' (Ibid 1981: 135, 138).

¹²⁴ NAMBLA (North American Man Boy Love Association) was formed in Boston in 1978.

¹²⁵ A gay youth aged fifteen.

Reeves describes his boylover sexual identity as 'self-consciously homosexual but...directed at boys at that time in their lives when they cease to be children yet refuse to be men' (Ibid 1981: 27). He argues that the 'short-term nature of the boy-man relationship...is not transient in the negative sent', but 'lasts our lifetime both as the imprint of a vivid experience and in the variety of changing relationships between us' (Ibid: 32). In another contribution, Reeves claims that such a relationship, which he views as 'comrades, buddies and co-equal learners', can help to de-socialise 'a boy from the institution's cultural and educational grip', constituting a valid 'non-authoritarian alternative to school' (Ibid 1992: 68, 81).

Much of the difficulty with the above accounts is the archaic language, drawn largely from 1960s and 70s liberation movements in North America, which increasingly appears out of step with 21st century sexual agendas. Although power issues were addressed, the above contributors tend to sidestep such concerns in place of rather generalised, vague and ill-defined appeals for the removal of all age barriers. Furthermore, the analyses of power given by some of the contributors do not pay sufficient attention to the complexities of age relationships in late modernity.¹²⁷ Finally, the agenda espoused by NAMBLA can be criticised for being unrealistically visionary, plain naïve, and at worse, crudely self-serving, and in the absence of the radical changes they advocate to the way age relations are structured, it is unclear how such man-boy socio-sexual relations could be experienced in any other way than through significant power imbalances.

Middleton bemoans the failure of recent attempts to achieve greater legitimacy for MADIS, entitling it "The Betrayal of Youth" (Middleton (ed.)1986). He argues that the very acceptance of children's sexuality constitutes an important 'first step in the direction which ultimately leads to giving power to the young; the power to effect their own decisions', and that the extensive resistance to such efforts is 'nothing short of ageist put-downs designed to keep the young both shackled and powerless', whilst maintaining property rights over them (Ibid: 141, 150).

¹²⁶ A former boy involved in a MADIS.

¹²⁷ For example, Gough's attempt to situate children's sexual oppression as a function of familial relations under capitalism (Gough 1981: 66), and Reeves claim that inequality is a function of all

Middleton accuses child protectionist groups of selfishness in defending their own interests, whilst neglecting the "real interests" of young people (Ibid: 152). He contends that power cannot be used as the basis for an injunction against MADIS, as imbalances also exist in gendered and familial relationships. In response to those who cite such arguments, he claims that they 'conveniently overlook the fact that it is this self-same adult power which now forbids the young from expressing their sexuality through age of consent laws which, by their very nature, help to keep youth powerless' (Ibid: 145, 167). He cites studies which show that paedophiles are 'by nature...gentle, fond of children and benevolent', and concludes that intergenerational sexuality involves wider relational aspects such as friendship and mutual concerns, and can be a positive help in 'bridging the generation gap' (Ibid: 147, 148, 153).

Middleton's claim that '[t]he key to a successful pedophilic relationship often lies in the adult's ability to forego power and become again, in effect, the child he / she once was' (Ibid: 154) raises two issues. Firstly, it is questionable if any adult would relinquish such power. In a material sense this would involve giving up work and other economic advantages - the very things that often draw children into such relationships. Furthermore, other power advantages adults possess over children are more intractable such as cognitive awareness, experience and greater size. Secondly, although Middleton may justify his statement above as a transgression of age boundaries, it could equally be used by critics to demonstrate that paedophiles exhibit immature, child-like characteristics.

Brongersma's two-volumed "Loving Boys" is an invaluable source¹²⁸ for an insight into a self-identified European boylover's perspective, and of European paedophile movements in general. In volume one, he identifies an 'important distinction between paedophilia and pseudo-paedophilia', and the negative legacy of biased research on boylovers (Ibid 1986: 71, 95). He views the infantilisation and suppression of young people's sexuality as peculiar to late modern western culture (Ibid: 32, 36), arguing instead for freedom from parental control and child emancipation (Ibid: 243). For Brongersma, it is the very inequality of a friendship based on 'philosophical eros', that

sexual desires and relationships (Reeves 1981: 27), neglects the way in which age relationships have been socially and discursively constructed in late modernity.

is beneficial for pubertal and post-pubertal boys (Ibid: 101).

In volume two, he criticises the tendency in child protection discourses to concede children only "negative" freedom whilst underestimating their sexual capacity (Ibid 1990: 39, 15). He challenges the strictures on 'informed consent' for 'ignoring pleasure which is not subject to rationalisation', and for trivialising the essential nature of 'man-boy love' (Ibid: 14, 360). For Brongersma, such a relationship works on the basis of a man and boy placing 'their bodies at each other's disposal, simply to satisfy their sexual needs, and to do so with mutual respect and complete recognition of each other's individuality and rights', through enhancing pleasure within the bounds of a 'sexual intimacy' of love (Ibid: 308, 310, 312).

Brongersma's justification tends to veer problematically between the mentor and child liberation discourse. His claim that the 'gifts of the boylover are adapted to the needs of teens for freedom and protection from repressive morality' (Ibid: 215), appears overly functionalist, and a rather convenient justification for such relationships. For his claim to be substantiated there needs to be a fuller account of why boylovers especially should be the solution to such systemic alienation and rising youth violence.

Brongersma also fails to address the danger of young people's dependency on the family and state being merely replaced by dependency on an older person, with the resultant danger that rather than man-boy relationships constituting a radical antidote to stifling paternalism, they would, through re-constituted forms of power, continue to oppress young people.

Finally, Brongersma claims that the 'age of the man seems to make little difference', because the 'boy is not looking for beauty', but rather 'physical intimacy' and 'contact' (Ibid: 327, 328, 329). This highlights a crucially problematic area for boylovers.¹²⁹ Brongersma, along with other boylover advocates criticise the way protectionist discourses restrict young people's self-determination. Yet many of their own

¹²⁸ Not least due to his ability to translate many non-English sources on this topic.

statements can also be critiqued for claiming to speak for young people.¹³⁰

Geraci focuses on historical and cross-cultural perspectives on boy-love (see *ibid* (ed.)1997). The "moral panic" literature over child pornography, paedophilia, and ritual CSA is highlighted to cast doubts over the motives of those advancing such positions (Stanley 1997; Davis 1997). Stanley claims that the above panics have been utilised by the legal, social work and media professions 'for power and money', and 'self-publicity and promotion' (*Ibid*: 200). He identifies an agenda by 'sexual conservatives', who have used the above 'to exert greater control over families..., and to limit discourse and scientific inquiry regarding childhood sexuality', whilst ignoring children's rights, and 'society's failure to provide adequate food, housing, and education' (*Ibid*: 200). Davis sees the consequences of concerns over satanic ritual abuse for paedophiles in a hardening of attitudes, reflected in more punitive punishments (Davis 1997: 222). He criticises a coalition of Christian Fundamentalists, feminists, "politically correct" liberals for providing 'uncritical support' for exaggerated claims, despite evidence which shows that the incidence of satanic ritual abuse is very small (*Ibid*: 222).

Reigel - a US self-identified boylover (Reigel 2000)¹³¹ - accuses the "Child Sexual Abuse Industry" of pedalling erroneous images of all boylovers as "molesters" or "predators", to mislead policy-makers and the public (*Ibid*: X11, X1V). Reigel characterises this as a "Reign of Terror", whereby 'the attitudes and mistreatments to which loved boys and boylovers are subjected' are reminiscent of previous outrages against stigmatised groups, and where a form of 'mental abuse' is used against boys by the authorities to extract confessions (*Ibid*: 48).

¹²⁹ Relating primarily to the concepts of 'authorship' and 'gaze' developed by Foucauldian criticisms of how experts position themselves to speak for others (see chapter three).

¹³⁰ For example, Brongersma provides neither the account of a boy involved in a MADIS, nor a single empirical study which looks at the role of aesthetic, physical or other considerations of how boys form sexual relationships with peers or older people to substantiate his case.

¹³¹ He entitles his short treatise, "Understanding Loved Boys And Boylovers", and dedicates it

to those boys and men of the present generation who are struggling for their identity, for their freedom, and for their right to exist and love without interference, as well as those being persecuted, prosecuted, and imprisoned for their expression of the love they were given as their birthright (*Ibid*: Dedication).

Riegel challenges two “myths” surrounding boys' sexuality of asexuality, and gender uniformity in relation to constructing sexual experiences (Ibid: 1-2). He argues that boys actively seek out sexual encounters as sources of curiosity and pleasure, despite existing 'societal norms and taboos' (Ibid: 3). He cites the Rind et al. study to challenge 'the idea that all boys are invariably psychologically harmed by consensual sexual experiments and activities with other boys and men', arguing that any resultant harm is due to either coercive encounters, or state interference (Ibid: 4).

Riegel addresses three further aspects. Firstly, since homosexuality, heterosexuality and pedosexuality are genetic, claims of seduction are baseless, and not borne out by evidence (Ibid: 37). He puts forward the case for an evolutionary sociobiological explanation for boylove, arguing that contemporary forms are a genetic heritage, passed down due to successful adaptation (Ibid: 6).¹³²

Secondly, Riegel argues that the arbitrary distinction between "real" and "informed" consent is misleading, and obscured by the continual misinformation and restrictions placed on boy's sexuality (Ibid: 38, 39). He argues for the demystification surrounding man-boy sexuality, to allow boys to make more informed choices, and develop alternative scripts for themselves (Ibid: 38, 39). On the final aspect of power and control, Riegel concedes that there is an imbalance of power (physically, economically and socially), but that this is also reflected in schools and other societal institutions (Ibid: 39). However, Riegel also maintains that such power imbalances can be subverted by the boy, who could use emotional blackmail to extract favours from his older partner in the form of financial inducements and disclosure (Ibid: 40).

Riegel states that 'male-male pedosexuality' should be set on a continuum, ranging from 'idealistic boylove' to 'predation', but that the main features of a man-boy loving relationship are 'companionship' and 'protection', coupled with 'an active consensual sexual component', in which the boy benefits from the mentoring capacities of the older person (Ibid: X1, 6). For Riegel, in any man-boy relationship, it is the boy which should have the power in initiating or terminating any intimate or sexual contact (Ibid:

¹³² In support of this, Riegel cites the results of on-line surveys of self-identified boylovers, which he

22). He uses the term 'loved boy', to denote 'a prepubescent or adolescent boy who has a desire for a close and intimate relationship with a non-related older male' (Ibid: 6). Riegel sees the role of a 'true boylover' as recognising that their boy partner is not an object, but 'a complete person to be loved and cherished in every conceivable way', thereby facilitating the developing needs and desires of his younger friend through a long-term friendship (Ibid: 9, 28).

Riegel's account, although unashamedly polemical and self-justificatory, is valuable in expressing views in the US, which rarely get an airing in academic or public policy fora. However, there are a number of problems with his overall case. Firstly, he is guilty of over-generalising by suggesting that the majority of such relationships are problem-free, and that most boys and boylovers enter such relationships with clearly demarcated roles. Secondly, girls are completely absent in his analysis. This would imply that he advocates the freedom of boys from their chattel status but not girls, and that any men who wanted to form loving relationships with girls would be subjected to continuing legal and moral sanctions. Riegel's strategy therefore appears self-serving as well as clearly sexist.

Riegel is also too quick to dismiss the link between boys involved in such relationships and later gay identification. His blanket genetic explanation is overly biologicistic, and he has problems accounting for the strong correlation in the existing literature between adolescent boys involvement in such relationships and future gay identity. Unless it can be clearly established that, in the majority of such cases, gay identification preceded involvement in such relationships, then Riegel's claim has to remain doubtful.

1.5 Adult MADIS

The lack of attention to intergenerational relationships between adults,¹³³ especially those involving same-sex male adults has already been highlighted.¹³⁴ However, one

claims, substantiates his view that a 'pedosexual orientation' is acquired at an early age (Ibid: 7).

¹³³ Money draws attention to the prevalence of such relationships, by arguing for extending the sexological lexicon to include 'twentyophiles, thirtyophiles, fortyophiles' (Money in Paidika 1991: 5).

¹³⁴ This omission can partly be explained by the long-standing attempt of gay communities in the UK and North America to throw off the stigma of the "child molester" label (see O'Carroll 1980).

study (Lee (ed.)1991)¹³⁵deals with issues concerning; the dynamics of intergenerational adult-youth and adult-adult gay male relationships; the treatment of age within the gay community; and opportunities for such relationships within contemporary western gay social networks.¹³⁶

Lee argues that the advent of gay liberation has generally worked against age-stratified relationships, labelling them as 'exploitative', with the emphasis 'very much on peer partnerships' (Lee 1991: 34). Grube sees a disjuncture between the traditional gay community pre-1969, in which 'the basic structural unit...appeared to be the mentor-protégé pair', whereby 'older men introduced young men...to their social circle' (Grube 1991: 121, 122), and post 1969, where there has been a lack of an 'effective equivalent of such a tradition', leading to 'a mutual avoidance between younger and older homosexuals' (Ibid: 134, 121). This leads Lee to conclude that the 'contemporary depreciation of age-stratified love is no more valid or justifiable than society's rejection of homosexual love itself (Lee 1991: 61).

In an interview with both the younger and older partner in such a relationship, Lee notes the importance of 'empathy' within the relationship through the adoption of a 'father figure role' by the older partner, and 'equal treatment' (Ibid: 49). For the younger partner, people of his own age were not of interest to him, whereas for the older partner, 'being in love with a teenager was a way to rediscover his own youthful energy' (Ibid: 56, 58). Significantly for Lee, both partners felt that within such relationships, perception of age was more important than actual chronological age, but that the older man was more conscious of the age gap. Although Lee recognises the potential for 'alternative roles and scripts', he sees the most significant form as a 'mentor-protégé' one which was able, through negotiation and time, to be transformed into more peer orientated roles (Ibid: 57, 60). Lee concludes that the most important aspect in such relationships is 'not absolute ages but the gap between those ages

¹³⁵ Originally as Volume Twenty, parts three and four of the Journal of Homosexuality in 1990.

¹³⁶ Harry found in his study on gay 'inegalitarian relationships' in the US that 'age seems to be a major criterion in defining pools of potential erotic and romantic partners among gay men', but concludes that the 'majority prefer age-similar partners', with 'an interest in adolescent males...virtually nonexistent' (Harry 1988: 130, 120). Echoing this, Smith cites recent findings from a Stonewall survey of 2,088 gay men in the UK showing, in contrast to the mythology of a mythical older seducer corrupting vulnerable youth that the majority started having sex in their teens, but that those were predominantly with their peers (Smith 1995: 22).

relative to the absolute ages' (Ibid: 55).

Steinman examines how both younger and older partners within such relationships view their roles. He claims that the younger person offers a 'youthful persona...physical attractiveness and sexual appeal', whereas the older partner acquires an enhanced status by virtue of having a younger lover (Steinman 1991: 181, 182). The power dynamics revolve around a potential exchange of 'the greater intrinsic resources of the younger', including the 'power to grant or refuse sexual gratification', for the 'greater influence, prestige, income and autonomy of the older' (Ibid: 194). For Steinman, 'younger partners are aware of how attractive their intrinsic resources are to many older men', and 'conversely, many older men know the value of their extrinsic resources to many younger men' (Ibid: 205).¹³⁷

The above studies are extremely important for establishing some tentative formulations around the issues of MADIS within the gay community. They are however limited by their sample size, and a general failure of examining the potential inter-relationship between class, ethnicity and gender in framing subject positions within gay MADIS.

Conclusion (See Appendix Fifteen)

The way that either negative or positive responses to MADIS were framed by the contested perspectives set out in this chapter, suggests a more substantial look at the wider debate over the relative weight given in social theory to agentic action vis-à-vis wider social structures of power (see chapter three). For example, CSA and pro-paedophilic positions revealed significant inconsistencies in relation to the above; coupled with a general inattention to how epistemological and ontological inter-subjective realities are fashioned within socio-historical contexts, and across the interstices of age, masculinity and sexuality.

¹³⁷ Within the social world of hustling, Visano highlights how 'the street culture, replete with myths, provides a general frame of reference which is used to justify hustling', whereby youthfulness is valued, as in society, through 'the reproduction of cultural values in the glorification of youthful bodies' (Visano 1991: 209, 208, 207). Within this context, age acts as 'a cultural marker' which simultaneously 'degrades older persons as pathetic sexual actors', whilst promoting the young as 'sex icons' (Ibid: 224).

It also noted a significant a shift from analysing paedophilia as an individual pathology to CSA constructionist approaches. The chapter provided a critical framework for analysing the contested conceptions on child sexuality, the sex offender and MADIS within the different frameworks, including how each attempted to apply their own perspectives to the respective fields. This also provided the necessary background for a historical examination of the social and discursive practices which has produced such configurations (see chapter two).

The current study will use such a critical approach to take the analysis of MADIS beyond dominant essentialist paradigms, whilst critically theorising how such sexualities and sexual relationships have been problematised. It will also address the lack of attention to boylover and paedophilic positions, as well as to conceptions of child and youth sexualities which contest hegemonic CSA frameworks (see chapters six to eleven).

Chapter Two Historicising MADIS¹³⁸

Introduction

This chapter will provide a contextual analysis of how MADIS has been socially and discursively constructed in western modernity. It will also analyse the historical trajectory of dominant contemporary conceptions of child / youth sexualities, male sexual deviancy and MADIS.¹³⁹ It will deploy a genealogical approach by seeking to identify the origins of present-day conceptions of the above as malleable and vulnerable, scrutinise the changing conceptions of adult male sexual deviancy, and assess the impact each of these have had upon shifting understandings of age, masculinity, and normative conceptions of socio-sexual identities and relationships.

2.1 Historicising the present: genealogy and the socio-discursive context

Discursive formations around sexuality will be defined as a set of historically constructed practices which limit human actions and what maybe thought in any given time and place (Fox 1998: 416).¹⁴⁰ This entails identifying the 'historicity, conditions of emergence, modes of construction and ideological contingencies' which underpin this topic (Halperin 1989: 52), alongside scrutinising the very material and ideological conditions which affect what can be spoken and how one may be spoken about (Adams 1994: 30).¹⁴¹

As argued throughout this thesis, present-day discourses on MADIS have interrelated

¹³⁸ In this chapter, MADIS will again be deployed as a generic term for male age-discrepant intergenerational sexualities / relationships.

¹³⁹ By examining each aspect separately, there is no attempt to imply their distinctive discursive formation, or foreclose any analyses of potential inter-relationships. The intention instead is to outline the discrete influences on each of the above, to evaluate how far broader comparisons can be made.

¹⁴⁰ This is sufficiently encompassing to incorporate a number of influences, facilitating an analysis of how each has been contextualised through particular historical events, and productive of particular localised networks of power-knowledge (see Foucault 1978: 97).

¹⁴¹ Many historians have referred to the lack of attention given to CSA in the past (Finkelhor 1984; Scott 2001). They have tended to redress this through putting forward "alternative" CSA historiographies which triumph its "discovery", as well as those involved in getting it to the forefront of public policy agendas (see Masson 1992). Consequently, due to the amount of attention given to this particular aspect of the study, and to concerns over word limit, this chapter will address other facets of the historical construction of MADIS.

genealogies and histories, inextricably linked with particular discursive shifts in sexual practices in western modernity. A range of contributors have recognised the importance of the latter in explaining modern configurations on sexuality (see Foucault 1978; Weeks 2000); whilst others append such transformations in the sexual sphere to broader struggles for social and political equality (Reich 1969; Marcuse 1974). Such critics also challenge the way sexology has colonised sexual subjectivity by imposing hierarchies of knowledge, and marginalising certain sexual minorities at the expense of others (Rubin 1992).

Consequently, histories of sexuality have focussed on how resistance has been mobilised "from below" in a series of attempts to frustrate such a process (Halperin 1995). However, as chapter one showed with regard to the trajectory, which MADIS has recently taken, the above challenges have seemingly been unsuccessful in supplanting dominant essentialist aetiologies and constructionist CSA positions.

In interrogating the link between the formation of historical practices and technologies,¹⁴² any critical, genealogical history recognises the present as a 'mobile ensemble of specific histories' and of multiple 'social ontologies' (Weeks 1981: 167). It also draws on Foucauldian perspectives which focus on the rules which govern what can and what cannot be said at any particular time and place, whilst seeking to uncover the very mechanisms of power which produce such configurations.¹⁴³

Finally, such an approach provides a critical evaluation of the way modern narratives of the present are imposed upon the past, and the way events are selected from the past and structure present-day sexual stories (see Plummer 1995). It also addresses the way 'power fashions apparently rationally but usually violently the more truthful narrative' (Dollimore 1991: 90).¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Such as the growth in injunctions placed upon MADIS throughout late modernity.

¹⁴³ In analysing how power operates, Foucault outlines five areas for attention: how it becomes embodied within local, material and regional institutions; the particular ways it constitutes itself through subjects; the processes whereby it circulates and filters through society; how it establishes individual histories, trajectories, techniques and tactics which invest, colonise, transform into more general mechanisms and forms of global domination; and finally how power produces 'effective instruments for the formation and accumulation of knowledge through methods of observation, techniques of registration, procedures for investigation and research, apparatuses of control' (Foucault 1976: 96-102). See chapter three for further elaboration of these points.

¹⁴⁴ This includes further concerns for this study, namely critically interrogating the context within which such stories are developed, and the way in which 'moral entrepreneurs' (see Becker 1966) are able to select and fashion particular narratives on CSA and MADIS, and how 'moral panics' are

The impact of religion, nationalism, and class on shifts in MADIS will be analysed through Foucault's notion of 'strategic alignments.'¹⁴⁵ Foucault identifies mid 19th century Europe as the "high-point" of the encroachment of a type of power on the body and its pleasures, in which a new episteme¹⁴⁶ - 'scientia sexualis'¹⁴⁷ - was constituted through discovering the "truth" about the body through the deployment of sexual knowledge (Foucault 1978: 56).

Despite Foucault's stress on a distinctive modern episteme, he identifies continuities between emerging psychoanalytical discourses and religion, through the formers use of the confessant to provide definitive "truths" about the deepest psychic fears and anxieties embedded in the subconscious (Ibid: 20). Indeed, from antiquity on, the important contribution made by moral-religious discourses to the framing of sexual debates has been recognised (see Boswell 1980; Hawkes 1996). Furthermore, throughout the last two centuries, religious inputs have continued to impact on sexual controversies in Europe and North America, and inform pedagogic, legal and political praxis.¹⁴⁸

It was also at this juncture when Enlightenment and religious conceptions of childhood as a period of sanctified innocence, freed from the demonic and corrupting influences of modern society, and separate from adult social and economic demands, increasingly took shape¹⁴⁹ (see Aries 1962). In Britain, by the mid-19th century, threats to a cultural idyll were increasingly associated with the social conditions of urban life and the "evils" of prostitution and childhood sex (see Jackson 2000). Religious discourses were also influential in mobilising attitudes against vice through proclamations of childhood innocence and purity. Within this context, established Christianity increasingly

constructed (see Cohen 1972). This is seen as significant in this topic in establishing how community concerns become structured around threats to shared values, whereby particular 'dangerous individuals' are assigned symbolic 'folk devil' status, who can then be subsequently identified and targeted.

¹⁴⁵ The use of the term strategic alignment follows from Foucault's use of tactical polyvalence, whereby a particular discourse can be utilised by several power-knowledges to secure the dissemination of particular expertise and consolidation of power within a specific area (see Foucault 1978: 97). See chapter three for further elaboration.

¹⁴⁶ Broadly defined as a conceptual understanding of the subject in which dominant and distinct forms of knowledge emerge.

¹⁴⁷ In essence, a modern scientific classificatory schema for scrutinising sexual behaviour established in the western modernity (see Foucault 1978: part three)

¹⁴⁸ Throughout the on-going debates on Clause 28 and age of consent in Scotland and the UK, the church leaders of several denominations were consulted by a variety of government ministers on their position (see chapter eight).

promoted a foundational belief system¹⁵⁰ which associated sex with shame, filth and hatred (Bataille cited in Bristow 1997: 126).¹⁵¹

The above themes were also used by nationalist discourses, through highlighting impending dangers to the nation and the species from "deviant" sexual practices (Hawkes 1996). By the mid-19th century in Britain,¹⁵² dominant conceptions of masculinity as virile, athletic and powerful became strategically aligned with religious discourses promoting "muscular Christianity" (D'Arch-Smith 1970). These claims were also reinforced by middle-class characterisations of same-sex intimacy as effeminate, and as symptoms of national degeneracy, through contaminating young males, and the ability of the nation-state to maintain imperial domination (see C. Nelson 1989).

This link between class, and the increasing ascendancy of medical-psychiatric and nationalist discourses, has been well documented (see Porter and Teich (eds.)1994; Mason 1995). However, it also established a powerful class-scientific-nationalist nexus, which set in motion a legislative dynamic to protect class values within institutional settings (see Jackson 2000). This also established the dominance of bourgeois conceptions of the family and sexual codes which needed to be safeguarded through a greater awareness of the dangers of sexuality outside the confines of family life (Weeks 1977).

The above themes have continually resurfaced in moral campaigns in Britain, Europe and North America throughout the second half of the 20th century, in which any changes to the norm were characterised as potential threats to the family. For example, "New Right" polemics in the 1980s in Britain and the US, stressing the potential dangers to the sanctity of childhood and family values from homosexuality, have regularly been woven into mainstream contemporary debates (Durham 1991; Evans 1993).¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ Rousseau's publication in 1763 of "Emile" is often seen as a textual benchmark in establishing and reinforcing such transformations (see Aries 1962; Paglia 1990).

¹⁵⁰ Some have also seen religious denunciations of certain sexual acts and behaviours as abnormal, or unnatural, as a dominant modern 'master frame', functioning to organise attention to particular problems, to attribute meaning to them, to articulate relevant events and experiences, to explain underlying causes, and to propose solutions (see Victor 1999).

¹⁵¹ Grey goes further in arguing that such sex-negative ideas constitute the foundation of present-day concerns with child and youth protection (see Grey 1993).

¹⁵² And to a lesser extent European context.

¹⁵³ Such campaigns have also set the agenda for recent opposition to lowering the gay male age of

2.2 Childhood and youth in modernity

The construction of increasingly discrete child / youth / adult worlds throughout western Modernity (Aries 1962) has led, in the case of youth, to their characterisation as marginal or liminal¹⁵⁴ figures on the threshold (see Gillis 1993: 6). This theme is also addressed within the sociology of age-transitions through the prolongation of schooling, dependency within families, and lack of access to the labour market (see chapter three).

This section will focus on the attempts made by political, religious, and scientific interests in the second half of the 19th century to classify male sexual development as malleable and unstable. It will examine psychiatric and populist texts¹⁵⁵ which formulated a body of knowledge around the "boy problem." These latter attempts are seen as important precursors for later 20th century political, psychoanalytical and child protectionist attempts to situate youth sexuality within a pastoral framework of professional management and control, and in the increasing regulation and demarcation of social spaces for adult male-youth interaction.¹⁵⁶

The "boy problem"

The greater attention given in feminist accounts of late Victorian sexual transformations to the plight of young female prostitutes (see Gorham 1978; Jeffreys et al. 1984)¹⁵⁷ has arguably obscured a greater anxiety concerning young males. It was during this period that boys' sexuality was increasingly framed according to biologicistic and developmental models: either at the mercy of their natural drives (Aapola 1997); inevitably constrained through a period of "storm and stress" psychic turmoil (Hall 1904); promiscuous outside the norms of sexuality (Adams 1994); or as potential delinquents and social threats that need to be reformed (Jackson 2000: 96).

consent, and a ban on the promotion of homosexuality in schools in the UK (see Waites 2000a, 2000 b).

¹⁵⁴ This term is taken from Van Gennep's recognition of the transitory position of youth as between statuses (see Van Gennep 1960). Bourdieu adds to this by characterising the position of youth in late modernity as 'socially out of play' (see Bourdieu 1993: 146).

¹⁵⁵ In Britain and in Europe.

¹⁵⁶ This also included peer interaction between boys.

Consequently, by the end of the 19th century, youth delinquency was increasingly viewed within legal and medical-psychiatric discourses, as an attribute of immaturity rather than precocity (Adams 1994), and increasingly characterised as vulnerable to criminal and sexual influences unless protected (Jackson 2000). However, this conception was never total, but rather continually reformulated through a pattern of shifting discourses throughout the 20th century conceptualised either as: the 'historic dialectic of the innocent adolescent and the predatory delinquent' (Gillis 1974: 171); or conflicting Apollonian / Dionysian conceptions of childhood (Jenks 1996: 70).¹⁵⁸

The "masturbation anxiety"

A number of studies have identified 19th century texts such as Arnold's 'Tom Brown's Schooldays' and Acton's publication, of 'Functions and Disorders of the Reproductive Organs', as evidence of a British concern over the preserving Empire.¹⁵⁹ They also point to a crisis over gender and sexual identity, in which the "manly boy" - who spurned masturbation, same-sex intimacy, and effeminate characteristics - increasingly assumed hegemonic status.¹⁶⁰

The publication of Tissot's 'Treatise on Onanism'¹⁶¹ in 1758, arguably inaugurated a period¹⁶² when the act of masturbation was continually spoken about in a number of publications and sermons, and legislated against (Brongersma 1990). Attention was initially paid to medical-religious associations of the act with moral and physical

¹⁵⁷ For example, concerning the events leading up to the 1885 Act against the trafficking in prostitution through media campaigns led by Stead and the 'Moral Purity Campaigns' throughout the 1880s and 1890s, which focussed on saving "fallen women" and protecting girls from the vice trade.

¹⁵⁸ The case of the media and public reaction to the murder by two ten year-old boys of James Bulger in the UK is one example of the demonisation of children. There are a number of other cases of legal sentencing being inconsistently applied. For example, in Florida (and many other states within the US) juveniles may be prosecuted as adults for serious crimes). For example, a Florida judge sentenced a fourteen-year-old boy to life without parole for the murder of a six-year-old girl in Friday 9 March 2002.

¹⁵⁹ See Greenberg 1988; Weeks 1981; Gillis 1974; Prout 1997; Baker 1996; C. Nelson 1989; Porter and Teich (eds)1994.

¹⁶⁰ This claim is also given added credence by the increasing amount of legislation which sought to regulate male sexual behaviours including: the 1861 offence of indecent assault (with boys under 16 given special attention); the 1885 Gross Indecency Act, and the increased attention paid by political and medical authorities through the 1889 Protection of Children Act and 1908 Children Act to a link between home environment and potential physical and sexual abuse (see Gilles 1974:156; Card 1981).

¹⁶¹ Archaic term for masturbation.

¹⁶² Generally covering a hundred and fifty year period to the early decades of the 20th century.

weakness (Gillis 1974: 158). By 1895, Maudsley claimed a link between masturbation and insanity, a theme taken up by Hall in an American context, to include the "newly discovered" phase of adolescence, which in boys he claimed, implied a link between psychic abnormality and puberty (Ibid 1904: 284). Finally, in medical-psychiatric and populist literature, male puberty increasingly became conceptualised as a distinct phase, subject to a multitude of physiological and psychological influences, and developmentally crucial.

In the 1890s, Lombroso¹⁶³ claimed associations between masturbation, environment, and acquired 'inversion'.¹⁶⁴ Further links were posited with early sexualisation and failed exams,¹⁶⁵ and between masturbation and weakened memory.¹⁶⁶ Contemporary associations were also made between onanism, pederasty¹⁶⁷ and unmanliness (see Tarnovsky 1894; Mosse 1994: 262). Finally, masturbation became a target of commodification with the US patent office which granted forty-nine anti-masturbatory devices between 1856 and 1919 (Langfeldt 1981: 100).

The "dangers" of masturbation and effeminacy were also expressed in: American school curricula throughout the 1920s (Bullough 1994: 303); the layout of pedagogic institutions (Foucault 1978); and through the emerging ethos of international organisations such as the Boys Brigade, Scouts, Wandervogel and YMCA (Brongersma 1986, 1990). Some also contend that within such institutions, anti-masturbatory regulations were established as a tactic in diverting youthful energies from sex into sports, religion and education (Thorstad 1998: 2).¹⁶⁸

The significance of the 'incitement to discourse' on masturbation from a multitude of legal, political, moral and scientific expertise that formed around the topic, is three-fold. Firstly, there were numerous possibilities for strategic alliances. For example, the claims of physical debility associated with masturbation within eugenics, supported

¹⁶³ Following the classificatory distinction of 'inborn' and 'acquired' sexual perversions mapped out in the 1860s by Casper and Moreau in France.

¹⁶⁴ This is an archaic term for homosexuality.

¹⁶⁵ This was argued by Proust (see McLaren 1999: 31).

¹⁶⁶ This claim was made by Lorulat in 1928 (see Brongersma 1990: 180).

¹⁶⁷ Within 19th century medical-psychiatric texts, pederasty was often used as a generic term for male homosexuality rather than its late 20th century association with man-boy sexual relations.

¹⁶⁸ Brongersma takes this further in drawing a link between drives to enforce and extend compulsory schooling, and a growing fear amongst bourgeois society of the unchanneled social and sexual potential of young males (see chapter five in Brongersma 1990).

nationalist claims of national degeneracy, which in turn reinforced patriarchal bourgeois familial roles. The claims of psychic damage, and aetiologies associated with masturbation, could also be deployed against other expressions of deviant sexuality, bolstering a normative scientific rationale for moral, religious, educational and legal injunctions.

Secondly, the fact that such inter-discursive alignments were able to keep such a campaign going for over two centuries suggests a substantial audience¹⁶⁹ who were sufficiently concerned to read the pamphlets, attend the clinics and help reinforce any unfolding normative codes. Finally, it firmly established youth as a central site for the deployment of institutional codes, social practices and techniques of power.

The “implantation” of seduction

The theme of vulnerability to seduction has been a powerful dynamic in the growing influence of social welfare movements throughout the 20th century in Europe and North America (Underwager and Wakefield 1995).¹⁷⁰ The concern that young male bodies and souls would be irrevocably damaged through intimate contact with older males was a consistent theme in 19th century British and European sources (Tarnovsky 1894; Krafft-Ebing 1891; Ellis 1943). The above also drew on a firmly established belief of the specific dangers to boys of sexual seduction by an older boy or adult male.

Krafft-Ebing reiterated such concerns in arguing for the retention of Paragraph 175 of the German Penal Code to protect youth 'from the ruin of body and soul' from the seduction of an 'active pederast' (Ibid: 413, 416). Tarnovsky also talked of the dangers of 'acquired pederasty' being passed on to inexperienced boys through the example of 'older comrades' (Ibid: 24).¹⁷¹ Freud highlighted how the education of boys by male persons, seduction by an adult, and inversion could produce a 'fixated permanent

¹⁶⁹ Although, as Weeks (1981) and Maynard (1997) claim, this was drawn predominantly from the middle classes, it constituted a substantial and expanding audience.

¹⁷⁰ The discourse of vulnerability has also influenced recent International agreements such as the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child (1989) and age of consent debates in Britain and Europe.

¹⁷¹ Symmonds also took up the point to refute the common belief of the greater vulnerability of boys to corruption by an older man, and any subsequent link with 'inversion' (see Norton 1997b: 6, 30). Indeed, this may arguably constitute one of the first attempts to question the link between involvement in a pederastic relationship and later homosexuality.

disorder' (Ibid 1905: 153, 168). Hall too - in reference to masturbation - drew on a body of literature which stressed 'contagion and seduction by older boys' (Ibid 1904: 435).

After the Labouchere Amendment (1885)¹⁷² and 'Cleveland Street Scandal' (1889),¹⁷³ increasing attention was paid to the seduction of youths by men in Britain (see Weeks 1977: 19). This led to a growing tendency to view adult men rather than youth¹⁷⁴ as sexually predatory (Jackson 2000: 104).¹⁷⁵ Furthermore, moral campaigners increasingly drew on associations between working-class environments and delinquency, which they claimed, led to sexual deviancy amongst boys (see Jackson 2000).¹⁷⁶ By 1914, young male prostitution was increasingly recognised as a significant problem by many European authorities, and frequently targeted in moral purity campaigns (see Brongersma 1990; Maynard 1997).

These attempts at institutional regulation have also been viewed as part of a wider tension within all-male institutions between homosociality and homosexuality (Sedgwick 1990) – a view reinforced by Jackson, who claims that there was a strong drive to protect homosocial cultures (single-sex schools, clubs and workplaces) and preserve the norms of healthy, heterosexual masculinity (Ibid 2000: 104). This trend accelerated after the trial and imprisonment of Wilde in 1895, with an increasing recognition of codes and meanings on homosexuality, and further reinforced through legislation. For example, 'indecent assault' was increasingly applied in court proceedings to such cases (see *ibid*: 152).

By the end of the 19th century in Europe, and by the early 20th century in the US, an emerging body of moral and scientific literature was increasingly targeting male developmental trajectories. Furthermore, an increasing consensus emerged which held

¹⁷² Inserted in the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and which made acts of 'gross indecency' between adult males punishable by up to two years.

¹⁷³ This involved allegations surrounding the activities of elite figures in the British establishment and sexual encounters with telegraph boys in a homosexual brothel.

¹⁷⁴ By the end of the 19th century.

¹⁷⁵ For example, in France between 1830-60, Article 334 of the penal code was directed at the potential seduction of minors by teachers (see Danet, Hocquenghem and Foucault in Kritzman (ed.)1988), and by the late 19th century, Berager led a series of campaigns against the seduction of youth outside Lycees (see McLaren 1999: 30).

¹⁷⁶ This was further reinforced by the 1880s, through correspondence between the Bishop of London and the Director of Criminal Investigations, over fears that boys were soliciting in the streets, and of the specific dangers of Eton boys, cadets and subalterns being 'exposed to it' (see Hyman 1991: 63).

that the seduction of boys could impair their normal physical and emotional development. The internalisation of this by public audiences became an ever-increasing goal of medical-psychiatry and psychoanalysis, which were then able to disperse such discourses through familial, media and educational institutions. This all provided a fertile terrain for the deployment of future MSA discourses to MADIS.

Post Second World War North America

This link between environmental preconditions and "acquired homosexuality" was also a prerequisite for the implementation of sexual psychopath laws in the US between 1930 and 1960 (Freedman 1987). Mainstream contemporary political campaigners deemed such laws necessary to prevent the contagion of homosexuality spreading from male adults to youths (Freedman 1987; Adams 1994; Jenkins 1998).

The US had already witnessed a series of campaigns which claimed potential links between sexual deviancy and threats to young people (see Jenkins 1998). For example, between 1910 and 1930,¹⁷⁷ the phenomenon of the 'child molester' was established as a growing menace to vulnerable children, requiring the intervention of medical-psychiatric, biological and criminological expertise to advise parents, the media, law enforcement agencies, and educational services on how best to manage "the problem" (see Jenkins 1998).

Furthermore, Adams sees the social and political context of post-war North America as especially conducive for constituting young people within Cold War discourses as a metaphor for the very future of the west, and the associated family and gender roles it represented (see chapter three in Adams 1997). Within such discourses, special attention was paid to vulnerable youth, and fears that predatory homosexuality would wreak physical and psychic havoc on them. This association has also been presented in conjunction with homosexuality as "un-American" and a danger to children; which some contributors see as symptomatic of a combination of national anxieties¹⁷⁸ over the family, gender roles and nation-state (Eskridge 1997; Adams 1997).¹⁷⁹ (See

¹⁷⁷ Coined as 'the Progressive Era' in US history.

¹⁷⁸ Most particularly in a fear of communism.

¹⁷⁹ The advent of Aids also sees this theme of contagion emerge in homophobic discourses throughout the 1980s and 90s; reinforced with fears on the breakdown of the family and the potential physical and psychic harm to young males from sexual contact with homosexual men. Herdt goes further in

appendix sixteen).

Again the link between environment, sexual literature and seduction of youth by dangerous, violent and predatory males is established. However, in the latter context this is enforced with greater political investment and resources (including extensive networks of technological surveillance and criminal intelligence). Furthermore, schools, families, and youth clubs became increasingly important sites in the inter-discursive management of the social worlds of young people.

2.3 Adult male deviancy

Foucault's thesis on the displacement of the 18th century sodomite who merely engaged in "immoral acts," with the 19th century homosexual (with drives, an inner psyche and series of behavioural traits), and a set of imposed aetiologies that positioned him as a subject for the 'positivist gaze' of modern science is seen as crucial for this chapter (see Foucault 1978). This process created the necessary discursive framework for further attempts at classifying male sexual perversions (paedophilia and ephebophilia), and the construction of associated aetiologies and socio-behavioural factors around such sexualities.

Pre-categorisation

Hocquenghem identifies the mid-19th century as the origins of the cataloguing of a category of individuals by psychiatrists who later became the target of popular vilification of present-day media campaigns against paedophiles (Ibid cited in Kritzman (ed.)1988: 277). Brongersma too identifies this juncture as the origins of 'a previously unknown form of aggression...against people who love children' within western society in the 1880s (Ibid 1990: 121).

The origins of Krafft-Ebing's later formulation of a 'paidophile'¹⁸⁰ can be seen in his characterisation of such persons as 'old and decrepit debauchees who prefer boys and

suggesting a continuous discourse around the theme of contagion: through the anti-masturbation campaigns of the 1880s, to the CSA panics of the 1980s (Herdt 1993: 31).

¹⁸⁰ First applied by Krafft-Ebing in 1912 (see Jenkins 1998: 100).

indulge in pederasty by preference', who are either mentally unsound or lacking in virility (Ibid 1891: 257, 416, 402). Tarnovsky also saw the 'symptoms in older men of a special fondness for demoralising youngsters by means of exciting pictures and obscene books'; claiming it was caused by 'psychic degeneration' (Ibid 1894: 103, 133). Finally, Symmonds describes such an individual as a 'depraved debauchee who abuses boys' (Ibid 1891: 6), and draws a distinction 'between an Urning'¹⁸¹ in whom sexual inversion is congenital with old debauchees or half-idiotic individuals who are in the habit of misusing boys' (Ibid: 36).¹⁸² Krafft-Ebing's designation of two sexual categories of active seducers and debauchees, draws on acquired and congenital distinctions, but also constitutes the forerunner of late modern dualistic conceptions of the sex offender as either a dangerous predator, or socially inadequate.¹⁸³

Ellis stresses a different facet in same-sexualities (namely gender) as an important normalising factor; contrasting what he terms 'abnormal paedophilia', which he defines as 'attraction to unripe girls' and therefore mentally unsound (Ibid 1948: 129), with a preference for 'androgynous youth', which is more normal since they 'more closely resembled women' (Ibid 1908: 167). Freud also claims that 'a large proportion of inverts are attracted to the feminine quality of boys: shyness, modesty and the need for instruction and assistance' to retain their masculinity (Ibid 1977: 55).¹⁸⁴

Contextualising categorisation

The Campaigns against child prostitution, which ran through the media and 'Moral Purity Movements' of the 1880s, drew attention to the plight of young girls at the hands of men. However, there was scant attention given to either a particular "type" of

¹⁸¹ Ulrich's term denoting different forms of same-sex attraction (see Norton 1997b; Kennedy 1992). According to Kennedy, Ulrich's classification of same-sexualities (Urnings) includes boylovers as a distinct class of 'Mannlings' (masculine-orientated Urnings) who are attracted to adolescent boys (Ibid: 12-13).

¹⁸² Symmonds also contrasts such a desire with another classification of Ulrich's namely, a third class ('Zwischen-Urning') who display a 'manifest predilection for healthy young men in the bloom of adolescence' (Symmonds 1891 quoted in Norton 1997b: 6, 28); Bristow 1997: 24). This could arguably been conceptualised as the forerunner to sexological distinctions between paedophilia and ephhebophilia.

¹⁸³ This introduces the weak - dangerous dichotomy in discursive presentations of the paedophile, most clearly shown in an episode of the Vice where such "types" of sex offenders were put forward (The Vice, ITV, 31 / 1 / 01).

¹⁸⁴ This gendered aspect of MADIS was echoed over sixty years later by Freund (1969) who found the 'homophile subjects' in his study who preferred boys (13-16) constituted the 'least effeminate' (see Brongersma 1984: 75). It also features in O'Carroll's claim that paedophiles, by showing tenderness to

person who maybe a sexual danger to boys, or to male sexual abuse¹⁸⁵ (see Hyman 1991; Jackson 2000). By the turn of the century, the extent of boy prostitution¹⁸⁶ led to a growing media and popular conception of a particular type of person who came to represent a danger to boys, through corrupting them with effeminate behaviour (see Mirkin 1999).¹⁸⁷

A similar theme is also highlighted by Maynard in a Canadian pre-World War One context, when he claims a middle-class fear of working-class boys being 'led astray' by 'fallen men,' occasioned a move towards the targeting of potential meeting places and the type of man who was looking for youths (Ibid 1997: 235). He states that by 1911, the increasing activities of moral vigilante committees contributed to the formation of a national forum to regulate such encounters (Ibid: 228).

By the 1930s in the US, the genesis of the 'sexual psychopath' had been establishment through populist media campaigns prompted by social and medical investigators, who claimed that children were being raped in far greater numbers than ever before (Freedman 1987; Jenkins 1998). Further links were also posited between homosexuality, child molestation and psychological degeneracy, and between deviant sexuality and violence to children (see Freedman 1987; Jenkins 1998). This culminated in post-World War Two campaigns against sexual psychopaths, in which the 'predatory homosexual' was characterised as an 'effeminate fairy', associated with moral, national and psychological degeneracy, and portrayed as a potential threat to children. (Eskridge 1997: 4; Jenkins 1998: 227).¹⁸⁸ Indeed during this period, the concept of 'predator', 'homosexual' and 'child molester' arguably crystallised as an 'idée fixe' (see Eskridge 1997: 4).

children, display more feminine characteristics (see page fifty-eight).

¹⁸⁵ It is recognised that introducing such a term here is problematic, however it is deployed to identify potential antecedents to the modern usage.

¹⁸⁶ As shown by the Cleveland Street scandal and Wilde trial.

¹⁸⁷ Mirkin suggests that this construction of the 'effeminate corrupt aristocrat' and the degenerate 'immoral lower orders' was a bourgeois attempt to align natural laws with the ascendancy of their own class (see Mirkin 1999). This tainting of the aristocracy as effeminate, arguably allowed the emerging medical-psychiatric professions to establish a link between effeminacy, corruption and national degeneracy, whilst establishing the sexual mores of their own class as representative of the natural order (Weeks 1981).

¹⁸⁸ Again, the dichotomy between 'perverts' displaying a predatory and dangerous sexual appetite, and those displaying an effeminate, or weak character is established - a theme that would be played out regularly within legal, political and media discourses throughout the 20th century.

The imposition of psychodynamic formulations on MADIS

Freud saw such an attraction as a sign of cowardice or impotence, but distinct from a pathology (Freud 1905: 69).¹⁸⁹ However, this explanation became increasingly problematic after the 1960s, as studies of clinical and incarcerated paedophiles in Britain, Canada and the US increasingly "uncovered" a wide variety of acts, methods of initiation, ages¹⁹⁰ and behavioural "types".¹⁹¹

However, this increasing cataloguing of varieties of paedophilia needs to be set within the particular 'power relations which determine which meanings are hegemonic' (Weeks 1995: 7), and the multiple ways these are shaped by the hierarchies of 'dominant social norms, ideology and oppressive discourses of modern science' (Featherstone 1999: 295). Such a context also provided key resources for producing normalising 'definitions that could limit and demarcate' (Caplan 1987: 36) - including discursive shifts around same-sex praxis.¹⁹²

The construction of categories of persons (paedophiles) - with a concomitant ensemble of pathological, abusive and predatory characteristics - has arguably evolved through similar assumptions and anxieties akin to previous concerns over gender and class. This point is reinforced through the series of recent 'moral panics'¹⁹³ in Britain, Europe, North America and Australia over sex tourism, community supervision of sex offenders, child murderers,¹⁹⁴ satanic ritual abuse, and "cyberstalkers" on the Internet. The above has not only facilitated a context for the stereotyping of deviants by professionals, politicians and the mass media,¹⁹⁵ it has also been useful for political elites in diverting attention away from child poverty, state executions of teenagers in

¹⁸⁹ Brongersma characterises Freud's observation that adults are not exclusively interested in children sexually, but rather motivated by opportunities or lack of an adult partner as 'pseudo-paedophilia' (Ibid 1986: 104).

¹⁹⁰ Of both "victim" and "perpetrator."

¹⁹¹ For example, Kinsey's study on male sexual behaviour in post war America, not only drew attention to the frequency of paedophilia, but also to an age preference amongst men who preferred boys between eleven and fifteen (see Kinsey 1948).

¹⁹² Crucially, the relative status of homosexuality compared to MADIS.

¹⁹³ This definition relies on Goode and Ben-Yehuda's five indicators of a developing moral panic (volatility, hostility, measurable concern, consensus and disproportionality) (see Victor 1998: 542-543).

¹⁹⁴ Although a number of cases could be highlighted here, in the context of the time frame of this study, Cooke in Britain (1998) and Detroux in Belgium (1996) and the clamour for Sarah and Megan's law in the UK and US respectively, are particularly significant.

¹⁹⁵ For example, between 1975 and 1990, the number of social workers in the US connected with child abuse rose from 25,000 to 80,000 (Talbot 1999: 9), and by 1990, there were over 603,000 general social workers and 203,000 psychologists with an annual budget of over one trillion dollars (see

the US, and the general lack of opportunities for young people in many western states.

However, in contrast with previous conceptions of "stranger danger", current panics have taken on a global dimension in which paedophiles and their accomplices apparently use organised networks across national boundaries (see chapter nine in Jenkins 1998). Consequently, paedophilia has been constructed as an international and organised threat that has to be met by international organisations, contributing to its insertion within essentialist and universalistic hegemonic paradigms.¹⁹⁶

2.4 Marginalising MADIS

The lack of consideration given within mainstream discursive channels to pro-MADIS perspectives referred to earlier, arguably reflects the end-product of a process by which 'certain sexual information has been denigrated and rendered taboo' (Porter and Teich (eds)1994: 1). These results in a situation where 'erotic dissidents are channelled into positions that have less impact on the mainstream of social activity and opinion', and where they lack the necessary social space, businesses, political resources, and relief from legal penalties (Rubin 1992: 27, 22).¹⁹⁷ This has arguably produced similar effects of those experienced by previous sexual minorities, namely a simultaneous process of deauthorising and silencing in order to separate them from the very 'contingency' of their production (see Halperin 1995: 130, 105).

With regard to the latter point, two specific factors emerge. The first involves a growing estrangement between gay and lesbian organisations¹⁹⁸ and such groups.¹⁹⁹

Underwager and Wakefield 1995: 3).

¹⁹⁶ This growing trend of globalising the phenomena of paedophilia, CSA and childhood has important implications for the cross-cultural chapter in this study, with respect to how far cross-variation in these areas has increasingly been undermined through dominant global frameworks. For example, just as the growing attention given by the United Nations and other bodies like the NSPCC to international 'essential' properties of childhood, the paedophile has arguably evolved into a dialectical opposite - an international and ever-present threat to children.

¹⁹⁷ For instance, PIE in the UK and NAMBLA in the US have suffered legal sanctions of varying degrees and found it difficult to gain access to mass communication channels to present their respective cases (see Smith 1992).

¹⁹⁸ For example, in 1994 The ILGA (International Lesbian and Gay Association) banned NAMBLA from marching at a gay pride rally in Seattle, claiming they promoted child abuse. GLAD (1994) -

Major power imbalances create the potential for child abuse. ILGA condemns the exploitative use of power differences to coerce others into sexual relationships. All children have the right to protection from exploitation and abuse

Furthermore, the successful politicisation of such fears over associations between homosexuality and the seduction of vulnerable young men have arguably contributed to the defensiveness of "official" gay organisations on this issue over the past two decades,²⁰⁰ and increasing the pressure on them to condemn paedophilia.

The increasing ascendancy of CSA has also had a major impact on gay responses to MADIS (Thorstad 1998).²⁰¹ A major implication of this has arguably been the evolving way MADIS has been strategically redeployed in cyclical discourse away from homosexual seduction of boys by older men causing later homosexual identification, to an abused to abuser framework, whereby early abuse is correlated with being an abuser. Such a shift can also be situated within wider 'pressures of normalisation in gays to uphold normalising standards' (Halperin 1995: 147), alongside the increasing incorporation of gay sexuality within wider transformations in kinship and family, economic and social relationships, class and status, patterns of social regulation and changing political cultures (see Weeks 2000: 132; Evans 1993). (See appendix seventeen).

Secondly, the near universal adoption of CSA positions by academic contributions has clearly exacerbated the growing marginalisation of pro-paedophilic perspectives (see chapter one). This also has to be set within deep-seated cultural notions of childhood, which often mean that 'it is psychologically necessary to maintain our peace of mind to maintain a picture of the innocence of children' (Renvoize 1993: 118).²⁰²

Conclusion

This chapter addressed the discursive formations around the youth, adult male and

¹⁹⁹ This has been the outcome of a long-running campaign by many gay organisations to remove the stigmatic association of homosexuality with the seduction of youth and paedophilia (see O'Carroll 1980; Plummer 1981a; Thorstad 1998). For example, campaigns in the US such as Bryant's "Save our Children" in 1977, drew links between homosexuality and child protection. This was also a continuing theme affecting the on-going legislative guidelines on Sex Education in Scotland and the UK in the early 2000s.

²⁰⁰ This association was also given institutional focus over threats to deny the ILGA in 1994 a seat at the United Nations, on the basis that their affiliations included 'pro-paedophilic' groups within their membership.

²⁰¹ Fuelling Legg's comment that "[a]mong their immense concessions to homophobia, the so-called liberationists have lumped boy-love into the category of child molestation" (Quoted in Rossman 1979: 42).

MADIS, and how each have been shaped by the increasing separation of generational social worlds, and discursive shifts in meanings on age, gender and sexual relationships. It analysed the contribution of dominant class, gender, scientific codes to the unfolding discourses on MADIS, and how the social and discursive context of the mid 19th century was conducive to the establishment of specialised and localised techniques of power which have increasingly set late 20th agendas for the production of knowledge on MADIS.

It also examined the multi-faceted ways medical-psychiatry and psychoanalysis have increasingly defined and shaped the classificatory aetiologies, which have been deployed throughout the 20th century to explain homosexuality and paedophilia. The above have also contributed to the simultaneous proliferation of mechanisms of power, techniques of management, and experts around youth sexuality and paedophilia, constituting age boundaries as the central normalising axis in categorising late modern sexualities. This latter trend has also developed coterminously with the emergence of strategic alliances of present-day child protectionists, moral conservatives, medical-psychiatry and mainstream feminists, establishing the potential for a more global, hegemonic framework around MADIS.

²⁰² Finkelhor makes a similar point (see *ibid* 1991: 314).

Chapter Three Theorising MADIS

Introduction

This chapter will explain how theoretical approaches to the current study were affected by several factors including: reading undertaken pre-study; critical engagement with wider theorising on the sociology of sexuality - including the contested perspectives on MADIS;²⁰³ and during the research process through interviews with respondents.

Part one focuses on the approaches of Weeks, Plummer and Giddens, arguing that all three exaggerate late modern transformations in intimacy, and consequently overlook key continuities from modernity in the way MADIS has been constructed. Part two examines the methodological approach of Foucault, and secondary Foucauldian frameworks (including Queer Theory) to MADIS. Part three analyses the usefulness of Bourdieu's relational theory of practice, specifically his theoretical dyad of habitus and fields to MADIS. The final part outlines the various sociological theorising on age and generations, and evaluates how far such theorising can illuminate the underlying premises of the contested positions on MADIS, and provide a more specific focus on theorising power and subjectivity.

3.1 Theorising contemporary contributions

The reflexive backdrop

During the six-month period before beginning this study, I²⁰⁴ prepared reading which would hopefully lend some useful insights on framing this thesis. I decided to cover Foucault's History of Sexuality (Volume One) in the spring of 1999. His approach appeared to offer important insights and conceptual tools in explaining how MADIS has been configured in late modernity. Approximately five years further into the PhD process, after carrying out the data collection and engaging with other contemporary theorising, and despite some reservations over a wholesale adoption of his approach, I am still convinced of Foucault's relevance for the current study.

²⁰³ MADIS refers to male age-discrepant intergenerational sexualities / relationships.

²⁰⁴ Throughout this study the use of 'I' has been consciously avoided. However, at this juncture it was considered important to define the reflexive facets of this study and, in particular, how this affected myself and the research process (see chapter five).

A critique of three approaches

Weeks contends that late modernity has led to 'changes in patterns of sexual identity and arrangements of intimate life...which respects and validates different ways of life, different choices, alternative forms of responsibility and love' (Weeks 1995: 12). Plummer alludes to evidence of a growing sexual pluralism by speaking about 'new social worlds of sexual politics...moving out of silence, generating communities to receive and disseminate them on a global scale' (Plummer 1995: 144). He claims that a new and discrete intimate sphere has developed through the 'creation of new communities of discourse', which comprise 'rival language, stories and identities', and involve the creation of 'new kinds of relationships' (Ibid: 144, 153).

Giddens goes further, arguing that such shifts have produced 'a wholesale democratisation of the interpersonal domain, in a manner fully compatible with democratisation in the public sphere', in which 'lifestyle choices are constituted through a reflexive narrative of self' (Ibid 1992: 3, 75). For Giddens, late modernity has witnessed the concomitant 'decline of perversion - in the context of free expression in the liberal democratic state' (Ibid: 33).

Although Giddens makes little reference to how continuing restrictions in the intimate domain (legal injunctions, material inequalities and cultural taboos) can impact upon plural expressions, Plummer and Weeks do identify such counter-veiling trends. For example, Weeks refers to sexology's tendency throughout the 20th century to affirm and reinforce normalisation through cataloguing sexual varieties (Ibid: 2), and how the apparent fluidity and malleability of sexual categories has increased the numbers policing those very boundaries (Ibid: 43). Plummer also highlights how the different opportunities for sexual minorities to articulate stories and fashion communities, creates the potential for very differential trajectories and contrasting fortunes (Ibid: 26, 116). However Weeks (2000) surely underestimates (in relation to MADIS) the continuing influence and strength of regulatory 'regimes of power' when he argues

that we are in fact experiencing a social revolution, a transformation of everyday life in which millions are already engaged in everyday experiments in living. The traditional agencies of social and sexual regulation, states and churches, certainly

recognize that, as their various confused and fumbling attempts to ignore, or repress, or constructively respond indicate

(Ibid: 244).

Weeks maybe correct in identifying the multiple ways regulation on sexuality is deployed, however his claim that such attempts are unfocussed appears unfounded with regard to MADIS.

Problematic intimacies

Much of the current theorising on sexuality stresses significant disjunctures from previous eras.²⁰⁵ They also tend to proffer analyses of how reflexive transformations in late modernity have destabilised the influence of expert knowledges, apparently lessening the impact of state structures or normalising regimes of power upon sexual subjectivity. For example, Giddens characterises late modern societies as highly reflexive, with an 'open character' which has produced profound implications for a wholesale restructuring of the intimate domain (Ibid: 30). For Giddens, this constitutes a move toward 'pure relationships', which he defines as 'a social relationship...entered into for its own sake, for what can be derived by each person; and what is continued only in so far as it is thought by both parties to deliver enough satisfactions for each individual to stay with it' (Ibid: 58).

Giddens adds a further component to his analysis namely 'confluent love', which he sums up as 'knowing the traits of the other' (Ibid: 63). He includes children within this framework of confluent love, arguing for an attention to their rights and a respect for them, but confines this to parent-child relations within the family (Ibid: 109). A key element in Giddens inclusionary 'self-reflexive and self-determining' community, is the capacity for autonomy: 'to deliberate, judge, choose and act upon different possible courses of action', but which also includes the conditions of realisation: 'equality in influence, preference, effective participation' (Ibid: 185, 186). He sums this up as 'the condition of relating to others in an egalitarian way' (Ibid: 189); whereby 'no limits are set upon sexual activity, save for those entailed by the generalisation of the principle of autonomy and by the negotiated norms of the pure

relationship' (Ibid: 194).

Weeks identifies four elements (care, responsibility, respect and knowledge) from Froman's 'Art of Loving', as central to a late modern love ethic (Ibid 1995: 177). In constructing such an ethic, Weeks uses similar language to Giddens - 'autonomy', 'equality', 'symmetry' and 'mutual recognition' (Ibid: 179-183). In a later work, Weeks refers to how many lesbian and gays believe their relationships 'offer unique possibilities for the construction of egalitarian relationships' (Ibid 2000: 244). These possibilities 'represent the emergence of new narratives of everyday life, and a...commitment to the democratisation of relationships' based on 'mutual care, respect, responsibility and love' (Ibid: 244).

Although there is no direct reference to MADIS' inclusion within such transformations, the language applied above suggests significant obstacles. However, both Giddens and Weeks could be accused of setting very high attainment targets for all relationships. For example, in Giddens's thesis, an important element in such reflexive capacities is the ability to 'act upon different possible courses of action' (Ibid: 185). In the absence of any definitive measure of reflexive capacities, cognitive levels of development, and an awareness of all the alternatives, it is difficult to establish how closely relationships correspond to such an ideal.²⁰⁶ Furthermore, in relation to the social and material 'conditions of realisation...equality in influence, preference, effective participation' (Ibid: 186) which Giddens introduces, clear problems are likely to arise in achieving any substantive match between the social and intimate spheres. Giddens does not incorporate the implications of this within his framework, leaving open the question that if the 'conditions of realisation' are not met, is there still room for a relationship to develop on other bases including mutual respect, pleasure and friendship?

Furthermore, Giddens theorises that a central element of late modern relationships is

²⁰⁵ Especially postmodern Queer contributions, but also more generally in 'reflexive turn' approaches.

²⁰⁶ By questioning the ability of a large number of individuals to enjoy access to such information on all the alternatives open to them in the area of personal relationships, I am reminded of critiques of the perfect competition model of political economy, which also highlight discrepancies between conditions of realisation and theoretical frameworks. Further work in this area could also engage with debates over children's informed consent in MADIS.

'the condition of relating to others in an egalitarian way' (Ibid: 189). This moves the analysis to the level of personal conduct, in which shared interests and treating a partner with mutual respect are arguably more significant in the development of a relationship than perceived social and material inequalities. If the added criteria of 'conditions for realisation'²⁰⁷ (Ibid: 186) are inferred, then given the way age-relationships are constructed, MADIS' inclusion becomes more difficult. However, this problematically reduces all personal relationships as the automatic outcome of gender or age-based power differentials and, if rigidly applied, would equally problematise heterosexual and cross-class relationships.

Preliminary "observations"

As stated earlier, this study seeks to establish a dynamic interaction in methodological approaches in the social sciences between inductivism (the generation of theoretical insights through evaluating the current literature, contested perspectives and empirical data), and deductivism (the development of theoretical insights for framing the research methodology, and analysing data). Both approaches will be deployed to provide a dynamic understanding of the relationship between the generation of theoretical insights and data.

After engaging with respondents to the current research,²⁰⁸ I (as researcher) did not get the impression that such a process of transformation was taking place. Furthermore, media reporting of events, along with political and media reactions to the repeal of Clause 28 in Scotland, reduction in the gay male age of consent to sixteen, and the proliferation of discourses on the dangers of child sexuality, CSA and sex offenders, suggested that the above theorising was unsatisfactory.

In the boylover support literature, and in many gay and boylover accounts, the emphasis was more on continuity with modern²⁰⁹ attitudes concerning the treatment of 'sexual deviants' and controls placed on child sexuality (see chapters six and eleven). They also highlighted an extension of restrictions on expressing intimacy and sexual relationships across the different age groups in a number of important ways. In

²⁰⁷ Namely, 'equality in influence, preference, effective participation' (see Giddens 1992: 86).

²⁰⁸ Namely gay MADIS, boylovers, gay youth groups, and male survivors.

contrast to sexual pluralism and diversity, boylovers felt that the position of some sexual minorities had markedly improved, whereas they remained stigmatised and marginalised more severely than ever. Male survivors of sexual abuse, though in markedly different ways, did not use the language and expressions consistent with such transformations, but referred to the inadequate attention²¹⁰ given to their plight.²¹¹

Finally, in relation to the debates over 'sexual citizenship', paedophilia and MADIS are generally brought up by contributors only to highlight the limits to further transformations (Plummer 1995: 117; Richardson 2000: 110). The implications of this will be critically examined throughout this chapter.

3.2 Foucauldian and Queer contributions

Overview

This part will interrogate Foucault's analysis of the formation of power and subjectivity in late modernity; specifically his claim that sexual subjectivities have been strategically sequestered, colonised and mapped out through, localised centres of 'power-knowledge' (see Foucault 1978). There will be a particular focus on how far each of his 'tools'²¹² (sovereign gaze, normalisation, power, establishment of truths, power-knowledge) can equip the present study with critical insights. There will also be an examination of secondary Foucauldian approaches, in particular 'Queer', and how far they have been able to develop critical tools on MADIS.

Hakosalo identifies six key components in Foucauldian methodology (see *ibid* 1991: 205-209).²¹³ These include Foucault's approach to discursive practices²¹⁴ and the power relations involved in their construction.²¹⁵ The fifth focuses on the potential for

²⁰⁹ And even pre-modern attitudes.

²¹⁰ Reflected in a general lack of financial resources and public space.

²¹¹ See chapter ten.

²¹² Foucault's approach to critical social theory on his own advice will be used as an unfolding 'tool-kit' (see Foucault 1976 in Gordon 1980; Foucault 1978: part four).

²¹³ Chapter two addressed two of these namely, how Foucault's notion of an 'event', and a genealogical approach to the relationship between social power and unfolding scientific discursive practices, were able to draw attention to transformations in the position of MADIS throughout modernity.

²¹⁴ Covering objects, subject positions, concepts, theoretical themes and strategies.

²¹⁵ In relation to the issues surrounding MADIS, this will be carried out through studying particular cases (including age of consent legislation and debates over repealing Clause 28) and the contexts

global forms of domination through strategic alliances and conflicts.²¹⁶ Finally, Hakosalo incorporates Foucault's attack against networks of power and any "taken-for-granted" phenomena which reinforce them. For the current study, this involves a look at how far resistance strategies, through the adoption of boylover identity-labels and positively experienced MADIS, can challenge dominant constructions, and how far male survivor positions problematise such presentations. (See appendix eighteen).

Discourses, fields of operation and their strategic production

Weedon (1987) interprets Foucault's deployment of discourse as

ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledges and relations between them. Discourses are more than ways of thinking and producing meaning. They constitute the 'nature' of the body, unconscious and conscious mind and emotional life of the subjects they seek to govern

(Ibid: 108).

Discourses on sex will be subsequently defined as both the effect and product of distinctive social, material, cultural and historical practices, power relations, and epistemological transformations. They will also be seen as informative, but necessarily constitutive of, particular modes of subjectivity.²¹⁷

Foucault explains the profusion of discourses on sex in modernity through an epistemic²¹⁸ transformation in the relationship of the state toward its subjects, reflected in an ever-increasing drive to regulate individual and collective bodies through new forms of 'bio-power' (Ibid: 140). He identifies the establishment,

(political and educational) in which such issues are contested. This will also involve a critical look at how child sexuality and MADIS have been problematised, and how this in turn has been reinforced through power relations in legal, medical-psychiatric, gender, familial and media contexts.

²¹⁶ A key aspect of this has already been addressed in chapters one and two, in relation to the complex interplay between essentialist (medical, psychiatric and moral) and constructionist (feminist, CSA, sociological) discourses in the construction of MADIS.

²¹⁷ The latter aspect is important in partially addressing the concerns of some critics (Evans 1993; Alcoff 1996) that Foucauldian and post-structuralist social theorising effectively do away with the subject, consequently rendering individual agents 'cultural dopes', or 'discourse-colonised' automatons (Evans 1993: 21).

²¹⁸ Or paradigmatic shift in the production of knowledge.

throughout the 18th century, of multiple 'points of implantation...including institutional devices and discursive strategies' in which networks of power sought to expand their terrain on the body (Ibid: 28). For Flynn, Foucault's approach constitutes a 'micro-physics of power', in which relations of power coalesce around the body (Ibid cited in Gutting 1994: 30).

Weedon also highlights the importance of Foucault's notion of a discursive field, in constituting a

relationship between language, social institutions, subjectivity and power for example, law. It contains a number of competing and contradictory discourses with varying degrees of power to give meaning to and organize social institutions and processes and a range of modes of subjectivity
(Ibid: 35).

This broadens the scope of analysis to institutions and social contexts, and the extent to which these can mediate the way in which subsequent discourses are communicated. It also addresses how successful any competing and/ or contradictory discourses are in the production and dissemination of specific truths about sex, and in the formation of sexual subjectivities.

Foucault places sex at the centre of such efforts because it constitutes an 'especially dense transfer point for relations of power: between men and women, young and old people, parents and offspring, teachers and students, priests and laity, an administration and a population' (Ibid 1978: 103). Consequently for Foucault, 'we are dealing less with a discourse on sex than a multiplicity of discourses produced by a whole series of mechanisms operating in different institutions', resulting 'in an explosion of distinct discursivities which took form in demography, biology, medicine, psychiatry, psychology, ethics, pedagogy, and political criticism (Ibid: 33).

A Micro-analytical ascending analysis of power

For Weedon Foucault's approach to power can be summarised as recognising

a dynamic of control between discourses and the subjects, constituted by discourses, who are their agents. Power is exercised within discourses in the ways in which they constitute and govern individual subjects

(Ibid: 113).

Power for Foucault is elusive - neither held nor possessed by groups or classes at the expense of others - but instead 'exercised from innumerable points, in the interplay of nonegalitarian and mobile relations' (Ibid: 94). It therefore "must be analysed as something which circulates...functions in the form of a chain...[and] is employed and exercised through a net-like organisation" (Foucault 1976: 98).

Foucault's approach to locating the origins of modern forms of power in the area of sexuality recognises the contingent, dispersed and frequently unstable nature of discourse production. He argues that discourses on sexuality are formulated, and subsequently defined, through myriad channels of networks and points, which in turn, constantly elaborate on such discourses through newly constituted forms of power and revised knowledge(s) (Ibid 1978: 89, 35).

Foucault's approach also recognises the generative and productive properties of modern forms of power. Previous approaches which defined power in terms of relations of sovereignty between a monarchy and subjects, and the state and citizens, were viewed by Foucault as inadequate to the task of analysing the manifold ways in which power and domination is produced, dispersed and articulated. Instead, he advocates an 'analytics of power' which seeks to locate power (particularly relations of) within specific domains (Ibid: 82).²¹⁹ In the sexual field (and other human relations) these 'multiple and mobile power relations' are constituted through four 'rules':²²⁰ the localisation of power relations through the expansion and encroachment of scientific investigation; increasing specialisation in the application of power and appropriated knowledge; strategic alignments within the conjunction of power-knowledge; and resistance to imposed schemas (Ibid: 98-102).

²¹⁹ Foucault identifies medical-psychiatry as particularly important here, but in relation to MADIS, areas such as social work could equally be stressed.

²²⁰ The use of language such as 'rules' has laid Foucault open to accusations of functionalism. This is largely unfair since in his own words, rules are merely 'cautionary prescriptions' (Ibid 1978: 98).

Macro-micro: local and global effects of power

Foucault criticises previous Marxist and structuralist approaches, contending that analyses of power-relations must start

from its infinitesimal mechanisms...their own history, their own trajectory, their own techniques and tactics, and then see how these mechanisms of power have been - and continue to be - invested, colonised, utilised, involuted, transformed, displaced, extended etc., by ever more general mechanisms and by forms of global domination (Ibid 1980: 99).

Although Foucault outlines four 'strategic unities' in the unfolding of modern sexological discourses, he is clear how the interplay of different power relations can produce entrenched global forms of power (see *ibid* 1980: 99). For example, he cites such a 'strategic alliances' which occurred between family and the state in the 19th century²²¹ in achieving significantly global effects, as a prime case (*Ibid* 1978: 99-100).²²² For Foucault, there is neither a discontinuity, nor a homogeneity of purpose, between the micro and macro levels at which different centres or forms of power operates, with the consequence that

[n]o "local centre," no "pattern of transformation" could function if, through a series of sequences, it did not eventually enter into an over-all strategy. And inversely, no strategy could achieve comprehensive effects if (it) did not gain support from precise and tenuous relations serving, not as its point of application or final outcome, but as its prop and anchor point (Ibid: 99).

Strategic deployment

For Foucault, there is a direct relationship between the formation and proliferation of discourses on sex, and unfolding relations of power, requiring an examination of local power relations, their part in the formation of discourses, and an attention to how

²²¹ Which Hakosalo describes as 'domestic penetration and medical specialisation' (*Ibid* 1991: 134).

²²² This latter aspect is often overlooked in criticisms of Foucault's approach which claim he neglects the globalising effects, such as material capitalist relations, upon the unfolding discourses and injunctions on child, deviant adult male and female sexuality (see chapter one in Evans 1993).

those discourses constitute power relations (Ibid: 97). Foucault identifies the 'polymorphous techniques' (Ibid 1978: 11) available to such localised centres as crucial to the subsequent content, focus and range of discourses on sex. Fraser sees Foucault's analytics of power as a 'capillary' process, in which power is 'dispersed through the entire social body...through behavioural engineers and welfare technologies' (Fraser 1996: 28).

For Foucault, discourses are also

tactical elements...operating in the field of force relations; there can exist different and even contradictory discourses within the same strategy; they can, on the contrary, circulate without changing their form from one strategy to another opposing strategy (Ibid 1978: 102).

In order to address such a constantly shifting dynamic in the strategic production of discourses on sex, Foucault calls for the need to

question them (discourses on sex) on the two levels of their tactical productivity (what reciprocal effects of power and knowledge they ensure) and their strategical integration (what conjunction and what force relationship make their utilization necessary in a given episode of the various confrontations that occur) (Ibid: 102).

For Hakosalo, such strategic analyses should focus on the networks of social power (psychology and medicine), which attempt to constitute individuals as an object of scientific study (Ibid 1991: 48, 119, 120).

Power- Knowledge and subjectivity

Lloyd and Thacker contend that

[r]ather than viewing truth and knowledge as defences against power, Foucault implicates them in power...such power is not as seen by previous studies in the property of groups or agents or structures but at the level of discursive formation

which produces those very agents and structures

(Ibid 1997: 15).

Central to Foucault's conception of the strategic production of discourses on sex is the link between power and knowledge. For Nilson, power is produced within a 'field of interaction' with knowledge; forming an 'indissoluble relationship to forms of knowledge' (Ibid 1998: 65). This desire for accumulating knowledge shown by modern forms of power, is further consolidated and systemised through a process of 'epistemologization', which Hakosalo defines as the

rapid institutional centralisation and consolidation of a given discourse, emergence of binding norms and models of how knowledge is to be constructed and checked within the discourse, and a coming into existence of shared conceptions concerning the task of the science in question, its social function, the nature of truth, and the legitimate sources of knowledge

(Ibid 1991: 25).

For Hakosalo, an inevitable corollary of the above is that such knowledge, when applied through techniques and relations of power, leads to the depressing outcome, whereby the clinician is able 'to impose his will on the patient' who has to 'accept the alternative mode of being that was being offered', when he is reduced, in effect, 'to an infantile docile state' (Ibid: 93).

Visker²²³ warns against oversimplifying such a relationship (Ibid 1995: 56). He highlights the 'conditions of emergence (technological matrix) of a particular discourse', and the way in which 'power appears as a kind of effect - by which knowledge can attain an object which is already preset' (Ibid: 61, 64, 67).²²⁴ For Visker, Foucault's analysis of relations of power also implies a 'political economy of knowledge', in which 'particular forms of knowledge' (scientific) are invested with a surplus value to the detriment of others (Ibid: 3, 4).

²²³ In reference to the link in Foucauldian methodology between power, knowledge and discourse.

²²⁴ This is particularly significant in allowing for the potential for pre-existing knowledge (and even identities) which recognised certain behaviours (and possibly subject positions) but which have been effectively colonised by dominant forms of power-knowledge such as medical-psychiatry.

Effects of power: gazing, colonising, sequestering and truth-telling

Foucault also highlights the importance of the scientific, professional gaze as a key strategy of localised forms of power's ability to position themselves, and the objects of their concern. Foucault adopts this concept to address the way the human body has increasingly been constituted as a subject of medical-psychiatric knowledge.²²⁵ For Foucault, such networks of power achieve their aim of domination relationally (for example, between doctors and patients, teachers and students) through their claim to know through gazing. This process effectively constitutes (and reproduces) itself as a technique in anchoring and reinforcing the nexus of power-knowledge.

It (power) was constituted in two stages...in the one who spoke it and in the one who assimilated and recorded it
(Ibid 1978: 66).

Consequently, power is constituted at a local level, defined relationally and is conditional upon the ability to possess knowledge on particular subjects. Due to the fact that sexuality acts as a significantly dense transfer point on account of its strategic importance as a foundation for knowledge on bodily functions, Foucault claims that it will inevitably be a prime target for the application of a multitude of 'anxious gazes' that are exerted on sex (Ibid: 97).

Foucault also uses the notion of colonisation to refer to the way technologies of power effectively "invade" the body, and subsequently re-classify individual and collective experiences. A specific corollary of this process, involves the way 'sexual irregularity is annexed, and the normalisation of sexual development defined' (Ibid: 36). For Foucault, this is channelled in a more systematic way through the production of a binary system, in which normalising categories and boundaries are created and reinforced (Ibid: 83).²²⁶

²²⁵ For example, he refers to the development in late modernity of a 'clinical gaze', in which physicians can identify the particular problem to diagnose and treat it, subsequently achieving an enhanced status (see Foucault 1977).

²²⁶ This aspect of Foucault's approach will be looked at in more detail by applying this conceptual insight to MADIS, and to Queer theoretical approaches, which have attempted to challenge such imposed binary constructions.

For Foucault, this creates the opportunities for the production of truth through

types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as truth; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true

(Ibid 1980: 131).

This also implies a close and integral relationship with forms of power, whereby dominant truths on sex can be recognised through their relationship to the most entrenched forms of power and domination.

“[T]ruth” is linked in a circular relation with systems of power which produce and sustain it, and the effects of power which it induces and which extend it. A “regime” of truth

(Ibid: 133).

Foucault sees this as an inter-related process, constituting

a specific type of discourse on sex, in a specific form of extortion of truth, appearing historically...make possible these kind of discourses, and conversely, how were these discourses used to support power relations?

(Ibid 1978: 97).

Foucault criticises psychoanalysis for acting as the confessor, through which confessions on sex could be mediated and transmitted (Ibid: 112), and thereby contributing to a process of domination through promises of salvation, listening, assimilating, recording and reconstructing the very thoughts and desires of the subject (Ibid: 66). Foucault likens such practices to the power the confessor had over the confessant in religious approaches to sin, but in modernity he views the attempt by regimes of power-knowledge to gather sexual information on the subject as an instrumental device to achieve dominant truth status.

Nilson refers to 'scientific discourses' as 'very specific "truth games" techniques' which link power and subjectivity (Ibid 1998: 97). He highlights the important link between 'Parrhesia' (truth-telling) and the way attention is drawn to a particular area or subject of enquiry.

The analysis of the way an unproblematic field of experience, or a set of practices, which were accepted without question, which were familiar and "silent", out of discussion, becomes a problem, raises discussion and debate, incites new reactions; and induces a crisis in the previously silent behaviour, habits, practices and institutions

(Ibid 1998: 92).

For Visker, truth constitutes itself as a 'palaepathological game sweeping away epochality and historicity' (Ibid 1995: 11-12), whereas for McWhorter such 'sexual regimes of truth deny human freedom and punish those of us who seek to exercise our freedom' (Ibid 1999: 188).

Sexual subjectivity

McWhorter identifies the epistemological concerns of truth and knowledge as crucial to understanding Foucault's approach to sexual subjectivity (Ibid 1999: 28). She notes how these have been particularly instrumental in the construction of 'sexual heterogenities' through a 'multiplicity of discursive shifts and reutilisation of identity formulas' (Ibid: 36, 100).²²⁷ This creation of new sexual subjectivities is therefore integral to late modern forms of power's attempts to reinforce its hold on populations.

For Hakosalo, this process of "subjectivisation"²²⁸ is achieved through 'localisation of clinical discourse'; 'institutional specialisation'; and 'individualisation' (Ibid 1991: 38, 47). Consequently, institutional practice formulates 'multiple categories of deviancy' through assigning 'a certain type of individual' with a 'uniform identity', and by doing so, effectively (re)constructs the life-story of the individual (Ibid: 47). For McWhorter, this constitutes a dual process of 'simultaneous homogenisation and

²²⁷ This is also important for Rubin's analysis of MADIS later in this chapter.

²²⁸ Defined as the constitution and control of different subjectivities.

individualisation', which involves the targeting of specific populations, enabling 'technicians to generate norms', and therefore constitutes a 'powerful means of ordering groups for the purpose of acquiring knowledge about processes' (Ibid: 156).

Resistance

Foucault rejects any 'simple distinction between inclusive or exclusive discourse' (Ibid 1978: 97), contending that

we must not imagine a world of discourse divided between accepted discourse and excluded discourse, or between the dominant discourse and the dominated one; but as a multiplicity of discursive elements that can come into play in various strategies...according to who is speaking, his position of power, the institutional context in which he happens to be situated - that it implies; and with the shifts and reutilizations of identical formulas for contrary objectives that it also includes (Ibid: 100).

Instead, he defines differing types and levels of knowledge as: 'subjugated', 'naïve', 'low-ranking', 'disqualified' and 'popular' forms of knowledges, 'that have been disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated: ...located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition or scientificity' (Ibid 1980: 82). As evidence for the inherent dynamic for resistance to appear within power, Foucault cites the example of previously pathologised homosexuals, utilising their desire as a transformative identity and starting point for an opposing strategy (Ibid 1978: 101).

For Hakosalo, resistance needs to 'look at the agents, institutions and discourses which have authority in defining what is to be considered normal, beautiful and desirable in a given society' (Ibid 1991: 7). For Fraser this involves interrogating the power-knowledge regime 'that defines and produces each epoch's distinctive subjects and objects of knowledge and power' (Ibid 1996: 19). Consequently, re-casting 'subjectivity outside dominant discourses', and transcending forms of power that transfer the subject into a discursive instrument of 'truth' becomes the essential task (Kritzman (ed.)1988: XV).

Effective resistance for Hartsock implies 'changes in power relations and the development of subjectivities grounded in the experience of dominated and marginalized', to effect 'an alternative account of the world' (Ibid 1996: 52, 53). McWhorter claims that an 'alternative power/ knowledge network' is required, alongside 'multiple nodes of resistance' which deploy 'counter network of meaning...establish new networks of power to counter whatever now oppresses them' (Ibid 1999: 209). She identifies three resistance strategies within Foucauldian sexual politics,

1) refuse to incorporate any sexual identity into my self-image; 2) refuse to do anything that would enable a sexual label to be attached to me by others; and 3) point out political investments and historical variability of sexuality and sexual identity in order to discredit whatever claim any sexual label might exercise over me (Ibid: 101).

McWhorter advocates dismantling and redefining homosexuality as 'something other than a given, reified object', and which distinguishes 'between a desiring subject and a sexual subject' (Ibid: 30, 112). Relating such a strategy to truth regimes, she calls for the elaboration of a '[c]ounter-memory... recounted by those whose voices were almost suppressed rather than by those whose interpretations won out', through constructing 'alternative matrices of power/ knowledge as the building material of alternative systems of meaning', and advocating 'a culture and a sense of self counter to what the dominant society seeks to impose' (Ibid: 199, 191).

For Nilson, 'new forms of subjectivity' are effectively 'Molotov cocktails for those who wish to reject identification with the status quo' and fashion 'new forms of relationships' (Ibid 1998: 78, 105). Halperin sees in such strategies "new forms of pleasure, self-identity, desexualisation of pleasure, not the appropriation of a sexual identity" (Ibid quoted in Nilson 1998: 106).

3.21 Application to MADIS

Foucault's concept of a discursive field is crucial for understanding the social and institutional context, in which discourses relevant to the present study are developed.

These include: key institutional sites which disseminate knowledge(s);²²⁹ the processes by which particular discourses such as the "vulnerable child" and the "dangerous sex offender" assume dominant status; power relationships²³⁰ in constructing truth statements on MADIS; and finally, how far such practices, power relationships and subjectivities are affected by contestation from marginalised discursive positions.

Child and youth sexuality

Foucault was well aware of the importance of children's sexuality in enabling modern forms of power to deploy knowledge and multiple techniques.²³¹

The body of the child, under surveillance, surrounded in his cradle, his bed, or his room by an entire watch-crew of parents, nurses, servants, educators, and doctors...has constituted, particularly since the 18th century, another local centre of power-knowledge

(Ibid 1978: 98)

and

[i]n fact, all around the child, indefinite lines of penetration were disposed

(Ibid: 42).

These discourses have been applied across various disciplines,²³² channelled through, and reproduced within, institutional sites. In addition, knowledge on children's sexuality has been increasingly coveted and scrutinised by parents, the media and researchers. For Kincaid,²³³ one consequence of the contemporary focus on child protection is the way childhood effectively becomes saturated 'with a sexual discourse that inevitably links children, sexuality, and erotic appeal' (Ibid 1998: 101). Furthermore, a variety of diverse political interests²³⁴ have effectively coalesced around CSA, using it to bolster their own particular truth claims. For example, much

²²⁹ Including schools, prisons, families, and clinics.

²³⁰ Teacher-student, parent-child, social worker-young person, and SOTP professional-sex offender.

²³¹ This point is strengthened by the rapid proliferation in the different types of expertise and knowledge (professional and academic) on child and youth sexuality since Foucault's death.

²³² Medicine, psychiatry, social work, psychology, sociology, and child welfare.

²³³ Similar to Kitzinger's point in chapter one.

²³⁴ Mainstream feminism, conservative family groups and child protection campaigners.

feminist theorising has framed child sexuality in relation to gendered conceptions of power, in which young people are placed in a vulnerable position. Such theorising has also arguably led to the dominant conception of young people at risk, innocent, vulnerable, powerless in any MADIS.²³⁵

Power relations

Foucault saw sex as the 'greatest instrumentality for power relations', and 'capable of serving as...a linchpin' for varied strategies (Ibid 1978: 103). In the production of power relationships, and in the subsequent distribution of sexual knowledge, Foucault identified the family and medical-psychiatry in the 18th century as key sites in the generation²³⁶ of modern notions of childhood and deviant sexuality. Consequently, child sexuality became increasingly invested with importance and framed within middle-class familial and professional discourses as problematic (Ibid: 104).²³⁷

The production of the above discourses have arguably led to the creation of an ensemble of power relations between adults and young people, expressed within a range of institutions.²³⁸ Furthermore, projected truths about young people's sexuality have been increasingly constituted through the dominant gaze of professionals, resulting in multiple techniques of implanting truths about their sexuality. Firstly, within professional and academic manuals, precocious child sexuality is regularly identified as symptomatic of other socio-psychological problematic characteristics, often assumed to be linked to the effects of CSA, or as demonstration of a need for intervention to prevent such behaviours becoming abusive (see chapter one).²³⁹

Consequently, child sexual experiences have been increasingly colonised,

²³⁵ Indeed, for Foucault the very notion of 'vulnerability' as a construct in such relationships, has developed a whole body of psychological knowledge, which he claims is 'imbibed from psychoanalysis, where the psychologist is the one who is able to say: I can predict that a trauma of this degree of importance will occur as a result of this or that type of relationship' (Foucault quoted in Kritzman (ed.)1988: 277).

²³⁶ And management.

²³⁷ Further research could explore a potential link between children and young people being assigned greater commodity and cultural value and falling birth rates in western societies.

²³⁸ Chapters one and two highlighted the way in which the field of discourse production on child and youth sexuality has increasingly been constituted as a strategically contested arena with a seemingly ever-expanding terrain.

²³⁹ For example, Kincaid uses the term 'CSA talk' ('sex as power, control, denial'), to characterise the process whereby teachers act as 'lightning rods' for such stories (Ibid 1998: 218).

sequestered and interpretable only through expert knowledge. Furthermore, the intensified gaze by localised power-knowledges on the bodies and sexuality of young people has arguably produced a late modern obsession to scrutinise, explain, codify and map as many variations as possible.

The Globalising effect: child sexuality as 'tactical anchor point'

[W]hat was important in relations between children and adults was that childhood became a common area of interest for: parents, educational institutions and public health. Children's sexuality became both a target and an instrument of power which resulted in the sexual misery of children and adolescents. The object was not to forbid, but to use childhood sexuality as a network of power over kids. Children consequently became oppressed by the very ones who pretended to liberate them
(Foucault quoted in Kritzman (ed.)1988: 113).

As Foucault suggests, the sexual status of young people has been constructed in late modernity as a problematic and contested area where power-knowledges have been most rigorously deployed. However, in relation to their tactical productivity such concerns have been transformed from late 19th century anti-masturbation campaigns,²⁴⁰ to contemporary fears over problematic sexual behaviours and categories, including child sex offenders and adolescent victims.

Kincaid views the above as part of a trend in which the 'proliferation of categories and numbers to mark them (children) with', constitute a 'tactic for defining childhood' as 'a kind of purity, an absence and an incapacity, an inability to know' (Ibid 1992: 70).²⁴¹ He argues that in doing so, Anglo-American culture is guilty of a "collective denial", whereby the child is 'enthusiastically' sexualised, whilst simultaneously being assigned innocent characteristics (Ibid 1998: 13). Kincaid argues that the 'subject of the child's sexual and erotic appeal, along with our evasion of what we have done...now structures our culture' (Ibid: 14).

²⁴⁰ See chapter two.

²⁴¹ This has led Kincaid to proactively claim that, 'paedophiles and us aren't much different: both of us really yearn for this empty, incompetent "child" and if we don't find it, we know...how to manufacture it' (1998: 212).

Globalising CSA

The way in which CSA has been able to establish dominant status with regard to child sexuality fits well with Lemert and Gillan's schema on the key features of a dominant discourse namely,

- 1) *a type of discourse establishing its own individuality;*
 - 2) *an episteme establishing a coherent, valid and verified body of knowledge;*
 - 3) *a body of knowledge developing formal criteria employed as laws for the constructions of propositions; and*
 - 4) *formal axioms taken as legitimating and self-evident starting points for knowledge*
- (Ibid 1982: 17).

Chapter one outlined the contested issues on MADIS, and developed critiques of CSA, and the problematic way victim discourses were strategically deployed by a number of power-knowledges as dominant truth.²⁴² As a consequence, meanings have been constituted through the global lens of CSA, and strategically implemented through localised networks of power-knowledge. A prime example of this is the following characterisation of young people within MADIS as

the involvement of dependent, developmentally immature children and adolescents in sexually abusive activities they do not fully comprehend, and to which they are unable to give consent, or that violate the social taboos of family roles

(Quoted in Archard 1998: 117-118).²⁴³

(See appendix nineteen).

Visker point is particularly relevant at this juncture on how truth acts 'as a discursive regime with a fixed theoretical horizon with an internal regime of power which

²⁴² This 'victim as truth statement' also achieves its dominance by positioning the younger person within any MADIS encounter or relationship as vulnerable and powerless. This is constructed in several ways. Firstly, in terms of language. The vast majority of CSA research design starts off with categories (binary compositions) to define all sexual experiences involving anyone under 16 or 18 and someone five-ten years older as abuse (see Finkelhor 1984: 23-4). This is then applied to the subjects involved (victim-perpetrator) regardless of any meanings they might proffer to contest such characterisations.

²⁴³ From M.D. Schechter and L. Roberge, 'Sexual Exploitation', in R.E. Helfer and C.H. Kempe (eds.), *Child Abuse and Neglect: The family and the Community* (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger, 1976), 129.

controls statements', through imposing 'truth / false distinctions in a deterministic way' via an 'ensemble of rules' demarcating truth and falsehood (Ibid 1995: 113, 114).²⁴⁴

The sex offender

The late 20th century has witnessed a rapid increase in the number of experts and diverse specialisms in the area of sex offending against children, including the production of typological frameworks, aetiologies, and polemical tracts (see chapter one). Similar to the production of discourses on childhood, the paedophile has been constructed along essentialist and constructionist axes, with Conservatives generally adopting individualist, essentialist notions, thereby diverting attention away from feminist and CSA critiques of the patriarchal family. Indeed, Kincaid notes how the 'unchanging essence' of the paedophile provides the context for the deployment of laws to regulate his behaviour, and provide him with the lowly status as the 'most frequented cultural toilet' (Ibid 1998: 88, 94).

Medical-psychiatry has also invoked essentialist notions, claiming that such behaviour is genetically predetermined, consistent with individual psychopathological characteristics (see chapter one). Demonic portrayals of paedophiles have been regularly deployed in media campaigns, again eschewing systemic factors. In contrast, the term abuser is largely informed by constructionist, mainstream feminist perspectives which stress how gendered power differences create the conditions for men to abuse women and children. CSA approaches also tend to incorporate this, highlighting the link between CSA and the socialisation of males.

However, the latter arguably conflates gender with age in analyses of power,²⁴⁵ failing to address age as a discrete factor with specific developmental and cultural considerations. Consequently, recent CSA research has tended to take a more multi-factorial approach. Whilst still emphasising male socio-sexualisation as a significant factor in explaining CSA, they also stress individual and family backgrounds, pathological characteristics of offenders, and preconditions for CSA (see chapter one).

²⁴⁴ In relation to the construction of truth statements through the development of stories and narratives on CSA and child molesting, Kincaid claims that 'actual events are less important than the power of the cultural narrative, which now takes over and renders historical truth irrelevant in the face of the "truth" mandated by the way our culture wants to see these things' (Kincaid 1998: 33).

Micro-macro strategic alliances²⁴⁶

As a result of the proliferation of typologies and explanations which have proffered explanations for CSA and sex offending, the discursive field has expanded, increasing further the opportunities for professionals to deploy a range of specialist expertise. A central element throughout this study,²⁴⁷ is the recognition that strategic alliances have the potential to create more global forms of domination (see Foucault 1978: 97). This was further reinforced after reviewing the current literature and theoretical approaches to sex offenders and CSA, which revealed significant similarities in the terminology and conceptual tools deployed.

In order to denote such a proximate and strategic relationship, the concept of "symbiotism" will be applied to the power-knowledges which have problematised child sexuality, and those which have been developed on sex offenders against young people. This concept also denotes the methods by which emerging discourses on CSA have been strategically appropriated by groups,²⁴⁸ complementary with the strategic use of the sex offender by behaviouralist approaches and SOTP professionals (see chapter seven).

Kincaid's thesis

Kincaid develops on Foucault's anti-repression hypothesis in relation to 'the child molester' and child sexuality (see Kincaid 1992, 1998). He argues that the 'molested child is manufactured according to specifications that fit adult needs; not theirs' (Ibid 1998: 173). Kincaid outlines how different approaches have coalesced around the fundamental idea 'that child molesting is a clearly defined, discernible, marginal activity engaged in by others who can be...identified and punished, maybe even eliminated altogether' (Ibid: 23). He adds that such 'stories of child molesting' are played out through the media, parents, police, judges, and experts are regurgitated as an 'attempt to retell in such a way as to capture for us more persuasive veracity and

²⁴⁵ As foreseen by Ennew (see *ibid* 1986: 142).

²⁴⁶ Nilson refers to the trajectory of both the adult male sexual deviant and children in the same sentence, claiming that 'Foucault saw the history of the "pervert" or the child as part of a sexual imprisonment' (*Ibid* 1998: 75).

²⁴⁷ See chapters one, two and seven.

²⁴⁸ Child protection, medical-psychiatry, mainstream feminist positions, CSA campaigners, victim-advocacy groups, Conservative family organisations, and mainstream gay and lesbian groups.

authority' (Ibid 1992: 344).

For Kincaid, the key elements in such stories are: that it is only paedophiles who are a danger to children; that such individuals are omnipresent, male, maladjusted, sick, violent and dangerous; and that they are in alliance with abduction, pornographic and prostitution rings (Ibid 1992: 355). A major consequence is that

child molesting has been pried free from medical and psychological explanations and is now subject only to moral ones. Paedophiles have not really been "othered", or marginalized; they have been removed from the species, rendered unknowable (Ibid 1998: 88).

Kincaid argues that the underlying basis for the scripting of the paedophile is the apparent normalcy of everyone else, with the consequence that as the child becomes 'more desirable' paedophiles have to be blamed (Ibid 1992: 183, 184). 'Child love', he argues, 'is not an escape at all but an act of obedience prescribed by the very agencies of power that mandate our horror of it' (Ibid: 210).

In focussing on the textual and cultural production of child sexuality and adult sexual desires towards young people in Anglo-American culture, Kincaid clearly posits a link between the two - with the consequence that through the deployment of discourses on child molesting (the problem) and child sexuality (the cure) they effectively become 'happily married' (Ibid 1998: 260). He sees the narratives on child sexuality and the paedophile, as constituted within 'an official arena', which generates 'infinite new possibilities for the telling of this cultural saga' (Ibid 1992: 345).

Kincaid's approach goes some way in helping to understand how the sexualities of the child and 'child molester' have become simultaneously problematised. However it requires further elaboration on how imposed medical constructions (problem and cure) can be removed from the current lexicon surrounding the paedophile, and what alternative constructions could replace them. Finally, his plea for 'new stories' to create 'a way of imagining new actions and new beings' on MADIS (Ibid 1998: 290) appears rather vague.

Resistance strategies

Foucault's advocacy of a 'counterattack' to power by disavowing sexuality in favour of a different economy of bodies and pleasure (Ibid 1978: 159), appears overly obscurantist and difficult to apply. There has been much discussion over what Foucault meant by this statement; whether as Weeks claims it is a residual essentialism coveted by Foucault against the normalisation of modern regimes of truth (see chapter five in Weeks 2000); or a genuine political strategy whereby subjects can claim their rights to their own bodies (Halperin 1995).

One of the most frequent criticisms levelled at Foucault²⁴⁹ is his lack of attention to agency, leading to the effective removal of the subject altogether from social theory (see Alcoff 1996). Foucault's initial focus was primarily concerned with the multiple ways in which the subject is effectively colonised by modern regimes of truth, as opposed to the ways in which human subjects have challenged such impositions (see Foucault 1978). Although he arguably developed a fuller account of the form such resistance might take in later works (see Foucault 1986, 1988), this remains a problematic area for Foucauldian approaches.

However what is significant for this study is the way in which CSA has been able to constitute itself as the definitive truth on all MADIS, and the minimal resistance this has apparently provoked. Within the contested issues and perspectives on MADIS set out in chapter one, the above strategy could provide a useful tool in theorising between libertarian / boylover support and CSA empowerment arguments over the self-determination of young people to define the political economy of their own bodies. However, again, the major problem with such strategies is that it has been adults (self-identified paedophiles and boylovers), or as CSA advocates, who have framed such debates over children's rights.

Boylover identities

The reinforcement through institutional sites of protectionist and "at risk" discourses on child sexuality, coupled with the deployment of discourses which focus on MADIS as either demonic, pathological, or distorted, make locating any nodal points for a

resistance strategy extremely difficult. Despite this, boylover Internet groups have developed through chat rooms, CMC interaction and cyber focus groups, producing publications which have attempted to mount a limited challenge to dominant discourses (see chapter six). However, the central problem for boylovers who advocate the removal of the injunctions on MADIS, remains addressing the flaw in the very way discourses on child sexual liberation are currently framed - as ones articulated by adults.

3.3 Queer approaches

Multiple sexualities

For Foucault, the emergence of multiple sexualities is not incidental, but an integral aspect to the way dominant forms of power extend their hold on bodies (Ibid 1978: 47-48). He adds that 'it is through the isolation, intensification, and consolidation of peripheral sexualities that the relations of power to sex and pleasure branched out and multiplied, measured the body, and penetrated modes of contact' (Ibid: 48). Foucault was also clear that such a proliferation of discourses on sex - through yielding 'multiple effects of displacement, intensification, reorientation and modification of desire itself' (Ibid: 23) - would produce non-egalitarian effects.

Bersani reinforces the importance of the above in Foucault's thesis namely, how proliferation in sexual discourses and subjectivities will likely provide opportunities for networks of power to establish greater control over sex, rather than offering genuine openings for any sexual pluralism.

It is the original thesis of Foucault...that power in our societies functions primarily not by repressing spontaneous sexual drives but by producing multiple sexualities, and that through the classification, distribution, and moral rating of those sexualities the individuals practicing them can be approved, treated, marginalized, sequestered, disciplined, or normalised

(Quoted in Halperin 1995: 20).

²⁴⁹ And post-structuralist theorising in general.

Rubin's thesis

Rubin defines 'sexual ethnogenesis' as the proliferation 'of other populations of erotic dissidents' including 'individuals who prefer cross-generational encounters' (Ibid 1992: 287). She identifies four inter-related consequences of the above (continuity with previous forms of discrimination, hierarchical ordering, normalisation and marginalisation). Firstly, she defines sexual ideology as 'a noxious stew made up of ideas of sexual sin, concepts of psychological inferiority, anti-communism, mob hysteria, accusations of witchcraft, and xenophobia' (Ibid: 280).

Rubin identifies continuities with previous forms of discrimination, whereby sexual differences are mapped out to suit particular ideological positions, arguing that such 'hierarchies of sexual value...function in much the same ways as do ideological systems of racisms, ethnocentrism, and religious chauvinism' (Ibid: 280). Consequently, the subsequent rationalising, weighting and normalising of certain sexual acts, behaviours and categories privilege some, whilst pathologising others (Ibid: 280). She outlines the contradiction in some feminist 'sex negative' positions which stress the importance of 'systemic, socially structured inequalities and differential powers', whilst forming a 'complex system of oppression' of their own (Ibid: 38).

Rubin highlights two additional considerations for analysing the diverse trajectories of different sexual minorities. The first one relates to materialist considerations, in particular how the lack of economic and cultural resources available to sexual minorities affects their ability to proffer alternative accounts. Secondly, the ways in which differential success rates of sexual minorities, in acquiring 'social space, small businesses, political resources, and a measure of relief for sexual heresy', impact upon levels of 'community formation and identity acquisition' (Ibid: 287).

Rubin sees 'cross-generational sexualities' and 'boylovers' as a case in point, whereby mainstream feminist and gay and lesbian organisations have used media and public opprobrium to improve their relative positions (see Rubin 1981). She adds

it is harder for most people to sympathize with actual boy-lovers. Like communists

and homosexuals in the 1950s, boy-lovers are so stigmatized that it is difficult to find defenders for their civil liberties, let alone for their erotic orientation. Consequently, the police have feasted on them. Local police, the FBI, and watchdog postal inspectors have joined to build a huge apparatus whose sole aim is to wipe out the community of men who love underaged youth. In twenty years or so, when some of the smoke has cleared, it will be much easier to show that these men have been the victims of a savage and undeserved witch hunt. A lot of people will be embarrassed by their collaboration with this persecution, but it will be too late to do much good for those men who have spent their lives in prison

(Ibid 1992: 272-273).

Rubin sees the issues surrounding intergenerational sexuality as part of a hysterical attempt to control children's sexuality through the family, and protectionist discourses (Ibid: 268, 274). Secondly, as a revised sexual hierarchy - constituted through the 'sexual ethnogenesis' of 'paraphilias', and reinforced by mental health professionals, legal strictures and reactionary feminist elements (Ibid: 280, 283 and 298) - with boylovers at the bottom, akin to the position of communists and homosexuals in the 1950s (Ibid: 272).

Rubin's approach has been criticised for a lack of attention to victims of abuse, and social power differences (Alcoff 1996). Rubin's 'sex positive / sex negative' dichotomy, and her celebration of a libertarian sexual ethic in which 'partners treat one another' through their level of mutual consideration and pleasure, appears overly vague (Ibid: 283). CSA perspectives recognise how children can feel pleasure in certain sexual acts, yet subsequently feel ashamed at displaying such feelings. This can be particularly problematic for adolescent boys whose arousal in sexual interaction with an older male can produce deep confusion over questions related to sexual identity. Consequently, Rubin's pluralistic sexual morality requires a fundamental socio-cultural shift in the sexual scripts available to young people before it can have any significant impact in public policy debates.

Queer theory

Foucault's contention that 'sex is placed by power in a binary system' (Ibid 1978: 83)

has been adopted by Queer theoretical approaches to highlight the normalising way in which the homo(hetero) binary operates (Butler 1990; Sedgwick 1990; Fuss 1991; Halperin 1995). They state their aim of dismantling such thinking and structures, through constantly transgressing such binaries by eschewing sexual identity labels, and refashioning different modes of subjectivity. Carr defines such an approach as 'anarchist omnisensuality', which is anti-categorization, and consequently suspicious of 'any discourse or "script"...whether it is a tool of the ruling system or of the oppressed' (Ibid 1999: 8, 11).

Queer frameworks should arguably be able to explain the development of a number of normalising binaries based on age, and late modern trends which have constituted age as the most significant axis in defining sexual normalisation. It should also be able to provide a critical analysis of the reasons behind the continuing dominance of essentialist notions on MADIS, and why much of the current literature and theorising on MADIS appears less receptive to deconstruction, in the same way that gender has arguably been. In short, this topic should provide a well-ploughed area for Queer theorists to explore.

Simon (1996) highlights how post modernity has led to a blurring of life-cycle-stage boundaries' (Ibid: 53), rendering age just as vulnerable to deconstruction as gender (Ibid: 129). However, in quoting Rogers and Rogers he recognises,

"[t]he adult gaze on the sex of the child still renders them 'subjects of study' and/ or 'objects of concern', and the sexuality of the child is still reconstituted from adult confession. Adult tales of the resultant damage of childhood masturbation have been replaced by adult tales of the resultant damage of CSA"

(Quoted in ibid: 83).

Despite asserting the impossibility of framing "'facts" of specific time and place in the language of the timeless and universal,' Simon, in reference to paedophilia, problematically veers in just such a direction by stating 'what is relatively unique to the current situation is the combined effect of the intensity of moral disapproval attached to the behaviour and the implausibility of the desire' (Ibid: 127).

The basic problem with Simon's approach, and with Queer approaches generally, is an unwillingness to apply their conceptual tools to MADIS. Given the importance of age as an axis in producing a proliferation of discourses, power-knowledges and truths on sexuality, this is a surprising omission. (See appendix twenty).

Why Queer frameworks should be attentive to MADIS?

Many of the concerns of Rubin over the marginalisation of some sexualities at the expense of others have taken place. As suggested in chapters one and two, some sexual minorities have gained greater acceptance, whilst others remain at the periphery. Such shifts could be theorised as 'outsiders' now becoming 'conditional insiders', whereas boylovers remain highly marginalised. Applying Rubin's language: through a process of 'sexual ethnogenesis' - a new and "virulent species" (the paedophile) has increasingly been recognised and targeted by multiple regimes of truth. The regulatory implantation of binaries is also in evidence, in which subjectivities and boundaries associated with age now define the parameters of normal. These are also reinforced through normalising conceptions over the age at which sexual behaviour should take place, and developmental considerations as to what constitutes "age-appropriate" relationships (see chapter one).

3.4 Bourdieu's theory of practice

Bourdieu's theory of practice develops an interactive and relational approach to social theorising, allowing for the dynamic interaction between the fields (structural arenas in which social agents pursue their daily lives), and habitus (individual conscious action and choices) (see Bourdieu 1990, 1993).

For Bourdieu,

agents do have an active apprehension of the world. No doubt they do construct their vision of the world. But this construction is carried out under structural constraints (Ibid 1990: 130).

In this relational theory, material and cultural resources available to individuals effectively delimit their position within a particular field, through the distribution of

different forms of capital²⁵⁰ (see *ibid* 1990). The way these are distributed across different groups²⁵¹ not only affects how individuals acquire perceptions over time in the form of a group habitus, it effectively constitutes an interactional relationship between the pattern formed by such resource distribution, and the conscious dispositions of human agents.

Bourdieu sees the positioning of individuals within fields as inherently unstable, and therefore subject to historical transformation.²⁵² He also outlines that individuals can consciously transform fields.

I wanted to emphasise that this "creative," active, inventive capacity was not that of a transcendent subject in the idealist tradition, but that of an active agent
(*Ibid*: 1990: 13).

Although Bourdieu stresses the potential for transformation, he recognises the persistence domination of the ruling class in late modernity. He explains this through his concept of habitus, whereby dominant conceptions of reality are generated and reproduced through practical 'rules of the game', which reinforce (especially within the field of education) the dominant position of the ruling class (see Bourdieu 1977, 1990).

The establishment of such rules contribute to the naturalisation of the position of the ruling class within such fields, which is in then subsequently reinforced through the actions of individuals who, in recognising the limits imposed on them by their position within fields, internalise this configuration as the established order or 'doxa' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 74). The latter view symbolic violence as the end product, in which prevailing relations of power are naturalised as indistinguishable from reality, subsequently reproduced and accepted (*Ibid*: 168).

In Bourdieu's approach, transformation is only possible

²⁵⁰ Economic, symbolic, social, educational and linguistic.

²⁵¹ Bourdieu looks primarily at class, but age and generational groupings could also be included in his analysis.

when the dominated have the material and symbolic means of rejecting the definition of the real that is imposed on them through logical structures reproducing the social structures (i.e. the state of the power relations) and to lift the (institutionalised or internalised) censorship which it implies...that the arbitrary principles of classification can appear as such and it therefore becomes necessary to undertake the work of conscious systematisation and express rationalisation which marks the passage from doxa to orthodoxy
(Bourdieu 1977: 169).

The final stage of transformation involves constructing a situation where bodily dispositions, along with the distributions of power and capital within particular fields, are seen as temporally constructed - neither right nor wrong - over other claims to legitimacy, and only one possibility among many potential heterodox configurations.

Bourdieu's transformative theory shares some similarities with Foucault. For example, the way he conceptualises the process by which a dominant position attains doxa, appears consistent with Foucault's notion of how regimes of power acquire truth status through strategic and violent means. Furthermore, Foucault's appeal to deploy local, subversive knowledge to counter such regimes, appears proximate to Bourdieu's earlier use of eschewing imposed schemas of reality and arbitrary principles of classification.

However, by eschewing overly deterministic accounts which reify individuals as social categories, Bourdieu establishes a more agentially-sensitive approach than many post-structuralist accounts. He also provides a more plausible account of how challenges to hegemonic configurations of power than Foucault, where resistance is rather entered as an appendage, after human actors have already been constituted as mere products of discursive knowledge-systems.

²⁵² With potential overlaps with Foucault's approach on how resistance can manifest itself within and across the discursive terrains of fragmented power-knowledges.

Generational Fields and Habitus

Boundaries over youth have been constantly fought over (Bourdieu 1993: 94-101) – reflected in wider patrimonial property conflicts - in which young nobles were systematically infantilised to prevent them ascending to positions of power, imposing artificial parameters within age groups (Ibid: 94).

The increasing way CSA constructions have impacted on MADIS is clearly an example of Bourdieu's insight on doxa, specifically the way any practice establishes predominance. As outlined in chapter one, only limited critiques have been proffered against the central tenets of CSA. Applying Bourdieusian conceptual tools, this restricts scope for alternative orthodox positions to impact on conscious habitus reformulations of MADIS, and makes the development of any alternative transformative heterodox disposition even more improbable in the current climate.

CSA has achieved doxic status through being (mis)-recognised as the natural, singular reality. This has been played out firstly, in the legal field through applying a regulatory framework through age of consent and indecency legislation, whereby MADIS experiences are criminalised by definition, since persons under sixteen are deemed "incapable" of giving consent. This is further reinforced across other fields,²⁵³ which define young people as naturally vulnerable, at risk, and in need of protection, whilst imposing on them the doxic status of victim in any MADIS. Such a doxa is also affected by the greater power (expressed in terms of social, economic and cultural capital), which adults possess over young people. Indeed, it is this very contemporary configuration of unequal distribution between age groups, which has prefaced CSA approaches to MADIS (see chapter one). However, highlighting one field (sexuality) fails to address the way in which 'rules of the game' in other fields (such as education and criminality) are played out differently. For example, as contended earlier, such inequalities between adults and young people do not prevent existing power relations in education continuing. They also do not explain how the capacities of young people are treated very differently in different fields.²⁵⁴

²⁵³ For example, media, education, family, and child protection services.

²⁵⁴ For example, there was consistent resistance to attempts by the Scottish Parliament to raise the age of criminal responsibility from eight to twelve, with some police organisations fearing that it would send out the wrong message to young criminals.

Bourdieu can provide potential tools to challenge CSA's doxic position with respect to MADIS. Rather than treating power differences across age-groups as a static reality, his approach provides strategies to undermine such inequalities in the distribution of capital, by giving young people greater opportunities including embryonic political rights, control over state benefits, and a greater social and cultural space to develop alternative dispositions to the dominant way child habituses are currently formed.

Within the above fields, the differential way subjective capabilities are assigned to children and young people vis-à-vis adults are increasingly seen as contingent (see Jenks 1996). Despite concerns that constructionist perspectives could provide space for a "normalisation" of paedophilia (see Alcoff 1996),²⁵⁵ chapters one and two highlighted how age boundaries, and societal reactions to MADIS, are historically contingent.

3.5 Theorising Power and Subjectivity in MADIS

Early sociological theorising on generations

Mannheim addresses several facets on theorising generations (Mannheim 1952). Firstly, he draws analogies between the latter and class, through the way individuals locate the respective position within the economic and political power structure; with the consequence of generation constituting itself as a relational dynamic to the social position enjoyed by that particular generational group.²⁵⁶ The second addresses the 'biological rhythm in human existence...with a common location in the historical dimension of the social process', in which being part of a particular generational group²⁵⁷ predisposes individuals to a certain 'mode of thought and experience' (Ibid: 290, 291).

The range of possibilities for action and thought is therefore delimited by the historical and cultural location, which in turn affects how 'age-groups' constitute 'a

²⁵⁵ See also Ondersma et al.'s (2001) response to Rind et al.'s Meta-Analysis on CSA (1998), where the former claim erroneously that there is a broad consensus (legal and morality) over the age at which young people should be allowed to make informed decisions.

²⁵⁶ For Pilcher, 'Mannheim's use of the term 'generation' is more accurately used in the contemporary sense of 'cohort' (Pilcher 1995: 23), with the former defined as kinship within familial-based structures, and the latter through the social position within different age-groups (Pilcher 1994: 483).

²⁵⁷ Again analogous to class identity.

particular kind of identity of location' (Ibid: 291, 292). For Mannheim, generational identity involves more than a 'mere chronological contemporaneity', but the way they 'experience the same events and data', and share 'a similarly 'stratified' consciousness' (Ibid: 297). Mannheim introduces the notion of 'generational units' to explain how similar generations can respond differently to certain common experiences. These 'generational units' are constituted through 'located contemporaries' formulating shared ideas and concepts, and provide the context for the formation of 'an identity of responses, a certain affinity in the way which all move with and are formed by their common experiences' (Ibid: 306).

However, Mannheim warns against 'one-sided' theorising over singular causative factors, such as age, which attempt to explain the whole dynamic of history, cautioning that generational attitudes are only one of a number of competing factors in mapping out historical trends (Ibid: 312). In preference to 'Zeitgeist', which implies a unitary consciousness within temporal historical periods, Mannheim highlights heterogeneity and polar tensions within different generational 'entelechies' (Ibid: 313-315). Coterminous with such tensions is the differential success rates of new generational 'entelechies' in asserting themselves within different fields such as science, civilization and culture (Ibid: 319).

Although Mannheim's approach is predominantly concerned with the impact social and political change has on the construction of generational boundaries, it is also useful for analysing the different ways age-groups position themselves as sexual subjects. Firstly, by highlighting the impact 'biological rhythms of life trajectories' have in the construction of age, Mannheim's approach can provide useful insights for examining the impact contemporary concerns²⁵⁸ over early sexual experiences among young people, and how this has affected what sexual scripts are available to different generations. It can also explain how significant turning points and / or referent markers in an individual's sexual identity formation can affect such 'biological rhythms'.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁸ Expressed in public policy and media discourses.

²⁵⁹ This could involve personal events such as "coming (s) out", first sexual experience, as well as national developments such as Government legislation over legalising homosexuality, age of consent equalisation, and the repeal of Clause 28 (see chapters six-eleven).

Mannheim's approach to how subjects (as members of a generational group) position themselves within distinct historical locales, can complement both Foucault's attention to how discourses are socially and historically malleable, and Bourdieu's insight as to how age-identities are conditional upon the status enjoyed by different generations within particular fields (Bourdieu 1993). Finally in highlighting how different generations construct identities through reference to particular shared experiences, Mannheim provides potential insights for the present study on the very different ways gay, boylover and male survivor respondents locate their experience within specific temporal locales.²⁶⁰

Analysis of Mannheim's framework

For Pilcher, the most important aspect of Mannheim's approach is firstly, his attention to the relationship between the biological and the social in defining age characteristics (Ibid 1994: 481); and secondly, in highlighting the 'separating processes of ageing (life cycles) from location in socio-historical time (social generations)', thereby establishing theoretical and empirical links 'between generational consciousness and historical time' (Ibid: 493).

She sees in the above, a 'symbiotic relationship between individual and society', in which 'individual biographies are shaped by socio-historical location', and whereby generational subjective experiences of time are dependent on 'having experienced the same dominant influences' (Ibid: 490, 491, 486). However, this does not exclude the possibility that individuals within the same generation could apply different meanings to the same event - with the result that there are no empirical guidelines on what constitutes generational consciousness and knowledge (Ibid: 489, 492).

Mannheim sets out a framework for analysing how age groups and generations formulate a distinctive consciousness through a relational interaction with material, social and historical factors, whilst recognising difficulties in establishing a baseline chronology for measuring a generation.²⁶¹ Although recognising the potential for

²⁶⁰ See chapters six, nine, ten and eleven.

²⁶¹ For example, he notes the problematic way Enlightenment thinkers conceived generational breaks, commensurate with the institutions of marriage and the family (approximately thirty year intervals) yet steers clear of providing a definitive time frame himself.

variability, he veers into essentialist thinking by setting seventeen as 'the first time when one lives in the present' and where reflection and questioning effectively begins (Ibid 1952: 300). This ignores: socio-cultural variability in the way different social groups acquire such a reflexive capacity; individual variations in cognitive abilities and knowledge acquisition; and technological shifts and changes in education which could accelerate such a process.²⁶²

Mannheim also overemphasises consensus within generations in responding to socio-historical events, and in adopting particular ideological positions. This position fails to explain instances where social change could bring about a convergence of values between different generations. For example, Demartini claims that Mannheim's model effectively breaks down when analysing contemporary data on the adoption / rejection by a younger generation of their parental attitudes. Based on her own research, she maintains that effective socialisation of young people into established generational values could just as easily lead to intergenerational consensus rather than conflict (Ibid 1985: 13, 14).

Mannheim's model also appears to discount the possibility of different age and generational groups establishing alliances, or intimate friendships and socio-sexual relationships. For example, Reich and Marcuse highlighted the importance of politically strategic alliances between generations in disorientating the established capitalist order (see Reich 1969; Marcuse 1974). At the inter-personal and intimate level, Mannheim's model therefore appears unable to explain transgressions of age-generational boundaries in the form of MADIS.

Contemporary theorising

Pilcher stresses three conceptual approaches to age: functionalist (age and inter-age group relations explained in terms of their relationship with other societal institutions through allocated roles); political-economic (in which young people are positioned with old people in a state of 'structural dependency' as a result of their restricted access to social resources, particular income); and interactive perspectives, which examine the specific meanings individuals attach to age, in terms of subjective age-

²⁶² It also recognises the possibility that such changes could have the opposite effect.

identities and through their interaction with others (Ibid 1995: 25-28).

She advocates a life course perspective which recognises age as dependent on the 'interaction of the individual with social structures', and which allows for historical transformation and a 'flexibility and variation in stages' (Ibid: 18, 19). This emphasises how individuals occupy a variety of age-based social statuses over time, and the multi-faceted way in which age inter-relates with other variables (Ibid: 133, 70).

For Pilcher, contemporary analyses need to distinguish between a cohort, which defines a 'population who experience the same significant event' within the company of their coevals (Ibid: 6, 22), and generation, which refers to 'a structural term in kinship studies denoting the parent-child relationship' (Ibid: 6). Pilcher sees age within societies as an 'index to locate an individual's likely position in the "life course" in a socially defined "timetable" of behaviours deemed as appropriate for particular life stages' (Ibid: 4).

Pilcher also identifies the way in which contemporary conceptions of childhood have become imbued with value-laden, 'adult-centric' signifiers such as vulnerability and dependency (Ibid 31, 34-5). Consequently, childhood is viewed 'as incompleteness and separateness from adulthood', constituting the basis for 'the differential distribution of power, responsibility, and resources between children and adults in modern society' (Ibid: 41). Children's dependency is further reinforced 'through strategies employed by adults in their roles as carers' and in the control and regulation of children's space, time and bodies (Ibid: 43-46).

Pilcher claims that age-based concepts such as adolescence and 'transitional routes from childhood to adulthood' are historically variable and 'context dependent' (Ibid: 60-62, 76). However, she identifies broad trends within late modernity delaying young people's transition to economic independence, and hindering their ability to secure employment, jobs and housing, and consequently positioning them in an ever-increasing dependency on their parents (Ibid: 78, 121).²⁶³

²⁶³ Pilcher also identifies the 19th century as a period when 'adulthood' assumed a distinct and discrete category, commensurate with 'autonomy' and 'independent personhood', and 'sustained through

Although Pilcher cautions against super-imposing biological with social conceptions of subjectivity, arguing that 'physical maturity does not necessarily equate to social maturity' (Ibid: 60), she fails to provide a detailed analysis of the reasons for such a discrepancy. As a result, the problematic relationship between puberty, social and sexual majority is not critically addressed.

Contested conceptions of children and young people

This section has predominantly focussed on how material and institutional changes have resulted in global structural configurations of age / generational relationships which tend to place young people in a disadvantaged position in their relations with adults. It has not fully engaged with contested approaches which challenge dominant constructions of young people as powerless or developmentally incompetent.²⁶⁴ The following short section will outline alternative discursive presentations and trends, various resistant strategies adopted by young people across different areas, and examine what implications this may have for MADIS.²⁶⁵

Sociological approaches to age-transitions have provided significant critical insights in the areas of education, employment and the family. Despite trends identified in the literature suggesting a prolongation of youth, in Britain, employment laws allow young people limited incorporation in the labour market (see chapter eight in Evans 1993). Wyn and Dwyer identify more complex changes in the relationship between age-categories and the labour market, reflected in young people taking on seasonal or casual employment, who she characterises as 'part-time adults' (see ibid 1999).²⁶⁶ However, to date, no study has addressed the impact extending higher education and removing the majority of young people from the labour market, has had on the

practices or strategies which operate to distance other groupings from it (Ibid: 83, 86).

²⁶⁴ One case in power is referred to by Hockey and James, who claim that through "acting dumb...children may infantilise themselves" deliberately, to achieved particular outcomes (Ibid quoted in Pilcher 1994: 48).

²⁶⁵ Although some attention to contrasting conceptions of children and young people was developed in chapter one, this section will examine more specifically the potential implications of adopting radical notions of young people as competent agents. This section is considerably shorter than originally intended due to word limit considerations, however clearly there is room to research and theorise this area more extensively. See Wyn and White (1997) and Furlong et al. (2002) for a broad overview of the literature on youth transitions.

²⁶⁶ In contrast, they define adults who have had their entry to the labour market delayed through a prolongation of education and training, unemployment and increasing casualisation as 'part-time children' (Wyn and Dwyer 1999: 19).

formation of either peer boy socio-sexual relationships, or MADIS.²⁶⁷

In the UK, as a result of the rise in non-violent and violent crime committed by children, their status as "criminal subjects"²⁶⁸ has assumed a heightened importance within Government, media and social policy agendas.²⁶⁹ Kincaid picks up this point when he states that 'in March 1994, 13 separate Bills were circulating in the California Statehouse to try more kids as adults and lengthen their terms' (Ibid 1998: 151). In the sexual sphere, despite continuing concerns²⁷⁰ there has been evidence of young people actively disavowing dominant conceptions of them as powerless, incapable, and sexually vulnerable, by actively engaging in sexual activity - including initiating cross-generational relationships. (See appendix twenty-one).

Feminist theorising on MADIS

As noted in chapter one, feminist theorising on how gendered power differences have affected women's position within heterosexual relationships has increasingly informed the contemporary debates over MADIS.²⁷¹ The above have generally eschewed Foucault's micro-analytical approach, in favour of a more globalised analysis of gendered power inequalities. For example, Hekman claims that although Foucault's theory can work at a 'micro-level of analysis, it is not useful for the kind of macro-structural analysis that feminism requires' (Ibid (ed.) 1996: 9). Rather than looking at the various micro-contexts in which power-knowledge discourses impose strategic meanings on MADIS, the focus is more on the global dimensions of power which

²⁶⁷ As far as I am aware.

²⁶⁸ Through being defined "criminally responsible" for their actions.

²⁶⁹ This was further highlighted in June 2001 when strong objections to raising the criminal age of responsibility from eight to twelve in Scotland were voiced by numerous groups, claiming that it will give the green light to young criminals

²⁷⁰ Concerns over lowering ages of puberty, lowering the gay male age of consent to sixteen, access to contraception, the dangers from internet paedophiles in chat rooms, and an increasing access to sexual knowledge made available through sex education after the repeal of Clause 28 would mean homosexuality being introduced into school sex education classes, and that 'innocent' and 'vulnerable' children and young people may in turn be led into such behaviour.

²⁷¹ Chapter two has already drawn attention to how early CSA and feminist perspectives - within academic and public policy discourses developed from the late 1980s in Britain and the US - addressed the gendered construction of age-discrepant / intergenerational sexual relationships by focussing on girls and young women as victims of older men. However within such approaches, the area of boys and adolescent males who had experienced sexual abuse was relatively under-theorised and given little attention in the setting of policy agendas (see chapter one). Furthermore, as theorised earlier in this chapter (and consistent with Foucault's twin notions of 'tactical productivity' and 'strategical integration'), by the start of the millennium, the literature on boys and youth sexuality has been

structure sexual relations between adults and young people.

Nava (1992), Jeffreys (1990), and Alcoff (1996) develop feminist critiques on MADIS. Nava highlights a case-study she was involved in as a professional social worker, involving a fourteen-year-old boy and his male teacher. She characterises the relationship as an abuse of trust, as the teacher was using his professional position, and exploitative because he was taking advantage of the fact that the boy felt obligated to pay back the man for providing him with accommodation (Nava 1992). Consequently, any notion of consent is irrelevant (Ibid: 128). Nava concludes that in this case 'masculinity made little difference in terms of power', and that in the general 'context of cross-generational relations, boys may be as powerless as girls' (Ibid: 138, 125).²⁷²

Jeffrey's argument centres on how 'men are expected to choose sexual partners who are younger, poorer and educationally disadvantaged' (Ibid 1990: 208); as opposed to sexual relationships which are eroticised through equality and mutuality (Ibid: 4). Consequently, children - due to the powerless position they occupy within contemporary societies - 'are targeted as sexual objects by men' (Ibid: 208). She also attacks the inegalitarian way 'contemporary gay male sexuality' is constructed (Ibid: 149), arguing that gay libertarianism, the tradition of boylove and paedophilia are inextricably linked (Ibid: 189, 210).

Jeffreys contrasts mutual caring relationships with boy prostitution and pornography (Ibid: 198). She also characterises man / boy sex as the exploitation of poor and vulnerable boys, and an 'abuse of trust and responsibility' (Ibid: 202). Jeffreys concludes that paedophiliac justifications are devoid of conceptions 'of power or the abuse of power' (Ibid: 206).

On subjectivity, Jeffreys cites Ferenczi ²⁷³ as evidence that children and adults construe different meanings towards sexuality (Ibid: 200), with the former looking for

dominated by CSA constructs - in a similar fashion to the way girls had been a decade earlier.

²⁷² Nava fails to tackle the issue of whether a sexual relationship between an older woman and an adolescent boy would allow for the same analytical tools to be deployed.

²⁷³ See Ferenczi's 1932 Paper 'The ambivalence of tongues' in Masson 1992.

emotional intimacy, and the latter more likely to attach sexualised connotations to such episodes. For Jeffreys, this supports the fact that paedophiles are guilty of superimposing their own sexual desires onto the child, regardless of the wishes of the latter (Ibid: 200).

Alcoff defines paedophilia as an 'unequal, nonreciprocal relations of power and desire' (Ibid: 118). She critiques Rubin for equating gay sexuality and transvestism with cross-generational sexualities, ignoring the plight of victims and advocating a 'moral relativism...in which power disappears' (Ibid: 116, 115, 113). Alcoff also attacks libertarian justifications of cross-generational sexuality for conflating children's sexuality with adult-child sexuality (Ibid: 129).

Finally, Alcoff argues that 'consent can be produced by economic and structural dependency' (Ibid: 120), which in view of the virtually powerless position of children, renders them vulnerable to adult sexual attention (Ibid: 122). She advocates that children should be allowed to develop and maintain their own sexual difference 'either with themselves or with each other' (Ibid: 126); and proffers a utopian 'transformative future...in which children could be, for the first time...free from the economy of adult sexual desire and adult sexual demands', and where 'the sexuality of children that emerges from it...will be determined then and only then by children themselves' (Ibid: 133).

Nava's example highlights how simple constructs of consent are mediated, not just by gender and levels of coercion, but through economic dependency, emotional pressures and a lack of alternative for a younger person in such interactions. However, generalising from one particular case-study presents difficulties, and in the case she draws on, the issues pertinent to cross-generational experiences become problematically conflated with economic dependency, pedagogical influence and the man's failure to recognise that the young person did not have the same desires as himself. Although it highlights the problem of any clear-cut consent-coercion dichotomy when analysing MADIS, it is debatable how far it is definitive in all cases. Furthermore, questions of undue professional influence and economic dependency can also arise in "age-egalitarian" relationships. Nava's analysis could be improved by

examining the full range of factors which can contribute to a power disadvantage within a sexual relationship, rather than treating age differences in sexual relationships mechanically, as a mere by-product of other axes of power.

Jeffrey's critique concerns all forms of male sexuality, and as a self-proclaimed 'revolutionary lesbian feminist', proselytises a clear agenda in characterising male sexuality with overly negative attributes (see *ibid* 1990, 1997). Her discursive presentation of the paedophile however is more akin to "straw man" conceptions. Furthermore, her treatment of MADIS is overly simplistic, neglectful of young people's agency, and provides no framework for incorporating positive MADIS experiences.

Jeffrey's exclusively focus on macro-structural determinants of power in MADIS provides a limited, selective and reductionist framework including: a weak analysis of differential subject positions; and general inattention to the complexity of power dynamics within MADIS. For Weis, such approaches to power are logically impermissible since they conflate macro-structural determinants with the micro level of individual interpersonal relationships (see Weis 1998). Finally, Jeffrey's arguably over-reifies the power component within sexual relationships, crudely elevating her definition of the "normal relationship", in which heterosexual, cross-class and inter-racial relationships become problematic, leaving limited possibilities when forming inter-personal relationships.

Alcoff, in arguing for the removal of 'the economy of adult sexual desires' on young people is also guilty of not addressing the criticism made against Finkelhor namely, if young people are to be free from adult sexuality, why should they still be subject to other adult agendas?²⁷⁴ Furthermore, the very self-determination criteria, with regard to future directions on young people's sexuality, which she advocates, is clearly compromised by the intervention of adult-imposed CSA positions which prevent them forming relationships with adults.

Sexual consent

Archard defines sexual consent as predicated on both the capacity (cognitive) to understand the nature of a sexual act and the ability (dispositional) of individuals to make such decisions (Ibid 1998: 4). He rejects abstract notions of consent in favour of analysing the multiple ways consent can be conceived in particular contexts (Ibid: chapter four). For Archard, sexual consent requires a 'presumption of global competence', whereby individuals know exactly what they are consenting to (Ibid: 45), and an attention to the social context, in which any sexual consent is negotiated.²⁷⁵ This latter aspect crucially affects the relationship between principles of consensuality and definition of valid consent (Ibid: 53).

In the specific case of the sexual consent of young people, Archard enumerates conditional factors including sexual and physical maturity, cognitive faculties and the extent to which children are denied (through a lack of access to sexual education) the right to make sexual choices (see chapter eight in *ibid*). In relation to intergenerational sexuality, he identifies fundamental disparities in 'experience, needs, desires, physical potential, emotional resources, sense of responsibility, awareness of consequences of one's actions, and above all, power between adults and children' (Ibid: 126).

Finally Archard notes an apparent contradiction in paedophile advocacy claims that children are sexually mature and know what they want, yet still require the guidance of an adult in sexual initiation (Ibid: 127). He argues that the above position is deploying a children's sexual rights discourse as a cover for a more self-serving paternalistic mentor discourse; whereby children are still subject to adult control.²⁷⁶

Firstly, Archard rather presumptuously co-opts Weeks to substantiate his case for the continued injunction against MADIS (Ibid: 128). As outlined in chapter one, Weeks set out a continuum approach to intergenerational sexual relationships. This does not rule out such relationships, but requires attention to how such meanings are socially constructed, whilst also opening up potential for transformation through radical

²⁷⁴ See chapter one.

²⁷⁵ Including degrees of voluntary / involuntary, wealth and age disparities and professional-client relationships.

²⁷⁶ See chapter one for an outline of this tension in the pro-paedophilic and boylover support literature.

reformulations of consent (see Weeks 1985: 233).

Secondly, he gives boylover advocacy positions only a cursory attention, and thereby fails to consider the possibility that far from such justifications betraying a contradiction between children's sexual rights and paternalism, they reveal divergent perspectives.²⁷⁷ For example, some justifications for 'Greek Love' and 'pedagogical eros' do reflect paternalistic assumptions, whereby a male mentor is viewed as an essential prerequisite for the "normal" socio-sexual development of adolescent boys (see Eglinton 1970). However, child liberationist positions reject such arguments, in favour of removing ageist barriers as a precondition for the genuine empowerment of young people, and for the development of enriching, egalitarian man-boy relationships (Reeves 1992; Thorstad 1998).

3.51 The relational dynamics within MADIS

Jeffreys and Archard claim that boylover advocates assert young peoples' rights to sexual expression, yet simultaneously proclaim the importance of a pseudo-paternalistic mentoring role for an older person in such a sexual relationship. By doing so, pro-paedophiles reveal either 'a weak position' (Archard 1998: 127), or a willingness to 'have it both ways' (Jeffreys 1990: 206).

However, this critique neglects the fact that late modern child-youth-adult boundaries have been constantly shifting. It also fails to recognise the problematic way young people have been dichotomously positioned in discourses throughout western modernity, criss-crossing between notions of them as active participants, or as hapless victims in need of protection (see chapter one).²⁷⁸ Such confusion can also be seen in the way different interest groups strategically apply conceptions of children as competent subjects in certain areas of public policy, whilst others formulate contrasting language to position them as 'unknowing objects' requiring public intervention.

These shifting discourses also affect the strategic ways young people are positioned

²⁷⁷ As already brought up when addressing Plummer's critique (1981a) (see chapter one).

within intergenerational relationships across a wide range of institutional and social contexts including pedagogical praxis, the law, and media campaigns. Furthermore, within such discursive presentations, "facilitator" and "equal partnership" roles are regularly presented alongside each other.²⁷⁹ Finally, there have also been some embryonic attempts where young people have been instrumental in attempts to increase their participation in decisions affecting them.²⁸⁰

Consequently, rather than advocates of intergenerational sexualities confounding paternalistic protection notions (right from) with liberation language (right to), such a long-standing tension is manifested at the heart of Enlightenment thinking on childhood. Archard and Jeffreys are therefore highly selective in singling out pro-boylover positions for their confusion.

Another problem with their account is the fact that mentor justifications are not universally held position within such support-based literature. Although some unquestionably do make their case based on a mentoring role (Riegel 2000), others prioritise the removal of injunctions on MADIS, alongside the liberation of young people.²⁸¹ Archard and Jeffreys therefore make the mistake of conflating two contrasting justifications, implying they are the same.²⁸²

Contested discursive presentations

Two potential strategies have been regularly deployed over the last three decades in arguing for boylove relationships. The first can be characterised as a mentor-student type of relationship, and the second, as a child empowerment, egalitarian approach.

²⁷⁸ This is neatly summed up by Jenks who, conceptualises this as the Apollonian / Dionysian competing views on childhood (see chapter two).

²⁷⁹ For example, there has been a significant increase in mentoring programs (particularly for boys and young men) across North America and Western Europe. There has also been a significant move to empower children and young people through a number of political and community based schemes.

²⁸⁰ For example, Article 12 runs regional organisations where young people formulate policies on a range of issues.

²⁸¹ For example, NAMBLA consistently eschew notions of Greek paederasty, in favour of a libertarian sexual ethic which seeks to advance the empowerment of young people in all social and sexual contexts.

²⁸² And even on occasion in the debates surrounding intergenerational sexualities when there is some tension between arguing for a mentoring role vis-à-vis a more libertarian position, such tension is no more problematic than the current pattern of intergenerational relationships within late modernity. Again we come back to the highly problematic situation in which intergenerational sexualities are analysed outside intergenerational relationships in general.

Although, this antinomy can be exaggerated,²⁸³ it is useful as an heuristic framework for addressing the dynamics within MADIS, and how these are shaped through the socio-cultural framework surrounding the object-subject status of young people.

Firstly, the claim that social power imbalances necessitate an injunction against MADIS is problematic, given that this would logically infer that - as a consequence of an adult's greater social power and subject status in relation to that of young people - no adult-enforced dictates affecting them latter could ever be enacted.²⁸⁴ However, although this renders MADIS no more problematic than other intergenerational relationships (parent-child or teacher-student), it does not present a convincing case for removing such an injunction, given the differential way intimacy and sexuality is constructed compared to other spheres in late modernity.

Mentor-based approach argue for the removal of cultural taboos on sexuality, in conjunction with more positive portrayals of MADIS - including the potential benefits such a socio-sexual relationship could bring to development of young people.²⁸⁵ However, there are a number of fundamental problems in adopting such a strategy. Firstly, it sounds overly paternalistic, ascribing rather static functional roles, and providing minimal scope for change within such a relationship. Secondly, by focussing exclusively on young males, such positions neglect girls and young women and their rights to sexual self-determination.²⁸⁶ Finally, it fails to recognise that a necessary precondition for such relationships to flourish is the greater involvement of young people in shaping their needs and decision-making capacities.

Missing subjectivity: where are the boys?²⁸⁷

The absence of younger people in pro-boylover strategies has been a significant

²⁸³ As within the contemporary matrix of age and intergenerational relationships, the boundaries between what constitutes "equal" partnership status, and a mentor-protégé relationship, are rarely clear-cut.

²⁸⁴ The highlighting of such an absence, or lack of, (informed) consent when parenting, schooling, and other forms of institutionalised conformity are imposed upon young people has already been referred to in chapter one (see O'Carroll 1980; Finkelhor 1984; Middleton (ed.)1986).

²⁸⁵ This could arguably be conceptualised as a 'Greek Eros-based relationship', packaged for a late 21st century audience.

²⁸⁶ It is also unclear how paedophiles attracted to girls would fare in such agendas.

problem, questioning whether such a movement can reflect the subjective aspirations of young people rather than servicing the needs of men. Finkelhor has identified such a lack of younger people fronting such organisations, claiming that this proves that advocacy perspectives are solely driven by an adult male agenda (see *ibid* 1991: 314).

However, such criticisms are inaccurate, as both PIE and NAMBLA have had gay youth representatives attending their respective meetings.²⁸⁸ Secondly, they are also unfair as any outcome of such participation would likely result in legal intervention. Consequently, the relative non-involvement of younger people in the articulation of an identitarian position has more to do with the legal and cultural injunctions against such involvement, and in no way proves whether they would be involved in such debates if they were given the opportunity. Finally, the lack of involvement by young people in policy-making is a reality in many areas of policy, highlighting the widespread embedded social and cultural framework which militates against more extensive notions of young peoples' rights in late modernity, rather than presenting any problem unique to MADIS.

Adopting a radical empowerment conception of young peoples' rights however develops upon existing praxis and trends which are predicated on extensive subjective capacity, whilst eschewing previous approaches for being overly functionalist and for under-theorising young people's agency. It also challenges presentist assumptions which exclude discussions on intimacy and sexuality²⁸⁹ from debates on young people. It advocates for the right of the latter to place their own meanings on relationships, whilst achieving as much self-actualising potential as possible.

Strategic allies

The promotion of children's rights by pro-boylover groups has often been characterised as a calculated, self-satisfying strategy, which fails to address deep-seated structural issues (Richardson 2000: 112). However, as argued earlier, previous

²⁸⁷ A researcher working in this area intimated to me that on an occasion when she attended a NAMBLA Conference, she posed the following question, "if this is a man-boy love Conference where are the boys?"

²⁸⁸ I refer specifically to a NAMBLA Conference in 1978 in Boston, and PIE representations with the Gay Liberation front in the 1970s.

²⁸⁹ Including MADIS.

empowerment positions did address the way young people's social and sexual worlds were monitored through parental and professional protectionist scripting (see chapter one).

What is omitted in the above analyses is that such strategic alliances have consistently formed in a variety of sexual political agendas. For example, in gay, lesbian, feminist and Queer political strategies there is often an explicit recognition that challenges to patriarchy, heterosexism and heteronormativity entail a common cause between gay and feminist positions. However, such strategic alignments are generally not characterised as self-serving, but are seen as crucial in forming hybrid challenges, criss-crossing multiple matrices of oppression.

Future theoretical directions for MADIS

A more elaborated conception of young peoples' empowerment has the potential to incorporate intergenerational sexualities within a re-configured model of sexual citizenship. This would eschew infantilised, disempowered and unitary views of young people, in favour of conceptualising young people as active agents in shaping their social and intimate worlds. This general perspective rests on two critical components. Firstly, by addressing the micro-contexts where generational contacts regularly occur, it identifies existing policy praxis and discursive frameworks where young people are tacitly, and on occasions expressly, assumed capable of giving "informed" consent. It would also identify structural impediments to young people effectively realising a more agentic subject status. This would not only provide alternative conceptual understandings to mainstream contemporary presentations of young people as "at risk" and "vulnerable", but address wider concerns over the lack of opportunities given to young people in western late modernity.

Secondly, such an empowerment thesis is informed by existing theoretical approaches which assign subject status to young people, whereby they are conceptualised as active participants in the construction of the social reality of their everyday social contexts (see Evans 1993; Wyness 2000; Frosh et al. 2002). This can be reinforced by young people being increasingly consulted on decisions affecting them, thereby effecting the realisation of a more elaborated conception of rights, and taking the

debate beyond limited, tokenistic articulations of rights.

On man-boy sexuality, Dowsett examines the context in which such relationships are negotiated in, and the impact this has for cultural and identity expressions (Dowsett 2000). For Dowsett, such relationships are often exploratory, effectively taking place in a 'social lacunae', in which a 'sexual culture' develops before any formal definition (Ibid: 32). He calls for a rethinking of such relationships, recognising 'desiring collectivities', alongside a 'notion of subjectivity' which is more 'agentic', and which looks 'beyond crude categories' which constitutes the sexual sphere within 'a paradigm of inevitable power (Ibid: 41, 44).

Weis identifies conceptual inadequacies in the way sexual power is extrapolated to social institutions, and to an individual's general position within 'the structure or hierarchy of a group or culture' (Ibid 1998: 106). He sees mainstream feminist analyses as 'flawed' in two ways (Ibid: 107). Firstly, by applying Merton's distinction between manifest and latent functions, he argues that just because a particular configuration of power exists, in no way implicates particular individuals in such an outcome (Ibid: 107). Secondly, he accuses them of 'oversimplifying the complexity of power as a dynamic in relationships', contending that 'power is...a potential and' therefore 'a multi-dimensional construct' (Ibid: 107). As a result, feminist approaches confuse 'macro- and micro-level analyses' of power, neglecting that 'persons in relationships have multiple sources of power and employ a variety of power strategies' (Ibid: 107).

Conclusion

This chapter examined a broad range of theoretical approaches to the construction of late modern age and sexual boundaries. Foucauldian, Bourdieusian, and contemporary theorising on MADIS were critically evaluated. Consistent with Foucault's thesis it maintained that disciplinary 'regimes of truth' continue to proliferate in this area, through the strategic alliance of dominant frameworks on sex offenders and child protection. Consequently, professionals and academics have adopted CSA as the singular truth in theoretical and policy approaches to MADIS.

Bourdieu's recognition of the contingent formations of field and habitus, provides scope for interrogating the current doxic formulations on MADIS. This allows for a more agentic approach, whereby potential reformulations (heterodoxic) can open up fields to new rules of the game, played by different players with contrasting dispositions.

Finally, critical perspectives were put forward on sociological contributions to age transformations. This included a focus on mainstream theorising on MADIS. Such contributions were generally viewed as unsatisfactory in providing a more elaborate conception of power and subjectivity in MADIS. A radical empowerment conception of young people's subjectivity was articulated which put forward a case for the incorporation of MADIS in future shifts in sexual citizenship.

Introduction

This chapter situates MADIS within a broader historical and cultural context. It will examine: primary and secondary sources; specific cultural and epochal examples (classical Greece, tribal societies, middle ages Arabia, early modern Japan and China, and early modern and modern Europe; and evaluate a variety of contested interpretations on the particular meanings MADIS had in particular societies. The latter involves addressing key historiographical issues concerning the treatment and selection of evidence, including assessing the reliability of contemporary accounts.²⁹¹

It will outline the case for a 'middle-range approach' between ideometric (emphasising descriptive narrative in which social phenomena are firmly situated within the concrete grounding of a particular context) and nomothetic (the construction of abstract theoretical models and typologies, with limited reference to concrete events or case examples). Finally, there will be a critical interrogation of the way historical and cross-cultural expressions of MADIS have been problematically constructed through western late modern sexual classifications,²⁹² whilst evaluating how far they can provide useful insights for present-day debates.²⁹³

4.1 A comparative and context-sensitive approach

The first issue to be addressed is how far differing historical / cross-cultural meanings on MADIS are able to furnish present-day perspectives with fresh epistemological and

²⁹⁰ Applying MADIS to an historical and cross-cultural framework is more problematic than in previous chapters, as it could result in the imposition (similar to using gay for non-western same-sex praxis) of late modern, western meanings on sexuality. However, it is recognised throughout this study, that the term MADIS is not a static or immutable term for denoting male age-discrepant relationships. As a consequence, it will be applied comparatively, whilst being mindful of the range of different meanings particular acts or behaviours had for contemporaries - an issue which will be interrogated throughout this chapter.

²⁹¹ For example, in early modern verse, adult men who expressed erotic or sexual feelings towards boys or youths often changed the gender of the object of their desire to avoid scandal.

²⁹² A clear example of this is Tim Reid's article (Times 12/1/2002) entitled "Kandahar comes out of the closet", in which he describes the return of man-boy sexual relations after the fall of the Taleban - applying western CSA language and understandings ("groomed" and exploitative) to such relationships.

²⁹³ Not just for present-day debates but also for explaining potential variations between cultures and historical epochs over MADIS.

/or ontological insights.²⁹⁴ The benefits of analysing different cultures and epochs²⁹⁵ has been long recognised by contributors (Foucault 1985; Halperin 1990; Holland and Weeks (eds.) 1996), with others contending that such studies provide a richer genealogy 'of how bodies, pleasures and desires have changed over time as well as from place to place' (Fradenberg and Freccero 1996: V11, XX1).²⁹⁶

Recent approaches to historical sociology have tended to reveal a general scepticism towards "transhistorical generalisations and teleological schemas" (Skocpal quoted in Dean 1994: 11), advocating a move toward a more inductive and temporally grounded historical sociology.²⁹⁷ They identify a shift away from liberal, Enlightenment, or Marxist meta-narratives,²⁹⁸ toward contingent and context-dependent perspectives, 'limited to particular spatiotemporal units,' and which prioritise 'complexity, uniqueness and historical contingency' (Kiser and Hechter 1998: 2, 785).

The above make three general criticisms of "macrosociological" approaches. Firstly, the 'narratives and typologies' produced can obscure the phenomena under study, thereby placing 'epistemological obstacles to effective knowledge and analysis of historical trajectories' (Dean 1994: 12). Secondly, past events can be assigned inappropriate modern meanings through slipping into 'presentism', namely the 'writing of the past in terms of the present' (Ibid: 29). Thirdly, seeking overarching interpretative theories about particular historical periods or social phenomena often minimalises human agency, thereby offering little room for creative actors. For example, Tilly criticises such approaches for stressing structural or functionalist approaches over individual actors, and thereby "reifying the social order" (Quoted in Badie 1992: 324-325).

²⁹⁴ For example, Richard Green made reference in a special edition of the Archives of Sexual Behavior (2002) to this aspect of paedophilia (Green 2000). However, in response, Schmidt questions any extrapolation from such cross-cultural examples to present-day controversies. (Schmidt 2002).

²⁹⁵ Taken as either the material context of western capitalism, or the discursive episteme of 'scientia sexualis'.

²⁹⁶ Some "Queer" and gay and lesbian theorists have gone so far as to appropriate historical and cross-cultural examples to lay claim to a gay and lesbian historiography (see Duberman et al. (eds) 1989). Others argue for a deconstructive approach to sexual history, opening up the possibility for a 'subversive reinscription of the past' (Fradenberg and Fraccero Ibid: XV111). Halperin argues that this latter approach has direct political implications as a 'strategy for subverting received notions of sexual identity', and for providing 'a more comprehensive sexual self-understanding' (Ibid 1990: 39-40).

²⁹⁷ See also Abrams 1982; Smith 1991; Dean 1994 for an outline of this point.

²⁹⁸ Based either on the triumph of the west, or on the final collapse of capitalism.

In contrast, Johnson advocates getting "inside the minds, perceptions and feelings of the historical agents themselves" (Quoted in Pickering 1997: 16). Runciman seeks to prioritise "the constituent intentions and beliefs of actors," alongside "the social, political and historical contexts that give specific intentions and actions their meanings" (Quoted in Smith 1991: 131). Dean terms the above, an 'effective history', which 'historicizes that which is thought to be transhistorical, grasps rather than effaces the singularity of events and processes, and defines levels of analysis that are proper to its objects' (Ibid 1994: 16, 18).

For Kiser and Hechter, a further advantage of adopting such a methodology is the creation of 'descriptively rich narratives' which capture 'the complexity of historical events' (Ibid 1991: 11). Bryant takes this particularist position further, claiming that 'from a single source, historians are often able to draw out a wide range of clues and social processes because it is "natural" that is, an integral or component part of the actions, routines and existential experiences of human beings in their own social worlds' (Ibid 1994: 9).

However, such an over-emphasis on the specificity of events can constrain comparative analyses, which could provide rich analytical tools and detailed description. For Bendix, "comparative analysis is a weapon to be wielded against closed theories of history, as well as grand deductive theories" (Quoted in Kiser and Hechter 1991: 3). Finally, applying general theory can develop insights from past societies, through gathering knowledge which can then permit 'comparisons across cases', whilst still allowing 'for the separation of general and particular features of each case' (Kiser and Hechter 1998: 797, 803, 805).²⁹⁹

Habermas characterises the above debate as follows:

[t]he sociological investigation of historical trends proceeds on a level of generality

²⁹⁹ They then go on to provide five considerations in applying general theory to historical sociology. These include: a guide to the selection of facts; the generation of causal mechanisms by suggesting how and why given causes produces given effects; the evaluation of knowledge across substantive domains that facilitates links between past and present; the identification of anomalies, providing scope for new research; and finally, the adoption of such a model provides the ground for its ultimate destruction (Kiser and Hechter 1998: 811).

at which unique processes and events can only be cited as examples - that is, as cases that can be interpreted as instances of a more general social development. The sociological procedure differs from the practice of historiography strictly speaking in that it seems less bound to the specifics of the historical material, yet it observes its own equally strict criteria for the structural analysis of the interdependencies at the level of society as a whole
(Ibid 1992: XV111).

Whereas Dean sees it as clash between: 'total history', which seeks to construct a coherent unity around an historical period, establish linear co-ordinates of cause and effect, and divide history into a definitive teleological trajectory; and 'general history', which 'seeks series, divisions, differences of temporality and level, forms of continuity and mutation, particular types of transitions and events' (Ibid 1994: 93).

Although the above differences maybe over-exaggerated,³⁰⁰ they highlight key issues and dilemmas for any comparative study.³⁰¹ However, Wallerstein argues that the nomothetic (scientific) and idiometric (humanities) antinomy is out-dated (Wallerstein 2000). Instead, he advocates an approach which 'takes into account not only the specificity of the situation but the continual and endless changes in the structures under study as well as their enduring structures' (Ibid: 30, 34). For Badie too, this distinction 'between single events, resistant to analysis and comparison, and a macrosociological disorder' is too extreme (1992: 329).

In recognition of this point, Bryant contends that any historical sociology should be 'path-dependent,' whilst adhering to the 'contextual logic in which phenomena are explicated and understood,' (Ibid 1994: 12) This includes identifying 'their genesis and their intrinsic relations to other mediating structures and processes,' and the way agency interacts with the 'contextual frames of historical times and cultural milieu' (Ibid: 13, 15).³⁰²

³⁰⁰ See Griffin 1993; Bryant 1994; Kiser and Hechter 1991, 1998; and Badie 1992.

³⁰¹ For example, Althusser called for a complete separation between the empirical study of phenomena in historical time, and the formulation of concepts (Cited in Smith 1991: 166).

³⁰² This mirrors Dilthey's approach which focuses on 'the meanings of past events, actions, institutions and practices', in '1) developing an understanding of the points of view of those involved; 2) developing an understanding of the meaning that events, actions, institutions and practices had for

However, an overly comparative approach could neglect specificities of time and place by revealing only partial insights of specific case examples, and reducing them to a set of common variables. Furthermore, 'long duree' studies need to address the 'dispersion of historical transformation, mutation of events, multiplicity of temporalities, differential forms of timing and spacing of activities and possibility of invasion and reversal of historical pathways' (Dean 1994: 4). This runs the risk of losing 'concrete content and precision of concepts' (Abrams 1982: 189). Finally, such studies can collapse a variety of practices and sequences into a 'coherent world-view' unrecognised by people of that time (Williams 1989: 24).

Any comparative study has therefore to justify placing together differing historical or cross-cultural experiences, whilst recognising that

[n]arratives are analytic constructs that unify a number of past or contemporary actions and happenings, which might otherwise have been viewed as discrete or disparate, into a coherent rational whole that gives meaning to and explains each of its elements and is, at the same time, constituted by them and orchestrated by the narrator to include a particular series of actions in a particular temporal order for a particular purpose

(Griffin 1993: 1097).

This also entails the recognition that cultures are 'porous', and that apparent similarities may be misleading, with the consequence that - contrary to unilinear models - "lines of influence from the past meet...intersect, and are directed afresh in the future" (Hodges quoted in Pickering 1997: 100), requiring attention to the process of diffusion and imitation connecting societies.

Finally, the problem of the 'polysemy of terms', has led some to question the heuristic value of comparison, arguing that comparative studies can never produce testable experiences, derivative of 'given historical experiences', and instead problematically juxtapose 'different systems of signification', devoid of any meaningful comparison

those who experienced them and who were affected by them; 3) developing an assessment of those meanings in the light of the historian's own period' (Cited in Pickering 1997: 120,121).

(Leca 1992: 405). However, Braudel proposes deploying multiple temporalities, "working at different speeds and in different directions", thereby developing a "dialogue between structure and conjuncture, the moment in time and the long or very long term" (Quoted in Abrams 1982: 334).

4.2 Historiography and hermeneutics

Consistent with previous approaches to the study of premodern and ethnographic sexualities (see Herdt 1997; Foucault 1986), the use of late modern western terms for sexual practices will be eschewed. Secondly, the difficulties of inferring causative links between "apparently" similar sexual acts and practices across different temporal and cultural context are clearly recognised. This accepts Mauss' contention that categories of person, self and individual are "dependent upon particular cultural and historical practices and technologies" (Quoted in Dean 1994: 8). Finally, in relation to evaluating the intended meanings behind sexual practices in particular cultures and societies, individual texts and accounts are seen as only partial, and must be set in context, with the proviso that sole reliance on any text, biography or legal statute is problematic given their potentially unrepresentative and selective nature.³⁰³

As Bryant states, 'history relies on chance survivals that are both finite and incomplete...with historical knowledge inevitably both partial and lacunary' (Ibid 1994: 4). Consequently, 'historical reconstruction needs to be interrogated for the significance of what is absent as well as present in their narratives', and in 'the linguistic and discursive terms in which experience has been cast, how it reproduces the ways in which subordinate groups and their experiences in society and history have been rendered subordinate in the first place' (Pickering 1997: 6, 208).

Evaluating the extent of cross-comparisons of MADIS is clearly problematic. For example, how should a youth's relationship with his tutor in a Greek City-State in 400 BCE³⁰⁴ be compared, in any meaningful sense, with an insemination ritual between a boy and an adult man in New Guinea during the 1980s? How far can particular concepts, typologies, and vocabulary be abstracted outside their particular context? Or

³⁰³ For example, in the context of classical Greek sexual discourses, male aristocratic sources predominate, marginalising other voices.

is such a study inevitably liable to the pitfalls of ahistoricism and aculturism?

These issues clearly require an attention to debates over social constructionist, essentialist and literary deconstructionist approaches to sexuality.³⁰⁵ For constructionists, sexual meanings and practices are culturally specific, and cannot be extrapolated to other societies. For example, Bleys contends that '[a] particular culture's own classification usually turns out to be incompatible with western sexual taxonomies' (Ibid 1996: 10). For Halperin, it 'never occurred to premodern cultures to ascribe a person's tastes to some positive, structural or constituted features of his or her life' (Ibid 1989: 42).

Constructionist perspectives also oppose any concept of a "natural sexuality", contending that 'if sex were simply a natural fact, we could never write its history' (Winkler 1990b: 171). They highlight how 'a society and its subgroups construct widely shared meanings-behavioural conventions, social distinctions, conceptual schemas, aesthetic values, religious attitudes, moral codes, gender roles and paradigms of sexual excitement' (Halperin et al. 1990: 4). Consequently, 'sex cannot be an independent variable with a coherent, linear narrative' (Ibid: 3), but whose 'historicity, conditions of emergence, modes of construction and ideological contingencies' need to be analysed (Halperin 1989: 52). Finally, Davenport argues that 'it is the cultural matrix in which sexual behaviour is embedded, and the degree to which individuals have internalised this matrix, that determines and regulates sexual behaviour' (Ibid 1977: 120).

Essentialists in contrast see a greater continuity between earlier periods and late modern sexual behaviours, suggesting, either a biological and / or psychological essence to sexual orientation (see Boswell 1992; Norton 1997a). Norton maintains that, '[i]t is very easy for historians to establish that most of the sexual categories which are supposed to have arisen under modern capitalism in fact existed much earlier.' (Norton 1997a: 7). He criticises constructionist approaches for shifting the focus away from 'the history of homosexuality as desire', towards 'homosexuality as

³⁰⁴ Before Common Era.

³⁰⁵ See Boswell 1980; Greenberg 1988: 482-499; Dollimore 1991; Epstein (ed.)1992.

power' (Ibid: 28). He concludes,

[i]n the social constructionist view, knowledge is constructed, deconstructed and reconstructed through ideological discourse. In my essentialist view, knowledge is discovered, repressed, suppressed and recovered through history and experience
(Ibid: 11-12).

The above debate has arguably become unnecessarily polarised.³⁰⁶ Greenberg cautions against transferring Melanesian sexual practices to present-day America, as each relies on 'a different structure of relevances', and 'classification scheme' (Ibid 1988: 490). However, this does not preclude comparative analyses which draw out inter-related aspects, connections and possible similarities, without resorting to a transhistorical sexual essentialism. For example, Murray criticises extreme constructionist-contextualist approaches for exaggerating differences in sexual praxis between different periods, and for neglecting cross-cultural transmission (Ibid 1989: 469).

Consequently, a qualified constructionist-comparative approach can identify potential conceptual and analytic similarities without collapsing them into a countrified totality. It could also focus on the multi-varied ways social, economic and cultural contexts affect the conduct of sexual practices, and how contemporaries interpreted, made sense, and assigned, particular meanings to sexual experiences.

4.3 Conceptualising MADIS in historical discourse

Although this chapter looks specifically at MADIS, as distinct from adult-adult homosexuality, some have noted a conflation between the two in the literature.³⁰⁷ For example, Rind argues that modern cross-cultural studies 'draw no moral distinctions between man-boy and man-man sex', with

man-boy sex presented as a form of homosexuality that often serves useful social functions rather than being classified as a form of pedophilia, socially and

³⁰⁶ As with many competing dualisms in the social sciences.

³⁰⁷ In contrast to late modern western trends, which have witnessed increasing attempts to erect clear distinctions between adult homosexuality and pederasty (see chapters one-three).

individually destructive in nature and hence intolerable

(Ibid 1998: 399).

Vanggaard claims that the "practice of initiatory pederasty" has common "Indo-European" origins, which Bremmer links to present-day Melanesian pederasty³⁰⁸ (Quoted in Percy 1996: 15). For Bleys, 'age-structured homosexuality' has been widespread in different cultures, with adult men and adolescent boys 'not labelled as homosexual', but positioned in such relationships through the unequal positions each hold in such societies (Ibid 1996: 75, 237). Greenberg ascribes certain generic facets to 'transgenerational homosexuality', including: the transference of a special charisma to the younger partner; the obligation of youths to participate; an asymmetric sexual order in which the older person inseminates the younger; and associated with patriarchal and militaristic social systems (Ibid 1988: 29-40). Although Schalow accepts that 'many types of man-boy love have existed' as 'private affairs, publicly acknowledged bonds, some brief, long-term', he identifies a youth's coming of age as the most salient feature (Ibid 1989: 121).

Brongersma claims that man-boy sex 'is an omnipresent human phenomenon,' but that contrasting motives have 'appeared in all nations and all ages' (Ibid 1986: 90). Eglinton contends that Greek Love has 'coincided with the vicissitudes of classical education, literary manifestations' and 'flourished in periods...in which heterosexual love and the role of women were alike favoured,' and can be seen through transhistorical examples such as: 'knights/squires, masters/apprentices, noblemen/pages, and cowboys/sidekicks (Ibid 1971: 4, 216). He defines the Greek Love relationship as 'asymmetrical', in which 'a guide and friend (philo)' helps 'a young beneficiary/protégé to grow up' (Ibid: 67, 70).

In comparing such practices in Muslim countries to ancient Greece, Bleys suggests that 'a congenital inversion co-existed with an acquired preference for adolescent boys' (Ibid 1996: 249). For Cohen, in the cases of classical Greece and the Azande in 19th and 20th Century Africa, sexual identity and gender roles were crucial factors in defining the 'basic dynamic of pederastic courtship', through assigning female

characteristics to the boy (Cohen 1991: 186). Although noting a similarity between Melanesian and Greek sexual practices in the way each sought to reinforce dominant notions of masculinity, Halperin identifies the infusion of ritual with the former, whereas Greek pederasty was totally devoid of such associations (Halperin 1990: 287).

Sigal makes a broader claim that,

the pederastic relationship implied between the established noble and the aspiring nobles is familiar to those who have studied Melanesia and the ancient Greeks. For the Greeks this relationship was sexualised, although it had to be controlled. For the Melanesian groups, this relationship represents the ritual exchange of semen in order to promote masculinity and growth. In both cases these relationships are played out through actual pederastic homosexual acts. For the Maya, the pedagogical relationship is somewhat less explicit than either that of Melanesia or of ancient Greece and unlike with the Greeks, we find no textual discussions among the Maya about the nature of intergenerational sexual relationships
(Ibid 1997: 20, 21).

Adams claims that 'among males between boyhood and marriage...homosexuality is most often permissible and sometimes obligatory' (Ibid 1985: 20). He contends that this can be explained by older males' attempts to improve their own wealth and power through polygyny, by keeping 'younger contenders in abeyance' (Ibid: 20, 21). He divides such relationships into two categories: the 'ancient model', where 'an older male takes a youth in a role-structured sexual relationship'; and the 'Melanesian model,' where 'older bachelors enter role-defined relationships with younger males' (Ibid: 21).

Adams claims that the former model acted as 'a medium for the transmission of folklore' and the 'procreation of rational knowledge', surviving among the Azande and Mossi of the Sudan, the samurai of feudal Japan, and in Siwa in the Libyan desert (Ibid: 23). In contrast, the 'Melanesian Model' was constituted through a 'highly

³⁰⁸ See also Bremmer (1980).

developed sense of male lineage,' where the ritual transference of semen acts to bind the male line' (Ibid: 26).

Adams claims that whereas in the Melanesian model, 'sexual contact between older and younger bachelors' is 'typically plural, collective and strictly "sexual,"' in the ancient model, relationships were more of a 'personal, exclusive and educative' nature (Ibid: 28, 29). He concludes that homosexual relations in age-graded systems were determined by 'exogamy requirements governing marriage', and functioned primarily to 'masculinise youths' (Ibid: 30, 31).³⁰⁹

Ahistorical pitfalls

A major problem for this chapter is that contemporary connotations of pederasty usually imply sexual practices between men and boys. However, as Jones identifies, until fairly recently³¹⁰ pederasty was often 'similar to, if not synonymous with, the history and literature of homosexuality in general' (Ibid 1982: 62). Furthermore, it also has negative, pejorative meanings in western discourses. For example, Thornton inaccurately states that NAMBLA 'members fancy themselves as the true heirs of Socrates and Plato' (Thornton 1997: 193);³¹¹ whilst Ryan applies CSA meanings in comparing classical Athens to an American prison, likening the former to 'a systematic form of child abuse perpetrated on young boys by older men' (see Ryan 1994: 162).³¹²

³⁰⁹ In contrast to transgendered forms.

³¹⁰ As pointed out in chapter two, throughout the 20th century, pederasty was often viewed as synonymous with homosexuality.

³¹¹ In fact NAMBLA consciously avoids any association with Greek Love mentor discourses, which they find paternalistic, sexist and ageist (see Tsang (ed) 1981).

³¹² Other contributors have been guilty of extrapolating such meanings outside of their context. For example, Rind claims that, '[f]indings from those recent reviews imply that willing man-boy sex accompanied by positive reactions may be better informed by the ancient Greek model than by models based on the female experience (e.g. rape and incest models)' (Ibid 1998: 399). Paglia too is guilty of this when she states,

[t]hese days, especially in America, boy-love is not only scandalous and criminal but somehow in bad taste. On the evening news, one sees handcuffed teachers, priests, or boy scout leaders hustled into police vans. Therapists call them maladjusted, emotionally immature but beauty has its own laws, inconsistent with Christian morality. As a woman, I feel free to protest that men are pilloried for something that was rationale and honourable in Greece at the height of civilisation

(Paglia 1990: 116).

Some boylover advocates have adopted "strategic essentialism", in arguing for a "universal" man-boy socio-sexual relationship. For Brongersma, man/boy love is a 'common feature in societies and animal life', and 'everywhere and all times on earth there has existed a special bond between men and boys' (Ibid 1986: 66, 67). However, he qualifies this by arguing that the 'Greek love of antiquity', and 'all other similar expressions are quite far removed from the relationships of lust and love to which this book is dedicated' (Ibid: 81). He distinguishes between modern-day 'mutual expressions of man-boy love', from Classical Greece, where 'we do not find men and boys uniting in mutual lust; it is rather a situation where the man is bent on attaining his own satisfaction, and for this he uses the body of the boy' (Ibid: 81).

Eglinton also attaches common characteristics to such relationships, identifying similarities in Sufi'ist³¹³ and later Renaissance poetry, 19th century friendships in Victorian public schools and classical Greece, Virgil and Blaneffield's pastoral poetry, the Antinous and Stefan George Cult, and finally Shakespeare's Sonnet 18 and Theognis' verses to Kyrnos in ancient Greece (Ibid: 225, 228, 284, 203, 320). He concludes that art and literature expressions in Greek, Roman, medieval, and in modern Europe and America suggest 'a particular manifestation of a much broader stream of love, rather than anything compared to a fad or a kind of fetishism' (Ibid: 219, 220).

Consequently, the above have contributed to the manifest ways historical and cross-cultural forms of MADIS have either been eschewed, demonised or conveniently amended to fit particular political perspectives. Clearly boylover historians have been guilty of importing historical sexual practices into modern-day sexuality debates, through overly eulogising the romantic and positive aspects, and failing to develop critical aspects of the contexts in which such relationships took place, and the relational dynamics. However, modern-day critics of such relationships have been equally guilty of imposing their own discursive formulas; deploying late modern victimological constructs on such relationships to create in effect, a CSA-based historiography.

4.4 A five-fold typology

This section will focus on various expressions of MADIS such as institutionalised 'Greek Paideraistia' and the Maya (see appendix twenty-two); tribal examples of insemination and rites of passage rituals; Arabic boylove in the middle ages; Renaissance and modern European re-formulations of Greek Love; and Japanese and Chinese expressions of boylove. These typologies will be employed as an heuristic device to facilitate a comparative analysis of 'past and present, events and processes, acting and structuration' (Smith 1991: 3), and for assessing how far particular manifestations of MADIS grew from embedded social and cultural practices, or as secretions of past experiences?

4.41 Greek pederasty (See appendix twenty-three)

The above term covers a thousand-year period; from the generally accepted first recording of pederastic practices in 7th Century BCE in archaic Crete, to the collapse of the western Roman Empire in the 5th Century CE. Furthermore, during its 'classical period',³¹⁴ Greece was composed of politically and geographically disparate city-states, hundreds of different political and social structures, and a significant variation in the nature and extent of pederastic practices (Dover 1978; Cantarella 1992; Percy 1996). Finally, concurring with Cohen's critique of previous analyses of Greek pederasty, it would be unrealistic to assume that sexual meanings were uniform throughout Greek society (see *ibid* 1991: 187, 201).

Greek sexual practices have also been inserted in late modern sexual debates, confounding attempts to understand it (Thornton 1997: 194). Current approaches have therefore tended to view Greek sexuality outside the late modern western 'homosexual/heterosexual dichotomy' (Halperin 1990: 8), but as 'one strand in a larger and more intricate web of erotic and social practices...ranging from heroic comradeship to community sex' (*Ibid*: 1X).

For Percy, Greek pederasty became institutionalised in 7th century BCE Crete, 'to control population and train and band warriors', and then transformed in the 'middle

³¹³ An Arabic and Persian religious sect.

³¹⁴ Generally dated from the 5th to the 3rd century BCE.

archaic period, into 'an articulated programme including love and training' (Ibid 1996: 3, 25). Using the contemporary source of Strabo's "Geography," he identifies a wide range of sexual practices throughout the various geographical regions (Ibid: 125-167).³¹⁵ Eglinton too sets, what he terms the 'earliest institutionalisation of boy love', in Dorian Crete, claiming that by the 6th and 7th Century BCE, Greeks 'were already well aware of boy love as well as of comradely love in common life' (Ibid 1971: 237, 244). However, he adds that such practices had differing purposes, ranging from Sparta, where it was for military purposes, to Attica where it was utilised to prepare boys for public life (Ibid: 222).

Contemporary evidence

The most problematic aspect of relying on contemporary accounts of Greek pederasty is that they are predominantly from wealthy males. The second concerns accepting particular evidence at face value. For example, Dover cautions against over-relying on vases due to the complication of 'time scale and diversity of regional cultures', whereby 'depiction may be adapted to surface, whim of painter or trivial incident' (Ibid 1978: 8); and single philosophical treatises, as 'Plato's right to speak for Greek civilisation' was heavily contested by competing philosophers (Ibid: 12).³¹⁶

Finally, attaching meanings to specific acts is further problematised, as 'gestures are cultural-bound and open to a variety of possible interpretations' (Ibid: 5). For example, condemnation of pederastic acts could 'be read not as absolute and unanimous forms of interdiction but rather as invective expressed within a political forum, where enmities of tribe, family, and city call out multiple forms of insult?' (duBois 1998: 94).

Thornton cites the sixth-century BCE poet Anacreon, who he labels 'the celebrated lover of boys and habitue of the symposium,' proclaiming that "boys were his gods", and verses among Solon's fragments, which refer to a "boy in the lovely flower of

³¹⁵ These include Megara, Thessaly, Boeotia, Thocis, Doris, and Euboea.

³¹⁶ Referring to the case of Plato's Laws (835B-842H), Winkler goes further by contending that 'Athens was a society in which philosophers were ignored and not authoritative figures', with the result that 'debates of philosophers and soap-box moralists tell us about the class of intellectuals and competition for ideological hegemony', but 'have little consequence in describing the beliefs and practices of the population at large' (Winkler 1990a: 44).

youth, desiring his thighs and sweet mouth" (Quoted in Thornton 1997: 202, 193). Brandt also cites Xenophon as evidence that 'the love between a man and a youth was considered entirely as a conjugal union', and quotes him stating, "the very fact that we breathe our love into beautiful boys, we keep them away from avarice, increase their enjoyment in work, trouble and dangers, and strengthen their modesty and self-control" (Xenophon quoted in Brandt 1932: 459, 415). Dover adds that 164 verses attributed to Theognis of Megara were 'addressed to boys' (Ibid 1978: 9), and Brandt cites a list of Greek poets and statesmen³¹⁷ who eulogised 'beautiful boys' (Ibid 1932: 420, 421, 435).³¹⁸

Foucault cites Pausanias' speech in Plato's Symposium as evidence for a conception of love (urania) that was directed exclusively to boys (Ibid 1985: 188). Along with the depiction of erotic scenes between men and boys on Theraan inscriptions on vases,³¹⁹ Eglinton points to 'the fad of putting boy favourite's names on vases' as evidence for extensive 'Greek Love' (Ibid 1971: 256). Finally, Thornton refers to vase paintings showing intercrural intercourse and statements from Solon³²⁰ desiring the thighs of young boys (Ibid 1997: 205).

Secondary interpretations

Several suggestions have been proffered to explain the different forms which Greek pederasty took. Veyne identifies three features of Greek society (toleration of homosexuality, boys not under surveillance, and relative lack of importance assigned to marriage), to explain why 'a constant minority were interested in boys only' (Ibid 1985: 32, 34).

Thornton however cautions that

[m]odern generalisations about what sort of sex, if any, was practised in boy-love, or about the rigid active and passive roles assumed in pederastic intercourse, are ultimately speculations dependent upon an oversimplification of human behaviour

³¹⁷ Including Solon, Theognis, Ibycus, Pindar, and Straton.

³¹⁸ Eglinton also highlights the example of the celebrated poet Pindar, who 'died at 79 in his boy's arms in the gymnasium at Argos' (Ibid 1971: 257).

³¹⁹ Between late 6th and early 5th Century BCE.

(Thornton 1997: 206).

Furthermore, any attempt at knowing exactly what 'Greek boy-lovers' did

in the shadowy margins of the gymnasium or on the couches of the symposium...depends on the great variety of character, imagination, and proclivities of those men and boys actually involved in such a relationship, and that is information we don't have

(Ibid: 206).

In the Spartan system, Percy claims that 'pederasty was incorporated into military and physical training', creating an 'inspirer and listener relationship in battle', and involving a 'sensual and sexual' aspect (Ibid 1996: 74, 88). For Thornton, Dorian pederasty was essentially a ritualised practice, taking the form of an older man informing the family of a boy he fancied of his intentions (Ibid 1997: 194). Eglinton places a different emphasis on such contacts, claiming that it was 'less exclusively military oriented... with drinking songs between pairs of lovers', and which involved 'genuinely tender feelings' (Ibid 1971: 243).

Halperin summarises the relational dynamic as an 'active-passive form,' neither 'relational or collaborative,' but 'an asymmetric gesture...isomorphic with subordinate and superordinate social status' (Ibid 1989: 49). Consequently, sexual acts 'served to position social actors in the places assigned to them in the hierarchical structure of the Athenian polity', placing them in distinct 'isomorphic roles' (Ibid 1990: 266). Percy stresses the importance of the triangular relationship between schools, symposia and gymnasia in Greek pederasty, with the 'symposia traditionally accommodating fourteen-twenty males', and by 480 BCE he claims the common practice of erastai and eromeni³²¹ in gymnasia was firmly established (Ibid 1996: 118, 116).³²²

Winkler conceptualises acts of penetration as an expression of 'social relations of

³²⁰ A contemporary Statesman.

³²¹ See appendix twenty-three.

³²² Percy characterises this as the central contest in which 'courting, sex play and sex acts clearly took place', and where 'all awaited the 12 year old beauty that each palaestra seemed to spawn' (Percy 1996:

honour and shame, aggrandisement and loss, command and obedience, and so it is that aspect which figured most prominently in ancient schemes of sexual classification and moral judgement' (Ibid 1990a: 40). Brongersma identifies three aspects to Greek pederasty: a relationship between an adult and a boy; non-reciprocal sexual activity with the man as the only active partner; and an educational role (Brongersma 1986: 81). For Eglinton, it encompasses: sexual drive (eros); common concern or interest (philia); and generous love (storage) (Ibid 1971: 122).

Aesthetics

Paglia argues for the primacy of aesthetics as the ultimate *raison d'être* for Greek pederasty, which she characterises as the Athenian turn towards young male beauty, constituting 'a brilliant act of conceptualisation' (Ibid 1990: 110).³²³ Brongersma and

113).

³²³ The following sources represent a selection of literary translations from the 'Greek Anthology', which includes quotes from poets, philosophers and statesmen and other contemporary examples, which suggest a contemporary veneration for the love of boys.

The following are a selection of Epigrams by Straton of Sardis (Greek-writing poet from the Lydian city of Sardis). He lived during Hadrian's reign 117-138 CE and put together an anthology of boy-love epigrams called '*Paidike Mousa*' or the Boyish Muse (see Brandt 1932: 479).

*From Zeus we make our start the poet said do I call on,
For I love boys and know boys, and what is that
To a goddess on Mount Helikon?
(Greek Anthology 12.1)*

*"Know the time" is a wise saying,
Philippos: we respect and love the new cucumber
On its little garden hill, but if it matures
We throw the yellow thing to the pigs.
(Greek Anthology 12.197)*

*Diodorous, your fruit is ripening beautiful,
They'll be men beneath the tree:
Whichever way it bends
(Greek Anthology 12.9)*

*Happy little book! I do not grudge it, but some boy reading you will stroke you, hold you under his
chin, press you to his delicate lips, or roll you up on his knee.*

*O happiest of books, you will often be hidden next to his chest, or laid on his chair touching him, and
you will talk to him, just you two alone together.*

*Then will you not, dear book, speak a word now and again in my favour?
(Greek Anthology 12.208)*

*At the boxing match I kissed Antikles' son three times
And wreathed his head ten times with victory ribbons.*

Brandt also strongly emphasise this aspect in Greek pederasty.

The attitudes in common in past and present cultures toward love, and particularly toward Greek Love, can be deduced more accurately from the literature and art having this as its theme than from the legal codes relating to sexual practices

(Brongersma 1990: 219),

and

[i]f we are to draw conclusions from what has been said as to the ethics of Greek love of boys, the following emerges as an undeniable fact: the Greek love of boys is a peculiarity of character, based upon an aesthetic and religious foundation

(Brandt 1932: 445).

Age of attraction and love of youth

The ages of the older and younger partners in pederastic courtship are contested - ranging from between fifteen and forty (Eglinton 1971: 222),³²⁴ or as a 'romantic pursuit of young men in their teens by young men in their early twenties' (Winkler 1990a: 53). In such relationships, Devereu claims that the Greeks saw how the "socially beneficial ends the adolescence of the adolescent" could be utilised (Quoted in Percy 1996: 171). Whereas for Paglia, they were constituted to honour 'the erotic magnetism of male adolescence' (Ibid 1990: 115). For Brandt, '[y]outh was regarded by the Greeks as the most precious possession, and its joys, amongst them love in particular' (Brandt 1932: 3), whereas Percy sees the admiration of 'beauty (Kalos)', and 'moral and intellectual qualities' which endowed the body of the 'eromenos' with both 'desire and athletic prowess' as crucial (Ibid 1996: 120, 98).

Thornton refers to the feminisation of boys in Greek pederastic discourses, whereby feminine characteristics were applied to them, commensurate with their subordinate 'legal and political status' (Ibid 1997: 196). This is reinforced by a contemporary

Bloody and careless, his mouth was sweeter than myrrh and honey.
(Greek Anthology 12.123)

'The Hours and Graces shed sweet oil on thee, and thou lettest not even men sleep. Tell me whose blest darling thou art and which of the boys thou adornest. And the backside's answer was, Menecrates' darling'

(Rhianus quoted in Cantarella 1992: 26).

³²⁴ Although recognising that 'in practice these limits were stretched greatly' (Ibid: 222).

account which states that "[a] boy does not share the man's enjoyment of sexual intercourse as a woman does: he is a sober person watching one drunk with sexual excitement" (Xenophon quoted in Boymel Kampen 1996: 65). A key corollary of this was the avoidance of an active sexual interest by a boy, whereby he had to be seen reluctant in initiating any courtship to maintain prospective citizen status (Greenberg 1988: 145).

Legality, normative limits and transgression

According to Cohen, '[i]n classical Athens the community judged individuals in accordance with a matrix of legal rules and social norms, expectations and values...which were characterised by contradiction, ambivalence and ambiguity' (Ibid 1991: 13). As an example, he cites the law of 'Hubris', in which a man could be prosecuted by a boy's family by actions, which were deemed to be 'injurious to a boy's honour even if consenting' (Ibid: 176).

Percy cites the 'Law of Aeschines Against Timarchus 12', as evidence that there were laws to protect school boys from the erotic attention of older males by regulating who came in before and after dark (Ibid 1996: 179).³²⁵ Similarly Brandt views Solon's attempt to forbid male prostitution by 'punishment of death against unauthorised persons in boy's schools', as an attempt 'to protect free born youth from abuse during minority' (Ibid 1932: 437, 452). Cohen characterises the barrage of 'capital offences regarding procurement, prostitution and regulation of schools' in Athenian society, as a comprehensive "protection system", in which the 'law forbade a whole range of activities which could lead to corruption of boys and protect free boys' (Ibid 1991: 181, 183).

An additional facet of this was a strict 'dichotomy between honourable versus shameful eros in homoerotic courtship,' with the ever-present fear that a boy could be turned into a *Kinaidos*³²⁶ (Ibid: 183). For Thornton, this 'explains the numerous, almost ritualistic controls surrounding and organising boy-love and the anxious

³²⁵ Dover also cites this example, suggesting that Timarchus was debarred because he displayed 'inferiority,' which suggested a lack of 'moral capacity' (Ibid 1978: 107, 109).

³²⁶ This can be loosely translated as the term for an effeminate male who was generally a figure of ridicule in Greek plays for adopting the passive role in anal intercourse.

caution with which it is treated in the ancient sources' (Ibid 1997: 195).

However, the above prescriptions did not necessarily define actual limits (see Halperin 1990: 47), and Cohen's picture of diverse scenarios in which 'some boys rejected pederastic relations altogether, some attempted to uphold the distinction between honourable and shameful relations, and others gave themselves openly', appears a very plausible characterisation (Ibid 1991: 322).

Finally, some contributors have referred to contemporary accounts, such as Aristophanes' defence in Plato's "Symposium," as evidence that youth sexual desire - including the active pursuit of older men - was well recognised in Greek sexual discourses (see Greenberg 1988: 148). Boymel Kampen also highlights the example of a cup by Douris, which he argues, 'depicts a strategy of desire between enterprising adults and youths,' whereby the youth initially submits as the 'passive object...to the aggressive glances of the lover', but then 'becomes in his turn an active subject, returning the gaze, then taking the initiative, to offer himself visually' (Ibid 1996: 82). Similarly, Carnes views Plato's Phaedrus as a 'radical reconceptualisation of Greek sex: whereby the polarisation of subject/object and desiring/desired, is transformed into a model of erotic reciprocity', denoting 'a break with the traditional, popular dichotomy of desire, in which the eromenos is thought to lack sexual interest in his lover', and showing how an 'eromenos can become charged with desire' (Carnes 1998: 106).

Foucault's thesis

Foucault claims that the ways of enjoying pleasures was central to how the Greeks viewed sexual behaviour (Ibid 1986). Through scrutinising contemporary philosophical and literary texts, he identifies five key aspects. Firstly, the relationship was constituted between an older man - endowed with a socially, morally and sexually active role - and a younger man who needed assistance, advice and support; constituting an isomorphic sexual and social dyad of active/passive and dominator/dominated (Ibid: 195).

The second involves ritual through a 'social game', in which the 'love of boys and

educational interest' became intertwined in a complex inter-play of seduction strategies (Ibid: 196). Foucault adds that an intended corollary in this 'age-gap ethics of pleasure' was the emergence of 'subtle strategies that would make allowance for the other's freedom, his ability to refuse, and his required consent' (Ibid: 199). In citing Aristophanes' strong assertion of youth sexual desire in Plato's Symposium, Foucault points to a transgressive feature in contemporary practices, whereby the younger partner is able to overturn the power relations (Ibid: 232).

Fourthly, Foucault identifies a constant tension between expressed desire and citizenship responsibilities, in which the upholding of a boy's honour was paramount throughout (Ibid: 205). Consequently, as a future citizen, a younger person could not readily identify with the very passive role ascribed to him, and had to maintain aloofness in the relationship.

Finally, Foucault sees the major preoccupation in Greek sexual ethics, as transforming 'an object of pleasure' into a subject, who was in control of his pleasure' (Ibid: 225) – constituting in effect a philosophical end-game which necessarily brought about conflicts around honour and shame, status in society, quality of acquaintances, not yielding easily, and self-mastery.

Other interpretations

However, Foucault could be criticised for relying too heavily on specific texts in his approach, and taking at "face value" the "nobler" sentiments of Greek eros, without questioning how far this approximated to general practices. For example, Carnes takes issue with Foucault's example of Aristophanes above, as not obviously relevant 'to social reality' (Ibid 1998: 106). Furthermore, Foucault fails to establish any clear link between an 'image of self-mastery and the real life behaviour of citizens in public forums' (Winker 1990a: 54).

Other interpretations take a more functionalist approach. For Percy, Greek sexual ethics 'embodied a class ethos and the aristocratic desire for self-perpetuation' (Ibid 1996: 2), and functioned to 'limit the number of off-spring', which would in turn 'limit the number of cleroi (estates)' (Ibid: 86). Thornton also views the instilling of

— aristocratic values of 'martial courage and loyalty', as central to exploiting 'the erotic energy of boys to create the citizen-elite who will fight in its armies and hold its offices' (Ibid 1997: 194, 198-199).

However, Dover contends that it reflected a widespread 'need for personal relationships of intensity outside the family', due to a 'deficit of familial and communal relationships' (Ibid 1978: 201). Adam also sees this aspect as crucial, arguing that Greek pederasty acted as a crucial element in the social reproduction of male culture, and functioned as 'a second stage of parenting that succeeds the mother-child relationship' (Ibid 1985: 22).

Summary

Through addressing contemporary and secondary accounts of Greek pederasty, four key features can be discerned. Firstly, it has to be situated within the context of unequal power relations.³²⁷ Although such relationships functioned to sustain and reproduce the dominant social and political structures, this did not remove the potential for conflict, or community concerns that such relationships could threaten the stability of Greek society.

Secondly, it was intended to be transitory, and not indicative of a lifelong attraction. The very acquiring of citizen status entailed the shedding of the passive sexual role, in favour of marriage, and / or a future active role in such a relationship. A lifelong orientation for continued attraction to adult males was viewed as problematic, and likely to result in stigma.

A third feature involved the aesthetic glorification of freeborn youth as the dominant iconography of Greece's classical age, who in turn was assigned a high erotic allure. However, this veneration was only reserved to future citizenry, and established around it an intricate set of ritual "dos and don'ts" in any unfolding relationship.

Finally, it appears that throughout this period in classical Greece, an extensive culture of male intergenerational intimacy and friendships developed in a wide number of

multiple settings, in which opportunities for close contact, alongside displays of intimacy and affection between adult males and youths, provided a context for individual expressions and relationships of a highly emotional, intimate and sexual nature. It also seems likely however that within such relationships, some boys and men may have eschewed their proscribed roles and engaged in reciprocal acts, whilst others may have treated such experiences as perfunctory, or rejected them outright (Cantarella 1992: 213).

4.411 Other examples of institutionalised pederasty

Tannahill claims the Greeks and the Maya are the only examples of 'successfully institutionalised' pederasty (Ibid 1981: 79). Greenberg adds that evidence suggests Mayan priests supplied their 'adolescent sons as sexual outlets before marriage,' and that institutionalised pederasty was practised in many Hindu cities (Ibid 1988: 164). Other historians point out that it was institutionalised amongst Nordic, Gothic, Celtic and Germanic tribes as a rite of passage (see Percy 1996: 18; Pontalley 1997). Finally, Brongersma claims that in such societies men commonly 'took young boys under their wings to nurture and train in the warrior acts' (Ibid 1986: 82-83). As will be shown in the later examination of the cross-cultural evidence, various forms of MADIS were widely practised, although not necessarily in such an institutionalised way.

4.42 Rites of passage and insemination rituals

For Eglinton, 'puberty rites' in non-European cultures are 'multiple, complex and often ambiguous' (Ibid 1971: 62). Bley's notes how early ethnographic interpretations emphasised age-structured homosexuality in non-European societies as: circumstantial, and therefore indicative of a 'primitive and degenerate character' and 'low morality'; in contrast to western forms, which were congenital, and therefore "genuine" (Ibid 1996: 185, 190). Bley's also identifies, within emerging European discourses on the New World, a distinction 'between male bondity and sodomy,' with the former reflecting an 'idealisation' and 'desexualisation of Greek pederasty,' and the latter reduced to 'a mere game of sexual gratification' (Ibid: 49).³²⁸

³²⁷ Gender, generational, social, economic and political.

³²⁸ Bley's claim can be backed up by the following selection of excerpts from Symmonds (1891) in Norton 1997b.

Despite a paucity and unreliability in much of the evidence, there appears some link between MADIS and gender roles. Evans-Prichard carried out a study of sexual relationships between young warriors and boys amongst the Azande of Sub-Saharan Africa (Evans-Prichard 1970). These were organised in fighting units between "abakumba" (married men) and "aparanga" (bachelors) who lived together in barracks, where 'it was common to take boy-wives due to the scarcity of marriageable women, late marriage and the taboos on adultery' (Ibid: 1428). Evans-Prichard states that for the boys who were aged between twelve-twenty, 'their warrior mates were "badiya ngbanga" or 'court lovers', and took the form of 'a formal union,' with domestic roles, and educational and sexual aspects (Ibid: 1429, 1430).

Bleys notes in Africa how 'Zulu boy-brides (inkothsare) accompanied miners on their work' (Ibid 1996: 166), a practice viewed by Moodie, as involving "homosexual dyads...between senior men (men with power in the mine structure) and young boys" (Quoted in Murray and Roskam 1998: 19). Furthermore, Davenport notes the frequency in East Bay Society of married men taking boys as sexual partners (Ibid 1977). Brongersma also claims that formal marriages between men and boys took

"Greek love was originally a Dorian and soldierly passion; it had grown up in the camp; and when it lost its primal quality in the Attic circles, Socrates attempted to utilise the force he recognised in this romantic feeling for the stimulation of a nobler intellectual life' (Symmonds quoted in Norton 1997b: 7).

"The military and chivalrous nature of Greek Love is proved by the myths and more or less historical legends which idealised its virtues' and Greek love, as I have shown, was in its origin and essence masculine, military, chivalrous. However repugnant to modern taste may be the bare fact that this passion existed and flourished in the highest-gifted of all races, yet it was clearly neither an effeminate depravity nor a sensual vice" (Ibid: 2).

"...one of the strongest points of similarity between the chivalrous love of the ancient Greeks and that of the mediaeval races...In theory, at any rate, both Greek and mediaeval types of chivalrous emotion were pure and spiritual enthusiasms, purging the lover's soul of all base thoughts, lifting him above the bondage of the flesh, and filling him with a continual rapture" (Ibid: 6).

"We come thus to the remarkable fact that the last manifestation of mediaeval love at Florence represents an almost exact parallel to the last manifestation of Greek love at Athens..but each took place by a natural and independent process of development ... We turn, like Gibbon, in our perplexity about Greek love to the hypothesis of a "thin device of friendship and virtue," masking gross immorality. Frankly admitting that Greek love was tainted with a vice obnoxious to modern notions, and that mediaeval love was involved with adultery, the true critic will declare that, strange and incomprehensible as this must always seem, there were two brief moments, once at Athens and once at Florence, when amorous enthusiasms of an abnormal type presented themselves to natures of the noblest stamp as indispensable conditions of the progress of the soul upon the pathway toward perfection" (Ibid: 7-8).

place amongst the Egyptians, Greek Orthodox Albanians,³²⁹ western Australia, the Eskimos of Greenland and in Algeria (Ibid 1986: 40, 84, 89).

Herdt's study of the Sambia of Papua New Guinea introduces a further feature in age-structured same-sex practices, namely their role in establishing masculine identity through ritual (see *ibid* 1987). For Herdt, '[t]he Sambia believed femaleness to be innate unless men intervene with ritual procedures that protect boys from female contamination' (Ibid: 6). Such activities are channelled through 'secondary socialisers,³³⁰ in the form of initiation practices which constitute 'a collective measure to place boys under ritual control,' whilst assigning them 'their appropriate place in the social hierarchy' (Ibid: 97). He concludes that approximately '10-20% of traditional cultures historically practice this form of gender and sexual development,' which Herdt characterises as a 'culture-specific pattern of initiation rites,' enacted 'in small-scale patrilineal villages' (Ibid: 8).

This aspect of puberty rites is also recognised by Rousseau and Porter, who state that subsequent roles would be established through rituals and games to 'influence the passions of the young men present' and 'develop manly ambitions' (Ibid 1987: 272). However, not all examples of non-European MADIS can be explained by reference to gender or circumstantial roles. At this juncture Murray's criticism of recent ethnographical approaches, for a '[f]rustrating preoccupation with categories rather behaviour and on roles rather than desires' (Murray 1997: 3) appears justified. Instead, he encourages future approaches, 'to look at: intra-cultural diversity, individual meaning, individual or shared salience of categories and the relationship between what people do and what they say' (Ibid 1997: 4).

For example, Murray claims that in Sub-Saharan Africa, male adult homosexual relations with adolescent boys do not correspond to such gender models (see *ibid* 1995). Murray and Roskam also identify Super-Saharan Africa as 'a well-documented site of age-defined homosexuality' (Ibid 1998: 1). They note how early

³²⁹ In the latter case this was formally consecrated in the form of a "gjanelidhja" (seed alliance) by swallowing a man's seed (gjane).

³³⁰ Herdt includes trainers, enforcers, teachers, elders and Shamans in this role.

ethnographers³³¹ wrote about such practices, applying the indigenous term "bele nmem e bango", which defined someone who has the "heart" and "aspirations of boys" (Quoted in *ibid* 1998: 5). Finally, Murray claims that in non-European countries, homosexual behaviour between adult men and adolescent boys was widespread, and generally devoid of any stigma (*Ibid* 1992, 1995).

4.43 Arabic MADIS

For Roth,

[t]he ancient Greeks produced poetry describing their passion for boys, often as scatological in nature as the later Arabic poetry. The temptation would be great to assume that the Muslim poets "borrowed" this theme as a mere literary device from the Greeks, just as it has been suggested that the Jews "borrowed" it from the Muslims, but for the fact that the Muslims had absolutely no awareness of the existence of Greek poetry

(*Ibid* 1982: 24).

However Eglinton maintains that 'Greek manuscripts were preserved by Byzantine monks and transmitted to the Arabs,' where 'boy love became a prominent feature of Moslem culture' (*Ibid* 1971: 225). These disputes also underlie modern-day controversies, such as attempts by oriental scholars to dispel notions of pederasty as the "Muslim vice," 'to promote a higher image of Arab culture' (Bleys 1996: 20, 113).

Greenberg argues that MADIS was very common in the Arab world, commanding 'a vast and rich literature describing the beauty of boys and techniques for seducing boys' (*Ibid* 1988: 179).³³² He also claims that 'demand for youthful male flesh was not restricted to a tiny clandestine underground', but that in contrast, 'public brothels and baths were full of youths' (*Ibid*: 179).³³³

³³¹ Ambrogetti and Tessman.

³³² Including individuals such as Abu Nuwas, Ibn al-'Abbar, Ibn Khafaja, Ibn Quzman, Ibn Arabi, Sa'di, Al-Hariri and Al-Nefzawi.

³³³ This is in contrast to western Europe at the same period, where evidence of pederastic verse is limited, although Boswell alludes to an exception to this by claiming that many Latin poets in 10th and 11th century wrote of romantic attachments to men and boys through development of urban-based homosexual subculture which was concerned with beauty and romance, and drew on classical sources (*Ibid* cited in Greenberg 1988: 266).

Eglinton argues that 'Persian-Arabic Sufi'ism and Catharist Provençal troubadors' developed 'a standardised vocabulary of boy love', with a 'strong element in religion' eulogising the 'beautiful adolescent' from Persian Zoroastrian sources (Ibid 1971: 254). He claims that during the 9th and 10th century, Sufism (in Iraq, Persia and Egypt) represented a 'Platonic attachment to beauty,' through 'a union with a beautiful boy and a nobleman's Saki or cupbearer' (Ibid: 310).

Murray claims that 'homosexual roles, both age-and gender-stratified, were and are lexicalized and written about in Arabic, Farsi, Turkish and other languages' (Ibid 1995: 626-627). He identifies the term "Launde-baz" as a referent for "an adult man who fancies boys" but which also includes "affection and poetry, cuddling, and lovemaking" (Quoted in ibid: 626). He also claims that the Turkish term 'Farsi sahid-bazi' defines an "admirer of young male beauty", and "gulampare / kullanpara" as 'a term of self-reference for Iranian and Turkish boy-lovers' (Ibid: 626, 627). Finally, Murray quotes al-Tafashi's 13th century compilation, which shows that 'role versatility was recognised long ago', by statements such as "[o]thers prefer teenage boys, whom they can fuck and be fucked and "young boys can perform equally well on top or on the bottom" (Quoted in ibid: 626, 627).

Bey's biography of Abu Nuwas³³⁴ describes the poet as a lover of boys between twelve-sixteen (Ibid 1993). For Bey, Islamic society took a tolerant view of pederasty, with Sufi poetry of love songs to boys and an 'aesthetic appreciation' of "gazing at the unbearded" (Ibid).³³⁵ Roth's study on the love of boys in Hebrew poetry, stresses 'the Arabic influence on the Hebrew poets' (Ibid 1982: 21). He contends that Arabic poetry reflected the 'general social environment', in being 'full of explicit sexual acts with boys' (Ibid: 24). Roth argues that '[a]mong the Muslims, hashish, together with wine...was often used to aid in the seduction of reluctant boys; it more frequently was used by boys trying to seduce men' (Ibid: 26). He cites an entire anthology of poetry from al-Andalus, 'devoted exclusively to the love of boys', and states how 'the price for young boy slaves was so high because of the "ishq" (passion or lust) of the purchasers' (Ibid: 27).

³³⁴ A Persian poet born in Ahwaz around 747-762 CE'

³³⁵ No page numbers in the text.

Roth sees "sevi" (gazelle), as a metaphor for the 'beloved boy,' with poetry celebrating 'the beauty of the boy cup-bearer (Arabic saqi), whose duty it was to fill the cups of wine in the tavern or at an all-night drinking party' (Ibid: 44). Roth identifies distinct similarities with previous Greek verse on the love of boys, which bemoaned the end of adolescence as the end of 'desirability as an object of love' (Ibid: 39). His contention that such literary expressions represent a significant aspect of the lives of such poets may be true, however his conclusion that such poetry can 'provide us "a mirror held up to nature," one that reflects the emotions and the lives of the "Golden Age" of Spanish Jewry', is more questionable (Ibid: 51).

4.44 Oriental MADIS

Evidence for the practice of MADIS in oriental cultures during the same period is extensive. Tannahill maintains that such practices were '[r]eincarnated in 10th century AD by Buddhist monks in Japan: master-disciple, teacher-guardian, love and devotion and warrior class sealed it by oath of faithfulness for life' (Ibid 1981: 75). Bleys notes how early Europeans³³⁶ 'described sexual relations between mandarins and their servant boys' (Ibid 1996: 75). He also identifies theatres, Buddhist convents and brothels in China and Japan, as the main contexts for MADIS, adding that 'narratives of age-related same-sex relations' were inextricably 'tied to particular paternalistic relations and virtually implied a youngster would assume a passive role (nanshoku)' (Ibid: 75, 76).

Brongersma claims that pederastic practises occurred in Indian brothels,³³⁷ China, where 'boylove was systematically cultivated, formally organised, developed to a high degree and was common at all levels', and Japan, where inns 'provided guests with boys' (Ibid 1986: 86). Eglinton claims that in Oriental boy-love, effeminacy was tolerated with 'hundreds of references in Licht to the specifically androgynous beauty of boys' (Ibid 1971: 249).

Schalow cites contemporary publications such as "The Great Mirror of Male Love", which describes the practice of 'male love between Buddhist priests and chigo lovers

³³⁶ J. Barrow, Travels in China (1804)

and Samurai men and youths', as evidence of the extensive cultivation of such relationships in Japan (Ibid 1989: 118-119). In such relationships, '[t]he youth was expected to be worthy of his lover by being a good student of Samurai manhood,' usually 'aged eleven-nineteen with hairstyle of forelocks and long-sleeved robes' (Ibid: 123, 124). He concludes that although '[e]xclusive boy love was considered limiting and eccentric,' individuals fashioned real relationships out of such conventions, to 'express their inner sexuality and emotional needs' (Ibid: 119, 128).

4.45 European Early Modern and Modern MADIS

Some historians have argued that the early modern period saw a discernible embryonic homosexual urban subculture take shape (see Weeks 1977). However, it is unclear how far Foucault's acts-identities epistemic rupture can do justice to the various forms and contexts in which same-sex praxis took place. Consequently, Fradenburg and Freccero's suggestion in considering 'other ways in theorising sexuality less dependent on a schematic use of acts/identities distinction', such as a 'powerful homosociality' (Ibid 1996: XX) might prove useful in approaching Renaissance sexuality.

Bray encourages historians 'to carry our preconceptions lightly if we are to see in Renaissance England more than the distorted image of ourselves' (Ibid 1982: 17). He minimizes the role of sexual identity, arguing that '[t]here was little or no reason for homosexual relations to influence people's lives outside the sexual sphere' (Ibid: 69). Halperin also adds that Renaissance "'Greek Love" had little impact outside the educated classes' (Ibid 1989: 92).

In examining the contemporary evidence, Bray cautions against the reliability of satire and Court records in establishing clear accounts (Ibid 1982: 35, 38). However, Norton contends that the evidence of police archives in 16th century Venice, 'document a preponderance of men who are bachelors and who prefer their own sex' (Ibid 1997a: 2). Eglinton highlights how Michelangelo's and Da Vinci's portraits were inspired by the 'androgynous adolescent male as the human ideal form', citing their

³³⁷ Quoting Gopal who states, "masculine and sexually active men are always actively looking out for feminine, slender young men and boys" (see *ibid*: 86).

relationships³³⁸ as further evidence (Ibid 1971: 315).³³⁹

Greenberg too notes the preponderance of artists who 'developed a reputation for sleeping with teenage apprentices' (Ibid 1988: 308). He sees homosexual relations in late 17th century England, largely between the male aristocracy and their pages, and shown by the way restoration plays 'were enamored of male youths' (Ibid: 327).³⁴⁰

Saslow also claims that in England, 'Ganymede was seen as a symbol of boy love', with master-page connotations, but with the additional dimension of 'classic erotic pastoralism,' in which 'idyllic pastoral subjects and homoerotic connotations,' conveyed a 'bucolic fantasy of unrequited love' (Ibid 1982: 159, 105, 126).³⁴¹ He also maintains that the Renaissance resurgence of artistic expressions of Ganymede 'symbolised...chaste and often erotic relationships between masters, their servants and apprentices', which occurred because they were 'living in close proximity to apprentices', often leading to 'emotionally intense and lengthy relationships' (Ibid: 10). Finally, for Saslow the cult of Ganymede symbolised: older-younger homosexual relations; 'a generalised paragon of desirable male adolescence,' and 'a metaphor for praising beautiful boys' (Ibid: 7, 126, 155).³⁴²

Bray however places a different emphasis by citing contemporary references to

³³⁸ Michelangelo's relationship with Tomunaso (aged fifteen) and Da Vinci's relationship with Giaeoms Caprotti (aged ten).

³³⁹ Saslow claims that Michelangelo 'was caught between his desires and fears of realising them' but that his relationship constituted a 'linking matrix of male beauty and corresponding sexual practices' (Ibid 1982: 60, 127).

³⁴⁰ Greenberg also highlights the cases of William Drummond and Richard Barnfield who 'wrote homoerotic verse celebrating the love of shepherd boys' (Ibid 1988: 325).

³⁴¹ Saslow identifies Vigil's Eclogues as a clear example of such expressions.

³⁴² Boswell however cites an earlier anonymous expression of the love of Ganymede.

*Eye, neck, cheeks of golden hair-
These were the flames of Jove for his Ganymede.
When Jupiter was seeking to allow himself a little pleasure with the boy.
The god ordained that all things were licit with a boy.
Heedless of the care of the world and the murmurs of the gods,
Of the tongue of his injured wife and of heaven,
He bore the Ilian lad to the heavens, a star to the stars,
And finally even believed that he was a god,
So that his boy could please him by touch as well as sight.
In the daylight he bore Jove his cup, and at night, kisses*

Anonymous 13th century "Ganymede" (Boswell 1980: 401).

—'prostituted boy',³⁴³ and Italian/English terms 'Catamito' or a 'ganymede', as 'one hired to sin against nature', arguing that the 'use of Ganymede was always pejorative and refers to nothing more elaborate than a male prostitute or servant kept for sexual purposes' (Ibid 1982: 53, 65).³⁴⁴ For Bray, such encounters took place mainly through street prostitution, brothels in taverns, master-servant relations, and in Elizabethan and Jacobean playhouses which were viewed by contemporaries as 'sodomite haunts' (Ibid: 54, 55).

Rocke suggests that the majority of same-sex encounters in Renaissance Florence were between 'active men and passive adolescents,' and that the 'active role of boys in soliciting and maintaining relationships with men' produced a confusion of 'traditional gender boundaries and power relations' (Ibid 1989: 11, 12, 14). He highlights the development of widespread 'patronage networks', where 'homosexual activity appears to have been frequent amongst representatives of the politically privileged class,' and where 'kept boys' were subsequently able to 'gain much in influence through civil offices or money' (Ibid: 22). Rocke also identifies contemporary concerns³⁴⁵ over the increase in sodomy within the city, but notes a shift in 'the terms of the 15th century discourse about male homosexuality away from morality and criminology, and towards sexuality and general cultural problems' (Ibid: 15).

Eglinton identifies two aspects to resurgent "Greek Love" in late 16th century England namely, a 'fad in literary circles for boy actors as "Travesti" or "Castrati," and poetic verse, represented by Shakespeare's "Venus and Adonis" and Barnefield's "Affectionate Shepherd Boy" (Ibid 1971: 317, 318).³⁴⁶ However, he recognises that despite the 'intense concern with the effervescent beauty of male adolescence', and 'high value of stimulated, passion, emotional depth, and individual creativity in boys', the reality was that the 'vast majority of boy actors were apprentices, whether press-ganged...or adopted by some personal contact' (Ibid: 327, 328). (See appendix

³⁴³ 'Satires' (J. Donne)

³⁴⁴ Bray also accepts that 'its original meaning, the beautiful boy who was loved by Zeus was still maintained' (Ibid: 65).

³⁴⁵ For example, Bernardino, warning against boys engaging in sodomy noted that "the fanciulli are the idols of old men, who consider them gods" (Quoted in *ibid*).

³⁴⁶ Bray in contrast, contends that Barnefield's work was 'not based on personal experience', but 'part of a literary genre about friendship, a Platonic meeting of minds' (Ibid 1982: 60, 61).

twenty-four).

Allusions to Classical Greece

A number of contributors highlight how same-sex praxis relied on classical Greece for much of its inspiration. For example, Eglinton, claims that 'the Renaissance rediscovered boy love,' where 'Ganymede boys whose voices had no yet cracked took female roles in dramas, exactly as in ancient Greece' (Ibid: 226). Paglia and Saslow draw striking parallels in the art of Donotello and Caravaggio. For Paglia, this is indicative of 'the glamorous Apollonianism of Italian Renaissance art' (Ibid 1990: 148), whereas for Saslow such works take 'iconographic inspiration' from Greece and Rome, in parading the 'archetype of ideal, youthful beauty' (Ibid 1982: 1, 3, 4).

Hekma also identifies a 'strong metaphor of Ganymede and Zeus in boy bordellos in Berlin,' alongside a strong classical heritage of 'homoeroticism' and 'neoplatonism'³⁴⁷ (Ibid 1989: 436). In England too, Rousseau notes examples of intergenerational 'Platonic friendships', through a "club" identity and a 'socratic element' in teacher-student discipleship (Rousseau 1989: 316, 339).

Other interpretations

Halperin, Bray and Hitchcock highlight the significance of structures of patriarchal power in early modern forms of MADIS. For Halperin, it was only through such a system of 'age and power' that 'boys were considered interchangeable with women' (Ibid 1989: 92). For Bray, patriarchy underlay 'all sexual relationships' (Ibid 1982: 48).³⁴⁸ Hitchcock adds that 'pervasive libertinism was part of a pattern of behaviour in which sex came to represent power relationships more strongly than gender and fitted the hierarchical structures of court patronage, through which political power and social relations were expressed' (Ibid 1997: 65).³⁴⁹

³⁴⁷ As seen in Van Humboldt's Platonic philosophy of eros and gymnasia, and in his development of German and Dutch gymnasia (see Hekma 1989: 439).

³⁴⁸ Bray also highlights the important function homosexuality played in an age where marriage was relatively late (early thirties) (Bray 1982: 78).

³⁴⁹ Hitchcock - relying on Stone's characterisation of 18th century England as voyeuristic and lacking privacy - develops a further point when he claims that 'overcrowding through the army and the navy, regularly brought youths into contact with older men' (Ibid 1997: 64).

In analysing early modern European sexuality, Greenberg eschews any simplistic acts-identities dichotomy, characterising it more as 'libertinism and criminal subculture,' as distinct from a sub-cultural identity (Ibid 1988: 308). However, Roche views expressions of 'Socratic love' in the 15th century Italian Renaissance, struggling 'against the identification of same-sex love with same-sex behaviour' (Ibid 1989: 36).

From the late 18th and 19th centuries, a strong revival in interest in classical antiquity saw the adoption by Victorian British and German educational and cultural elites of Platonic notions of 'pedagogical eros' (see Bleys 1996: 250). However, as others note, these attempts were 'avowedly partial, plural and discontinuous' (Halperin et al. 1990: 4). This period also began to witness the gradual appearance in England of a separate homosexual culture, along with transformations in gender relations, which, if Trumbach is correct, effectively rendered age-structured pederasty irrelevant (see ibid 1989).

However, Eglinton challenges this by citing in the 18th century, the development of Piccadilly in England as a centre for boy prostitution and the continued demand for "petits-jesus"³⁵⁰ in many European cities (Ibid 1971: 343). He also highlights the example of Byron's love for a Greek boy (aged fifteen), and Wilde's renowned attraction to Arab boys (Ibid: 359, 388). However, what is difficult to dispute, as chapter two suggested, is that socio-cultural space, and opportunities for such relationships, were heavily curtailed during this period.

Conclusion

This chapter has identified significant differences between the way MADIS is dealt with in historical and cross-cultural studies namely, a greater willingness to countenance a range of possible explanations in comparison to contemporary discourses on MADIS. Although there is a clear recognition of structural power dynamics, they do not impose CSA hegemonic frameworks, countenancing a variety of other constructions (including reciprocal friendships, aesthetic appreciation, and the potential for the development of close intimate friendships).

Historical and cross-cultural meanings on MADIS (including the individuals involved) also suggest a range of differing attitudes - partly explained by differing conceptions of childhood and adolescence, sexual behaviours, and gender. Such differing meanings and understandings can also be explained by a potentially infinite number of unique, context-specific factors, which ultimately render enumeration difficult.

³⁵⁰ Often taken to mean boy prostitutes.

Chapter Five Research Methodology

Introduction

This chapter seeks to establish a conceptual link between earlier chapters and the empirical data chapters. It will address *general* issues relating to research design, narrative construction and data-collection, along with more specific concerns brought up by studying this topic (including the contexts in which interviews took place, and the different experiences of respondents).³⁵¹ It will also outline *specific* features of this study's research design namely, its multi-site / discursive approach, encompassing a wide range of contested positions (boylovers, professionals, political accounts, gay and lesbian youth, male survivors of abuse, and gay MADIS partnerships).³⁵²

Finally, there will be a brief examination of the position of the researcher within such a process, including how conducting this study has impacted upon myself. This builds on the reflexive approach to theorising this topic outlined in chapter three, but brings in more concrete aspects into focus namely, ethical issues faced by researchers in this area concerning researcher-respondent relationship, recruitment methods, obtaining consent from participants, minimising harm and insuring confidentiality.

5.1 Methodology

This section addresses major influences for the current study including social constructionism, qualitative and ethnographic approaches, and critical analyses. In the introduction knowledge generation (through the development of theoretical constructs and empirical observation) was viewed as part of an on-going, interactive and dynamic process. Rather than adopting an either - or approach 'scientific inquiry' was viewed as 'an alternation between deduction (reason toward observations) and induction (reason from observations)' (Barbie 1991: 53, 54). This also recognises that 'data collection, analysis and theory should stand in reciprocal relationship with each other' (Pandit 1996: 2).

This study will adopt Pandit's three elements ('concepts, categories and propositions'),

³⁵¹ This will include the geographical parameters for the current study, the interaction between researcher and subject, and the influence of gatekeepers in accessing particularly sensitive populations.

coupled with 'a preference for propositions over hypotheses', and an analytical focus, which seeks to examine conceptual relationships rather than measuring relationships (Ibid 1996: 1, 2). This recognises the 'multiple meanings of social reality' (Maykut and Morehouse 1994: 21) and that social researchers should accurately reflect the 'complex and multidimensional' character of the 'lived experiences' and the subsequent meanings attached to those by human agents (Ibid: 38). It also eschews methodological approaches, which assume 'that one group or category of people necessarily has more valid insights than other' (Hammersely 1992: 193).

Chapters one and three identified specific inadequacies in mainstream theorising and research on MADIS.³⁵³ Consequently, previously marginalised accounts from boylovers, and positively experienced accounts of MADIS from young people, will be given more attention. However this does not imply that such accounts will be treated unproblematically or uncritically.³⁵⁴

The collection of data was heavily influenced by ethnographical and qualitative methodologies, whereby results are based on patterns found in the data (Maykut and Morehouse 1994: 13), and 'emerges as a narrative not in the form of ticks in pre-coded boxes' (Foddy 1993: 15). Ethnographic approaches emphasise context-sensitivity in conducting research, alongside the 'importance of naturally-occurring data generation' (Silverman 1993: 23). For Kirk and Miller, "qualitative research is a particular tradition in social science that fundamentally depends on watching people in their own territory" (Quoted in Silverman 2001: 29).

A final facet of the above approach involves a descriptive and interpretative focus in which

[t]he goal is not to produce a standardized set of results that any other careful researcher in the same situation or studying the same issues would have produced. Rather it is to produce a coherent and illuminating description of and perspective on

³⁵² Each discursive position will be covered in chapters six to eleven.

³⁵³ MADIS is defined here as male age-discrepant / intergenerational sexualities and relationships.

³⁵⁴ For example, boylover discourses are often presented as simplistic formulations of a love or friendship discourse, which may obscure other more problematic aspects in such relationships (see

a situation that is based on and consistent with detailed study of that situation

(Ward-Schofield 1993: 202).

This also entails an interpretivist focus to understand the actions and interactions of respondents (see chapter five in Silverman 1985). It also prioritises how individuals construct meaning (see Burgess 1990: 3), contending that "human behaviour is intentional and subjects meaningful creators" (Pawson quoted in Foddy 1993: 15). As the current research is concerned with the construction of age-based socio-sexual relationships and identities, it brings to the fore the problem of how different respondents may perceive age differently. As Foddy states, 'although "age" is a concept with shared meanings...different age-groups may have different ways of thinking about age' (Ibid 1993: 40).³⁵⁵

The current research also draws broadly on critiques of positivist approaches to the social sciences (Silverman 2001; May 2001). Such critics accuse positivist methodologies of firstly, deploying atomistic frameworks which treats individuals as undifferentiated objects of research - inattentive to class, gender, ethnic, and age differences. Secondly, they are criticised for obscuring structural power imbalances and thereby reducing social analysis to an economic view of human behaviour without providing any descriptive, interpretative or critical focus. Silverman adds, 'instead of attending to the social construction of meaning, positivist research is shown to use a set of ad hoc procedures to define, count and analyse its variables' (Ibid 1993: 21).³⁵⁶

Power relations

Power issues within the research process between researcher and respondent can occur in a number of ways, most significantly in the language employed by researchers to describe respondents. This can reveal contested expectations over a researcher's role, adding further complications to the relational dynamics in any subsequent interview. For Chenail, whether they are called 'interviewees, research

chapter one).

³⁵⁵ This problem will be addressed throughout the data-analysis chapters.

³⁵⁶ This was shown in the context of the contemporary debates over CSA studies (see chapter one) in which the grand epitomes of positivist research (meta-analysis) produced widely divergent results over

participants, stakeholders each of these postures carries with it a particular relationship with the other and reveals a certain notion of the self of the researcher' (Ibid 2000: 2).³⁵⁷

This study recognises that the researcher is 'co-constituted' with the research subject in the production of knowledge and data - entailing a 'joint sense-making' interaction between researcher and respondent (Foddy 1993: 23). It also recognises that the 'necessity of establishing a rapport in order to gain access to what might be sensitive or closely guarded information means that the degree of detachment associated with quantitative research may not be viable or desirable' (Wainwright 1997: 8). This does not imply resorting to 'Saloon Bar Sociology' (Pahl cited in May 2001: 132), or mimicking 'feminist methodologies' which identify detachment as the very core of masculinist imposed paradigms within the social science.³⁵⁸ However, it does entail a substantial departure from the role of the researcher in traditional quantitative survey research studies.

A further aspect to analysing power relates to the relative position of dominant as opposed to marginal discursive positions. For example, interviews conducted with a leading political figure, local government professionals, male survivors, gay partners and boylovers highlight a variety of criss-crossing interstices of power.³⁵⁹ This also impacts on the methods used to contact each group, information provided on the study, and the content of the interview schedules.

Thirdly, any focus on age, gender, class, sexuality or race, clearly involves power differences, which may impact on the conduct of research. In relation to this study, this raises issues concerning the impact any power differences between age groups will have on MADIS. This aspect will also be important in addressing any implications such findings may present for other (inter) subjectivist-based research approaches.

the relationship between CSA and other variables (see Rind et al. 1998, 2001a, Paolucci et al. 2001).

³⁵⁷ In the data analysis chapters for this study the term respondent was consciously employed.

³⁵⁸ See Hammersely (1992) for a critique of the latter approach.

³⁵⁹ The outcome may not constitute as Foucault argues totally dominant / subjugated discourses. Nonetheless, if framed within continua of material resources and access to various communication channels, significant regard has to be taken of how such inequalities impact on the research process.

This also draws on constructivist and critical perspectives outlined earlier, which recognised the shifting and unstable nature of power relations across age-boundaries. Consequently, a micro-relational approach to analysing power relations, within and across, different age groups will be adopted. This perspective is attentive to the different localised contexts in which MADIS can occur, whilst also being sensitive to the diverse subject positions and contested meanings placed on such experiences.

5.2 CMC and Cyberspace communities

'Positive' transformations

The emergence of local cyber-cultures has been likened to Lyotard's 'little narratives', constituting a 'self-defining validation of local discourse' (Loader (ed.)1997: 8). Lyon refers to the transformative aspects of such 'virtual communities', in which 'local discourses are the only grounds for understanding identities or forming moral critique' creating 'self-referential local discourses' (Ibid 1997: 34). However, in contrast, Smith sees the global features of virtual communities as 'glocalized ... simultaneously more global and local' (Smith 1999: 187).

Lyon maintains that such cultures 'may encourage participation by and protest from those excluded and marginalised by modern rationality and authority, thus presenting challenges to modern social institutions' (Ibid: 30). Others contend that the 'tendency for members of vulnerable, disadvantaged or marginalized populations to participate online is high' (Illingworth 2001: 11), which can 'be empowering for otherwise lower status and disenfranchised groups' (Smith 1999: 184). Mele argues that such community networks have created an 'opportunity to operate as agents outside the local and excluded pathways of information, discourse and social action', thereby providing 'a useful tool to challenge and even subvert differences of power expressed as control over the access, transfer and application of knowledge and information' (Ibid 1999: 292, 305). For Guick they even have the potential to 'flatten hierarchies' (Guick 1999: 259).

Wellman and Gulia define the above as a 'conceptual revolution', which has led to a shift from 'defining communities in terms of space neighbourhoods to...social networks' (Ibid 1999: 169). They add that despite the fact that they have 'weak ties

and are not bound into densely knit community structures that can enforce norms of reciprocity', they do provide 'examples of generalised reciprocity and organised citizenship' (Ibid: 177). The authors also maintain that 'online interaction' constitutes 'intimate secondary relationships', through promoting 'informal, frequent and supportive community ties' (Ibid: 181). They conclude that 'online ties can be reinforced and broadened through in-person meetings' (Ibid: 182-3)

Illingworth points out the advantages of the Internet to online researchers in: providing 'world-wide low cost instantaneous' communication; offering a rich and varied 'form of interaction'; and equipping respondents with 'greater freedom' in responding to particular questions (Ibid: 5). Such virtual participation - through the very 'disembodied' nature of the interaction - can also provide an 'ideal medium for conducting unbiased research, fostering a "democratisation of exchange"' (Ibid: 7).

For Smith and Kollock, cyberspace is constituted as a 'strategic research site in which to study fundamental social processes', whilst serving 'as a separate supplementary to text-based communities' by offering support for 'face-to-face communities' and contributing to the expansion of social networks (Ibid 1999: 4, 8, 16, 17). It also provides a context in which it is 'quick to mobilize and easier to find individuals with similar interests and concerns' (Ibid: 20). A further advantage for Smith is that online spaces have increasingly "become self-documenting "natural settings"' (Smith 1999: 196).

Disadvantages and reservations

However the downsides of relying on such online data is its potential for 'weaknesses in validity and interactional problems' (Illingworth Ibid: 7). In reference to his own experience of online research, Illingworth notes that chat room interaction offered 'little room to negotiate the sensitive nature of this research topic and establish rapport on an individual basis' (Ibid: 8). This poses further problems for the researcher - respondent relationship, in which the 'nuance in face-to-face communication is lost', leading to the 'loss of important observational elements and cues vital to the validation of researcher-respondent' (Ibid: 9).

Lyon highlights the 'difficulties of establishing identities in some cyberspace settings, where anonymity or the lack of clear single ownership is increasingly common' (Ibid: 28). Finally, it is important to recognise other limitations of such accounts. As Smith and Kollock point out, such communities 'can encourage the spread of inaccurate information', and become 'too insular' (Ibid 1999: 20).

Jordan characterises 'cyberpower' as 'complex', an outcome of fluid patterns of identity, whereby hierarchies and spaces are remade out of information (Ibid: 2, 5). Although there is the possibility in cyberspace of 'more egalitarian decision-making', he warns that 'hierarchies can be reconstituted in cyberspace' which may accumulate into systems of domination through the deployment of technical expertise (Ibid: 81, 89, 113). He concludes that an 'elite has appeared in cyberspace', and that it is the very 'spiral of techno-power that offers this elite ever greater control over the social fabric of cyberspace (Ibid: 141).

Finally, conceptualisations of cyberspace often presuppose an independent reality, masking the obvious fact that individuals have both online and offline identities, with "real world" mental baggage and social conditions' (Smith and Kollock 1999: 14). For example, Jordan posits an 'elastic connection between offline and online identities (Ibid 1999: 67). This was the case in my own research, when initial contact was made with respondents through CMC, and then subsequently followed-up through face-to-face contact, suggesting a need for further exploration into the effects of offline contexts on participants' online experiences (see chapter six).

Application to the current study

Dibbell warns that technological power may become concentrated through an age-based criterion, whereby mastery of such technology is signalled as the attainment of "virtual adulthood" (Quoted in Jordan 1999: 100). This would contradict the "Postman Thesis" (see chapter one), which contended that the spread of computer technology might in fact accelerate the very end of childhood. It also raises questions over how the multi-faceted ways in which Internet use has increasingly been viewed as

a danger to young people.³⁶⁰

5.3 Research design

For Burgess, research design should examine the 'relationship between perspective and concepts', together with considering the implications 'for data collection and analysis' (Ibid 1990: 213). The identification of 'seven Cs' (curiosity, confirmation, comparison, changing, collaborating, critiquing, combinations) (Chenail 2000: 2) is also significant here. In such a schema, the comparative examines similarities and differences, the critical concentrates on values and power, and the combination approach - particularly important for this study's design - examines 'the subject from multiple perspectives and / or paradigms' (Ibid: 3).

Comparison

The comparative element for this study involves researching the contested perspectives, and incorporating divergent subject positions on MADIS. Respondents were placed in different discursivities to constitute a multi-site, multi-perspective framework. Discursivity is used here as a heuristic device to facilitate the management of data collection and analysis. Each discursivity constitutes a separate, discrete position. It follows Burgess' advice that sample selection in qualitative research necessarily entails a 'pre-selected criteria', in which relevant 'experiences and special knowledge' are sought to 'complement the researcher's observation and point towards further investigation that needs to be done in order to understand social settings, social structures and social processes' (Ibid: 55, 75).

The different discursive positions are by no means exhaustive within this area, but they cover a wide range of perspectives, including both 'top-dogs' and 'underdogs' (see Silverman 1985: 19). It also follows Merton's advice that "we must trade on the distinctive strengths and weaknesses of Insider and Outsider perspectives that enlarge the chances for a sound and relevant understanding of social life" (Quoted in Hammersely 1992: 194/5).

³⁶⁰ Most notably through potential liaisons with "sexual predators" in chat rooms, and in the activities of Internet paedophiles and child pornographers. For example, recent attempts by Internet servers to cancel close down UK-based chat rooms for fears of teenage children being "groomed" by Internet paedophiles (BBC 1 News, 8 a.m. 14/ 10/ 2003).

This study will cover six discursivities. The first includes a broad range of professional contributions based in local government departments, clinics, research institutes, prisons and private consultants. Their specific remits involve sex offender treatment programmes, child protection, sexual health, and sex workers. The second looks at the micro-political dimension, and the attempts by a number of individuals and groups to lobby and influence policy-making.³⁶¹ The remaining four concentrate on sociological research from "below". This involves researching current and retrospective gay MADIS relationships, interviews with gay and lesbian youth groups (including an adult male who had had several experiences with older men when he was younger), self-identified paedophiles and boylovers, and male survivors of abuse.³⁶²

Validity

Although the research framework was not designed with an idea of generalisability, or with a view to developing an accurate sample of different opinions, it included 'purposive' and 'maximum variation' sampling. Maykut and Morehouse claim the former increases the 'likelihood that variability common in any social phenomenon will be represented in the data' (Ibid 1994: 45), and that the latter 'attempts to understand some phenomena by seeking out persons or settings that represent the greatest differences in that phenomena' (Ibid: 56).

For Ward-Schofield, such 'heterogeneity can be obtained by searching out sites that will provide maximal variation or by planned comparisons along particular dimensions' (Ibid 1993: 211-2). She argues that 'selecting an "ideal" case and a comparative case that contrasts sharply on the relevant dimensions' could identify 'what aspects of the situation are similar or different and to what aspects of the findings these are connected', creating the potential for more robust and useful understandings (Ibid: 219, 220, 211).

³⁶¹ This includes a variety of related areas such as paedophilia, young peoples' sexuality, homosexuality, Clause 28, lowering the gay age of consent, and on wider attitudes to childhood and youth.

³⁶² This above framework will also facilitate the task of subsequent chapters in examining the multiple ways each discursivity is constructed. It will also address how the latter are mediated within social, historical, cultural, and institutional contexts, and how this in turn impacts on how subjects position themselves accordingly.

Researching multiple, heterogeneous sites can be justified on two further methodological grounds. Firstly, it avoids the extreme particularism of previous qualitative studies. A large proportion of contemporary qualitative and ethnographic research has tended to stress recording "thick descriptive" slices of the lives of subjects, to obtain richer and more detailed accounts. However, such approaches can be criticised for omitting contested interpretations, thereby reflecting only partial, selective accounts. The task for the current study is to improve upon such weaknesses by incorporating a wider range of discursive positions. Secondly, identifying and allowing for such maximum variation facilitates an improved understanding of the relative positions held within each site. It also creates greater opportunities for more detailed comparisons and contrasts to be made in analysing data, by drawing attention to the way each of the contested discourses theorise and apply particular understandings to MADIS.³⁶³

Selectivity

However, there is no necessary correlation between accessing a plurality of different sites and a more accurate or valid picture of reality. For Silverman, accruing data from different settings with the aim of presenting a more complete overview can produce a contextless 'master reality' (Ibid 1985: 125-129). Others caution against adopting an ethnographic approach uncritically, contending that "'artificial" and "natural" settings" are components of society, whereby accounts based on particular individual or group experience, offer no intrinsic promise of enhanced validity (Hammersley and Atkinson cited in Silverman 1993: 27).

With respect to qualitative interviews, May calls for a contextual focus, which examines both individual motivations and the multiple ways these are constructed within social settings (chapter six in May 2001). However, he cautions that accounts produced in such settings are no more valid than those produced in other social encounters and that the very modus operandi employed in interviewing 'are just attempts to produce a false social situation which has no validity beyond the interview; they cannot be assumed to produce data which reflect a real world beyond

³⁶³ The current research has been designed with the primary aim of accommodating just such a wide range of discursive positions in this area - specifically the way in which each are positioned relative to

interpretation' (Ibid: 143). Clearly, the commitment of respondents either in terms of political ideology, sexual identity, profession or age-group will have profound, but often indeterminate, implications for data-collection.

With respect to using focus groups, Frith claims that it allows for comprehensive interaction between participants, thereby providing richer material on discussions surrounding sexual activities, experiences and relationships (Frith 2000). However, a significant problem of focus group interviews is their potential for being dominated by a small minority, and therefore providing selective accounts of the group position.

Data management: breadth versus depth

Due to the hotly contested perspectives on this topic, Ward-Schofield's advice to 'focus on the same issue in a number of settings, using similar data collection and analysis procedures in each place' (Ibid: 211-2) has proven difficult to achieve. As Fielding argues, researching diverse populations may require separate, or a combination of, research techniques (see N. Fielding 2001).³⁶⁴

Another problem is that such breadth can militate against the modus operandi of most ethnographic and qualitative research, leading some to question the viability of studying multiple sites to the depth required by qualitative analysis (see Wainwright 1997). Silverman adds that dividing sociological practice into polar opposites neglects how such accounts and discursive positions are generated within society (Ibid 1985: 30).

Delineating "social reality" in the form of "discrete" discursivities can also give the impression that all have an equal playing field and status. However, as argued earlier, the resources available to the 'discursive closure perspective' far outstrip those available to libertarian and pro-boylover positions. Furthermore, the research budgets of academic and public policy-funded bodies in this area are generally directed at specific areas and with particular agendas in mind.

the dominant discourse identified earlier in this study (see chapter one).

³⁶⁴ The difficulties in maintaining a consistent approach will also become apparent when the data

Chapters one-three addressed how specific perspectives (feminist, religious, medical-psychiatric and CSA) have been particularly successful in applying their conception of reality, enabling them to exert a predominant influence on the proliferation of knowledge on MADIS. This has a number of important repercussions for the research process. Firstly, although the above perspectives are not necessarily complementary, and indeed have often vied with each other for ascendancy in this area, their overall impact has been to marginalise the accounts of boylovers and young people who claim positive MADIS experiences. This makes it difficult to locate - within the current academic and public policy literature at least - challenges to such dominant constructions - thereby raising questions of accessing such perspectives within a UK context.

Analysing each discursivity as discrete constructions does not exclude the possibility that within particular discursivities there may be a divergence of views. For example, 'professional' accounts cover diverse specialisms including gay men's health, child protection and sex offenders. Furthermore,³⁶⁵ the possibility of inter-discursive overlap - in the form of complementary theorising, perspectives or policy recommendations - is clearly recognised.³⁶⁶ A further problem relates to the confusion created by some respondents who may claim particular identities (as either gay or boylover), as opposed to others who may adopt a hybrid identity (gay-boylover).³⁶⁷ The above problems can only be settled by careful, accurate and sensitive management of each data set.

Critical

A further aspect to this study is a critical component, which seeks to uncover and challenge everyday common-sense assumptions to achieve 'a deeper level of understanding' (Wainwright 1997: 3). This aspect stresses the importance of both

collecting for the current research is outlined further.

³⁶⁵ This was a central contention in chapter three, when the issue of strategic micro-power alliances was theorised and applied to this area

³⁶⁶ For example, often contributions to academically based journals and texts include professionals working in a particular area (youth sexual health, sex offending or CSA).

³⁶⁷ However, as outlined in the introduction to this study, adopting the generic term MADIS does not conflate intergenerational experiences (identities) between adults, and those between men and boys / youths. Indeed, that is why provision has been made to analyse each separately, whilst still allowing room for potential comparisons - including contrasts or similarities - which may subsequently emerge

social structure and historical circumstances in situating the various testimonies of respondents (Ibid: 2).

With regard to this study, Wainwright's approach creates significant problems. For example, he cautions that giving primacy to respondent's testimonies can lead to 'uncritical' attitudes to their 'beliefs and consciousness', without assessing 'their epistemological adequacy or emancipatory potential' (Ibid: 2). However, this assumes that the recognition of a group as oppressed, and those that articulate a set of ideas reflecting those of the dominant ideology can be clearly identified. As Hammersley states, there is 'no single type or source of oppression' (Ibid 1992: 199). Furthermore, it is not always clear how after material, social, cultural, gender, age factors are taken into consideration, which group constitutes a dominant as opposed to an oppressed group.³⁶⁸

Furthermore, labelling the various discursivities covered in this study as oppressors versus oppressed is not obvious. For example, boylovers regularly claim they are an oppressed group, due to the lack of material and cultural resources available to them. In contrast, male survivors of abuse contend that their experiences have rendered them an oppressed group, as opposed to the above, who, many would claim, have contributed to their oppression.

Furthermore, as argued in chapter three, focussing on age as a singular vector of oppression creates a misleading overview of age-relations as unproblematic and unitary categories. It can also neglect other equally important factors such as class, gender and race, and how diverse and conflicting discourses on young people are continually presented even within mainstream discourses. Such positions can also exaggerate structural factors, potentially foreclosing recent approaches to the debates on children's rights, which countenances more empowerment notions of their agency and citizenship status.

from the data.

³⁶⁸ For example, in relation to the debates surrounding MADIS, it was argued in chapter one that CSA and mainstream feminist theorising were often guilty of applying gendered critiques of patriarchy as the sole basis for analysing MADIS. As Hammersely points out 'in many investigations other variables

Another problem with Wainwright's approach is that it is left open to the discretion of the researcher what counts as 'epistemological adequacy' or 'emancipatory potential'. For some, offering no guidelines as to how respondents' testimonies are to be woven into any subsequent critical analysis may stretch the anti-positivist approach too far. However, it does bring into focus Giddens's 'double hermeneutic' (see *ibid* 1984), whereby data analysis can reveal more insights into the researcher's interpretive schema than the prospective accounts given by respondents.

Engaging with a more phenomenologically-based approach may provide a solution to the above concerns. However, the approach taken in the following data analysis chapters six-eleven, attempts to make observations and insights which emerge from the data. It also seeks to elaborate on relevant comparisons (including anomalies, contrasts and overlaps), as well as drawing on links to the literature and theoretical perspectives covered earlier. However, critical reflection will only be entertained when it is felt that respondents' testimonies are clearly problematic in relation to radical sociological analyses.

5.4 Data-collection

At the outset it was recognised that achieving key aims of the research design would depend on collecting accounts from respondents within each of the discursivities.

Political background

Throughout the course of the current research (since 1999) a series of intense political campaigns to remove Clause 28 from the respective Scottish and UK Parliaments took place. This period also witnessed, after a prolonged and finally successful campaign by gay and lesbian activists, a reduction of the age of consent for gay men to sixteen in both Parliaments. There was also an increasing (and arguably unprecedented) concern - expressed through media campaigns, public displays,³⁶⁹ and subsequent legislative responses - over sex offenders in the community.³⁷⁰ Consequently, due to their importance for the current research, additional approaches were made to

seem likely to be at least as important as gender' (*Ibid* 1992: 191).

³⁶⁹ For example, the demonstrations throughout the summer of 2000 in the Paulsgrove Estate in Portsmouth.

³⁷⁰ Culminating in the passing of the Sexual Offences Act (2003).

prominent gay and lesbian activists, political figures and groups campaigning on the above issues.

General approaches

The points of contact which the researcher has with an institution, organisation or group will influence the collection of data and the subsequent perspective that can be portrayed

(Burgess 1990: 45).

This point brings into focus the role of "gatekeepers", and in particular, how the inclusive or exclusive nature of any groups affects how respondents react to any outside researcher, and to particular questions (see Burgess 1990; Foddy 1993). (See appendix twenty-five). This aspect was of particular concern to the current research, as it involved accessing a range of sensitive groups including gay and boylover constituencies, professionals, and male survivors of abuse.

Email was generally the preferred means for establishing initial contact for boylovers and gay partners. For the male survivors groups, post and telephone was used, whereas in the case of professional and political groups email, phone and post were used. Initial questionnaires were then sent out to gay MADIS respondents by both post, and through email attachments. (See appendix twenty-six). This was intended as a preliminary tool to establish: the geographical location where individuals or partners lived; whether it was an on-going or retrospective relationship; particular key features and perceptions of their relationship (such as current ages, age-gap in the relationship, frequency of such encounters or relationships, feelings on their partner); a follow-up through telephone and face-to-face interviews.

Interviewing

The qualitative interviews were the essential tool for accessing the differing subjective meanings and understanding on MADIS. Semi and unstructured interview schedules were used. (See appendix twenty-seven).³⁷¹ Burgess' identification of three types of

³⁷¹ This is especially important in the cases of self-identified boylovers, male survivors of abuse, and

question was used as the basis for the interview schedules. This involves separating questions on a descriptive, structural, and comparative basis: with the first type providing statements about the activities of respondents; the second examining 'how informants structure their knowledge'; and the final set seeking out potential contrasts and meanings in order to provide comparisons (Ibid: 112).

Table One: Outline of the six discursive groups

Group	Chapter	Sources of Recruitment	Number of Respondents	Interview Locations	Areas covered
Boylovers	6	Adverts in community magazine and Internet chatrooms. Direct personal contacts and snowballing.	20	Private addresses; University Room	13 Face to face interviews and 7 CMC interviews covering age of attraction, meanings on relationships, and political strategies.
Professionals	7	Separate letters, emails and follow-up telephone calls to several social work departments and individuals involved in CSA, managing sex offenders, and sexual health.	18	Workplaces	15 separate interviews covering professional remits, attitude to MADIS, and dominant influences informing their work.
Political	8	Email, telephone and letters to prominent individuals involved in the debates over sex education and the gay male age of consent.	4	Pub, private address, university interview room and workplace	4 separate face to face interviews focussing on responses to Clause 28, lowering the gay male age of consent, homosexuality, and paedophilia.

Gay Youth	9	Initial contact through phone and email, and follow-up letters to both sites (Conference organisers and focus-group coordinators). Snowballing.	20	Community centre, conference room, and private address.	12 face-to-face interviews and one focus-group interview with eight respondents looking at attitudes to Clause 28 and sex education, gay political activism, attitudes to, and experiences of, MADIS.
Male Survivors	10	Letters and follow-up phone calls to local groups.	3	Community centre; University interview room.	2 face-to-face interviews covering respondent's abuse (their meanings, consequences and societal support); and survivor identity positions.
Gay MADIS	11	Adverts in local and national community magazines and Stonewall emailing list.	27	Private addresses, gay pubs, and community centre.	Thirteen face-to-face and four telephone interviews. These covered meanings on MADIS (including sexuality, age and relational dynamics). It also looked at experiences of MADIS throughout respondent's respective life courses.

Discursivities

D1: Boylovers and self-identified paedophiles

One of the most difficult groups to access would clearly be self-identified paedophiles and boylovers. Approaches were made to a number of boylover and paedophilic groups based in Europe and North America. This included well-established organisations such as NAMBLA,³⁷² IPCE (see appendix twenty-eight),³⁷³ and Safehaven.³⁷⁴ Requests were placed in a boylove publication (see appendix twenty-nine),³⁷⁵ and in a number of individual and group chat-rooms (see appendix thirty). A number of boylover³⁷⁶ sites were accessed and approaches were made to twenty-one individual and community boylover sites.

Although conducting face-to-face interviews would prove difficult, telephone, post or email offered distinct advantages. One respondent from the US made contact by post and contributed to the research, and a further seven agreed to participate through email. A total of eight questions were sent, focussing on general issues concerning boylover identities and personal reflections. After considerable difficulties establishing contact with UK-based boylovers, a total of thirteen³⁷⁷ face-to-face interviews were conducted in private and public locations within the UK.

D2: Professionals³⁷⁸

Approaches were made to NACRO³⁷⁹ and SACRO³⁸⁰ whose work involved the management of sex offender programmes within prison and post release. Both were unsuccessful due to concerns over client confidentiality.³⁸¹ However after making contact through his office and explaining that it would be focussing on his perspective on sex offenders in the community, interviews were subsequently conducted with

³⁷² NAMBLA was set up in 1978 as a boylover activist group in Boston.

³⁷³ The IPCE is an international forum which encourages discussions on intergenerational sexualities and which promotes a more positive view of such relationships.

³⁷⁴ Safehaven is an Internet based site for boylovers based in the US.

³⁷⁵ A boylover publication entitled Koinos.

³⁷⁶ Boylinks.

³⁷⁷ These included two respondents who came from the US.

³⁷⁸ All names and locations are fictitious.

³⁷⁹ National association of the care and rehabilitation of offenders.

³⁸⁰ The Scottish-based equivalent.

³⁸¹ There was also an approach to, and informal interview given, by Dr Elaine Derd based at the Allen Clinic. Although her specific remit did not involve providing treatment for sex offenders, she gave me the addresses of a specialist Clinic (which subsequently did not respond), and suggested I try mental

Alan David in his Luton office and the deputy manager of a clinic specialising in sex offender treatment. Letters were sent out detailing that professionals working with sex offenders were sought. After follow-up phone calls, interviews were conducted with individuals in two social work departments, and with the head of a project based in Dumfries, which works solely with young sex offenders. Further interviews were conducted with individuals working in prison-based initiatives organised through the probation service. Finally, after contacting Reverend James Masters in reference to his involvement in drawing up his church's response to sex offenders in the community, an interview was conducted at his central office in Manchester.³⁸²

Further interviews were conducted with professionals working in the area of CSA. The first set were conducted with three social workers who were involved in a specialist program based in Dundee, and the second, with a child protection officer with a Scottish local authority whose specific remit was working with boys who had been abused.

Three interviews were conducted with professionals working in the area of providing services to sex workers. In all cases, initial contact was made by phone, when the areas covered by the interview schedules were outlined (personal backgrounds, professional remits and experiences), along with the overall parameters of the study. Although the first worked exclusively with female sex workers based in Greenock, she had had additional experience working with sex offenders in prisons. She agreed to talk about these experiences as opposed to her work with female sex workers. The second was with an individual based in Motherwell whose specific remit involved working with male street workers. The final interview was conducted at the offices of an organisation based in London, which provided support services for young gay men involved in sex work.

Finally, three separate interviews were conducted in Rutherglen at the offices of a men's sexual health project. These were all with professionals whose work under the

health centres within the N.H.S., which again proved fruitless.

³⁸² An approach was also made to a US-based group of professionals whose work involved looking at how some clinical approaches to CSA have implanted 'false memories of abuse'. Doctors Allen and Haffy sent transcripts of an interview they had given, work they had carried out in the area of sex

NHS involved providing a range of health advice and support to young men.

D3 Political positions

Approaches were made through post and telephone to high-profile individuals and groups in the political campaigns referred to earlier. Contacts were sought with two figures that had been heavily involved in the negotiations over Clause 28 in Scotland, and in the campaigns against lowering the gay male age of consent. The first contact was made through an initial letter to Parliament. This set out the areas to be covered. Further clarification on the details was made in a telephone conversation with the individual's secretary. The second contact was contacted by telephone. After explaining the research, I was asked to contact someone directly involved in the ongoing negotiations over Clause 28 and sex education in Scottish schools. The areas to be covered in a prospective interview were set out, and the individual agreed to participate. Interviews were then carried out - both in Scotland and London.

Approaches were also made for interviews with high-profile gay and lesbian groups.³⁸³ Finally a face-to-face interview³⁸⁴ was conducted with a key organiser of a radical Gay and Lesbian campaigning organisation in London. A phone call was made to the campaigning office, and after two phone conversations outlining the specific areas, an interview was conducted. Finally, due to his personal experience in this area Professor Alan MacDonald was contacted through email, and a follow-up interview was arranged at his private address.

D4: Gay and Lesbian youth³⁸⁵

I made initial contact through email with the organisers of a gay and lesbian youth group who were hosting a conference. After establishing contact with workers involved with the Leicester gay and lesbian youth group through telephone, and the areas to be covered were articulated, it was agreed that I could conduct a focus group

offenders, and personal communication on their thoughts on the subject.

³⁸³ Alan Love was contacted by email and telephone. He preferred to keep the correspondence in this form, and was unable to commit to a face-to-face interview. He did however give me his Internet site address where his views could be accessed.

³⁸⁴ This was also followed up by a supplementary telephone interview.

³⁸⁵ All interviews were conducted with individuals over eighteen.

interview with eight young gay men and two young lesbians was established.³⁸⁶

As outlined earlier, the term gerontophile has tended to be overlooked from contemporary debates. However, such relationships have long been identified within gay male communities.³⁸⁷ A worker at the Allander gay and lesbian centre provided further evidence of such practices, by stating that the term "chaser" was frequently used in the contemporary scene to describe a gay youth actively seeking a relationship with older men. After explaining the research to a prospective respondent, he in turn contacted a person who had a series of such relationships. This person contacted me and agreed to give an interview based on his experiences. This was the only interview conducted with an individual who sought socio-sexual encounters and relationships with adult men when he was a boy, and defined these as integral to his sexual identity.

D5: Male Survivors of sexual abuse

Initial approaches were made through post, telephone and email to male survivor groups based in Coventry, St. Albans, and through an Internet-based support group (see appendix thirty-one). After a series of telephone exchanges with the organiser of a male survivor group, two interviews were set up in a community-based facility. After writing to a Scottish-based group one person agreed to be interviewed, and an interview was conducted at Glasgow University.³⁸⁸

D6: Gay MADIS respondents

Appeals were also in the Big Issue (see appendix thirty-two) and to Scottish and UK gay and lesbian groups, especially campaigning organisations including 'Stonewall' (Scotland and UK), 'Outrage', 'Outreach Now' and 'The Equality Network', and Glasgow and Edinburgh LGBTs.³⁸⁹ Advertisements were also placed in mainstream gay and lesbian publications including *Scotsgay*, the *GayTimes* (see appendix thirty-

³⁸⁶ A further approach was made to an Oxford-base "umbrella" gay and lesbian group, which included a gay and lesbian youth section. They agreed to listen to the research, and two participated by filling in questionnaires. However, no follow-up interviews were conducted.

³⁸⁷ As stated in chapter one language such as "chicken" and "chicken hawk" have regularly been used in western gay male communities to describe the relative positions of gay youth and older men in MADIS.

³⁸⁸ Two individuals made initial contact but eventually declined to participate further.

³⁸⁹ Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender.

three), and "Counterpoint",³⁹⁰ and email requests were placed on Stonewall³⁹¹, and in a number of regional groups gleaned from listings in *GayTimes*, Scotsgay and in gay and lesbian Internet sites.³⁹²

GayTimes and Stonewall's emailing list proved the most fruitful. From an initial total of thirty-six respondents, four did not return their questionnaires, and a further six did not participate in follow-up interviews. Due to financial and geographical constraints it was only possible to arrange face-to-face interviews with a total of eight current ongoing partnerships and four individuals who had been in such relationships. Of the eight current relationships, six were conducted with both partners present, and the remaining two conducted in separate settings.

The geographical areas covered in the face-face interviews included a variety of urban locations throughout the UK. These were conducted in private homes, public houses and in a leisure club. Telephone interviews were carried out on an additional two current partnerships and three individuals who had been in such relationships - with one based overseas.

5.5 Ethics and the research process

This section deals with the *general* issues informing social science research ethical praxis. These include: accessing respondents; obtaining informed consent; researcher - respondent relationship; privacy and confidentiality; and minimising potential distress. It will also examine both the specific ethical issues thrown up by this study (age of respondents, legality, revealing highly personal and sensitive details and CMC) and the institutional environment influencing the above.

5.51 Ethics in social science research

Conceptualising

Plummer identifies what he terms 'a postmodern ethics', comprising 'care, justice, recognition, equality and minimal harm' (Plummer 2001: 230-231). From these, he

³⁹⁰ Glasgow LGBT's magazine.

³⁹¹ Stonewall, although requiring further details from my University, agreed to place the appeal for respondents on their e-mailing list.

³⁹² There was no response from The Equality Network and Outreach. In addition, there was also no

identifies seven grounded ethical concerns governing research with human subjects: ownership and intellectual property rights; confidentiality; honesty; deception; exploitation; informed consent; and harm (Ibid: 216-226). For Bulmer, essential prerequisites are: the need to cooperate with informants; establish trust; create empathy between researcher and subject; and openness (Bulmer 2001: 48). This includes making respondents aware that they are free to participate, giving them the fullest information concerning the nature and purpose of the research including potential risks to which they might personally be exposed to, and insuring confidentiality (Ibid: 49).

A number of common generic areas and themes can be gleaned from the general literature on ethics - ones which are often mutually interdependent. The first involves general, humanistic values governing the responsibility of the researcher for the respondent (care, respect, equality, transparency, welfare). The second concerns ensuring that respondents were approached (either formally / informally or directly / indirectly) in a proper, above board and transparent fashion. The third requires researchers to furnish respondents with clear and detailed information. This may include a brief summary of the study, including the reasons for their involvement. The fourth consideration of informed consent is often held up as the benchmark of ethics. This covers providing detailed information to respondents on the study, reasons for participation, and intimation on how the data will be presented. The fifth endows the researcher with the task of minimising any potential risks and / or harm to respondents. For example, care should be taken when asking sensitive questions including a readiness to take breaks, offering respondents the right to pull out of the interview at any time, and providing anonymity to respondents to protect sensitive information becoming public. Finally, there are the issues of privacy and data protection versus freedom of information. These include the potential harm resulting from unintended use by others of any data. This was particularly salient in the final production of this thesis due to the coming in to force of the Freedom of Information Act Scotland (2002) in January 2005.

Framing the debates

Often the above are presented through professional institutions. For example, the British Educational Research Association's (BERA) 'Ethical Guidelines' (1992); British Sociological Association (BSA) 'Statement of Ethical Practice' (2002); Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) Report on 'Developing a Framework for Social Science Research Ethics' (June 2004) set out a general set of professional standards for social science researchers. However, several contributors have questioned whether such an absolute standard can adequately prescribe for the myriad number of situations and difficulties researchers may encounter.

This has developed into a debate, characterised by Plummer, as one between ethical absolutists and relativists (Plummer 2001: 226-7). The former cite such institutional codes as necessary to protect both community and researcher and prevent unscrupulous researchers operating. However, the latter argue against fixed, absolute guidelines, in favour of data 'produced creatively in the concrete situation at hand' (Ibid: 227). Such contextualists assert that there are 'no universal prescriptions for ensuring ethical behavior' (Muchmore 2002: 13). They also criticise formalised ethical procedures for turning human research into a bureaucratic nightmare and operating more to protect institutions rather than research subjects (Wolcott 2002: 145-148).

May turns to these related themes by characterising the dilemma of many researchers as a conflict over ends and means (May 1997: 56-58). This may lead to different methods may be justified due to 'the power that one group may hold over another' (Ibid: 59), or if it is the only way to obtain information (Ibid: 60). Shaw identifies some logistical difficulties of following such a rigid ethical model borrowed from medical praxis (Shaw 2003). He cites some examples from recent studies, which highlight the difficulties of assuming fore-knowledge of consequences, treating all respondents equally, and obtaining informed consent (Ibid: 20-24). Bulmer notes that in certain situations full information and transparency is not possible as it might 'overwhelm the listener' (Bulmer 2001: 52). Finally, with respect to the key canons of confidentiality, anonymity and informing respondents, Wolcott cautions 'that there are no absolute safeguards' (Wolcott 2002: 143).

Adopting a middle ground

Although clarifying some of the pertinent issues, the above debate tends to overly accentuate potential approaches to research ethics. This study has opted for a middle way that recognises Plummer's observation that 'researchers do not follow binding universal rules' but rather construct them within situated contexts (Ibid 2001: 229). It also accepts a number of baseline values governing research conduct. Clearly mediating factors: whether access was obtained through formal gatekeepers as opposed to more indirect snowballing; interview locale power relations; form of communication (phone, post, email); accessing different groups (insider / outsider perspectives) will (and certainly did in the conduct of the present research) will have a profound impact on the research process. Furthermore, providing a ready-made cost-benefit calculation to consequences fails to allow for exigencies and logistical difficulties which qualitative, ethnographic fieldwork often entails.

5.52 The ethical backdrop

Institutional and Departmental ethos

The empirical research for the current study was conducted during an eighteen month period from January 2000-September 2001. These took place largely in concentrated, three block stages (January-February, March-April and August-September). When this study was given formal Departmental and Senate approval (April 1999), sociology PhD candidates at Glasgow University were not required to submit their proposal to an Ethics Committee. This was changed by the Senate after my research had been completed, and as from 1/10/2002,

all research involving human participants or human data or material is subject to formal ethical review

(<http://www.gla.ac.uk/faculties/law/General/ethics.htm>)

The Social Science Faculty also requires PhD students to present prospective respondents with an informed consent form detailing their participation in the study. The first occasion I was made aware of Ethics Committees was during a Senate investigation into my Thesis. Along with my colleagues in the Department, who were enrolled before 2002, no formalised ethical procedures (including scrutiny via

committees, training or Departmental support) were provided.

Theft

During June-July 2002 two break-ins to my office took place, when several confidential interview transcripts were stolen. After a lengthy process computing services reconfigured my computer to prevent further security breaches, but deleted a number of files documenting my approaches and correspondence with a number of groups. This has prevented the relaying of more specific details on correspondence with individual respondents, but not substantially affected the study's focus on, and attention to, research ethics.

Response

Despite the relative absence of a Departmental "ethics ethos" (including a general criticism by many in the Department over the last two years that such ethics committee impinge on creative ethnographic fieldwork), I have thought extensively about the ethical implications of carrying out such a study on MADIS. Although the above events have undoubtedly created difficulties - most problematically in the way ethical concerns have often raised ex post facto, it has provided a clearer focus on ethics in the final production of the Thesis.

5.53 Ethical implications of researching sexuality and MADIS

The ethical implications of carrying out any ethnographic, qualitative study examining sexual behaviour poses significantly more ethical dilemmas than more mainstream studies (see Muchmore 2002; Shaw 2003). Consequently, the literature on these aspects was covered. For example, on the ethical implications of researching on-line communities see Brownlow and O'Dell 2002; Robson and Robson 2002; on sexuality (see Coffey 2002; Ackers 2002); and for negotiating risk and danger in the field (see Lee-Treweek and Linkogle 2002).

Firstly, any research on human sexuality involves dealing with highly intimate and sensitive facets of late modern subjects' lives. For Bulmer, this elevates the importance assigned by an individual regarding sexual information about himself (Bulmer 2001: 50-51), and for Coffey, 'the relationship between the personal and the

ethnographic is exaggerated in those settings where sex forms part of the explicit research agenda or context' (Coffey 2002: 58). In approaches to respondents, the highly personal aspects, which would likely be covered in questionnaires and interview-schedules was clearly recognised.

Secondly, researching MADIS also raises questions of how far social scientists can go in researching deviant, and potentially illegal behaviour (see Humphreys 1970). At the outset of this study, it was agreed with my supervisor that no approaches would be made to anyone under eighteen. It was also recognised that retrospective accounts given by an older person may also conflict with legal age of consent norms. Although researchers have no obligation to report criminal activity,³⁹³ respondents were made aware (despite their accounts being anonymised) of the potential risks associated with revealing such information.

Thirdly, the different status and position enjoyed by the above groups also affected the way each was approached. In the case of professional, male survivor, and gay youth respondents, contact was initially made through gatekeepers, whereas for gay partners, boylovers, and ML, contact was made directly with respondents, or through more informal, snowballing means. Researching radically different subject positions (including the accounts of boylovers, positive accounts from younger people, and male survivors of abuse) also created problems of adequately doing justice to each position. This included: conveying the high emotions and personal investment of those involved; treating all respondents equally; and building empathy, trust and confidence with all respondents.

Bolton notes how researchers on sexuality have been overly scrutinised for being immoral, and identifies an aura of secrecy around sexual ethnography, but justifies researching such sensitive areas through: empowering sexual minority communities; opening up discussion on sensitive and taboo areas of life; and finally that learning about sexuality provides opportunities for individuals 'to think about the larger questions – how we as individuals and as a discipline construct our sexual lives and our understandings of sexuality – and to rethink our fundamental assumptions about

³⁹³ My supervisor intimated this to me after being given legal advice by Glasgow University's lawyers.

sexuality' (Bolton 1995: 162).

In his research on gay men, Bolton identifies the main areas of potential social psychological harm for his respondents as embarrassment and conflict (Ibid: 153). He argues that such research must be justified by a 'beneficence principle', in which the potential benefits outweigh any risks (Ibid: 154). He notes that although he was not obliged (and did not obtain) informed consent from his respondents in a codified, written form, this was unproblematic as his fieldwork provided no risk due to the fact that he was able to preserve 'absolute confidentiality', and his respondents' privacy rights (Ibid: 156). He argues that informed consent 'is not the ultimate guarantor of protection for human subjects', but that protection is best insured through 'the integrity, intentions, and intelligence of investigators and on their primary allegiance to the well-being of the population being studied than on formal, bureaucratic instruments' (Ibid: 156).

Squaring the generic with the specific

Guideline 16 of the BSA Ethical Guidelines lays the

responsibility on the sociologist to explain in appropriate detail, and in terms meaningful to participants, what the research is about, who is undertaking and financing it, why it is being undertaken, and how it is to be disseminated and used.

A generic outline of the study was given to all respondents regardless of the reasons for their inclusion in the study. This entailed detailing verbally at the commencement of all interviews the study's main aims to all respondents. This read as follows:

This is a PhD study examining male age-discrepant intergenerational relationships from a number of differing perspectives - including male survivors, professionals, gay men, boylovers, and those with particular political interests in the related areas of age of consent and Clause 28 legislation. The content of this interview entails revealing highly personal details. Consequently, the data will be treated confidentially, and all persons guaranteed anonymity. In addition, the transcripts of this interview will be sent to any respondent who wishes a copy.

In addition, respondents were given a list of the specific areas pertinent to their experience. This further clarified the specific reasons respondents had been chosen and their particular contribution to the overall study. This was also intended to provide prospective respondents with more substantial knowledge on the subject areas covered. In the case of male survivors, boylovers and gay respondents, this entailed detailing the highly sensitive and personal information, and the potential consequences participating in such a process might involve. At the point of initial contact, and at the commencement to each interview, respondents were given general information on the areas to be covered, but not so much information that would overload them with every facet and detail of the study. It was intended to provide a recognition that respondents had consented to be interviewed, inform them of the generic parameters of the research, and their rights to privacy and confidentiality.

The final issue related to how much control respondents would have over how that data would be finally presented. Each respondent was promised copies of a transcript of their interview to reinforce their ownership rights over their account. This was carried out to provide each respondent with an accurate record of what was said, to enable myself to correct any editing errors, and for them to challenge any possible misconceptions. It also provided respondents with a final right of refusal to their participation in the study.

Boylovers

As outlined above, the degree of difficulty experienced accessing certain perspectives would involve employing different techniques for gaining access. In the case of boylovers, this involved employing multiple approaches. Participating in the IPCE emailing forum involved emailing the Webmaster, detailing my identity as a researcher, providing a contact university email (including Departmental web page), explanation of the research and the reasons for approaching the IPCE. Further approaches were made by email to the editor of Koinos (a boylover publication) explaining the research, and asking for permission to place an advertisement for prospective respondents. This proposal was submitted and agreed to by the editorial board.

As one of the respondents to the current research stated, "anonymity is both the blessing and the curse of the Internet." The implications for accessing boylovers through email and Internet chat rooms presented significant challenges involving establishing trust, the reliability of what was being said, and practical difficulties in managing and analysing CMC, as opposed to face-to-face, interaction. However, CMC has provided significant advantages in facilitating anonymity, and providing an opportunity for more reflection on particularly sensitive questions, which face-to-face settings often do not provide. The Internet boylover chat rooms were publically accessible, and consequently involved no negotiation with gatekeepers. However an email was sent to fifteen individual and six community boylover sites giving a contact email address, explaining the research including the highly sensitive nature, and providing guarantees of confidentiality and anonymity.

A total of seven boylovers responded. They were all provided with an email giving more extensive detail on the research project, guarantees of confidentiality and anonymity, their right to opt out at any time (particularly with respect to sensitive questions), its purpose and a list of the questions to be covered. These assurances were also read out to a further three boylover respondents who agreed to a face-to-face interview. One of the above boylover respondents contacted a self-identified UK group informing them of the study. Each established contact with me by telephone. After a series of telephone exchanges, a meeting was set up at a private address. I had not being able to use email or post to detail the research due to the fears of disclosure by the group. However, during the meeting with the group, a statement detailing the research was provided to each of the prospective respondents. This was repeated at the commencement of separate interviews, along with reasons why they had been approached and their right to see a transcript of their interview.

Throughout the face-to-face and CMC interviews, I attempted to develop a convivial atmosphere and manner to place respondents at ease and prevent any distress. This proved more difficult on account of the relatively impersonal medium of CMC, however respondents did not appear to intimate or show any discomfort in answering particular questions. Several respondents declined to answer personal questions. Only one respondent requested not to be tape-recorded. Due to the highly sensitive and

taboo nature of the boylover accounts, strenuous attempts were made to maintain their privacy through anonymising their respective identities. This helped to remove fears they may have of public disclosure. In regard to data protection, I also took the step of placing a five-year restriction on the Thesis through entering a legal agreement with Glasgow University. This was done to further protect respondents from any short-term, unwanted attention.

Professionals

Approaches to professionals were carried out through initial emailings detailing the research, my status as a university PhD researcher, and the reasons for contacting them. General emails, providing general details of the research, were sent out to several Scottish local authority social work departments, men's health project, probationary services, charities and organisations working in CSA and male sex work.

After promising responses from a number of the above, follow-up correspondence was conducted by post and telephone, where further details were provided on the specific areas to be addressed in interviews and on the research. Interviews were all conducted in the places of work, when a generic statement was read out, along with a list of the professional areas of interest to the study, and permission for their agreement to participate in the study. Although issues concerning potential risk and fears of public disclosure were different to boylovers, professional respondents were given similar guarantees to privacy, anonymity and transcription rights. Although no one took this up, I decided to anonymise sources to maintain consistency.

Political

Political respondents were approached directly, involving no negotiations with gatekeepers. However, their respective disparate statuses (Parliamentary representative, educationalist, gay activist and academic) required different approaches. The first two also maintained public and group roles, whereas the latter two articulated a generally individual, private position.

Poll was recruited through initial telephone call to the Catholic Church in Scotland who sent on the details to the individual concerned. Poll contacted me at my office. I

explained the reasons for contacting the CEC, the areas that would be covered in the interview and rights to anonymity. After agreeing to an interview, a further generic statement was read out at the start of the interview, along with the more specific areas to be covered (Clause 28, sex education, attitude to homosexuality, and youth sexuality). Due to the specific concerns that the position of the Catholic Church had been misrepresented, assurances would be given that a full transcript of the interview would be provided.

Pol2 was contacted directly by letter. After agreeing to participate by post, further details on the specific reasons for participation and details of the research were provided in a telephone conversation with Pol2's secretary. At the commencement to the interview, a statement outlining the scope of the research was read out, along with the specific areas to be covered (age of consent, young peoples' sexuality and the individual's political campaigning role).

Contact with Pol3 and Pol4 was established more indirectly. Both were contacted by email initially, when I introduced myself, providing a contact University email and telephone address as further reassurance. I also gave a brief overview of the research, and the reasons for approaching them. After expressing interest by email, I followed up via telephone, when I outlined further the specific areas to be covered. For Pol3 this included Clause 28, age of consent and gay attitudes to MADIS, and for Pol4 societal and political attitudes to paedophilia. Each participant was also made aware of his or her rights to privacy, and interview transcript. These assurances were repeated at the commencement to their interviews, along with reminding them that they could opt out at any time. This was particularly important in Pol3's case, as I was aware that the interview might trigger unpleasant memories.

Gay youth

Making contact with gay youth raised specific ethical concerns over the age of respondents. In both cases initial contact was made to gatekeepers (conference organisers and regional LGBT organisers) via email. In both cases (the focus-group and Conference) assurances were given by the organisers that none of the participants were under eighteen. Follow-up correspondence was conducted by email and

telephone when permission was sought to carry out focus group and individual interviews with members. In addition, more details were provided on the research, reasons for contacting the groups, and specific areas covered by interview schedules.

I was acutely aware that this could involve respondents relaying sensitive and distressing events in their private lives. Furthermore, up until meeting prospective respondents I was aware that any details they had on the research was relayed by gatekeepers. This placed responsibility on myself to make sure they were aware of the areas covered by the research, and why they had been asked to participate. Furthermore, at the commencement of each interview (in-line with articles 17-23 of the BSA Ethical Guidelines) the right to opt out at any time was reinforced, along with guarantees to anonymity and to their interview transcript.

ML was recruited through snowballing. He was alerted to the research by another respondent and contacted me by phone. He explained that he wanted to participate in the study because he had had many positive experiences with adult men when he was a boy. I then read out the general parameters (aims and purpose) of the research, his right to privacy and anonymity. Arrangements were made to conduct an interview at his private address. At the commencement to the interview the research outline and areas to be covered were relayed, and that private and sensitive issues would be covered.

Male survivors

I foresaw that prospective interviews with male survivors would provide the likely greatest risk for potential harm to respondents whilst also presenting the greatest challenge in establishing trust. Approaches to survivor groups were made by post, phone and email. These provided a short summary of the research, a university contact address and phone number, reasons for approaching the group, and a recognition of the risk to potential participants. After receiving direct replies by individual confirming interest in the research, follow up correspondence was carried out directly with two respondents. After detailing the research further and the specific areas to be covered they agreed to do an interview. A further interview was carried out simultaneously through snowball contact with another survivor respondent. Again

the above procedure was carried out at the commencement of the interview.

At the commencement of each interview, the areas to be covered were again recited, along with guarantees of confidentiality and transcription rights. However, due to the intensely personal and potentially distressing aspect, particular attention was paid to emphasising that they could take a break at any point, or refuse to participate. Throughout the interview I consciously allowed for long breaks to allow respondents time to reflect on their experiences. At the end of the interview I also offered to take respondents for a drink (which all three took up), to insure that they were relatively relaxed and that any unpleasant consequences were minimised.

Gay MADIS

Due to the multiple points of contact in the gay community, advertisements for prospective respondents were placed in a number of fora and publications. These provided a contact address, explained the nature of the research, together with guarantees of confidentiality and anonymity.³⁹⁴ A number of respondents replied by email (only three via post). Follow-up correspondence took place by post or email, where prospective respondents were given more information on the topics to be covered, and why they had been asked to participate. They were all sent a questionnaire restating the above guarantees, and further details of the areas that would be covered in follow-up interviews.

After receiving replies, respondents were contacted to obtain further permission to conduct face-to-face or telephone interviews. At the commencement of each interview, respondents were read out the auspices of the study, their rights to privacy and a transcription of the interview, and the potential risks in revealing sensitive aspects of their private lives. Throughout the interviews, I was particularly careful to avoid carrying on a particular line of questioning on a personal aspect where respondents showed signs of discomfort.

³⁹⁴ That it was looking for gay men who were currently, or had been, involved in relationships (younger or older) which involved a ten year age-gap or more.

Table Two: Approaches to the six discursive groups

Group	Initial approaches to respondents	Research information provided	Obtaining consent	Data-collecting methods
Boylovers	Email approaches to boylover groups in North America and Europe; participation in an online forum; advertisement in boylover publication and posting in twenty-one individual and community advocacy chat room.	For CMC, initial email clarifying my role as researcher, the nature of the study, and implications of participating. In face-to-face, initial email and follow-up statement.	Confirmation through email and verbal statement agreeing to participate. Snowball, informal contact - follow-up telephone call explaining my role as researcher, purpose of the study, and their right to withdraw at any point.	Thirteen face-to-face and seven CMC interviews; boylover web sites.
Professionals	Initial approaches by post and email to various social work departments in Scotland and to local and national professionals working in related fields.	After the initial contact, details were provided by phone on the nature of the study and reasons for their input. This was reinforced by reading out a fuller statement at the start of the interview.	Confirmation by telephone and email of agreement to participate in the study. Further acceptance to continue after the statement outlining the study was read out at the beginning of interviews.	Fifteen face-to-face interviews with twenty professionals. On two occasions interviews were conducted with several individuals (see chapter seven).
Political	Initial approaches were sought by phone and email.	Details were provided of the specific reason why respondents were contacted, and of the areas covered by the study.	Agreement to participate was initially given by telephone, post and email. Further confirmation was given at the commencement of each interview, after a statement outlining how the research was given out.	Four face-to-face interviews.

Gay youth	Approaches to gay / lesbian youth conference organisers via email. Approach to a regional gay and lesbian youth group through email and telephone. An individual contacted me through phone after hearing about my research from another potential respondent.	Conference organisers allowed myself ten minutes to explain my role and the nature of the research. Follow-up telephone calls with Leicester explaining in detail the areas to be covered and the non-participation of under-eighteens.	In all three cases, direct contact was only established at the start of the interview. Agreement to proceed was sought after the initial statement explaining the research was read out.	Focus group interview with eight men and two women; eleven face-to-face interviews; and one face-to-face conference at a private address.
Male Survivors	Approaches by phone and post to two regional survivor groups, and an Internet support group.	During follow-up phone calls to arrange contact, further details were furnished concerning the study, areas to be covered, and that - due to the highly sensitive aspect - individuals could withdraw (as two did) at any time.	At the start of each interview details were provided on the likely areas covered, along with the potential distress this may cause. Individuals were told of their right to withdraw at any time.	Three face-to-face interviews.
Gay MADIS	Adverts placed in gay publications, on email lists, and community notice boards.	Individuals responded mainly by email. However, in a number of cases correspondence took place by phone and email. In all cases respondents were provided with further details of the study, and an initial questionnaire covering the study.	After the return of the questionnaires, respondents were contacted to see if they would agree to a follow-up interview. After confirming this, interview dates were arranged, and a further elaboration of the study was given at the commencement of each interview.	Eight face-to-face interviews (six pair and two individual) on-going relations; four face-to-face interviews with individuals who had been in such relationships; four telephone interviews.

5.6 Narrative theory and MADIS

5.61 The narrative turn

The particular ways respondents' testimonies are constructed as personal narratives in social research has received considerable interdisciplinary and sociological attention. The trend of what Plummer calls 'a narrative turn' in the formulation of late modern story-telling (Plummer 2001: 11) has important implications for the research process, and for this study. These include: hermeneutics (the potentially multiple ways such individual narratives are interpreted – most significantly through the narrator); the socio-cultural and localised micro-terrains in which such accounts are produced; their epistemological status vis-à-vis dominant and marginalised power-knowledges; and the way such narratives are woven into the overall study.

Frid et al. (2004) argue for a 'reflexive approach to understand narratives', in which narrative constitutes 'a form of discourse with the greatest potential of expressing identity as a process' (Ibid: 696). They also suggest that narrative research should investigate how people experience life through 'creating a symbolic bridge between the person's past, present and future' (Ibid: 697). Frid et al. contend that this can offer an opportunity to critically analyse the narrative's content, together with 'its meaning and context' (Ibid: 699).

In relation to the hermeneutical role of the narrator, the authors draw on Ricoeur's (1991) claim that interpretation constitutes an "hermeneutic arc", which facilitates revised understanding, but that this process requires narrator 'sensitivity as well as a critical approach' to the interpreter's ideological framework (Ibid: 698). They maintain that the narrative process 'concerns both the researcher's approach, the co-creativity of the inter-subjectivity in the narrative process and the listener's responsibility to respond to both the narrator and the narrative' (Ibid: 700). They conclude that through narratives, individuals can 'reformulate experience, weave together the past, present and future' (Ibid: 700), and offer researchers rich reflexive and interpretative insights (Ibid: 701).

Plummer sees such a proliferation in multiple, localised narratives and story-telling as commensurate with the "pluralization ethos" of late modernity characterised by

increasing diversity, localisation, and multiple stories (Plummer 2001: 12). He identifies common themes of ‘Who is telling, what is the plot, where does it happen, when does it happen, and why does it happen?’ (Ibid: 172) in the unfolding structure of such narratives.

Plummer also draws on other work which conceives narratives as fundamental to the way individuals draw on any number of personal experiences (Ibid: 185).

Consequently, narrative research becomes structured around how “people organize their experience in, knowledge of, and transactions with the social world” (Bruner quoted in *ibid*: 186).

Plummer also notes the prevalence, especially pertinent to this study, of ‘life course’ narratives (Ibid: 191). He argues for adopting ‘narratives of life patterns...through which people come to develop their own sense of how their lives develop’ (Ibid: 192). He conceptualises differences in life narratives through metaphorical concepts (‘selfish gene’, ‘childhood fix’, ‘obstacle race’, career or status passage, and finally, ‘contingencies, tacit choices, and drift’) (Ibid: 193-195). For Plummer, these can also be conceptualised as attempts to structure life courses, either through the lens of extraneous structural factors, or through internal, individual experiences. Finally, he sees the value in such analyses, through providing access to multiple, subjective truths, and in highlighting the specific way individuals recover, organise and prioritise past events (Ibid: 241).

Josselson and Lieblich (1995) see the advantage of narrative research in bringing the researcher closer to the data, through engaging them in an epistemological challenge to ‘decode, recognize, recontextualize, or abstract that life in the interest of reaching a new interpretation of the raw data of experience’ (Ibid: 1x). In this view, narrative becomes a ‘tool of inquiry’, which seeks ‘to interpret experience, from different standpoints, viewing diverse others through varying lenses...to encourage and present the creative and reflective use of narrative in the search for understanding of experience’ (Ibid: X, X11).

For Chase, ‘all forms of narrative share the fundamental interest in making sense of experience, the interest in constructing and communicating meaning’ (Chase 1995: 1). She argues that life stories constitute ‘narratives about life experience that is of deep and abiding interest to the interviewee’ (Ibid: 2). Chase also draws attention to the crucial relationship between a particular life story ‘and the social world the narrator shares with others; the ways in which culture marks, shapes, and/or constrains this narrative; and the ways in which *this* narrator makes use of cultural resources and struggles with cultural constraints’ (Ibid: 20). This includes interrogating ‘the kind of narratives that are possible for certain groups of people, and...the cultural world that makes their particular narratives possible – and problematic – in certain ways’ (Ibid: 20).

Gubrium and Holstein (1995) see ‘new ethnography’ as a corollary of the above narrative turn. They note how this has facilitated the possibility of multiple realities through ‘the active mediation of contrasting local perspectives, resources, and applications’, coupled with a more substantive ‘appreciation of participant’s indigenous accounts, descriptions, and theories of their own lives’ (Gubrium and Holstein 1995: 56).

5.62 MADIS narratives and narrating MADIS

The above literature is relevant to this study in a number of ways. Firstly, they place a strong emphasis on “uncovering” multiple subjective realities in a variety of contexts, and from a range of contested positions. However, focussing on local as opposed to grand narratives should not be taken as confirming a postmodern perspective, as the subject positions within the different discursivities are analysed as discrete, coherent identities. Attention has also been drawn throughout this study (also reflected in the narratives in chapters six-eleven) to historical continuities with modernist frameworks on child sexuality and MADIS, consequently contesting Queer perspectives suggesting a dissolution of age boundaries.

Secondly, drawing attention to the contested issues and subject positions through narrative provides a more comprehensive knowledge of marginal, or even ‘unknown’ accounts (boylovers and gerontophiles). It also underlines the importance of the socio-

cultural context for such storytelling, whereby uneven resources, differential access to means of dissemination, and audience, significantly shape (either as facilitators or constraints) how respondents structure their respective narratives (as gay men, boylovers, survivors or professionals) throughout their respective life course.

A further important aspect is the way MADIS narratives draw attention to particular life events (childhood experiences, abuse, coming out, relationships). From these it becomes possible to locate individual experiences within a wider spatial and temporal framework, and also acquire an improved understanding of how intimate, sexual experiences are constructed throughout the respective life-courses of boylovers, male survivors, gay youth and gay partnerships.

Finally, there is the impact of the narrator in interpreting such narratives, and weaving them into a coherent, systematic account. The next section on reflexivity deals more specifically with the position of the researcher in the overall process. Whilst reinterpreting all the respective narratives, I have attempted to draw out the unique, attempt to proffer explanations for conflicts, discrepancies and comparisons, and analyse the central themes and epistemological nodal points of the respective accounts.

For all the above reasons, this study has contributed to narrative analysis, through providing a more substantive basis for addressing the different subject positions, and a richer interpretative framework for examining the contested themes.

5.7 Reflexivity and researching MADIS

This section will expand on research values referred to in the previous section on ethics, and relate these to the broader theoretical insights covered in the sociological literature on reflexivity, and conducting research in the area of MADIS. It will also address further the gap (suggested in chapter three) between current reflexive approaches to late modern transformations in intimacy and MADIS.

5.7.1 Reflexivity and intimacy

Beck and Giddens argue that reflexive modernisation is characterised by a shift in the

way knowledge is produced. For Beck, this is underpinned by the twin processes of uncertainty and individualisation (Beck 1994), whereas for Giddens the main impact is on individuals through the development of a radical contingency and greater self-monitoring (Giddens 1991). Both see late modern individuals as more able to impose their own meanings on biographies and identities through social networks.

Heaphy and Yip see the development of 'reflexive communities' as commensurate with globalisation, individualisation and detraditionalisation (Heaphy and Yip 2003: 2). These are constitutive of 'new ways of living', and further characterised by 'do-it-yourself biographies' and 'a freeing of agency in core areas of life' (Ibid: 2). Finally, Plummer argues that late modern ethnographic biographies 'favour a more reflexive understanding of lives as struggling processes in construction' (Plummer 2001: 46).

Recent contributors to the debates on sexual citizenship (see chapter three) have tended to situate changes in intimacy within 'reflexive modernity' (Weeks et al. 2002: 181), where traditional relationship patterns have been apparently displaced by plural opportunities, offering 'do-it-yourself' openings where 'the individual...becomes the primary focus of life' (Ibid: 181). Weeks (along with Giddens) see non-heterosexuals as prime movers in this shift in 'fashioning new lives through self-invention through autonomy, mutuality' (Ibid: 182).

However, Heaphy and Yip highlight the 'historical variability and knowledge available to different generations of gays and lesbians' (Ibid: 4), along with the 'dangers of overemphasising the freedoms that individuals have in creating their non-heterosexual selves, relationships or communities' (Ibid: 13). Following on from this, chapter three of this study raised significant questions over the extent to which reflexivity could be applied to all areas of late modern lives. It also maintained that such insights do not appear consistent with many accounts from respondents to the present study, nor can they provide readily available conceptual tools to explain such discrepancies.

5.72 Self-reflexivity and research values

McNay sees reflexivity as a 'critical hermeneutics of the self', but framed within

‘larger social constructions’, which in turn involves ‘a systematic interrogation of the way in which self-representation is imbricated in wider cultural dynamics’ (McNay 2003: 252, 253). In conducting ‘intimate research’, Plummer emphasises how research becomes ‘personal, interactional, emotional, embodied’, impacting on both researcher and researched (Plummer 2001: 213). This involves a critical process whereby researchers need to address several issues: ‘How does the researcher present him- or herself? How is a relational self is built up with the subjects of research? How is the interaction embodied? How are feelings presented and managed?’ (Ibid: 213).

There are a number of considerations which conducting a study on MADIS has raised related with the intersection of self, relationship with respondents, and the social. The highly sensitive areas covered by this research, and the contested nature of subject responses, has presented substantial difficulties for myself. Firstly, by revealing personal and intimate details, respondents invested an enormous amount of trust and responsibility on myself that their accounts will be accurately and substantially represented. Consequently, reflexivity is not a convenient addition added to satisfy the apparent trends in late modern social research, instead it constitutes 'an overview of problems, impressions, personal reflexions on field research', allowing 'the researcher to be reflexive and engage in some form of self-analysis through the research process' (Burgess 1990: 172, 173).

Throughout the course of the research, I consciously eschewed traditional positivist paradigms of detachment in favour of building empathy and actively engaging in the unfolding narratives of each respondent. However, I also avoided creating the impression that any single discursive group had a definitive account of reality. Indeed, the very premise of this study is based on the contention that MADIS involves the telling of multiple stories (including disparate feelings of abuse, betrayal, and violence), coupled with ones of self-fulfilment, intimate friendship and love. It also recognises the “reality” of power-knowledge hierarchies (professionals, media, and political lobby-groups), along with the embedded socio-cultural context in which such narratives are disseminated.

As argued earlier in this chapter, identifying clear oppressor-oppressed categories is beset with numerous difficulties. Rather than being able to position themselves with the powerless, ethnographic researchers will likely encounter multiple, criss-crossing interstices of oppression (class, age, gender, sexuality, race). These leads Hammersley, whilst recognising the undesirability of ethnographic researchers adhering to value-neutrality, to caution against 'commitment to a particular group within the field of investigation and active intervention on the part of that group' (Hammersley 1995: 55).

Some researchers see their political standpoint as integral to their research methods. This study applied a critical focus, which drew attention to the position of oppressed individuals and groups, and set out to challenge any political and structural constraints on achieving this goal. Consequently, the focus of my personal reflexivity is on multiple sources and manifestations of oppression, which draw on Marxist, Foucauldian, and libertarian critiques of capitalist late modernity. This involves listening to personal tales of suffering, as well as engaging with individual and collective strategies of empowerment which work towards the simultaneous goals of promoting self-respect, individual autonomy and challenging the inequalities which pervade late modern societies.

Finally, during the course of this research, there has been a continual gathering of material (including media involvement and political reaction) to the work in the US of Rind et al., Mirkin and Levine, and of the experiences of Waites, Thompson (see A. Palmer's article entitled "Silent Witness" in the Sunday Telegraph, page 25 (24/3/2002) and Bagley (News item in Daily Mirror, page 17 (4/4/2003) in the UK). Providing an analysis of such reactions may in turn, help to explain the difficulties of researching this subject from a critical perspective, and the intense political pressures upon academics to conform to a normative CSA schema.

Conclusion

This chapter set out to lay the foundations for the subsequent data analysis chapters. It attempted to synthesise inductive and deductive methodological approaches, through constructing a multi-site, discursive framework. This research design was seen as the

most promising way of accurately reflecting the contested perspectives, whilst also allowing scope for cross-discursive comparison.

Consistent with central tenets of qualitative methodological paradigms, there has been no attempt to impose definite versions of reality or install an overarching schema which could potentially present respondents' accounts within contrived categories. Ethical debates on the social sciences were covered in detail, alongside the implications they would have for researching MADIS. The specific context in which ethical approaches are produced, were seen as crucial factors governing the conduct of researchers. However this had to be taken in conjunction with wider considerations (respecting respondents' feelings, informing them of the research, and guaranteeing their privacy).

Finally, such accounts are not treated uncritically but positioned within a particular socio-historical locale and analysed reflexively through particular conceptions of age, masculinity, and sexual identity. Consequently, the accounts produced, along with the position (and influence) of the researcher, are seen as crucial components within any reflexive process.

Introduction

Thirteen face-to-face and seven CMC interviews with self-identified boylovers and paedophiles were conducted. Furthermore, boylover websites were accessed to provide additional material on identities, community issues and perspectives on boylove (see appendix thirty-four). The interviews examine both the individual and social scripting of their sexual attraction to boys. The schedule encourages respondents to place their own meanings on such an attraction, and elaborate on the difficulties they have faced throughout their life course in acquiring and pursuing their sexual identity. They also focus on the embryonic development (both on and offline) of international boylover communities and support groups, and address the various strategies which boylovers have deployed to counter dominant, mainstream attitudes.

6.1 Face-to-face interviews (See appendices thirty-five and thirty-six for respondents' personal backgrounds and childhood sexual experiences)

6.11 Attraction to boys through the life course

Chapter three focused on two key facets influencing the debates surrounding MADIS (life-course transitions and essentialist-constructionist debates). As indicated in that chapter, sociological theorising on transitions can help to explain how individual intimate and sexual transitions are shaped through (and within) micro and macro terrains. The following section situates boylover narratives within such a life-course through identifying the multiple ways in which their sexuality has developed.

BL1, 3, 9 and 11 present their sexual attraction to boys as omnipresent throughout their lives, although BL9 and 11 indicate the fluidity of sexual categories by referring to prior heterosexual experiences / identity. They attach similar language as the pro-boylover support literature, whereby essentialist (lifelong, immutable) and positive (liking, friendship and love) understandings are developed to explain, and give meaning to, their sexuality.

³⁹⁵ In the following interviews place names, locations and personal details of respondents have either been omitted or altered in order to protect guarantee anonymity.

BL1: *At school I liked younger people...[]...When I was nineteen I used to chat up twelve-thirteen year-olds on the buses.*

BL3: *When I was at school when I was twelve.*

BL11: *It's been present since I was in my early teens. The marriage I was involved in was societal pressure more than anything else and that I had no knowledge of what boylove was - that it was an alternative lifestyle*

BL9: *I have always been sexually aroused by boys. But I had always considered myself heterosexual. Therefore falling in love with a boy was a shock.*

BL9 and 11 are the only two boylovers who have been married. Similar to some of the older gay respondents in chapter eleven, they explain this as culturally mediated - forcing them to live closeted lives. Both respondents are aged (46 and 69 respectively) and went through their adult lives without identifying as boylovers.

Whereas several boylovers identify clear attractions to boys at a relatively young age, most saw it as an unfolding two-stage process. This included initial, often loosely defined manifestations, in which emotional and sexual attraction towards boys was felt but only tentatively recognised. This is in contrast to later manifestations of attraction, which are conceptualised more as a definitive, life-long orientation.

First stage

BL6, 7, 2, 5, 8 contrast their first (childhood) realisation of attraction to their peers from adult sexual attraction to children. They characterise this as friendship and emotional bonding rather than involving any particular sexual acts or practices.

BL6: *I am aware that even at prep. School,³⁹⁶ I had a rapport with people younger than me...I certainly had one younger friend... in my dormitory who would always stay with me and have a chat. There was nothing sexual in it but it was a friendship.*

BL7: *I think my first remembered attraction to a single boy was about when I was about thirteen. But prior to that I had a sexual interest in boys...It wasn't sexual of course it was more emotional.*

BL2: *When I was about eight or nine - although not in a sexual way. It was just a liking to be with them and to watch them.*

BL5: *I didn't actually do anything with any other boys at that time...but I was certainly interested.*

BL8: *I can remember a particular occasion in York...I was visiting relations... and I was nine at the time and there was this distant cousin Andy. I just thought he was beautiful.*

Second stage

The following accounts identify a later turning point in their life-course, which they characterise as more overtly sexual. They use the language of attraction and interest, seeing it as a positive and crucial component of their persona. In this respect, they share similarities with some of the gay coming out stories in chapter nine and eleven.

BL6: *I was becoming conscious of it at...college. I had a wonderful rapport with kids. I used to take them swimming, camping, hiking and in those days nothing was thought ill of going skinny-dipping...Bit of rough and tumble fighting, wrestling, which technically could be said to be of a sexual nature, but was not at all overtly sexual.*

BL7: *When I was about sixteen or seventeen, I can remember feeling that way...We had a gay arts master...He was the best teacher I've met in all respects. He really did take a genuine interest in boys, and...I recognised him as a boylover and I could see aspects of me in him.*

BL2: *When I was eight or nine, I only felt attracted to boys of my own age. Whereas when I was an adolescent, it was boys between eight or nine and my current age. It*

³⁹⁶ Abbreviation for Preparatory School.

extended as I grew older. But I don't think it changed it any other way apart from taking on more of a sexual thing than just a liking for.

BL5: Late eighties it slowly dawned on me that I was interested in this. I wouldn't say I had no idea before, because even at school my interest was towards younger boys but I had no description, I simply thought it was part of being gay.

BL8: When I was about fifteen or sixteen, I began to have attractions for the younger boys.

BL10: I began to find attraction of a different nature when I was about sixteen...and got interested in much younger kids of eleven or twelve. During the time I was at school, I didn't have any strong emotional attachment to any kids younger than myself, or indeed to kids of my own age. I had good friends and that's all they were.

In contrast to dominant CSA, psychodynamic and behaviourist understandings on paedophilia (see chapters one and seven), the above accounts are underpinned by positive, naturalistic and problem-free meanings. There is no mention of seeing children as substitutes for adult partners - in-line with psychoanalytical notions of regression. Within these narratives, respondents view their sexuality through a medium of self-realisation (Giddens 1992: 164), and as a central facet of their subjectivity.

Early adulthood

Some respondents developed careers which placed them in daily contact with young people, whilst others sought contacts with young people in various contexts. They all document numerous tensions which their sexuality has presented throughout their early adulthood.

BL6: I realised early on...when I was at college that I had feelings towards boys, and that this was obviously going to be a great danger in my chosen profession. Therefore I looked upon myself as being celibate for thirty years or more.

BL10: *I got a job in a boys-only comprehensive school...[]...The first year I was teaching boys eleven-thirteen and thoroughly enjoyed it.*

BL8: *I started my first teaching post in 1971 and that was at a secondary modern school in Leeds. After four years of trying to be a heterosexual...I looked at those boys in shorts - eleven and twelve year-olds - that was it!*

In opting for careers which would place them in direct contact with young people, the above three boylovers do support Wyre's (1996) contention that paedophiles will choose environments which will give them close contact with children. However, two did not act on this for fear of discovery and the stigma this would invariably bring. Furthermore, BL7 and BL1 did not choose such careers. In BL1's case this may be explained by his preference for impersonal, casual sex and a general reluctance, expressed later in this chapter, to countenance a long-term relationship with a boy.

BL7: *My recollection at university was first and foremost relief at getting away from home and that if anything unpleasant happened to me - I am talking particularly about the police.*

BL1: *The easy way was rent boys. And London was the place in the seventies and eighties...It would have to fit in with my work patterns...three or four nights in London and in my two-week holiday... Pubs...Amusement Arcade.*

Res: Where did you go for contacts?

BL1: *Then it all changed. It was a combination of Thatcherism and Aids and the pubs changed too. I stopped going to London after 1989. I went to Amsterdam during the early nineties, but by 1993 the News of the World got news of the rent boy scene and it all changed.*

6.12 Meanings on socio-sexual attraction to boys

Throughout the interviews respondents stress the importance of attraction to boys as a defining part of their orientation and subsequent sexual identity, noting particular

characteristics and persona which attract them towards boys. Respondents draw on essentialist conceptions of sexual orientation as immutable and integral to their persona. In contrast to sex offender / CSA perspectives, they maintain that their sexuality is normal, positive and fully developed - one which could benefit young people and society in general.

Res: Is attraction to youth an important part of your sexual identity?

BL1: *Yes! Attraction to youth, hairless, smooth skin...It is part of my identity that I liked younger boys. I never like same-aged.*

BL8: *It's been a part of me ever since I was nine years old, and it is a central part of my life.*

BL9: *It will remain a component of humankind as long as we exist as a species... Somebody who is both physically attracted to boys, mentally, spiritually and emotionally.*

BL4: *I take evolutionary psychology's point of view here, and think that throughout history there have been boylovers.*

BL10 and 11 append a political aspect to their sexuality, arguing that both are inextricably intertwined. Again similarities can be seen with gay and lesbian sexual politics of 'strategic essentialism' (see Rahman 2000), where sexual minority activists see personal sexuality as crucial in shaping political agendas.

BL10: *I felt that my attraction to kids was a strong part of me. I felt that it would be morally wrong to have sex with kids...I did go to Morocco soon after and found that far from there being no boys consenting, they could do a whole lot of things! So that rather revolutionised my outlook.*

BL11: *I didn't really recognise myself as a boylover until four years ago when I was sixty-five. At which time I had had a boylover-loved boy relationship which lasted*

about fifteen years...Right now what boylove means to me is something that I need to help along for the benefit of other people.

A further common feature of boylover narratives - in line with Foucault's insight on how sexual discourses have increasingly shaped the late modern subject - is the centrality each place on their sexuality. Respondents also relay positive feelings of sexual "awakenings" in realising their sexual identity. Again, such stories resonate with recent gays and lesbians sexual stories, where sexual identity is seen as crucial facets of an individual's persona.

Reflections on boylove relationships (See appendix thirty-seven)

In contrast to CSA and sex offender professional discursive characterisations of motivations behind such relationships, respondents stress friendship, care, intimacy, mentoring and reciprocal love as central components of their attraction. They also see these features as central to building a loving relationship with a boy.

With respect to the contested discourses within pro-boylover positions on the relational dynamics within a MADIS, BL2, 3, 4, 11 and 12 clearly see mentoring as central within a friendship ethic, through which an adult man can facilitate the personal and social development of a boy. They also minimise the sexual component, preferring instead to stress the wider benefits (educative, friendship) to boys of such a relationship.

BL2: *I do mentoring and facilitating in a boy's development.*

BL3: *Be there for him and helping him...understanding...and have them love me as well.*

BL4: *You get a mentoring situation - that a boy attaches himself to a man because the man has things of value...In a relationship with an adult and a boy sex is fine, but it's not the be all and end of it.*

BL11: *I think the first thing we're talking about there is a close mentoring type of*

relationship; a friendship, a commonality between the loved boy and the boylover in the interests, purposes, nurturing, support - physical and financial...The sexual component needs to be based on the pre-existing closeness and friendliness.

BL12: There's much more to the relationship than sex...[]...I think the typical adult-child relationship is when the adult tries to be a friend, a mentor...guide to the child.

BL6, 7, 8 place differing emphases on their relationships with boys, characterising the relational dynamics as consensual and equal. Although applying *simple* as opposed to *informed* definitions of consent here, they contest dominant CSA and legal discourses which argue that children cannot provide consent within such a relationship. They also stress “sex-positive” attitudes of pleasure and having a “good time” for their younger partner as crucial factors in a successful boylove relationship. Alongside these, they articulate an ethic of care and respect for their younger partner.

BL6: One thing that is important that the relationship should not be abusive! Whenever I had a friendship with a boy, I have wanted to be certain that that boy is absolutely happy.

BL7: I would see it as a friendship that developed into a physical intimacy, which hopefully would give us satisfaction in our own ways.

BL8: The most important thing to me was that they liked what was happening, and that they were happy with it...I always used to treat the boy with respect...When I used to have relationships with boys, obviously the sexual aspect was important, but it wasn't the only thing...To me a sexual relationship means that the two partners both want what is happening to take place.

The above narratives can be conceptualised as a transgressive hermeneutics of desire in which opposing constructs to dominant discourses are placed on adult sexual attraction to children. The language from all the above can be seen in Giddens (1992) and Week's et al. (2003) approaches, placing care and friendship as central underpinnings in late modern relationships. It can also be framed within Foucauldian

and some postmodern approaches, which look to destabilising dominant knowledges through refashioning the self through appropriating differing sexual meanings. However, as argued throughout this study, constraints placed on boylovers within the current socio-cultural context, place severe limitations on drawing further analytical connections.

Contesting the dominant discourse

Respondents also strongly contest dominant discourses that due to power imbalances and subjective differences such relationships are harmful and abusive. In contrast, they contend that any power differences could be put to beneficial uses in a boy's development. Others stress multiple ways in which the younger person can subvert power in such a relationship through negative (blackmail, refusal) and positive (guile, sexual initiation) strategies.

BL1 and 5 highlight economic factors to substantiate their claim that an older person is more vulnerable in sexual exchanges through theft or bribery. This viewpoint challenges structuralist analyses of power, which would situate such relationships within material inequalities, with financial power firmly in the hands of the older person.

BL1: The rent boy has the power over the punter...That is the power of the market!

BL5: I consider myself equal with my partner...Financial differences wouldn't give me a power advantage. They might make me more likely to be turned over.

BL9 and 11 reiterate arguments made in the boylover support literature of the two-way dimensions of power in MADIS, whereby the socio-cultural and legal context equips boys with the considerable power of disclosure to the authorities, consequently placing the older person in a vulnerable position.

BL9: From my own experience the power imbalance is flip-flopped - that the boy is actually in possession of all the power and the man in possession of very little power. True that man has better resources, social skills, knowledge of how the world works

and can use that to exploit the boy. But if the boy is fairly reprimanded of the situation, the boy can wave him off with the flip of a hand, or a single sentence to the authorities.

BL11: *A lot of the power...rests in the hands of the boy because they can terminate it at any time very easily.*

The following three respondents, whilst recognising power differences, view other aspects (friendship, emotional and physical connection, and absence of harm) as more significant.

BL2: *With that power on my side, I'd hope to somehow redress the balance, through the friendship, by offering them my knowledge as an older person - that they could hopefully gain from it rather than me using it to dominate them.*

BL3: *I can't see what the problem is if you're not doing any harm. You like them! They like you! And you enjoy doing things together.*

Others took issue with the way CSA discourses applied abuse so loosely and vaguely that it was applied to loving, consensual boylove relationships as well.

BL9: *I feel that the abuse model is at best reductionist and out of date...It doesn't even come close to encompassing the full experience that both a boy and a man can experience together...Both partners are involved for mutual benefit...That's not to say that abuse doesn't happen, but it's very very rare.*

Respondents deploy two strategic responses to the twin issues of harm and power. BL4, 11 and 2 draw on anti-victimological discourses, seeing harm as created by societal reaction and iatrogenically manufactured by agencies of the state (see chapter one). Such language mirrors earlier critiques (see Kinsey 1948) which problematise the negative scripting of child sexuality and MADIS within familial and cultural contexts (see chapter one), and more recent challenges to the hegemonic position of CSA (see Rind et al. 2001). BL12 draws attention to the wider familial context, where, he maintains, adult-child power differences are more accentuated, and where children

have fewer choices. This reiterates radical feminist challenges to the family but frames this within a discourse of child empowerment rather than gender.

BL4: *The cases that I have found of traumatised children have all been traumatised, not by the relationship, but entirely by the way society viewed it. You are a victim! Well I must be a victim! I've got to behave like a victim!*

BL11: *Molestation is what happens when the child sexual abuse industry gets hold of a boy and tries to destroy his mind.*

BL2: *It's not even sexual contact that causes problems it's...even when it's discovered that that man has a sexual attraction that the problems begin.*

BL12: *I'd really like to qualify abusive...that children cannot say no to kissing and cuddling or affection and have no rights to be taken seriously if they did say no. ...Children have got even less choice in these situations and there's even more power.*

6.13 MADIS experiences

Respondents detail several sexual experiences. Only one states that he was involved in a relationship with a man when younger, whereas the remainder highlight experiences with boys, from sporadic encounters, to long-term, intimate relationships. In these relationships, boylovers apply very different constructs to those employed by CSA theorists. They draw clear divisions between violent and abusive relationships and their own, characterising theirs as affectionate, enjoyable experiences, which the boys actively participated in, and were able to constantly negotiate their terms throughout the relationship.

Encounters

BL1's account runs counter to many of the boylover narratives, and reflects a problematic aspect within MADIS namely, a dissymmetry of interests, which would likely inhibit any longer-term relationship. Whereas many boylovers highlight activities and interests which they could share or impart to their younger friend, BL1 sees this as unlikely for himself due to a wider generational cultural gap.

BL1: *There was a boy of thirteen in Somerset in 1983. It was experimentation, but he was a lively young boy. I saw him two years later when I had a knock at the door and he came in with another guy - both fifteen then.*

Res: How did he react to you and the experience?

BL1: *He enjoyed the experience. There was no conversation - just watched television.*

Res: What has stopped you considering a longer-term relationship?

BL1: *It is the cultural gap. It gets wider with discos and fashion. In the seventies it was easier to talk now there is a big age-gap. Teens tend to stick to their own age group.*

Relationships: as the younger partner

The following account is the only one where professional abused-abuser cycles could be applied. However, BL7 refutes such a characterisation by claiming initiator status in the interaction, which he used to further his own ends. He strongly eschews predetermined professional cyclical impositions, or CSA labelling of his experiences as denial, viewing them instead as a self-defining episode in his own sexual trajectory.

BL7: *I knew perfectly well he was a boylover...and saw him in terms of giving some things I wanted...the opportunity to go on camping holidays...I was the one who was doing all the pushing. I started when I was fourteen and I continued until I was about sixteen. After I got what I wanted - I got some three wonderful holidays in Europe with him - I stopped the sexual relationship. It was quite exploitative on my part.*

As the older person

(1) Mentor versus egalitarian conceptions

Six respondents relay a range of experiences they have had with boys throughout their lives. BL6 attaches marital metaphors to his own boylove relationship, seeing it as 'consummate' and likening it more to that of a parent-son. BL4, 11 and 5 in contrast, view their respective relationships more as friendships. These twin characterisations

reproduce the contested mentor-egalitarian positions set out in chapter three, and may help explain the potential for differing conceptions of, and dynamics, in boylove relationships.

BL6: *We went to Russia that summer...I had made one particular friend Kyro... now virtually adopted as my son. He's now twenty-six. He is my best friend. I visit him regularly...I knew him when he was fifteen...Oh undoubtedly it was a wonderful relationship - utterly sexual and fully consummate...And it is much more a parent-son, uncle-nephew relationship than it is sexual.*

BL4: *I came back from the army and went into building construction and then I moved [aged thirty] to Africa ...One boy Dal, coming up to thirteen, we used to do snorkelling together, and I taught him to drive my car and we started by accident almost a sexual relationship which went on until the day I left...Actually it went on afterwards...I'd pick Dal up from his school - nip over to his house upstairs and leap up to bed with him...Went to his sister's wedding, his brother's wedding and maintained a good friendship with him.*

BL11: *I was involved as much as he wanted me to be in all phases of his life...He'd be fourteen at that time...We did hiking and camping together. The relationship continued...through his college career, and at present we're still very good friends.*

BL5: *I was twenty-one, the other person involved was fourteen. He was a customer who came into the job I worked in...We became friends. I can remember he had emotional problems of his own...I fell madly in love with him and we ended up going out together for five years...[]...Every so often we'll communicate by email.*

The accounts above present a radically different conception of MADIS to the CSA / survivor language of trauma and guilt. All four were keen to highlight how their relationships have been maintained long after the sexual component, arguing that the short-term sexual attraction of boylovers did not prevent the prolongation of friendships years after.

(2) Sexual pleasure

Respondents emphasise their younger partner's enjoyment of the experience and the assertive part played by boys in the relationship. They eschew innocent and vulnerable conceptions of boy's involvement in MADIS, characterising it instead as playful fun, inquisitive and pleasurable. In placing the boy's enjoyment centrally, such accounts also contrast their personal experiences with CSA discourses, which contend that such acts are motivated by selfishness, and constituted through adult sexual desires. These accounts also share distinct similarities to the hedonism and play models recognised by Li in his study of paedophiles (see Li 1993: 289-292). Nonetheless, any conclusions based on the above have to recognise the mediated (and potentially self-serving) way such positions are relayed.

BL1: *They liked doing the act. For the boys it's financial but nearly all were gay or bisexual...It's no fun if they don't enjoy it!*

BL4: *I have come across boys who have pushed the situation - pushed the adults to see what his boundaries are - whether he will accept them being sexual in front of them.*

BL5: *He was quite happy...He considered me over-possessive and he told me so...And I'm sure he was right, but I didn't see it at the time.*

BL8: *They just used to say what fun it was. I remember A. saying, oh god we've had this boring game, we're really in the mood for some fun! He'd strip off and get straight down to it as soon as he came in... I actually got C. and D. to write a little piece... and A. Wrote, we have lots of fun. We kiss him and he kisses us. And we wank him and he wanks us. We suck him, he spunks all over us. His words not mine!*

BL9 focuses less on the physical aspects, and more on more on stressing the intimate and loving aspects of his relationship. He also stresses the intensely strong emotional bond in the relationship between himself and his partner.

BL9: *I was recently involved with a boy whom I met when I was forty-four and he was*

eleven. It was love at first sight.

Res: Your relationship with..., what did it mean to you?

BL9: *I loved him more than the water of my next breath. He was my universe...I called him little fucker. He called me old geezer.*

The fourth discursive position set out in appendix fifteen, helps to situate such accounts, specifically the ways boylover respondents conceptualise the relational dynamics within MADIS. Woven into this is a broadly libertarian sexual ethic, whereby power is seen as nuanced, destabilised and two-way within boylove relationships. Within these accounts, other facets in relationships (care, pleasure, friendship, mutual respect) are accorded significantly greater weighting.

6.14 Boylover identity politics (see appendices thirty-eight and thirty-nine).

Moves towards a greater recognition for boylovers have clearly suffered serious setbacks over the past two decades. This can arguably be explained by the way boylover stories have not been aired in recent studies on reflexive transformations in late modern sexual stories. Clearly opportunities at self-transformation through the building of reflexive communities (see the recent theorising and research on gays and lesbians in Weeks et al 2002; Heaphy and Yip 2003; Weeks et al. 2003) do not seem commensurate with the trajectory of boylovers. However, recent developments through the Internet and the formation of local self-help groups, have arguably led to limited shifts towards an embryonic sense of a boylover community.³⁹⁷

BL4, 7 and 10 are contemporaries. Each recognise the late seventies / early eighties as a crucial watershed in attempts to achieve a greater recognition for boylovers in the UK. All stress the “still-born” position of a paedophile public political position, and the near-impossible task in building and maintaining any activist-based group.

³⁹⁷ The term community, as highlighted within gay and lesbian politics and literature, can be problematic in giving the impression that they constitute a homogenous group. This has led some to abandon the term community, opting for constituency instead to reflect diversity and heterogeneity. However, the term is extensively used in boylover cyber sites, and although there is significant

BL10: *I met a number of gay people and came-out to them as a paedophile, and I was alerted by them to the existence of a new paedophile organisation in London that had been advertised in GayNews. There were two - PIE and PAL.³⁹⁸ So I was associated with both...PIE right from the start seemed a rather more serious organisation...we wanted to influence the public...We didn't do things which, experience of other groups suggested we ought to...But we wanted to be respectable...to have AGMs, where people could freely attend. So we took that line of behaviour as far as we could until it proved not viable.*

BL4: *I was arrested in 1980. I suppose I came out to my parents in the visiting room at Brixton...I never was a member of PIE, and after that I met and talked with others.*

BL7: *I joined PIE and since then I became quite deeply involved with the organisation...[]...I just think it came up at the wrong time. Had it started ten years earlier with the gay liberation movement, it might have had a better chance of surviving longer...It was forced to develop that way and be seen to be confrontational...So in a sense it was obliged to take that route, and of course that led inevitably to its eventual destruction.*

Resisting dominant discourses (See appendix forty)

Another important theme in boylover narratives is an aspiration to challenge, what they see as misguided public assumptions regarding the motives of boylovers in forming attachments to boys. This involved rejecting mainstream characterisations, formulating political strategies, constructing their own meanings on boylove. The following accounts also relay the severe difficulties faced by boylovers in presenting such challenges.

BL4 and BL5 articulate a similar concern expressed by ML in chapter nine in being wary of sexual labels of any kind. Although this can be presented as transgressively Queer, or “sexual anarchy” (see Carr 1999 in chapter three), it may indicate the way language has been sequestered from paedophiles, rendering many, in Foucauldian

divergence in terms of strategy and aims, it has been incorporated here.

³⁹⁸ Paedophile Action for Liberation.

terms, cut-off from any viable local knowledges, and subsequently placed lowly on the epistemological hierarchy as 'naïve knowledges' (Foucault 1980: 82).

BL4: *As a political activist, we've argued should we call ourselves paedophiles. We'd use boylove because love was positive, and boys because of boys. But I don't know if I ever called myself anything.*

BL5: *I wouldn't if I could possibly help it. It's far too complicated. I identify as gay...as a boylover. I don't think the two are necessarily the same thing...As far as I can pin it down a boylover is more an emotional inclination rather than a sexual one.*

BL7: *I do use paedophile rather from a historical point of view...Paedophile was acceptable in the late seventies / early eighties. After which it became vilified, and I'm afraid the habit has stayed - although I think boylover is a better description.*

BL2 and 3 are the youngest boylovers interviewed (both in their early twenties). They both stress how recent portrayals of boylovers as "predators" and "pornographers" fail to do justice to their feelings.

Res: In your experience, is their pornography or violence towards boys?

BL2: *Certainly not! In none of the forums that I regularly post on are there anything like that!...Whereas society would see me as a predator, who's only interested in exercising my carnal desires for boys, quite the reverse is true. Primarily, my liking is just to be with and to help boys - to almost be a kind of surrogate father.*

BL3: *Society would think you're a predator - after one thing! It's not like that!...There are a lot of things that do happen but they just assume that everyone is the same. The label they put on people.*

B12 builds on earlier critiques of the way society scripts paedophilia. He supplements this with a challenge to popular demonisation of paedophiles, where "paedophobia" is problematised as a disorder rather than a paedosexual orientation itself. By doing this,

he shifts the problem away from the motivations behind paedophilia, and (similar to that exercised by gay strategists), towards those whom he accuses of peddling hatred toward paedophiles.

BL12: *I don't see the point of turning sexuality into a nightmare...Sexuality is supposed to be pleasurable, a joy - nature intended it to be that way. So perhaps we should be talking about the psychology of people who insist we turn it into a nightmare - that children cannot enjoy the same happiness that adults are.*

Children's rights

Many respondents identify lack of children's rights as an important political issue for boylovers. They criticise CSA-imposed dictates for stifling young people's creativity through intrusive monitoring and control, thereby preventing young people from accessing the very sexual knowledge, which could empower them. However, such respondents left unanswered the key problems of boylover identity scripts namely, that it is a sexual politics generated by adult men.

BL9: *In our society children are mere chattel property. Due to the fact that boy's opinions are never taken seriously by parents boys lose their voice...Schools and many teachers view boys as toxic...[]...They've no rights as sexual beings!*

BL12: *Children's sexuality is a learning curve...there's a great deal of childhood attraction to adults.*

BL13: *Adults tend to subjugate issues of child liberation...People in power have no interest in giving children a genuine stake in society.*

(See appendices forty-one, forty-two and forty-three).

Although the above can be seen as attempts to fashioning alternative late modern sexual narratives in which boylovers aspirations and experiences are placed outside dominant CSA / sex offender formulations, they also show the ad hoc and fragmented nature of these attempts. The likelihood is that such stories will never get aired in a public or academic context, and are therefore likely to remain lowly in the hierarchy of

sexual knowledges.

6.2 CMC³⁹⁹ accounts (See appendix forty-four).

6.21 Interview schedule questions

Nine questions were put to CMC respondents which addressed similar themes as the face-to-face ones. Question one looked at sexuality, two and three addressed relational dynamics, four examined a number of key contested themes, and questions five - eight tackled degrees of community attachment. Answers were generally variable, with several respondents choosing not to answer certain questions.

1) Do you think that being a boylover is central to who you are?

BLS14-17 see their sexuality as central to their persona. Similar to many of the face-to-face respondents they conceive sexuality as crucial and central to self-understanding. However, BL18 views it as more complex and multi-faced, and where, in certain contexts, his boylover sexuality is central, but in others it has to be effectively “closeted”.

BL17: To be a boylover is central to my life - that without this manner of being I would be a totally other person.

BL14: Being around men and boys...The development of my particular interest slowed or stopped and never paralleled my adulthood. Therefore, my particular interest centers around those younger than I.

BL15: My life has been to a great part determined by my love for young boys...My heart, thoughts and love is towards young boys.

BL16: I knew I was homosexual at age 11, and realized at 25 that I was only attracted to boys (usually adolescent boys).

BL18: *On the one side being a boylover is central to who I am...but...I can't in all aspects fit into 'the society' the way I want to...I went, after my coming-in and my first coming-outs, through some kind of 'second puberty'...and during this phase being a boylover was very central to who I am...I communicated with many other boylovers, I experimented with relationships...I learned to integrate it into the other facets of life.*

Most of the following identify their main age-range of attraction to boys as 10-15. Although this supports the research on male sex offenders against boys, which recognises such a range as the most likely 'victim-preference' group, respondents eschew the language of vulnerability, risk and power. Instead, they invoke pro-boylover (see chapter one and three) arguments of friendship, help and 'father-figure', conceptualising the relationship as a "wanting to relate", rather than regression or immaturity.

2) What is the ideal man-boy relationship for you (in terms of age of attraction, characteristics, activities, and things you would do together, and how you see your role in that relationship)?

BL14, 19 and 20 reiterate the theme of mentor and protector strongly prevalent amongst the face-to-face respondents, viewing themselves as facilitators, friends and intimate carers for boys. They also stress the importance of close intimacy and shared interests with their partners in their respective relationships. However, BL20 admits that physical looks and bodily features are crucial components of his attraction.

BL14: *I am a lover of boys, no matter the age...I prefer to be with a boy who has made some sort of "discovery" about himself and sexuality. A good age range for that is 10-11, to as old as 14...I relate to boys quite well in their temperament, curiosity and leisure pleasures.*

BL19: *The ideal age for a boy is ten years old. I like playing all the kinds of games that ten-year-olds play. I would be like a mentor-friend to the boy. My current yf⁴⁰⁰ is*

³⁹⁹ Computer - Mediated - Communication.

⁴⁰⁰ An abbreviation for young friend.

five years old. I am to him as a father figure.

BL20: *For the characteristics and age - probably twelve and up. I may go as young as ten...They would have to be skinny, and attractive to me...basically the same, emotionally and sexually, adults have. Naturally, in ANY relationship, I would want it to be consensual. I would like to be able to walk down the street and to be able to hold the hand of my lover, and not have it treated like a crime...I would like to be a lover, if possible, friend and mentor.*

BL15 and 16 incorporate the idea of an emotional bond within an overall boylove relationship, viewing this as more important than physical features. This closely resembles the ‘Pedagogical Eros’ discourse within earlier pederastic accounts throughout Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries. These drew predominantly on archaic representations of “Greek Love”, which viewed adult male love for youth as an aesthetic and spiritual ideal (see chapter four).

BL15: *In my younger years, it seemed that the mere image of a handsome boy would be enough...Always, of paramount concern has been, and still is, for the life and well being of the boy...Physical, emotional and spiritual...No longer am I into just the physical beauty, now it is much more out of emotional, almost spiritual necessity.*

BL16: *I would love to have a close friendship, where we could discuss deep things - intellectual, emotional, spiritual...I would like to do all things with him: go places (concerts, movies, parks), and play and joke around with him. I would be happy if I could approximate this sort of mentoring relationship...so that we could express tenderness, trust and love to each other physically through hugs, kisses, touch, and even sex.*

BL18 sums up the contested positions covered in chapter three between liberationist and mentor conceptions on boylove relationships. In opting for the former as more “honest”, he positions himself within a radical, egalitarian NAMBLA-inspired conception of boylove, as opposed to mentor positions, which are problematised for being overly paternalistic and functionalist.

BL18: *For boylovers I see two different kinds of relationships that can work...My focus is on the 'partner – partner' relationship, since I see the other one as some kind of both-sides-nurturing friendship rather than as a relationship...The 'little brother - big brother' relationship is not bound to only one young partner, while the 'partner – partner' relationship is exclusive while it lasts...The ideal man/boy relationship is for me the 'partner-partner' relationship, since it's way more honest and usually also more satisfying than the other kinds. It comes closer to what is defined as 'partnership'. It is legal in some countries.*

3) What perspective do you put on your social, personal and sexual feelings towards boys?

BL17 identifies both the friendship and teaching aspect as integral components within the relationship. Similar to BL6, he deploys a familial metaphor (brother) to characterise a quasi-paternal facet within his boylove relationship.

BL17: *I always tried to be a good friend, to teach them cultivated things, to read books and to discuss problems of our society. I tried to be like an elder brother, to have fun together...trips round famous cities.*

BL14 concurs with several face-to-face boylovers in consciously rejecting sexual identity labels and pre-given categories. However, again it is not clear how far this discursive strategy is influenced more by near universal negative socio-cultural scripting, rather than as subversive attempts to fashion a reformulated sexual subjectivity.

BL14: *I won't put a label to my sexuality, such as Bi, Gay, Straight, or Pedophile...I will not lower myself to this, so-called, prescribed way of thinking...so I remain silent about it, except to like minded individuals who understand... "Coming out" is NOT an option, nor is it totally necessary.*

BLs 16 and 20 in different ways highlight crucial inhibiting factors (societal stigma, illegality), which prevent "being out" as a boylover. BL16 also highlights how

sexuality is not necessarily a central facet of his persona.

BL16: *Being a Bler is not "the" central thing, but one of several important aspects of my identity: a maths teacher, an amateur musician, a Christian, hopefully a sensitive conscientious ethical person, and a boylover.*

BL20: *I feel I'm not a true boylover. I'm not currently in, nor ever had, a true relationship with a boy...In today's political / religious environment; it is extremely difficult to have one. I do consider myself a lover of boys. As long as the relationship, within reason, is consensual, where's the problem?*

4) What do you feel are the main obstacles towards a greater acceptance of boylovers in society?

The following accounts tap in to the central theme of this study namely, the way in which boylovers have been increasingly driven underground and stigmatised in contemporary society. Whereas BL20 highlights general negative attitudes to sexuality in western society, the others focus on the specific restrictions placed on boylovers in terms of maintaining friendships, revealing their sexuality, or contemplating a relationship. As outlined at the beginning to chapter three, most of the boylover accounts run directly counter to the rather eulogistic way Giddens and Weeks have greeted late modern changes to intimacy.

BL14: *The news media tends to sway the opinion of its readers...Some of them ISP Providers get guilt feelings, some of them find themselves under pressure from the Thought Police.*

BL15: *I have never really had any truly close friends. How could I? That would mean total openness, which is a thing I could never allow.*

BL16: *However, in today's society I don't expect that sex could ever happen safely.*

BL17: *You can imagine how difficult it would be if people at home hear about my*

secret life.

BL20: *What makes it so hard in the U.S., and probably just about anywhere else, are peoples attitudes towards sexual orientation...and certain relationships.*

5) What steps would you put forward for boylovers to achieve greater recognition in society?

BL18 sees the realisation of a radical empowerment thesis, where children decide things for themselves, as the most promising hope for boylovers achieving greater public acceptability for boylovers.

BL18: *With time, more and more people will understand that kids in our society become able to understand and decide things earlier on their own will...The new freedom many kids have is the key for relationships which are a benefit for both parts.*

Responses to questions 7- 9 suggest tentative steps towards a more developed boylover community. BL14 and 20 identify as active members of NAMBLA, and BL16 and 19 actively participate in boylover web sites. For them, accessing such a community has been a generally empowering experience. Nonetheless, the “offline reality” of living “underground”, and fear of revealing identities is also prevalent.

6) Do you think there is a sense of community amongst boylovers?

BL14: *It is in this country, just as hard to get anyone to talk...It is a closeted group here... “Boy-lover” is possibly a label I can live with. Not put on me by the society in which I live, but by the fraternity of "boy-lovers" throughout the world.*

7) If so, what steps have you taken to involve yourself in such a community?

BL14: *Unfortunately, one finds himself going "underground" to have stimulating conversation on the subject of Boy-Love...I am a Boy-Lover, and proud of it...What has helped me to "talk" with other Boy-Lovers...this has helped calm the churning*

waters about my beliefs and philosophy...actual, face-to-face meetings with other Boy-Lovers are rare...concerning the hysteria surrounding "Boy-Love."

BL19: I feel that the many chat sites are a community for me. I started going to the many sites and got involved to the point that I met a few BLs.

BL16: I recently decided to create a comprehensive website of scientific information...I want to include info about terminology, causes, characteristics of BLers, emotional/sexual development, health care (including so-called "treatment"), behavior, and consequences...My dream is to eventually publish pamphlets of helpful info for BLers, their friends and family, and other interested people.

BL20: I subscribe to KOINOS and to NAMBLA, and I do what I can to support...I often write about man/boy love.

8) What are the problems you have found in accessing such a community?

BL16: Fear of revealing identities and locations, small numbers of people who are willing to meet, large distances between us...Among those who meet frequently there is real community...I have met several in person...I go yearly...where there is a community...I have kept in phone contact with a few very good friends who are Blers.

6.22 MADIS relationships

CMC boylover respondents highlight personal relationships which they had had with boys. All four place similar meanings as the face-to-face interviewees. For example, BL14 uses similar familial metaphors as BL6 of "big brother". A friendship discourse of intimacy and reciprocal connection are central to BL14, 15 and 17's positions. However, again the impact of societal intervention in the form of parents (BL17) and police (BL15) is ever-present throughout their accounts.

BL14: His health (mental and physical) is of importance...When it comes to more things to do together, I usually get a list together from ads in the newspaper, radio and the like...I sound him out on them...Sometimes he wishes a "sleep-over." ...Again

the decision is his...As far as that goes, I DON'T want to appear to him as a Father figure (which he is missing). I like to consider myself a big brother to him. One who cares for his well-being and loves him very much with all my heart.

BL17: More than 20 years ago I met a 14 year-old boy and he was my friend for more than 3 years. Then his parents got some idea of our friendship and they broke our friendship...Today my young friend is a famous...architect and he is married. I met him by chance in...and he said to me, thank-you. To meet you was the best thing that could happen to me. You made me this famous architect that I am now. Without your friendship I could never become this intellectual and honourable man.

BL15: I have had one very deep relationship with a boy who I think loved me. However that was until the police got hold of us.

BL18: When I walk through a movie theater's foyer hand in hand with my 14-year-old boyfriend whom I learned to know last summer, people actually look at us; that makes it central. When we hold each other later at home, it feels for both of us like it would feel for every other couple.

Conclusion

Face-to-face and CMC respondents asserted a strong commitment to a boylover orientation, one largely present throughout most of their life-course. They presented variable degrees of community identification from magazine subscription, to active participation in Conferences. In terms of the relational dynamics within MADIS, professional CSA and sex offender constructs were contested. Instead, boylovers stressed the positive and beneficial aspects of their attraction to boys, and criticised various interest groups for peddling unsubstantiated myths about boylove.

In contrast to much of the literature and research, extolling the promise of substantive and positive transformation for sexual minorities (as individual, partnerships and within communities), boylover narratives indicate that this is only partial. Instead such accounts remain firmly embedded within modernist discourses of oppression, alienation, witch-hunts, and legal sanctions.

Chapter Seven Professional Accounts

Introduction

Fifteen separate interviews were conducted with a total of eighteen professionals⁴⁰¹ across disparate fields (sex offenders, child protection, young men's health and male sex workers). This chapter will outline the broad discursive framework in which professional accounts are constructed including key aspects of their work, the conceptual tools informing their approaches, and dominant perspectives influencing their operational praxis.

7.1 The discursive regulation of sex offenders

7.1.1 Personal background and professional duties

The respondents working with sex offenders came from diverse backgrounds.⁴⁰² Two co-ordinate research within prisons and the probationary service, one has his own practice, one is a therapist at a clinic, two are social workers, and another is responsible for co-ordinating his church's approach. They all detail their respective roles in managing and treating sex offenders, and point to extensive collaboration between professionals in other areas (courts, police, prisons and probation service) in delivering their respective SOTPS.⁴⁰³

P1 and P2 define their role as centralised, administrative providers of sex offender programmes to the probationary service throughout England and Wales, whereas P3 - 8 are involved in more localised contexts (local authorities, public bodies and private expertise) in managing sex offenders.

P1: We collect and analyse clinical impact data - pre and post - and also run a number of research projects.

P2: We do group work...but more a co-ordinated role of 26 sites across England and Wales.

⁴⁰¹ The discrepancy between interviews conducted and number of respondents is due to the fact that on two occasions several respondents were interviewed together.

⁴⁰² Two social workers, one therapist, three involved in the probationary service, and others with no specialist backgrounds, but who have acquired overall responsible for co-ordinating such work.

P3: *What I said to the Scottish Executive was that I would use an accredited programme - the West Midlands Programme...We don't have such a unit in Scotland - so its incarceration in a prison, in a mental hospital, or we work with them in the community.*

P4: *I'm the deputy manager...and I'm also a senior therapist...Prior to that I was a probationary officer.*

P5, 6 and 7 identify normative CSA language (inappropriate, abuse, offending) as highly influential in framing their respective professional remits. Such professional constructs contrast starkly with the assertions of boylovers in the previous chapter, in assigning negative subject positions to such behaviour. P6 also lends support to abused-abuser cyclical explanations for sex offending behaviour.

P5: *We work with children and young people that are involved with inappropriate sexual behaviours.*

P6: *Experience of three years in Barlinnie working with male sex offenders and those who had experienced abuse...A considerable amount had abused boys.*

P7 reinforces some “backlash” claims (see chapter one) of how the prevalence of CSA and sex offenders have been deliberately exaggerated as part of a domain-expanding strategy by professionals. P8 highlights the importance of extra-agency input from bodies outside the direct remit of professional services.

P7: *I started in '77 when I had sex offenders as my clients...[]...Carried on until setting up of a clinic for sexual counselling...[]...Get referrals from solicitors, probation, social services, voluntary agencies, professions...In my early days...to get the resources and the work, I would emphasise danger...that a sex offender will abuse two hundred children.*

P8: *Clearly there aren't the resources for probation and social work to continually*

⁴⁰³ Sex Offender Treatment Programme.

monitor people closely... We did see that the church had a potential role working with other agencies ...to be a kind of supportive community with sex offenders.

7.12 Dominant influences

Professional respondents identify key influences in their work (moral conviction, adherence to existing legal statutes, along with a determination to challenge sex offending behaviour).⁴⁰⁴ They also highlight influential research and theorising in their programmes including aetiologies on sex-offending behaviour (motivational attitudes, socio-cultural pre-conditions, cycles of offending, and denial).

P3, 4 and 8 rely for their respective perspectives on an absolute position, based on a personal and moral belief (conviction, gut reaction) that such relationships can only be abusive. This reproduces the discursive closure position set out in appendix fifteen, which maintains that adult-child sex is ethically unacceptable.

P3: There's no point in doing this work if you don't believe you're offering hope to the community, to potential victims and to the person.

P4: I do my work from my conviction.

P8: I suppose it's a gut reaction as much as anything, and I feel that children...need protecting from people who are going to use them for their own sexual gratification.

However, P1, 4 and 6 place their response more within legal norms, in which anyone under sixteen is deemed incapable of consenting to sex with an adult.

P1: A large part of the typologies are defined by the legal system anyway.

P4: Our role within criminal justice is to help them see their sexual behaviour towards children or young people as abuse.

⁴⁰⁴ Frequent reference was also made to Government initiatives and legislation at local, devolved (Scottish Executive and Parliamentary level), and national level in Westminster.

P6: *No different approach to either group.*⁴⁰⁵ *A court has found them guilty of offences against a child!*

Child protection

Most respondents identify direct implications for child protection in their work with sex offenders. They view this as crucial, requiring close collaboration between the relevant agencies in developing subsequent policy strategies. The development of discursive symbiotism (developed in chapter three), in relation to the way CSA and sex offending frameworks become closely inter-twined, can also be seen in the following accounts. This occurs through a confluence and symmetry of binary language (abused / abuser, perpetrator / victim). These accounts also reinforce the way constructs developed within one localised field (CSA) can be appropriated, and strategically deployed, within another (sex offenders).

P2: *Stopping re-offending and for potential victims.*

P7: *And yet for me the information from offenders has been crucial in understanding child protection.*

P5: *It's not as much working with the sex offender, as implementing child protection measures.*

P3: *We already had two joint projects: child protection unit...and the domestic violence unit.*

P8: *The Report was written because we'd spent some time in the early nineties developing the child protection policies of the Church.*

Academic research models and literature

Chapter one noted the predominant influence of North American researchers (Marshall, Finkelhor) on contemporary approaches to sex offending. These influences (Finkelhor's four-factor model, link with alcohol addiction, and low social skills and

⁴⁰⁵ Consensual or non-consensual offenders.

self-esteem amongst offenders) can be discerned in the three accounts below.

Res: What do you rely on for your models?

P2: *Come off the back of the international research and knowledge...For example, distorted thinking, relapse prevention, fantasy work...Hanson's meta-analyses on the solicitor-general web sites...and Grubin.*

P1: *We have an accreditation panel based on a number of experts within the UK and overseas...We have strong relationships with the programmes in Canada and in the United States...Marshall continues to be very active in our accreditation program ... We look at aetiology of offending, predicting risk and preventing relapse and recidivism.*

P3: *We look at various types of sex offenders...cycles of cognition, social skills, self-esteem and certain sexuality and gender issues, role of fantasy in offending, victim awareness and empathy and obviously relapse prevention...and Finkelhor.*

P5: *The work that we would do through the project would certainly be based upon the Finkelhor model - preconditions of wanting to abuse. Our assessment would be assessment of risk, level of responsibility, level of denial, level of motivation and ability.*

Behaviouralism

Most of the professional respondents maintain that sex offending was not a medical-psychiatric condition. This runs counter to many psychopathological approaches (APA 1994), which place paedophilia as a pathological disorder. Instead, they support a behaviouralist focus on sex offending attitudes and behaviour – viewing it as part of a cognitively distorted belief system. Again, much of the language is appropriated from recent research on sex offending behaviour which draw parallels with addictive behaviours and associated lack of control and empathy.

P2: *Psychodynamic approaches don't appear to work...Cognitive behaviour seems to*

be holding up very well.

P1: We prefer the cognitive behavioural model over relapse prevention mode...based on alcohol prevention studies...What are the sequence, or chain of things and events, that lead through to the occurrence of this particular kind of behaviour?

P3: It's a cognitive behavioural programme because the literature tells you that's the most effective!

P8: Sex offending is...an addictive habit that many people get into. It does relate to behavioural patterns.

P5 and 6 focus more on the need to encourage sex offenders to change their behaviour rather than look to a medical remedy. This involves problematising sex offending behaviour, and tackling it at an individual level.

P5: Implementing any kind of cognitive behavioural project, they need to acknowledge that they've got a problem and accept some responsibility.

P6: Such men cannot be cured.

For P3, 4 and 7, experiential, pragmatic knowledge gained in the field is more reliable than medical-psychiatric theories. For these professionals, such grounded experience elevates their contributions in the hierarchy of knowledge above theoretical models.

P3: They're all be social workers. I'm a probation officer...Makes sense because we're not medical people, psychiatrists or psychologists...The majority of them do not have mental illnesses!

P4: I'm no academic - I'm very much practice based.

However, despite adhering to a broadly behaviourist approach, P7 attaches medical-psychiatric normative language of 'pathology' and 'personality disorder' to sex

offenders.

P7: Danger today is that everything is being put into theory - so everyone's because!...[] ...You don't get cured of sexuality!...A personality disorder is not amenable to treatment...[]...Sex offending went across the board and lent itself to some pathology issues...Many of those do come from a learned experience, compulsive behaviour.

Although the above accounts reflect dominant professional praxis, much of the libertarian counter-discursive strategies (see Green 2002; Rind 2003) look to removing paedophilia from the APA's list of paraphiliac disorders. However, since most approaches eschew this model, and instead focus on behavioural patterns (poor social skills, self-esteem), this strategy appears misdirected.

Re-framing subjectivity: behavioural modification and re-defining experience

Central to Foucault's thesis on sexuality is the way in which modern power-knowledges have sequestered the experiences of sexual subjects and subsequently reformulated them. Foucault drew on the metaphor of the confessant-confessor relationship – specifically its centrality in establishing power relations, and the way expert knowledge systems achieve dominant truth status.

The following four accounts highlight their role as one of reformulating sex offenders' experiences (P4 in particular), and the necessity of uncovering the “truth” about their life-stories. Such accounts reveal, not only the extent to which sex offenders' opportunities for reflexive story-telling is mediated (and heavily constrained) within such professional discourses, but also the itinerant power relations through which professionals are able to deploy expert knowledge.

P3: Our job is to help them discover why it happened? How they did it?

P7: A person who believes a child can give consent will use anything in that society to confirm that belief system...I am challenging their belief system.

P6: *Can be helped to understand their behaviour.*

P4: *Sometimes in these groups, offenders will refer back to their early sexual experiences, and quite often they will talk about relationships with older people when they were young as mutual relationships and will see that relationship in those terms rather than them having being abused by somebody...[]...We run a component of the programme, helping to revisit their past, and look at that from an adult perspective...they're no longer that child. They can re-interpret their experience, and they do in the light of quite a lot of their learning.*

Constructing typologies

Although respondents often refer to legal norms in defining a sexual offender, others identify specific 'offender types' in their respective programmes. Several professionals also identify significant problems with current understandings on offenders, requiring further sub-divisions in categories (including delineations based on victim preference, recidivism, violent / non-violent, gender; familial / extra-familial). This was also seen in the burgeoning literature on typologising sex offenders in chapter one.

P2: *We are looking at splitting down offence type not just by child molester-rapist, but a further layer for example, victim preference.*

P1: *We are interested in the relationship between specific characteristics and the response to treatment and recidivism, and all those things.*

P7: *That's why you have to break-up between predatory and non-predatory paedophilia...[]...Need to define whether you're talking about paedophilia as pre or post puberty.*

P3: *We've got rapists, intergenerational-interfamilial offenders...We have offenders who have offended against boy children, female children, adult females, adult males.*

P4 and P8 identify associated problems in pigeonholing sex offenders into discrete categories. For P4, the difficulties lie in formulating and then applying multiple

criteria to categorise sex offenders, whereas P8 shares some common ground with boylovers and academic critics who argue that CSA models do not allow for differentiation in adult-child sexual encounters.

P4: To some extent we have to try and put people in boxes and get a type of offender and get some idea of where're they're coming from...And how they operate?...But what we're finding is that we're having to increase the number of boxes.

P8: Other set of criticisms would be it's far too strict, and treats all perpetrators and sexual offences against children as if they were the same. It doesn't differentiate between minor and major offences.

The above attempts to map, codify and (sub) classify different sex offending types can also be conceptualised within Foucault's "discursive explosion" and Rubin's 'sexual ethnogenesis' theses (see chapter three). Both are complementary - seeing the creation and re-categorising of multiple sexualities as integral to perpetuating the hierarchical ordering of late modern truth regimes.

Risk management

Chapter three addressed the way in which contemporary notions on risk have increasingly encroached on the debates surrounding MADIS and child sexuality generally. Notions of risk feature prominently in many of the professional's work, particularly in relation to categorising sex offenders, and the level of risk they pose to children and the community.

P2: Some risk assessment work on high-risk categories.

P7: Lots of risk assessments.

P5: The police contact us and we set up a joint risk assessment.

P3: We jointly risk assessed known and suspected sex offenders.

P8: *We would set up a small group of people in our church who will look at potential risk to our community.*

7.13 Establishing a victimological framework

Respondents stress the importance of reinforcing adult-child sexual boundaries. Some also articulate conservative discourses, critical of the contemporary sexualisation of children in the media. Others draw on naturalised and developmental conceptions of childhood, in which sexual experiences with adults are viewed as inevitably harmful. Finally, victimological approaches were universally applied to MADIS through assigning the status of victim to the younger person and perpetrator to the adult offender.

P7 reinforces notions of sex offenders as predators (“eat” and “swallow”), whilst insisting on maintaining clear adult-child sexual boundaries. He also draws on idealised and naturalised conceptions of childhood - positioning children as radically distinct from adults, and vulnerable to adult sexual desires. The adoption of such a moral discourse (shared by two of the political respondents in chapter eight) can be located within the socio-historical locale of western modern notions of childhood as a distinct idyll, which is continually under threat from adult impositions. P7 and P3 also introduce strongly emotional language (“insidious” and “devastation”) to characterise the effects on children of CSA.

P7: If you sexualise children, they will start to behave in ways where adults will feel justified in taking advantage...You always challenge, but if you don't hold this boundary here, any sex offender can eat, swallow and spit you out...The wonderful thing about growing up and developing into a sexual being, and who we really are, is actually allowing children to develop in their own way...That's why child sexual abuse is so insidious, in the way that other types of abuse aren't because it's about who am I.

P3: The devastation caused by sexual offending.

P4 links CSA conceptions of power to a developmental schema, whereby young

people are incapable (due to their stage of development) to meaningfully consent to sexual relations with an adult. She also draws on cyclical reasoning to explain young people's assertiveness in MADIS. She does this by explaining young people's displays of power as superficial, and primarily as a reaction to their initial abuse. Clearly such a position allows minimal room for radical empowering conceptions of children's rights. It also enables professionals to strategically deploy expert knowledges to counter, and reinterpret, positive accounts of MADIS.

P4: I do see that as abuse. Somebody with power intervening in somebody's normal development and personal development and they don't have the power! And in my mind, nobody has the right to do that!...Therefore those children and young people are victims!...The fourteen-seventeen year-old who managed to turn around and take some power back - to me that's a classic abuse-response- cycle.

Although criticisms have been made of victimological approaches to MADIS (see Okami 1990; Rind et al. 2001) the above moral positions on childhood rely on deeply entrenched cultural sentiments of the sanctity of childhood. Although the current dominance of CSA is relatively recent (thirty years), the appropriation of such a moral discourse casts doubt on how far relativist epistemological and 'backlash' deconstructions of adult-child boundaries can go in the near future.

7.14 Gender and sexuality

The academic literature on sex offending (see chapter one) distinguished between offending behaviours and sexual orientation, emphasising that male offenders against boys do not generally self-identify as gay. However, a specific category of male offenders against boys was clearly identified and characterised as especially dangerous due to statistically higher levels of recidivism. These associations of higher recidivism with male offenders against boys further reinforce notions of them as more predatory, and influenced by dominant masculinist traits (control, multiple victims, inability to form long-term intimate relations).

Res: Is there specific research on a man-boy gendered study?

P2: *There has been a large amount of work looking at child molesters against boys...on high-risk categories.*

P7 makes use of CSA and offender literature in distinguishing between homosexuality and paedophilia. P7, P5 and P4 suggest that the object choice (boys) of an offender is not coterminous with a gay identity. In contrast, boylover respondents viewed their sexuality both as an orientation and identity, although they too drew a clear distinction between boylove and homosexuality.

P7: *Sexual behaviour is not the same as sexual orientation! Homosexuality has nothing to do with paedophilia, any more than a man taking a woman will abuse a girl!*

P5: *In our experience heterosexual men abuse children because the opportunity is there.*

P4: *It's much more complex just because you're sexually attracted to males.*

Chapter one highlighted significant correlations in the literature between CSA and future offending behaviour, and early MADIS experiences and later gay identification. Although both are often presented as 'cyclical truths', the latter correlation has received significantly less attention, due perhaps to concerns (within gay campaigning groups) that this might fuel previous stereotypes of gay men recruiting boys into homosexuality, and within mainstream research, which may be concerned about reinforcing homophobia.

P3 and 7 eschew essentialist conceptions, contending that the very mutability of young people's sexuality could create difficulties (unresolved sexuality) for them if they were involved in a MADIS. In drawing a clear boundary between homosexuality and paedophilia, P7 draws on constructionist formulations of sexuality as mutable. He rejects essentialist claims which, he argues, problematically shifts the debate away from offending behaviour to sexual identity. This ties in with much of the survivor literature (see chapter one) and accounts (see chapter ten), where such experiences

were seen as crucial factors in creating long-term confusion over sexual identity. However, these positions do not address whether such effects would also apply to peer boy same-sex experiences.

P3: Often their own abuse comes up...a real confusion about their own sexuality - about how they could possibly have enjoyed their own abuse - especially for a boy because they'll get an erection...And how do you tie that up, when they get a little bit older, and they realise this...is wrong?

P7: The last thing I want is for young people to be put into boxes of orientation. I believe there's flexibility on the sexual continuum. And the last thing I want is a boy to think he's gay because he's been abused by a man, anymore if he was heterosexual and abused by a woman. There is a need for the gay community to stop saying that everyone is born gay! The fact is that it's learned behaviour! There is a major problem of young people being abused and I don't believe the gay community will talk about it. Many many gay people are introduced to homosexuality through paedophilia.

7.15 Concerns and reservations

Although professionals largely adhere to the above dominant operational frameworks, there was some critical reflection on certain aspects of their work through recognising complexities in explaining sex offending, and the often adequacy nature of training in the field. Rather than suggesting a coherent and clear-cut set of expertise, the following accounts emphasise the often embryonic, uncertain and ad hoc manner in which professional approaches to sex offending are conducted.

P1: Taking people with a diverse range of skills and giving them a common program, you're going to have a range of outcomes.

P2: This is still a fledgling field, thirty years young. We can only refine what works. At the moment we just don't know.

P3: When I first started as a probation officer...and when I think back how naïve I

was. It wasn't until I was "Wyred for sex"⁴⁰⁶ that I realised that I was dangerous. I was colluding with them. I didn't challenge them. I didn't take up with their victims... I'm still learning, and I can't even begin to tell you whether it's working.

P7: There's the development of two-week courses to run a treatment project for sex offenders and this Pathfinder concept - basically around MacDonald's concept of franchise.

P8: This is putting people off volunteering to work with children, or procedures are so difficult that we can't run our children's work anymore.

7.2 Sex offending young people

Chapter one noted two problematic categories / subjectivities (gerontophiles and child sex offending) in late modern normative conceptions of child sexuality (see Okami 1992; Kincaid 1998). Approaches to the latter vary from treating child sexual offenders similarly to adult sex offenders, to approaches which take a more flexible approach - at times viewing them more as victims (Saradjian 1996).

One specialist working with young sex offenders was interviewed.⁴⁰⁷ Although there was significant overlap with the approach taken to adult sex offenders, key differences were observed in the rejection of cognitive behavioural and cyclical explanations, coupled with a less rigid approach to victim-perpetrator labels and boundaries. The metaphor of "journey" was used to describe their client's trajectory in resolving past histories of abuse and / or offending behaviour.⁴⁰⁸

Personal backgrounds and job remits

P9: We have four staff, two social workers and two job shares... We have worked with a total of four people with an average age of fifteen... We also run an adolescent

⁴⁰⁶ "Wyred for sex" refers to Ray Wyre who runs courses for professionals and lay-people working in this area (see bibliography).

⁴⁰⁷ A technical problem with the tape-recorder meant that I had to rely on my written notes as an accurate record of the interview. However, as with all respondents, a copy of this was sent to the person concerned for verification.

⁴⁰⁸ I was shown a wall chart by the worker in charge which showed this in a pictorial form. The trajectory of each individual was placed on the frieze to denote where they saw themselves in relation to their personal journey.

sexual abusers program...We attempt to provide a therapeutic and caring environment.

Clientele

P9: All have experienced traumas linked with physical violence and the development of sexually abusive behaviours. 60% have been sexually abused...They come from working class and troubled backgrounds - not normal social workery clients.

Dominant influences

P9 recognises several psychodynamic and psychoanalytical notions (trauma, dissociation, denial) as important frames of reference in her work. She also identifies the importance of gendered roles within the family, and problems associated with dominant notions of masculinity.

P9: I use Tony Caverner-Johnson - External mutual sexual behaviours. Let down by adults. Sexual meets other emotional issues...Labelling sexual behaviours: reactive sexual behaviours, impulsive, non-directed sexual abuse...Feeling of helplessness and traumas in their inner world - causes problem behaviours: anxiety and depression, interpretation, attachment problems, dissociation...We also work on denial in male-male situations...Fathers find it very difficult to accept. So we need to explore issues of sexuality.

Differences from adult sex offender programmes

Although highlighting significant differences in approach to young sex offenders (namely eschewing cyclical formulations, rigid boundaries and cognitive programmes), P9 works on the basis of a CSA truth - that their behaviour is abusive. She also identifies 'confessant' techniques and approaches which are used in the field of professional work on young people who sexually offend.

P9: Difficult to work out victim/abuser boundary...Tension between vulnerability and power ...We apply a fluidity of categories, but they need to see their behaviour as abusive!...Cognitive and behavioural programmes not working...[]...We need to build a bridge into the child's inner world...Don't use cycles! Doesn't fit kids

behaviour. See it more as a fire spark. Put it out when small, need help when it gets bigger...fire brigade.

7.3 Child protection professionals

Two sets of interviews were conducted with child protection professionals. The first project dealt almost exclusively with familial CSA, and involved interviewing three workers together. The second respondent had a more specific role in co-ordinating male child protection measures in a Scottish Local Authority.

7.31 Professional remits and clientele

In the first interview, MSA was tackled as part of a wider problem of familial abuse, whereas the second was with a professional whose caseload included familial and non-familial incidences where boys had been abused. P10's work on MSA is exclusively within the family. She stresses how her clients self-define themselves as victims, and view their experiences as forced.

P10: Primarily work is with families - not an individual problem. This involves an in-depth picture on the dynamics of the community...Only two teenage boys and families waiting to go on board who have abused boys...[]...Males who come in here see themselves primarily as victims. Something has been done to them without their consent...abuse of body.

P11 reinforces much of the literature on MSA when he highlights that boys are more likely to face extra-familial abuse. He contests popular assumptions that introverted boys are more vulnerable, maintaining instead that it is more "out-going" boys who tend to be abused. P11's account substantiates West and Woodhouse's (1993) research, which failed to identify a specifically "at-risk" boy. This may suggest further research on the link between social gregariousness and sexual precocity amongst boys, and the implications this may have for researching contested notions of masculinity, and alternative conceptions of the subject positions of boys within MADIS.

P11: We are about social stability and that the vulnerable don't pick up the tab...Boys

more likely to be abused outside their immediate families (uncles, family friends and professionals)...sites at greatest risk. The very sites that their parents think they are safest. People assume kids at greatest risk are isolated, depressed kids, not well socialised but it is the most socially able, most active, most gregarious boy who is most vulnerable in sports clubs, computer clubs. There is the common thread of the self-esteem of boy vital factor e.g. sporting...where male identity is affirmed - probability of abuse.

7.32 Relationship to adult sex offending

In highlighting the significant danger from sex offenders, P11 reinforces the 'symbiotic link' referred to in chapter three between CSA and sex offender discursive systems. This noted the strategic way in which both constructed victim-perpetrator symmetrical binary frameworks to inform each of their respective professional approaches. For example, P11 sees sex offenders as a danger to children and the stability of society. He also applies feminist approaches which views sex offending as a primarily as a behavioural problem in males.

P11: Serious danger to the stability of society...Question of tackling offending behaviour and environmental and casual offenders...Adults...pose a danger to children - significant enough minority to keep me in a job!...[]...Sexual offending against children is predominantly a behavioural identification in men...I don't talk about paedophilia, I talk about child sexual abuse. My job is to deal with behaviour not a clinical term.

P11 refers to the elevated position of professional opinion (in terms of relational power) in the hierarchy of knowledge on MSA. He draws on victimological perspectives which position young people as vulnerable, at risk and too developmentally immature to consent to sexual relationships with adults. He also stresses the damaging impact of MSA to normal, personal development, applying similar language of 'assault' and 'recovery' as the survivor literature in chapter one.

P11: Depends on how professional construes it...Don't go too far down road of blaming victim ... Perpetrators will say you want it - they are complicit...[] ...

Question of vulnerability and exploitation...Okay for peers but teenagers involved in intergenerational, serious naivety. Don't know what they are doing, or emotionally mature to deal with relationships...It leads to serious behavioural problems...Boy who is sexually assaulted disrupts sexual development...The issue of arousal for teenage boys of erections in abuse which has a catastrophic impact on the capacity to recover.

7.33 Gender and sexuality

P11 highlights the importance of gender to MSA - specifically how masculine identity impacts on how boys view their abuse (including issues surrounding confusion at enjoying the experience and later sexual identification). This includes an incompatibility between hegemonic notions of masculinity (being in control) and victimhood. He also identifies various strategies which professionals employ to reframe the boy's experience, in-line with victimological understandings, including deploying CSA meanings to reinforce competence, reinterpret their experiences, and encouraging boys to identify as victims. P11 reinforces the 'discursive closure model' in appendix fifteen, based on a belief that young people cannot provide informed consent to a MADIS.

Again, a discursive symmetry can be observed between the attempts to deploy expert understandings to reformulate boys' positive experiences of MADIS, and those of the sex offender professionals earlier. Both cases demonstrate how professional meanings on MADIS can be superimposed upon their clients, reinforcing the suspicions of Bagley (1999) and West (1998) in chapter one, of the problematic way professionals script CSA.

P11: Boys' construction of abuse is different from girls - not thought of in terms of child sexual abuse...Idea is to salvage some of their identities - avoid victim identification - that they instigated it, consented. Boys are trying to mask the fact that they were victims. Being a boy and being a victim are incompatible! The socialisation of boys and male sexuality about being in charge, ready to be satiated...turn abuse around and that they were in control to rescue identities as boys...Professionals not learnt boys language very well and miss a lot...Professionals don't know how to

change the language and interpret it differently...The precondition of boy victims is to start to reinforce competence. If boys think that you think they are a victim - simply not going to go there...Need to recognise his competence, then he can talk about his sexual assault.

Res. Do boys put other constructs - more positive, that they initiated?

P11: Constantly, and that's this idea in order to salvage something of their own identities. They're in charge! They were in control! And that they knew what they were doing!...And they don't!...Or so what the literature says, so they can avoid victim identification.

Gay Community

Although P11 clearly distinguishes MSA from gay issues, he identifies (similar to Pol4 in chapter eight) specific risks posed by the gay scene itself (particularly predatory adult men) to younger gay males. He also attaches a discourse of vulnerability to young males throughout his account. Although the elevation of this concept in late modernity (see chapter two) was associated with male youth generally, P11 identifies young gay males as particularly vulnerable, and therefore requiring more protection. His contention that the gay community needs to remove any stigmatic association with paedophilia also mirrors the attitudes of mainstream gay organisations.

P11: Specific vulnerabilities of young gay men...Confuse homosexuality and paedophilia...gay male commercial scene might conceal adult predators...Young gay male are cut-off from mentoring and end-up in vulnerable relationships with older men, and that they think that's what you do to be gay. My job is to ask, who's needs are being met here?...Adult attraction to younger boys is legitimised – that's wrong!

Societal

P11 highlights the danger of messages being given out through commercial marketing and society at large, which endow young people with "sexual currency", and therefore encourage them into involvement in risky sexual behaviours. P11's fears over the

commodification of young people's sexuality is also shared by Poll and 2 in chapter eight. Evans too (1993) prioritises material factors (specifically commodification) in the future trajectory of child sexuality under late capitalism. However, whereas he views such trends as inevitable, eventually culminating in children attaining some measure of recognition and empowerment as sexual citizens through their role as consumers, the accounts presented here, display strong resistance to this, viewing such a trend as an unwanted and dangerous sexualisation of childhood.

P11: The expectation of young people to behave sexually is posing serious problems, and parents help them into that. They are imbued with sexual currency, information and images of male modelling and mentoring, increasingly sexualising footballers...The people who control that process are more powerful than me...the media are sexualising our culture...Body image for boys increasingly important - six pack culture for young boy concerned about communicating masculine culture.

7.4 Young men's sexual health and male sex workers

Three sets of interviews were conducted (two with professionals working with male sex workers, and three in the area of male sexual health advice). These covered a number of issues amongst respondents, reflecting in large part their particular job remit and concerns. Although these areas are not coterminous with MADIS, professional constructions on youth sexual health and male sex work may proffer some insights for the current study. Indeed prostitution and MADIS are often theorised similarly (particularly in feminist approaches) due to power and subjectivity disparities.

7.41 Professional remit and clientele

P13, 14 and 15 see their main role as providing young men with access to sexual health facilities through outreach and in-house work.

P13: The Health Board gave money to the Project as Gay men's task force...We do roadshows in pubs and clubs and health clinics...training people to provide a service...Many use the service who are not gay.

P14: *We have had five hundred men, half new to Project...[]...Promote an image of sex through health screening, HIV tests and Hep. B vaccinations ...[]... Difficult to go to the project if they're not gay.*

P15: *We deal with under twenty-fives...We want to develop more contact with Bi-g-les on sexual health services...We work with Bernardos and Phase West.*⁴⁰⁹

P16 and P17 note the complexity and multi-faceted aspects in their work with men who sell sex. Although not all their clients self-identify as gay, both indicate the importance of wider public attitudes to homosexuality to male sex workers.

P16: *The issue of male sex workers tends not to get looked at or very piecemeal... There was a lot of homophobia in the public and amongst staff. Previous perception that this was a gay issue but far from the case...[]...We work on a joint shift basis with Phase West.*

P17: *Our work is far more specific in working with young men who sell sex...There is far less street work. People do far more work from their mobile phones...We have a drop-in Monday, Wednesday and Friday...There's four project workers...We do work with the sexual health based in Victoria or Paddington.*

P16 and P17 work with different clienteles (P16 with young men who don't identify as gay, and P17 with predominantly young gay sex workers). Both highlight links between selling sex, CSA, and wider social problems. They also draw attention to the numerous dangers associated with sex work. Such experiences contrast starkly with the idealised conceptions given in the boylover accounts and support literature.

P16: *Vast majority not identifying as gay...In Glasgow, service is piecemeal...No tolerance/safety zone...clandestine, dark zones - kelvin Way, toilets...Street prostitution is not nice saunas or escort hire services...The mean age is fifteen-twenty.*

P17: *A lot of the guys we work with...have very swish lives and flats in the West End*

crowd, and generally we do get people that have been abused as children...Most self-identify as gay...[]...Find it difficult to find any stability...in terms of jobs, housing...Quite a few stories about people being raped.

7.42 Key issues and dominant influences

Although the debates on prostitution and sex workers were not covered in this study, P16 and 17 give some credence to feminist critiques of sex work (Jeffreys 1997). Both indicate that far from such experiences being empowering, they are often exploitative and constructed within abusive contexts. These accounts also suggest a link between early sexualisation and sex work.

P16: Issues are equal to women - drugs, homelessness, mental health, low self-esteem and past abuse... Child sexual abuse is a common feature of all work on the homeless...They face conflict from neds who gay-bash, insensitive cops, and gay men unfriendly to street prostitutes - seeing it as invasion of their personal space.

P17: It's not just about selling sex, it's what led them to this terrible place where they're not making the decisions that they'd like to be making...A lot of the younger guys we come into contact generally started around cruising areas...that can happen at age eight or nine and carries on till eleven. And suddenly they realise people start giving them presents, cigarettes etc. and suddenly there is awareness that these sexual encounters are tradable.

Although CSA and sex offending did not come within his direct remit, P17 draws on such insights in explaining why young men sell sex. However, in contrast to discursive closure models, he countenances some positive aspects in such relationships. This involves interrogating the motives of the older man: whether is to positively encouraging a young person's development, or solely for his own gratification.

P17: We do work with a lot of vulnerable young men. It's such a disempowering position in any situation they're selling sex...Although there are positive sides to

⁴⁰⁹ Outreach gay organisation linked to Glasgow City Council social work department.

that...they've got somewhere to stay, but they're subject to whatever that punter says... But there are positive relationships when young guy's sexual awakening can be really encouraged by older people. But that's all about individuals, and if that older person really wants to encourage that younger person's awakening, or just wants to take from that young person of whatever makes them young (see appendix forty-five).

Conclusion

Professional respondents generally characterised any young person involved in a MADIS as a victim, and any adult as a perpetrator. These positions were clearly informed by dominant victimological theoretical models and research on CSA and sex offending. Respondents also stated that a key aspect of their work involved modifying the behaviour of clients referred to them, through reconfiguring the subjective constructions of young males who eschewed a victim label, and challenging adult males who contested offender status.

Consequently, professional responses in the areas covered above, suggest a discursive symmetry in the way conceptual tools were formulated, and subsequently applied in their daily work. This reinforced hegemonic formulations on MADIS whilst marginalising boylovers, and young males involved in such relationships contesting victim status. Most significantly, the stories they relay on their clients' experiences sharply contrasts with the eulogistic conceptions put forward by boylover respondents.

Chapter Eight Political Perspectives

Introduction

This chapter analyses four contributions (religious, Conservative, gay activist, and neo-Liberal). Respondents include: a high-profile campaigner in Parliament (Pol2); a representative of the Catholic Church (Pol1); a co-ordinator for a national gay and lesbian organisation (Pol4); and a former professor at a British university (Pol3). Although there were problems identifying which issues were salient due to the rapidly shifting political landscape, the debates over Clause 28, gay male age of consent, sex education guidelines and paedophilia were seen as highly significant for this study. The contested perspectives were analysed in relation to their impact on mainstream public debates on child and youth sexuality, homosexuality, and MADIS.

8.1 Personal backgrounds

The backgrounds of the respondents are detailed below. Pol1 explains his role as a representative of the Catholic Church on sex education. Pol2 indicates the importance of the family in setting the tone for her political campaigning. Pol3 touches on the events, which brought the issue of paedophilia to his attention. Finally Pol4 documents his own position as a gay activist in the respective debates.

Pol1: *CEC⁴¹⁰ provides guidance and guidelines to Catholic Schools on moral and sex education lessons...The Church was asked to be represented and I was the representative who was nominated...I have no expertise in the field of sex education.*

Pol2: *I have taken an interest in family policy for a very long time...I spoke on the debate when the Conservatives were in Government and the age of consent was lowered from twenty-one to eighteen...And when the Government first tried to lower the age of consent by including it in a Crime and Disorder Bill...I moved an amendment against it.*

Pol3: *I have pursued paedophilia more closely because I can see what is happening*

⁴¹⁰ The Catholic Education Commission.

there and I saw it perfectly vividly in my own case. They'd failed...on the race issue...And the paedophilia thing was simply used to bring me down.

Pol4: *We have a core of twelve people who regularly attend meetings and a wider circle who don't want to get directly involved but will do things...One of our strengths is we don't have a political ideology - left or right – it's gay rights!*

8.2 Key contested issues

Respondents identify a number of differing priorities. Pol1 and Pol2 stress moral concerns over the increasing sexualisation of young people in contemporary British culture, and criticise governmental inaction. They warn against the dangers of young people being attracted to a homosexual lifestyle, and the threat this poses to familial and societal values. In contrast, Pol4 situates the issues of Clause 28 and age of consent within wider moves toward gay and lesbian equality, whereas Pol3 focuses more on how paedophilia has recently been constituted as a “lighting rod” for the erosion of civil liberties in the UK.

1) Sex education and Clause 28

For Pol1, the moral case is paramount namely, that children should not be exposed to overtly sexual material. He (and the Catholic Church) sees the dilution of the family and homosexuality as the most important. Chapter two highlighted the significant impact of Conservative and religious attitudes to modern sexuality. However, what is significant in the accounts of Pol1 and Pol2, is the increasing importance each attach to young people's sexuality (Clause 28, age of consent and sex education), assigning it primacy in late modernity sexual agendas.

Pol1: *We were concerned about a lot of the material that was around in certain London Boroughs.*

Res: Just try and outline to me some of those materials that were of particular concern to yourself? And what was being underrepresented?

Pol1: *Well the moral dimension was being underrepresented. I mean it was as if the*

words right and wrong had disappeared from our vocabulary.

Res: What do you think about the current proposals that are going through?⁴¹¹

Pol1: *We've already represented our view on this to the Scottish Executive Education Department... There wasn't sufficient recognition given to marriage.*

Pol2: *I've had a huge postbag. I've over 5,000 letters on the subject of Section 28... There's a great deal of public concern!*

Pol4: *The principles have been lost in a welter of other legislation...Section 28 is more likely to be shoved back as not a vital issue.*

2) Gay male age of consent

Pol2 articulates a Conservative homophobic message, but supplements this with stating child protection concerns (similar to P11) over the specific vulnerability of boys. As in some of the professional accounts, vulnerability is placed within a constructivist discursive framework, that the very mutability (and confusion) of boys regarding their sexuality, renders them in need of even greater protection.

A second crucial feature in Pol2's account is child protection. This substantiates Waites' (2000b) recognition of wider transformation in Conservative political attitudes throughout the age of consent debates through 1994 and 1999, away from characterising homosexuality as perversity, to one of child protection. The impact of this shift has been to strengthen the primacy of protectionist discourses setting the agenda in such debates, and consolidating globalised strategic alliances around feminist and conservative positions.

Res: What motivated you to take the initiative in the first debates on the age of consent, in preventing the age of consent coming down for boys?

Pol2: *It is a child protection measure. Sixteen year-olds are children in law. A great*

⁴¹¹ This was in reference to Scottish Executive proposals put forward in May 2001.

deal of the advice that I've been given, suggests that sixteen year-old boys and fifteen year-old boys can be very ambivalent about their sexuality and at times can hero-worship older men - kind of thing...The net effect of lowering the age of consent will...encourage boys who are uncertain, to accept that a homosexual lifestyle is really quite a reasonable alternative.

Pol4 places a completely different emphasis by drawing on liberal democratic citizenship claims of gay and lesbian equality, as central to the process of setting age of consent laws.

Pol4: You also need to take into account different maturity rates because there are thirteen year-olds who are more mature than sixteen year-olds, differences across Europe. If there is a law it needs to be rationalised.

3) Young people's sexuality

Pol1 and 2 refer to the easy access of young people to contraception as evidence of a more problematically permissive attitude to young people's sexuality. Whereas Pol1 draws on earlier psychodynamic conceptions of adolescent sexuality as a problematic "storm and stress" phase, Pol2 stresses pastoral themes of protection and moral guidance for young people.

Pol1 and 2 also draw on a moral, conservative discourse where child sexual expression is discouraged and a child protective position where children should be protected from the increasing powerful ('propaganda') sexual influences placed upon them through commercial marketing. Again, similar to P11, rather than seeing children as empowered sexual consumers, they view such a possibility as problematic, and criticises the "anything goes" permissive attitude of public policy-makers.

Pol1: The underlying philosophy was a contraceptive philosophy. As long as you were careful that was alright! You know there was no attempt to say that this behaviour among teenage young people is wrong!

Res: Do you believe that young people under eighteen shouldn't be involved in sexual

activity?

Pol1: *Yes...I'm not saying it's easy but it's something we should aspire to...They're always swamped! I don't think propaganda is too strong a word - from the media....That the only way to express yourself is through sexual activity. Adolescence is quite a difficult stage, and it certainly isn't getting any easier for them to grow up in that context...[]...While a church can have influences and...tries to have influences on young people in this field, the critical influence in our view is the family.*

Pol2: *One can only do what one can to protect the children and that is my interest in the whole thing...I can see there is no moral guidance in which everyone says to the children it's okay to do it! If you have contraception you'll be alright!*

Although Pol4 contests the above Conservative attitudes to Clause 28 and the age of consent, he uses biologicistic language ('predator') to highlight the potential dangers to young people from adult males in gay clubs. Similar to P11, he advocates peer interaction as safer and more beneficial to gay youths in the long-term.

Res: Now with a lower age of consent, do you see more opportunity for people "coming out" at an earlier age?

Pol4: *There are many who are - twelve / thirteen...There are some organisations that try and develop social life away from some predatory elements and socialisation with peer groups...I felt it was safer and friendlier than the scene, avoiding predators.*

4) Homosexuality

Pol1 applies moral and religious understandings to argue that homosexual acts and practices are wrong, whereas Pol2 sets it within a medical and seduction framework, with young males particularly at risk from the attentions of older men. These accounts highlight the continuing influences of moral and religious frameworks, suggesting that supposed late modern transformations in intimacy (with respect to child sexuality and homosexuality) may be exaggerated.

Res: Do you regard homosexual behaviour as wrong?

Pol1: *I do!...I regard, and our church regards, homosexual acts as wrong.*

Pol2: *There's absolutely no doubt at all on the medical dangers of these practices! And indeed the evidence is that homosexuals die between eight-twenty years younger than other men. So it's not something to encourage young people into!*

5) Links between paedophilia and homosexuality

A major contested issue on MADIS is the oft-cited claim that early paedophiliac encounters lead boys into a gay lifestyle. Pol2 repeats these concerns as a central motivation for her campaign. Pol3 takes a radically different approach in addressing the reasons for the contrasting fortunes of paedophiles and gays in achieving greater societal recognition. He criticises gays for suggesting that attraction to youth is not a prominent feature in the gay community. Pol4 outlines some concerns over MADIS, and how the gay movement have striven to dissociate itself from the stigma of paedophilia.

Pol2: *The Waterhouse Enquiry into North Wales children's homes published about last April...He said a number of these boys were in fact led into homosexuality by the paedophiles.*

Pol3: *The homosexual community...managed to get that homosexuality and paedophilia have no connection whatsoever. Of course there's a vast overlap!...The homosexual community in this, calculating its own needs what it could do in the short-term, and what it would have to give up to get the bugging of sixteen year-olds - you toss the paedophiles to the lions and that's what they did!*

Pol4: *The gay movement tends to distance itself from paedophilia - too often linked to gays in the past.*

6) Paedophilia

Pol3 addresses paedophile-specific themes, and broader implications for civil liberties. He criticises, what he views as popular demonic conceptions of paedophiles, and argues for a more balanced and rational discourse on paedophilia, through applying positivist scientific techniques to demark aggressive from non-aggressive

paedophiles. Rubin's 'sexual ethnogenesis' thesis (outlined in chapter three), where gays and lesbians have been able to advance up the sexual hierarchy at the expense of paedophiles, can also be seen in Pol3's account.

Pol3: *Why not have a very clear distinction - paedophilia and paedosadism?...Certainly when I was in the prison service that was the kind of distinction that was certainly made in our work. We thought that paedophiles...concentrating on male pubescents were more likely to be homosexual and less likely to be violent. Whereas the child sex offenders who were more down the age-ranges, were more interested in girls, and more likely to be aggressive.*

Similar to backlash discourses covered in chapter one, Pol3 singles out feminists as guilty of manufacturing "paedo-hysteria" for their own ends. He applies the same analogy of witch-hunts as many of the boylover accounts, to draw parallels with the way witches were singled out, targeted and executed. Pol3 also views the failure of paedophilia to achieve recognition, as caused by a lack of any sustained opposition.

Pol3: *Michelle Elliott and Esther Rantzen...P.C.⁴¹² and the whole paedo-hysteria maybe all rather vague, but of course at the centre are some very powerful sentiments...But it is my feeling that feminism has found it eminently usable... Sometimes I think of the phenomenon of witchcraft and how it was stopped... Accusations would tend to spread,...you would have to get the opinions of the ministers of the church and the judges...and eventually they started fighting back and saying this is just a lot of nonsense...I think it's a question of nobody standing up to it in any serious way.*

Pol3 also draws on libertarian fears that the specific issue of paedophilia has enabled the authorities to restrict individual opinions. By invoking oppressive Orwellian metaphors ('1984') and stressing the link between early modern / modern campaigns of oppression, Pol3 formulates a starkly dystopian picture of the way paedophiles have been treated by the state - one predominantly shared by boylovers respondents.

Pol3: *This is why paedophilia is so interesting an issue. It indicates the way in which it can be used to bring people down who are awkward on other grounds...You're now seeing 1984 arrive in the UK!*

Conclusion

Respondents covered a range of issues from widely differing political and personal backgrounds, with each proffering useful insights to some of the predominant influences informing their respective responses to the main issues. The dominant theme running through Pol1 and 2's accounts is young male's vulnerability, potential risk from older men (Pol4 as well), and the responsibility of legal, political religious and educational institutions to reinforce the family and morality through discouraging young people from sexual (particularly homosexual) activity.

However, P4 contests this by claiming that gay youths, whilst requiring from older men, should be free to adopt a gay identity. For P3, current political agendas fail to address heterogeneous motivations behind adult sexual attraction to young people, and that current legal and moral strictures against paedophiles are designed by a number of self-interested groups to persecute a minority group in similar fashion to previous campaigns of oppression.

Chapter three highlighted Foucault's claim that children's sexuality has increasingly represented an intense site for the production of late modern sexual discourses. The debates and political responses surrounding Clause 28, age of consent and paedophilia shown here, suggest that this has intensified. Furthermore, Pol1 and 2's moral-Conservative positions over fears of the dissolution of the family and the commercial promotion of child sexuality, mirror some of the professional respondents in chapter seven. This lends further support to a central feature of this study: that only through focussing on the micro level, is it possible to address the multi-faceted ways apparently differing local knowledges have coalesced around child sexuality, and thereby identify the multiple techniques by which male youth has been placed centrally in the unfolding production of late modern sexual discourses.

Chapter Nine Gay Youth Respondents

Introduction

Interviews were conducted at three locations. The first - a focus interview with eight males and two females⁴¹³ - was conducted at a Gay and Lesbian centre in Leicester. The second was conducted at a LGBT youth conference, and included nine separate face-to-face interviews with young gay men.⁴¹⁴ The third took place at a private address in London with someone who had experienced numerous MADIS with men when he was younger.

The first two sets of interviews explore general issues surrounding gay youth experiences (coming out, access to sexual knowledge, attitudes of family, school, friends, and personal reflections on being gay).⁴¹⁵ They also examine respondent's attitudes to MADIS, prevalence of such relationships on the gay scene, and personal experiences. The final interview with ML covered his early sexual experiences of MADIS, meanings on child sexual attraction to adult men, and the difficulties encountered in presenting his story in public channels.

9.1 Focus-Group Interview (See appendix forty-six).

9.11 Attitude to youth on the gay scene

Several respondents note how their local gay scene allows under-eighteens to access pubs and clubs, and how the gay scene is generally geared towards youth. These accounts support some of the older gay respondents in chapter eleven, who bemoan the lack of opportunities for older people within the gay scene. The increasing opportunities of young people to access the gay scene (and the encouragement through marketing) may also lend some credence to Evan's commodification thesis (see chapter three). This also suggests further research on the effects of increasing commodification across the interstices of age and sexuality.

⁴¹³ Although the focus of this study is exclusively on MADIS, the response of one female participant was included.

⁴¹⁴ The controversies at the time in Scotland (March 2000) over attempts by the Scottish Executive to repeal Clause 28 and lower the age of consent for gay men to sixteen, substantially influenced the interview schedule.

⁴¹⁵ There was a contribution from a lesbian woman on her coming-out experience.

M3: *I think it's easier if you're younger. It's more of a young person's scene.*

Res: Would anyone have trouble getting into a bar if they were under eighteen?

F1: *No!*

M6: *I am eighteen and have never been asked for identity.*

Res: Do you think the experience of getting into pubs under eighteen is fairly common?

M3: *Yes!*

M2: *I was in at fourteen.*

M1: *I was in at sixteen.*

F1: *I was getting served since fourteen.*

M2: *When I was fourteen I used to go in there drinking three hours a day.*

M1: *It's not just gay venues. I've been going into pubs since I was twelve.*

M3: *I've seen so many on the scene that are so obviously underage, drinking wise, and they've found no problem.*

M2: *When you look at them at five foot four, with no masculine body features, no body hair.*

9.12 Attitudes to MADIS

Respondents use the term "chicken" for young gay males on the scene. They highlight the significant prevalence of youth attraction to older people, and in some cases respondents refer to the active pursuit by younger people of such experiences as

relatively commonplace on the gay scene.

The following four respondents refer to young people's sexual attraction to adults. In contrast to professional and political accounts, they indicate incidences where young people actively initiate MADIS encounters. They also assign to young people substantial agentic capacity in such exchanges, and eschew dominant perceptions of young people in MADIS as vulnerable and lacking awareness. These accounts share some similarities with Leahy's (1992b) and Rind's (2001) findings where essentialist notions of a nascent gay identity, and being personally and socially mature, led many gay respondents to look back positively on their early MADIS experiences.

Whereas F1 and M1 characterise the benefits of being involved with older people as more secure and comfortable, M2 and M3 place more overtly physical connotations on their sexual experiences. M2 also recognises a transgressive aspect in many age-gap encounters on the gay scene. Rather than viewing these as initiated by older men, he identifies the practice of "chasing" whereby gay male youths take the initiative in seducing older men.

Res: In terms of the scene in Leicester, do you think age-gap relationships are common?

M2: *If you go up to...or...you'll get little chickens going out - you'll still get the younger man-older man...You've got to have a cute face and to have a nice younger partner...[] ...A lot of people say that dirty old men but there's a lot of dirty young men - fourteen or fifteen year-old coming on to a forty year-old.*

M3 and F1 go beyond examining simple youth initiation within such encounters, to highlight more substantive desires of young people for a relationship with adults-based on physical attraction and security. These accounts are reinforced later in this chapter by ML, and in some of the accounts of older gay respondents in chapter eleven.

M3: *A large number of younger people actually go for older people as well...They*

just hang round the toilet area, and it's true what M2 says, they're mainly dirty young men!

F1: I've always been fascinated by females, and looked at pictures of women in books...I think that many people find older people sexy!...You feel most comfortable with older people.

M1 relates an actual feeling of attraction to an older man, but views this more as a “wanting to be with”, rather than assigning it any overtly sexual connotation.

M1: I remember being so obsessed about this teacher I actually worked in his class.

Res: How old were you then?

M1: I was fifteen.

M2: Did anything ever happen?

M1: No nothing ever happened, but I really wanted to be with him.

9.13 MADIS experiences

Three respondents mention that they had had cross-generational experiences.⁴¹⁶ Although none of them applied CSA constructs to these, M2 did indicate certain controlling features in one of his relationships. However, he concludes that relationships with older men were a significant factor throughout his adolescence, and that they were largely positive. M4 viewed in his MADIS as a desire to be cared and have a “father-figure”, but claimed he would not entertain such a relationship now.

M2: When I was fourteen, I went out with someone who was twenty-eight, and then when I was sixteen, I were going out with a thirty-four year-old - a sugar daddy.

M4: I met a guy who was thirty-four when I was sixteen. He was short, fat, ugly.

Someone I would never go out with now but the reason then was security - looked after me, made you feel okay, and I thought it was the dad that I always wanted...I did sleep with him, and he did take care of me.

Res: Did you ever go out in the gay scene with him?

M4: Yeah we'd get some funny looks. I'd be about seventeen/eighteen and he'd be thirty-five...I earnt money but he earnt more. He would sit down and buy everything for you. I didn't feel independent.

F1: My first relationship was with a teacher at school... She regretted it - being in a position of authority.

M2 had the most MADIS relationships. He indicates contrasting experiences. For example, he refers to abuse and control as a feature of one relationship, but in another clearly positions himself as the one who had the power and control in the relationship, sharply conflicting with the CSA literature (see chapter one). He also details in a follow-up questionnaire that his four experiences with older men were overwhelmingly positive (see appendix 47).

A further difficulty in making sense of his relationship with John was M2's intense personal dislike for his previous partner, which did not appear to be linked to the age-gap. This suggests that individual personal attitudes can be as, if not more, significant than the age-gap in deciding how respondents frame a MADIS experience.

Res: [To M2] You mentioned about three age-gap relationships. What did they mean to you at the time, and how do you see them now?

M2: The first one I didn't know any gay people at all, and I went on my fourteenth birthday... We waited about six months before we ever did anything in the bedroom. It lasted a year but he put a total lock on me and became abusive, controlled me...most of them are attracted to Chickens. I don't know, I always seem to meet older people...

⁴¹⁶ One was female.

[]...*The last one I went out with John, I went out for two weeks. I used to shout and swear at him and eventually dumped him. I had control over him.*

Res: What do you think you brought to the relationship?

M2: *I can't say about the relationship with John because I can't stand him...I loved the control I had over him. Yeah, I quite like that exchange...No I'm a big flirt and I know people get excited. Older men come on to me because they know I've had older boyfriends in the past. I'll shag any old thing.*

9.2 LGBT Conference (see appendix forty-eight)

Interviews were conducted at a time (March 2000) of heightened political controversies over the Scottish Executive's attempt to repeal Clause 28. Consequently, respondents focussed on homophobic campaigns driven by certain sections of the media and religious groups.

9.21 Clause 28, age of consent and political activism

The above contested debates (as in chapter eight) are seen as crucial to constructions on MADIS. The divergent accounts presented here also show, in relation to Clause 28 and age of consent debates, how male youth is placed centrally. In contrast to media and political presentations, the following accounts of young gay men challenge the way sexuality has been treated in a pedagogical context. However, central to their resistance strategy is not a claim for greater youth rights, but the articulation of an equality agenda for gays and lesbians. This is also a dominant theme (see Waites 2000b) in gay and lesbian contributions to such debates, whereby notions of consent and access to sexual information, are framed through an identitarian lens, as a gay rights issue rather than youth empowerment. See Graupner's (2000b) attempt to synthesise such issues in chapter one.

Whereas Y2, Y3 and Y11 see increasing opportunities and information for young gays as the most important priority in shifting attitudes to sex education, Y5 argues for a more "sex-positive" input. In-line with Bourdieusian insights, these accounts highlight the importance of education as a site for reproducing (or challenging) doxic

formulations on sexuality (see chapter three).

Y2: *You can't promote it! You need help for gay kids and a safe environment...We got very little sex education...Teacher was homophobic, spouting Catholic views...I had no designated help, felt isolated.*

Y3: *Age of consent sixteen - not sure. Equality is the main word!...Need more opportunities for young gay people to be informed for example, suicide among young people is appalling... Shouldn't promote - need to talk!*

Y5: *With Clause 28 there needs to be appropriate material. Young people need to know it in a positive way.*

Y11: *I was involved in "Stop the Clause" campaign. This is so important for teenagers on how they can get information into schools. It's not an equal balance in schools. The churches and Winning hijacked it as a moral crusade.*

Y6 and 10 argue that public reactions to Clause 28 were being led (and manipulated) by the tabloids, which they accuse of targeting gay people.

Y6: *Clause 28 is very bad...There is a hysteria being whipped up. Parents live straight lives with no knowledge of gay lifestyles. They don't understand it and are frightened of it...Clause 28 shoves fears onto gay people.*

Y10: *The tabloids spout hate...I felt angry towards the Record. It's a pile of nonsense and then people follow it! It's due to a lack of understanding...just confirms prejudice.*

Y8 identifies equality as the central goal for gays and lesbians to achieve through repealing Clause 28. He also argues for reformulating the notion of family to include gays. Again, this is a central theme of recent gay and lesbian research (Weeks et al. 2002), where respondents describe gay and lesbians partnerships as "families of choice". These recent attempts can also be seen as a challenge to the language inscribed within Clause 28, which disparagingly refers to homosexual relationships as

“a pretend family”. However radical critics view such reverse discourses as reinforcing a more bourgeois, privatised notion of being gay, and a retreat from early GLF aims (Evans 1993).

Y8: The term promotion is vague. So no gay-related material - only stable and long-term relationships should be promoted. I'm happy with family including gay...In school there is no sex education. But there is a way for an equality agenda.

9.22 Attitudes to MADIS

Attitudes to MADIS below share certain similarities with the Leicester group, but with greater reservations and concerns over the vulnerability of boys in such situations.

Y1 reiterates the central place given to youth within the gay community, but draws associations of prostitution and financial incentives with MADIS. Y3 and Y7 express contrasting views over the ability of young people under sixteen in a MADIS. Whereas Y7 confidently states that he was ready to be involved in a relationship at fourteen, Y3 applies similar language of vulnerability and prey as the professional respondents, to highlight concerns for under eighteens on the gay scene.

*Y1: Gay culture is very age-obsessed - body-fashion, thin, young and beautiful...[]
...The connection with old is - is he rich motivation? Rent boy.*

Y3: It's down to an individual. You can have a fifteen year-old who is more mature and the right circumstances, right people...But problems of under-age eyes...They can be overwhelmed and go out with anyone...They can be vulnerable and there are people who prey on younger people...I know a lot of older gay men who are fantastic people.

Y7: I would have been ready at fourteen.

9.23 MADIS experiences

Both experiences documented below suggest some support for the continuum

approach to MADIS (see appendix fifteen). Y2's experience comes closer to the gay interviewees covered by Rind (2001) and Leahy (1992b), where gay respondents recount their MADIS experience as a definitive moment in realising their gay identity. He identifies substantial benefits in the relationship, such as the care shown by his partner including helping him to "come out." Y6 states that his religious background heavily influenced his youthful sexual experiences – resulting in a lack of information and tension regarding his sexuality. His experiences with older men were also sporadic, impersonal, and took place in a context where he felt uncomfortable.

Y6: My first sexual experience was at fourteen in public lavatories. It was frightening with an older man. I didn't like it as I was brought up a Catholic and went to church after it... []...I didn't know what I was doing.

Res: Did you feel exploited?

Y6: I didn't feel exploited - felt frightened. Had other experiences with creepy men - would never touch them with a barge pole, but this was due to being forced to be secret.

Y2: Came-out to myself at the start of fifth year. I went on the Internet and made my first contact. I wanted to look at naked men through gay chat rooms. I met someone before coming out to mum and dad. He was twenty-six and I was fifteen... []...Both used each other... []...Not a problem, very nice. Wasn't seedy, really nice guy. He did help me a lot. I don't regret it and I would like to meet him again. I was more concerned than he was. He didn't have a problem - really helpful. It was my first time to talk to someone about being gay...Helped me come-out to my parents. It was worthwhile...It might have developed but when I told my parents they said, you have to stop seeing him. I just obeyed.

Many of the above accounts, albeit with differing emphases, share two general complaints with boylovers in chapter six. Firstly, distinctly modernist themes of repression, ignorance and guilt surface. Secondly, the family, education and the media are seen as crucial sites for reproducing negative public attitudes on sexual minorities.

9.3 Manlover (ML)

The following interview took place with an individual who, throughout his childhood and adolescence, experienced numerous sexual relationships with older men. Due to the lack of attention to the subject positions of gerontophiles or chasers, ML's account is covered more extensively than any other narrative in this study. (See appendix forty-nine).

9.31 MADIS Experiences

The four sexual experiences of ML (as a young boy through to adolescence) with older men are relayed here chronologically. He also referred to other encounters and episodes, which were later omitted.⁴¹⁷

First

Although differing subjective meanings are revealed here (as Ferenczi 1932 and later CSA writers suggest) they are not presented dichotomously – with children bringing an emotional script, as opposed to an adult's overtly sexualised script. ML relates this first experience as a learning experience seeing, and being excited by, the somatic changes brought on by the man's subsequent ejaculation. Although he draws a distinction between the psychic and sexual in his recollection of the event, he defines this event as superior to peer sexual experimentation. ML relays both physical and psychological excitement at the event, substantiating libertarian and boylover claims that differences in subjective differences between adults and young people (in terms of understanding and needs in the intimate and sexual sphere) does not invalidate the relationship, or the possibility for a young person's needs to be fulfilled.

ML: My first arousal of adult men was when I was in Africa...It was just my curiosity was piqued and I noticed that he was washing his genitals. He started to get an erection...I was curious to explore his body further. About three or four days later I crept into his bedroom...I think he was fast asleep, and I started playing with his penis...I was just curious what an erection was. I think I'd experienced it a bit as a boy but they would come and go...and I certainly hadn't seen anything as big as that...I was most excited by his sexual excitement. There was no sexual excitement for

myself, it was just pure curiosity but he was clearly very aroused, and my touching him increased his arousal - that excited me more. I think it was just like childhood curiosity.

Second

In ML's second experience there is more of a physical interchange, in which the man carried out particular sexual acts which excited him. Again, the initiative was shown by ML, who viewed it as furtive physical curiosity and playfulness.

ML: There was a chap who lived in the apartment above ours called Paul...I got onto the bed with him and he just had his shorts on...He didn't resist me, my advances to touch him and stroke him physically but he was a bit taken aback when I tried to feel his genitals.

Res: You mentioned the first experimentation, looking at men's erections. Can you recall the first time when you took it further, thinking about sexual activity?

ML: When I was in Africa, the guy Paul, he actually on one occasion - when I was playing around with him and he was masturbating - inserted his finger into my backside, which really did excite me!

At various points in the interview, ML reflected on his childhood experiences. He sums up his sexual experiences with adult men as seduction, but firmly embedded within child understandings of sexuality. He lists these as less selfish, playful and pleasure seeking, and less fearful of rejection. Similar to many of the childhood sexual experiences relayed by boylovers, survivors and gay men, ML stresses how it had no labels at the time to explain the activities he was involved in.

ML: Again, with time and sort of seduction, I suppose as a child it's a conscious process but it isn't quite as selfish as the sexuality as you experience as an older person. So there's a genuine interest in making the other person get a response and make them happy or whatever. So I played around with them whenever I could...They

⁴¹⁷ Ostensibly due to length.

probably weren't gay men or paedophiles...I certainly didn't have a name for them at that age...I think as a child you just learn to take such things in your stride...You don't take a rejection of a physical advance quite so personally.

Third

ML characterises his third experience as a more overtly physically sexual friendship. He contrasts this with a later more mature, intimate and rounded relationship. He reiterates his assertiveness in initiating the initial encounters, coupled with his careful pre-planning of the event.

ML: We had a next-door neighbour...and I was probably about nine-ten years old. He was going through a divorce, and I had got to know him quite well...I asked him if it would be okay if I stopped over for the night...I got into bed with him and started playing around with him. And at first he objected, but I just persevered and got him fully sexually aroused and was masturbating him and trying to get him an orgasm. Because that was my objective: to get men to achieve orgasm...I persuaded him that I liked to have my bottom played with...He loved my arse-hole. Of course that was my dream. And as our friendship - because it wasn't a relationship - developed, we would get more and more bold about inserting things into my backside.

ML notes significant developmental somatic changes associated with stronger orgasms. Alongside greater excitement, he explains how carrying out sexual acts in public places gave him more power in the exchanges. As with M2, ML claims that he had control over his adult partner through the very process of initiation, whereby he could decide whether or not to initiate a sexual exchange. Rather than risk being construed as a negative debarment to adult-child sex (see chapters one and seven), ML views it as providing the impetus for a greater sexual thrill. His experience could also be theorised within public-private conceptions, whereby ML was able to appropriate a particular public space (swimming baths) for his own needs.

ML: Now I was twelve/thirteen, and I was definitely having much stronger sexual responses. I was having orgasms. I wasn't ejaculating as far as I can remember at that time...I used to get him to do risky things like put his fingers inside me when we

were at the swimming baths in the cubicle drying afterwards. That was quite a turn on - the fact that it was in such a public environment, and I think the power I had over him in the sexual department...I could wrap him round my finger to have sex. It was quite easily done, and it was me that made the advances...He just identified as a sexual man, and saw me as this curious boy who liked his arse being played with.

Res: Did he at any time give pleasure to you through masturbation?

ML: *I used to masturbate myself. He would occasionally do it but I wasn't really interested in that. My orgasms came through being screwed, the friction of rubbing my body against the sheets. The masturbating element really developed from my playing with him but I could quite easily get orgasms from being buggered.*

Res: Did he insert his penis - anal intercourse?

ML: *Yeah...I would only let him go in so far...Occasionally, when he went too far, it really hurt. So he learnt that he could only go in the first five or six inches...I used to wallop him if he went any deeper. I was more into my anus being stretched and played with than being penetrated.*

Fourth

ML draws sharp contrasts between the following experience and his third one. Whereas the latter was a purely physical one, this drew on a more emotional and cognitive connection, with a greater symmetry of interests (music, literature and camping). Although alluding to infrequent sexual contact, ML considers learning about these as more important. This final experience more closely approximates to boylover conceptions of the kind of relationship they would like to have with boys.

ML: *This was a much older man - in his mid-fifties. Whereas the neighbour was in his thirties - a very virile docker - the older man was much more intelligent, more cultured and the relationship between ourselves was far more cerebral. I'd go round, and we would read and listen to music...It was a more intelligent, mature relationship than the one I'd had with the docker, which had really been seduction on my part,*

very physical...This person didn't have a huge penis unlike the docker, but that didn't bother me. This was a different relationship. We did things together, camping...[]... The friendship I had with the docker - the physical friendship - there was no sort of mental connection at all. I went round there purely to get my rocks off. But with the older bloke...I wanted to learn more about music, about literature. It was more of an intellectual side. It was very good and there was equally, if not more, stimulation from the intellectual side than the physical side. Maybe every couple of weeks we would have sex. It was just masturbatory sex.

9.32 Explaining child sexual attraction to men

Throughout the interview, ML emphasises the positive impact of family and cultural context in Africa for scripting his early sexual experiences. He places his positive experiences within a libertarian sexual discourse, in which the family and cultural contexts empowered him. ML also challenges dominant notions of age-appropriate interaction, by contending that the central component of his sexuality throughout his life course was a substantial attraction (physical, emotional and intellectual) to adult men as opposed to his peers.

ML: I had a couple of friends, but because I was in and out of school my education was a bit all over the place...It was quite clearly men that interested me not younger boys at all...Their sexuality was - for want of a better term - now and for then...just playful and experimental but I wanted to push...I was pushing things further, but I never thought I was doing anything wrong. My parents - my mother especially - was quite liberated...I grew up in quite a wholesome and healthy environment, without physical and sexual inhibitions.

ML alludes to wider social contrasts between his interests and attitudes and those of his peers. This led to him being more comfortable in adult company, and participating in more adult activities. This trajectory was shared by a number of gay MADIS (see chapter eleven) who describe symmetry of interests with older people at a relatively early age, non-commensurate with their chronological age. ML's experience is also similar to the gay respondents in Leahy's study (1992b), who identified a commonality of interests with their adult partner, alongside a conscious minimisation

of adult-child boundaries, to account for their positive experiences.

ML: Because I was quite independent and didn't have many friends...I had a different social attitude from my peers, different political attitudes through my grandparents. I was a socialist at seven or eight years old...So I developed a lot of personal interests in music, and I used to like cycling a lot, joining the Youth Hostel Association...and I joined the Red Cross.

In contrast to CSA discourses, ML eschews victim status in such relationships. Although recognising physical power differences between adults and young people, he maintains that he was always able to distinguish consensual from coercive MADIS experiences. In all of his encounters and relationships he saw himself as the active seducer and initiator. He also relates that throughout these experiences, a range of his own needs (physical, educational, emotional and social) was met. ML also contrasts the substantial benefits he received from relationships with adult men (similar to BL7's account) with the relatively meagre benefits they received.

ML's account criss-crosses the mentor-child empowerment positions referred to throughout this study. Whereas there is a prominent theme of learning from his adult partners (commensurate with mentor-protégé conceptions), ML also positions himself as an active initiator in such exchanges. Although mindful of physical power differences, he asserts that he was the one who had control throughout such situations, and knew exactly what he was doing.

Res: You mentioned that you always had an interest in adult men?

ML: Yeah! I would say that from the age of seven onwards that my focus on sex and men have always been maturer men...in all the relationships and friendships I was involved in, I knew exactly what I was doing, and knew what I set out to do and was fully in control. And there were times as a boy, I travelled to and from school by train...and you would occasionally get old men into the apartment...Sometimes I'd get turned on by that and hope that something happened and I'd engineer a situation. I'd play with my crutch or something to see if they were watching at the corner of their

eye but if ever a man made an approach on me that would terrify me...I had to at all times be the seducer and initiator, and I think that was right and proper because I was a child and I knew my circumstances, I knew I was smaller and they were bigger and stronger men and I knew what rape was, and knew what physical assault was, and I wasn't going to let that happen to me...It never happened to me!

9.33 Sexual identity

ML identifies several reasons for not self-identifying as gay including: a willingness to continue engaging in heterosexual relationships; dissatisfaction at the gay and lesbian scene; and reluctance to adopt an identitarian label. This resonates with some of the boylover respondents who also appropriated an individualist stance (see Carr 1999), in opposition to collectivist sexual labels / identities. Although Queer political and theoretical frameworks (see chapter three) view such a discursive strategy positively in casting-off sexual regimes of truth, it could also reflect the way in which boylovers and gerontophiles have struggled to appropriate a common script or identity which encapsulates their language and meanings.

Res: Sexual experiences, coming up to adolescence, was there a point where you started to think I'm gay and adopted a gay identity?

ML: *No I was bisexual! I had girlfriends. My interest was not in my peers it was in adult men. So all my pubescent and adolescent sexuality was expended on men - not my peers...I could attract men who were interested in older boy and youth and I knew what chicken hunters were but I didn't fall for that sort. I wasn't really ever part of the gay scene...I didn't identify with their politics, their division of sexuality, the lesbian thing and all that separatist stuff that was starting to happen in the seventies. I regarded everyone as having their own psychosexual dynamics. It was up to them as individuals. As long as they were happy with their partner, everything was okay and no one was exploiting the other person. As long as they...had a conscious knowledge of what they were doing.*

9.34 Re-visiting the past and telling stories

Although Plummer points out that the paedophile's sexual story is one that cannot be

told because there is no willing audience (see Ibid 1995: 118), this omits the other component in MADIS namely, how positive accounts from young people have been denied a voice within mainstream discursive channels. ML's later experience in attempting to get his story told offers crucial insights as to why such stories have not generally been heard. See appendix fifty for another problem faced by ML namely, an attempt to "re-visit" his past.

The final two contributions from ML address specific and general reasons for the inability of such positive voices to effectively communicate their opinions. The way he relays how his account was reinterpreted by the commentator, is similar to professional techniques of reconfiguring positive accounts to identify as victims. His second contribution identifies continuities with modernist preoccupations on sex (moral conservatism, restrictions on child sexuality, and marriage). Plummer's (1995) explains the inability of the paedophile's story to be told through the lack of any willing audience. ML's narrative also highlights this inability to reach a public audience, as a prime reason for the absence of a public articulation of positive child sexual experiences in late modernity.

ML: There was a radio discussion with an American sex abuse industry commentator Michelle Elliott and there was a...BBC journalist and she was going on about children's rights...So I said, fuck this, I'm going to phone up and explain that as a child I was quite happy to have sex and I actively sought sex!...I got through and I explained to the switchboard and I got on and said my bit in ten seconds, and Michelle Elliott immediately cut in saying, kill the caller, and went on to say this is a perfect example - you can't speak after they've cut you off - of how a child has grown up to believe that what he was doing was his own free will but really he was being manipulated by adults. And I couldn't say a word. Nobody could hear me now. I was pissed off!

Res: You mentioned earlier about the difficulty you had of getting your story told on a Channel Four programme.⁴¹⁸ Why do you think it is that many people have such problems with someone who gives a very different viewpoint about childhood

⁴¹⁸ In reference to an off-tape discussion.

experiences with adult men?

ML: Although I think all adults accept that all children have a sexuality and a sensuality, and can behave in a sexualised, overt way, they don't feel it's the proper thing for children to do. So when a child takes it upon themselves to explore that part of their make-up it just horrifies people...Its to do with the institution of marriage, old morality about the right time to have sex. There's never a right time to learn about your body!

(See appendix fifty-one).

Conclusion

The gay youth accounts refer to generally sporadic incidences where they were involved in a MADIS. Only six mentioned such experiences, which were predominantly sporadic encounters or short-term relationships. However, of those, some respondents displayed generally positive attitudes, whereas several explain that such experiences were all that was available. Although there was a recognition of some problematic aspects of MADIS, the focus group and individual interviews revealed significantly less negative attitudes than the professional and political accounts. This also displayed a greater willingness to countenance attraction by young people to older people, assertive youth sexual initiation, and a less condemnatory perspective on such relationships. Within ML's personal narrative, diametrically opposing constructions to mainstream CSA discourses are advanced. His attempts to get his story told, also revealed the severe obstacles placed in front of individuals articulating such a viewpoint on MADIS, suggesting that ML's story is one that does not, and cannot, fit into mainstream sexual political agendas.

Chapter Ten Male Survivor Accounts

Introduction

The following interviews examine respondent's personal backgrounds, the variety of contexts (familial and extra-familial) in which their abuse took place, and the numerous difficulties each faced in identifying as a survivor. They also outline the effects the abuse has had on survivors in terms of personal relationships (including with their own children), in reconciling dominant notions of masculinity with their experiences, and sexual identity. It places particular emphasis on the meanings each respondent placed on their abuse, whilst identifying what kind of discourses were available to them in making sense of their experiences, and the extent of personal and community-support networks. (See appendices fifty-two and fifty-three).

10.1 Background and context of abuse

The MSA literature identified boys as more likely to be abused in extrafamilial contexts, either by a family friend or by someone in authority (see chapter one). The following three accounts suggest a more complex relationship, with two being abused by family friends, and the other by his teacher. All three characterise the nature of the contact as assault, rape or unwanted attention.

S1 characterises his sexual experience with his teacher as non-consensual and assault. In contrast to ML's experiences with adult men, S1's account substantiates mainstream characterisations of adult-child sex. He documents how the advances were made by the adult through a process of "grooming" - in this case through limiting S1's space and touching him - and characterises the event as "assault".

S1: It began at eleven...He'd be in his early fifties...[]...The first move was to come and sit in the bench seats...so that he could have physical contact with me and then it gradually progressed to him touching me.

Res: Where did the acts take place?

S1: They took place in the school. I got involved in out of school clubs...It seemed like

he was a persistent presence. That went on for three years...There were times when I objected. One time, when he assaulted me, I managed to escape, and he had hold of my blazer, and I had to go home without my blazer. Very frightening times because I had to explain to my parents why I had come home without my coat.

S2 highlights the significance of his familial environment in creating the pre-conditions for his later abuse by a family priest. Within this context, he highlights how physical violence and emotional damage within the family, constituted the primary abuse.

S2. The abuse was in and out [of the family]...There was no psychological love, even neglect. There was physical violence... Actually the abuse happened outside but I was damaged before it happened...I did feel at the time that there was a lot of things wrong with me...when I was twelve...This particular priest started coming...and he developed a good relationship with me mum, me dad...He'd end up stopping at the house, and I was the only one who had two beds in the bedroom. So he started to sleep in the spare bed in the room.

S2 had trouble recalling the actual moment of his abuse, but instead describes as fragmentary but frightening. The CSA and survivor literature explains such a response as a dissociative reaction, where CSA victims either minimise or deny the experience altogether.

S2: I don't recall a great deal about how it started, but I remember one night he just was in bed with me. I know he was having oral sex and I froze and I were frightened, but I know the following morning he gave me some money...It's like small little pictures. I can never get a whole picture because I blocked it out.

S3 sees his experience as violent (“rape”), forced and non-consensual (“abuse”). He uses the biologicistic metaphor of predator (“web”) to denote the power and control asserted by his abuser. This explanation fits with popular and professional notions of sex offending behaviour as predominantly aggressive, and where adult-child sex is exclusively exercised for the sole gratification of adults.

S3: *It was...my godmother's brother...I'd seen him a few times at weekends when I went to stay when I had problems with my family...I knew I was gay at thirteen...I met him through this guy when I was fourteen. I was quite scared and got into his car and he drove me to this field...He molested and raped me. After it, he gave me five pounds and said, don't tell anybody or I'll kill you!...He forced me like a web - made me go back, or they would beat me up!...This went on for about a year...He was beating me up. I had to see him once a day. He would pick me up from school, used these other friends and took me to their flat and abused me there, and sometimes they joined in...There was a lot of different abuse...It was like a paedophile ring.*

10.11 Resistance

Two respondents identify significant turning points in their life-courses when they decided to actively resist what was happening to them. For S1 and S3, these stories represent a reaction to a painful episode, but also a necessary step at reclaiming their sense of self-identity. These accounts also mirror (in terms of language and strategy) the bulk of survivor studies (see chapter one), which emphasise individual struggle and fight-back, in conjunction with sharing such experiences through support groups.

S1: *I said this has really got to stop!...I had no idea that it was as common as I now know. In terms of the boys, I knew it wasn't happening to anyone else - it was only happening to me...I ended up with an armour.*

S3: *It was either, I destroy him or he would destroy me! He tried to touch me and I said I'm not that fourteen year-old child! You canna do this anymore!...I think I had to be at the lowest to fight back...I hated myself. For all the years I thought it was my fault. He always made me think it was. I've realised that I'm the victim and I'm no a victim anymore and I won't be!*

10.2 Personal reflections

10.21 Secrecy and guilt

All three recount feelings of powerlessness throughout their abuse. For example, S1 uses the same biological metaphor as S3 (“web”), to describe the predatory nature of his abuser and the powerless he felt. They highlight how the context in which the

abuse took place, in conjunction with the relational dynamics of power and control, made it impossible to confide in anyone, or remove themselves from the situation. These accounts situate their experiences within CSA understandings, where the power and control possessed by adults in MADIS, inevitably produces harmful outcomes.

S1: I was in an all-boys...Comprehensive...I didn't want anyone to know what was happening because of the kind of toying that I would have got if it had come out...[] ...He spun a web round me - ways in which he controlled me.

S2: It went on for about seven years, and looking back on it, I can see how my control had been taken away and how it was made easy for him, and he knew I couldn't speak out.

S3: He would make me do it or he would beat me up...I came to a decision, if I just did it I would get away from them for another week or so. But it just got worse...more violent, pornographic videos...I knew if I didnae do what he wanted, he would get me murdered, raped. I knew that my life was in danger. I'm angry with myself that I gave up so easily but I never really had a choice...I was being abused so he had that control...I actually tried to get away when I was eighteen, and he arranged for me to be raped in my own flat...I was an adult but he still controlled me - power.

10.22 Contradictory feelings

S1 and S2 highlight certain ambivalent feelings towards their experiences. This was expressed in S2's case in a certain degree of liking for some of the physical aspects of the sexual contact. In S1's case, this was even manifested in a certain degree of liking for his abuser. Both explain how it was only much later that they were able to confront their abuse. This is construed within psychodynamic models through a process of denial, whereby CSA victims struggle to accept their abuse. However, as argued throughout this study, such stories (including the language and scripting) also have to be situated within a late modern socio-cultural context, where MSA has received more literature and professional attention (as P11's account showed), and equipped male survivors (individually and within groups) to fashion an explanation for their experiences.

S1: *The physical stuff was one part of it - how it affected me later...The thing that messed me up a lot was that he started buying me presents, sending me cards. He had all sorts of special names for me. These were the things that I struggled with mentally, well into adulthood. More than all the physical things of being touched and fondled, masturbation, that I came to terms with easier than the other ways.*

Res: At the time, did you like him as a person?

S1: *Yeah! That's one of the difficulties. I mean one of the big plusses was getting good marks in his class...And he was nice to me. Now my father wasn't...And that was what was difficult about my relationship with this teacher. It was the first time that I had someone really warm toward me - including my mother. The first time I kissed my mother was when I went to work abroad when I was twenty-one.*

S2: *I did enjoy it sometimes. So that brought me guilt - my fault...By the time I'd got to it nearly finishing my memory had nearly suppressed. By the time I was twenty-two, I didn't know I'd been abused.*

10.3 Gender and sexuality

All three reveal a degree of confusion and ambivalence over their sexuality. Although S3 now identifies as gay, he felt that his experience took away any control or choice he had in determining his own sexual trajectory. S2 admits to having same-sex attractions, but that he would never act on them. All the male survivors attribute such confusion to their abuse, and that it has adversely affected their personal and social development, particularly in relation to difficulties experienced in forming intimate and personal relationships.

S1: *Because I was so confused about what was happening, I had no language. Part of the problem was not about having any services to contact.*

Res: Was the language homophobic, questioning your manhood?

S1: *Oh yeah! One of the names I got called at school was woman...Kids in the school*

would talk about this teacher - that he was gay...In the 1960s the image of the gay man is very different to what it is now so he didn't exactly fit the image.

S2: *Men have always been a threat. That's because my abuser was a priest...I had a right battle with my identity, cos I had feelings towards men...I went into counselling for that because I didn't know whether I was gay, straight or bisexual...I'd never act upon them!...They're from my abuse and if it wasn't for my abuse, I wouldn't have them!*

At several junctures throughout the interview, S3 discusses his difficulty in reconciling a gay identity with his abuse. Although pre-dating his gay feelings to his abuse, he positions himself as a child who was not able to consent to sex with an adult. In contrast to Leahy (1992b) and Rind's (2001) gay interviewees (see chapter one), S3 did not assign positive attributes to the persona of the adult man, or characterise his experience as a positive confirmation of his sexual identity. Instead, he views the experience as an unwanted and highly damaging intervention in his life-course.

S3: *I think he forced my sexuality. I could have changed - a phase. That if I hadn't met him it could have been different...I wish I wisnae gay...He took that choice away from me...I'm still that child trapped at fourteen...Those ten years I should have been enjoying. Those past twenty years have been a nightmare! That's why I've got to get this out because it'll destroy me...I've got no good feelings of the moment I was fourteen to today...I did go to the police and told them my story...They sort of patronisingly said I was gay. At that time he controlled me! Being gay or not being gay - it's still abuse*

10.4 Personal relationships

The following accounts support the central contention within CSA models of the link between abuse and later problems in forming relationships as adults. All three survivors point to significant difficulties in maintaining relationships, with S1 the only person in a current long-term stable relationship. All identify their abuse as the singular cause for their subsequent difficulties in achieving intimacy.

S1: *With my first wife...I had no way of telling her what I wanted...My second wife was the complete reverse...I was given an opportunity to let the feelings out...That was quite transforming.*

S2: *At twenty-four, I got into a relationship and got married, got divorced when I was thirty-one...I couldn't go out on a one night stand...To get intimate, that would destroy me!*

S3: *I always had relationships with men but it only lasted two or three months... because I couldn't give them it all - something stopped me...'cos I knew I would get hurt.*

Attitude to children

Chapters one and seven noted the dominance of cyclical formations (abuser-abuser cycles) in the CSA and sex offender literature. Such associations have also entered public discourses through dramas,⁴¹⁹ problematically reinforcing fears of survivors that they may offend, and creating an environment where they might potentially feel re-victimised. S1 feels that his abuse forged a closer relationship with his son in a protective role. However, S2 and S3 highlight severe tension in their relations with children, brought about by internalising such fears of offending.

S1: *My son from the age of seven...wanted to go to the park on his own...I would let him go to the park, give it two minutes and I would go down and stand somewhere where I could keep an eye on him...Because of my abuse I've had a much closer relationship with my son than most.*

S2: *Difficult relationship with my children. I never bath them...If I touched my daughter in the vagina, I would panic and be accused of being an abuser...I'm more careful around my son...When I were naked he tried to touch me up and I froze, I couldn't hack it! He didn't see anything in it. I did!*

S3: *He always said to me that would happen...Because I've got great-nephews and*

nieces now that are two or three year-old...It could have happened!

10.5 Individual consequences

All three stress the violent, non-consensual nature of their experiences, coupled with the personal problems they have faced in coming to terms with their abuse. They also identify their abuse as a hugely significant catalyst, and milestone, for situating other events throughout their respective life-courses.

For S2 and S3 this manifested itself through resorting to alcohol and suicide attempts, and for S1 in being a workaholic. These differential responses are not easy to explain, but do suggest the possibility of addiction as a response to abuse. CSA models point to the nature and severity of the abuse as a central precondition for more harmful outcomes. S2 and S3's abuse lasted significantly longer than S1, however their family backgrounds were also characterised as more abusive. These accounts neither support nor problematise contested studies which single out CSA: as either a primary cause of harm (Paolucci et al. 2001), or those which assign confounding factors or iatrogenic consequences (professional intervention, familial reaction) greater significance (Rind et al. 1998).

S1: I didn't define it as abuse at the time...The word wasn't common parlance...The abuse messed me up...but the anger that came out of it was the driving force...One of my coping strategies has been to be a workaholic.

S2: Within twelve months I had lost the will to live...I was drinking heavily, my sexual feelings were getting out of hand...I decided I'm going to kill myself.

S3: I tried to take my own life all the time...Started taking drink, drugs to get away...I took ods.⁴²⁰ I tried to hang myself...Because I've got HIV...because when I went down to London I didnae care about myself and I just slept with anybody...I wisnae trained to do anything. All I had was my body...I was an escort once or twice a week 'cos I felt I had to get something back...I just crumbled and all the abuse came back.

⁴¹⁹ For example, 'Waking the Dead' (BBC1).

⁴²⁰ Short for overdoses.

10.6 Attitudes towards sex offenders

Although S2 and S3 express considerable anger at their abusers and feelings of betrayal by society (family, institutions), S1 questions current psychopathological and demonic stereotypes of paedophiles, suggesting that adult sexual attraction may be more widespread and intractable. The extent of such attraction is heavily contested. As far back as 1981, Plummer called for the normalisation and relativisation of paedophilia (Plummer 1981a). Boylovers tend to essentialise and universalise their attraction as a common, genetic inheritance which, given more accepting societal climate, could be practised by everyone (see chapter one). However, professionals (Wyre 1986) argue that it is still a small minority of adults who are attracted to children. Either way, the upsurge in convictions for Internet downloading and other related offences, suggest that more research needs to be carried out in this area.

S1: When the News of the World decided they were going to publish all the names of the paedophiles, they got a file of 110,000 convicted paedophiles...and I was on the radio and said this 110,000 that had been convicted, the police say that 5% of cases before them, actually go to trial and of those, about 1% actually end up in a conviction...Basically we're talking about the likelihood of a million people who at some point in their lives are going to sexually abuse children and yet they are painted as those monsters who have a gene missing - the extreme end of humanity...And one of the things that really needs to be researched is that this is part and parcel of humanity.

S2: At the beginning I were very angry because I came from the church ... AA⁴²¹ talk about forgiveness...Whenever anger and resentment surfaced I would beat the shit out of the cushions. I would use it for me dad and the priest...He silenced my voice so I couldn't speak...I do forgive him.

S3: I never actually realised how evil he was until I started talking about it because I blocked it in. It's the power they've got...I'm just so angry!

10.7 Support networks

S1 highlights lack of support for male survivors, with the result that he had to develop his own strategies for coping. However, S2 and S3 state how a greater awareness of MSA, and available support services, encouraged them to situate their experiences within an MSA discourse, enabling them to make better sense of their experiences.

S1: It took me a long time to sort myself out. I really did have to do it myself!

S2: I decided that I'd either kill myself or get some help and I phoned AA in 1992...the abuse surfaced and that I realised I'd been abused...Then I went into counselling...I weren't eating and I were going to bed with flashbacks, anxiety of waking up...I couldn't handle emotions. I were drinking twenty-four cans of lager a day...[]...My experience is that counsellors don't have enough information about sexual abuse...I felt with survivors that I wasn't on my own because they knew where I was coming from.

S3: Eventually I phoned my niece who I am really close to - told her I'm HIV...She came and took me back to...The only people that support me is the...and a few friends...I'm a member of the Body Positive-the HIV group...I've had a lot of support of my doctors and the hospital...Today it's all rape victims are women and it's not true! There are a lot of men.

Identifying as a survivor

All three document the long and difficult process of identifying as a male survivor, revealing numerous personal difficulties including challenging mainstream social attitudes to reconciling victim status with hegemonic notions of masculinity. Although many gay and boylover respondents refer to significant, positive turning points, for survivors, this has involved a “coming to terms” with an adverse event in their life-course, rather than appropriating a positive identitarian script.

S1: It started with a friend of mine's partner who had been working for...Rape Crisis...We advertised in 1984/5...and got together and formed a group...In the

⁴²¹ Alcoholics Anonymous.

1980s there were men's consciousness groups ...Once we started counselling I did have to deal with the stuff that was coming up for me...The more counselling I did, the more sense I made of my own abuse...[]...I choose where I am out as a Survivor...So part of my inner strength now, is my strength of feeling of the damage it's done to all those men and boys over the years, and that gives me strength to stand up in groups to do training and lecturers on the subject.⁴²²

S2: I got in touch with Survivors...It was through AA that I discovered that I'd been abused. I had a great difficulty with blame – it's my fault...It took me a long time to accept that it wasn't.

S3: One of the reasons I wanted to come out and talk about it was that I didn't want to turn out and be an abuser. That was always in the back of my mind...[]...I always thought I was a victim but I realised I'm not – I'm a survivor!

Conclusion

All three narratives identified common features in their abuse namely, lack of family support, violence, lack of consent, and the control, which their abuser placed upon them well into late adolescence and young adulthood. They stressed the negative and traumatic impact their abuse has had upon their lives, but also how growing awareness of MSA and survivor support groups have helped them to utilise specific language and meanings to frame their experiences.

These accounts problematise MADIS by questioning whether boys can provide consent (both simple and meaningful) to such relationships. They also suggest more specific problems with MADIS in late modernity namely, the ways familial and institutional contexts can be utilised by adult men to enhance control in such relationships, thereby severely limiting the exercise of self-determination and autonomy by boys in expressing their subjective interests and needs.

⁴²² Reflecting on the current situation of his male survivor group S1 stated,

So we're at the point where we literally don't have any money in the bank...We're going to have to shut everything down. We would be going back to how it was run before when we had a phone in a box in a day care centre that we can use one night a week and we run a phone line from that. So it is incredibly hard to get funding for men who have been sexually abused.

Introduction

The following accounts were collected across a number of different locations in the UK. Face-to-face interviews took place in various private and public locations, in conjunction with four telephone interviews.⁴²⁴ The twenty-seven respondents included ten current partnerships (of at least a ten year age-gap), three current relationships where only one partner participated, and four respondents who had previously been involved in a gay MADIS.

Unlike the other data chapters where coding was more straightforward, the gay respondents proved more difficult to treat as one discrete group. Consequently, those who had been in a MADIS were coded as IND 1, 2, 3, 4. Cases where only one partner in a current, on-going MADIS participated were denoted as ONE 1, 2, 3. Finally, current MADIS where both partners gave interviews, were coded as MADIS 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, with partners distinguished by X and Y.

In view of the number of respondents and complexity of coding, it was felt necessary to provide a brief background to the relationships. It was however recognised that any further elaboration would not be possible due to the possibility that respondents could be identified. These details were gleaned primarily from the returned questionnaires. (See Tables 3a, b and c on pages 312-313).

⁴²³ Entitling this chapter Gay MADIS may cause some confusion as all the respondents were over eighteen. As recognised in the introduction to this study, such relationships are therefore not treated synonymously with relationships between men and boys or youths.

⁴²⁴ One respondent came from outside the UK.

11.1 Individual histories (See appendices fifty-four and fifty-five).

11.11 Attraction toward adult men

Five respondents identify early attraction to older men throughout their life-course, proffering various reasons including: common leisure pursuits; a willingness to gain experience; and general attraction to older peoples' persona.⁴²⁵ 3Y and 5X give similar reasons as ML in chapter nine for being attracted to older people. For 3Y, it was a confluence of interests and shared environments, which led to intergenerational contact, whereas 5X found older people more interesting. Both highlight that their motivation was to acquire greater knowledge and experience, which could only be accessed through contacts with adults. Critics of MADIS point to an inequality in knowledge and experience as one of the central justifications for maintaining the current injunction, however for both these respondents it is this very disparity which allowed for a positive scripting of their relationships.

MADIS 3Y: *I've always preferred older people...and doing things with them. I had much older friends when I was sixteen and hung around with older people...I wanted experience, knowledge and I liked theatre, art, and people my own age were not into those things...I liked jazz and people who liked that tended to be older.*

MADIS 5X: *When I was younger, older people had so much appeal...[]...When I was a hooker...there was so many people who were like not just ten years my elder - because that really didn't do it for me - twenty or thirty years...I find that people older than me have more interesting things to say. They can explore ideas that I haven't even thought about...Now I'm getting stuff for free. Now I'm getting what I want.*

The following three indicate how they fantasised as boys over adult males. They relay these early feelings more as an emotional attachment. 8Y and 5Y conceptualise this as desiring a "father-figure", which 5Y claims is further reinforced by an essentialist realisation of his sexuality as omnipresent. 8Y also identifies specifically adult male physical features (bodily hair). For IND2, it took the form of an admiration for his teacher.

IND2: *Just the sports master. That was fantasy...He was a great fellow...I was interested in sport. He was interested in you as an individual because he wanted to get the best out of you.*

MADIS 8Y: *Throughout my childhood, all the images I can remember being attracted to were hairy-chested guys who were obviously over forty. I used to wait all summer for the Winter Argos catalogue to come out...I looked at the guys at the back of the Argos catalogue and thought they were rather quite nice. When I was growing up, I didn't understand the sexual dynamics of it. I didn't know if I wanted sex with them, but what I wanted to believe was that I was adopted and these were my real dads.*

MADIS 5Y: *My earliest memory - coming out to myself and knowing...I was in...with my mum...and I passed this man. Now he must have been about thirty when I was whatever age I was. I went past him and thought, I would like to be in a relationship with that man...It's funny, I'd like it to be that was my mum and he was my dad in a relationship...I don't suppose I was thinking sexually...[]...I am gay since the day I was born. I just know – it's just who you are!*

11.12 Attraction toward youth

7X (older partner in his current relationship) indicates that attraction to boys and younger men has been a constant feature throughout his life. In this respect, he is generally untypical among gay respondents in this study, sharing more in common with boylover respondents in chapter six.

MADIS 7X: *Then I went to live with a woman and her thirteen year-old sons. I was very attracted to them. I was in my mid-twenties at that time...There was a constant sexual tension as far as I was concerned, to the point that I would be thinking about them when performing with their mum.*

11.13 Previous MADIS experiences

Six respondents had MADIS experiences when they were under-eighteen. For most this involved a sporadic encounter which produced mixed reactions from: criticism of

⁴²⁵ Of those, only one (5X) was currently the older partner in a relationship.

the older person's behaviour, to enjoyment of the purely physical aspects. Whereas most refer to their inexperience and general lack of interest in forming relationships, others identify it as an important learning experience and confirmation of their sexual identity. (See appendix fifty-six).

ONE1 and 5X characterise their earlier MADIS primarily as a learning experience.

ONE1: *Only one proper relationship with an older person. Then thought older people were more worldly and experienced and stable-whole package.*

MADIS 5X: *My first cross-generational experience was when I was about fifteen or sixteen...I was trying to get into the theatre...He got me totally drunk on vodka in this theatre...I wrote to him a couple of letters, here's an example of some of my work. Can I come and meet you? So I went to meet him...And then the vodkas kept coming...went back to his place...The next morning I woke up and I was naked in bed next to him...It never went any further than that. If I'd been five years older I'd have known that, but at the time it was a learning experience.*

3Y and 7Y stress their maturity in such encounters - eschewing dominant conceptions of them as incapable. For 3Y this validated his experience, and for 7Y, his ability to physically cope with any unwanted situations, equipped him with the confidence to seek casual encounters with men. Both were able to transgress age-normative boundaries through minimising adult-child differences, and adopting (7Y particularly) hegemonic masculine traits of being physically capable and in control.

MADIS 3Y: *Then I was seventeen and a guy who was twenty-nine - just sex but proper. Not just kids messing about.*

MADIS 7Y: *I was out cruising at eleven at Brighton.*

Res: Did you meet older men in those short-term encounters?

MADIS 7Y: *Yeah!*

Res: What did you think about them?

MADIS 7Y: *At the time it was just sex. There was no other process other than sex.*

Res: Did you feel threatened at any time?

MADIS 7Y: *No I was usually bigger than them.*

7Y also reinforces boylover critiques of power in MADIS by re-stating the two-way nature of power in MADIS, whereby the very legal and cultural context disempowers adults in adult-child sexual encounters by equipping the younger person with the power of disclosure.

Res: For you as a young gay man, was there a fear of predatory men?

MADIS 7Y: *Well I never felt it! Again, it's a balance of power thing isn't it? The older person's meant to have the power but I'd say in that instant the younger person definitely does, because all he needs to do is to tell someone and he's in for statutory rape and a minimum sentence of ten years!*

1Y and 6X bring up problematic aspects of MADIS. In 1Y's case this took the form of a disparity in meaning and interests in the relationship - with his adult partner treating it more seriously. 6X relates an encounter with a man which gave him benefits (sexual pleasure and confirmation of his sexuality). However, he contrasts these with the physical pain of the sexual act and the exploitative persona of the man.

MADIS 1Y: *A year and a half...I don't suppose I treated it as a relationship, it was more comfort, learning about things, and I suppose he was more serious than I was. Once I went to the club I danced - that was all I liked to do...He wasn't really into dancing.*

MADIS 6X: [In response to the first question] *Once!*

Res: Would you describe that as positive or negative?

MADIS 6X: *I'm not sure. I liked finding out that I was gay, and I liked having sex obviously but the man wasn't considerate at all.*

Res: How old were you when that took place?

MADIS 6X: *Sixteen and he was thirty-three.*

Res: And by not being considerate, do you mean he was not a compassionate sort of person, or took advantage?

MADIS 6X: *Both! With the sex, basically he banged me for about two hours...and it was really kind of sore you know and he didn't really care.*

Two respondents recount a prior MADIS experience when they were the older partners. In contrast to the above, they document lengthier relationships, characterising their roles in similar terms as the boylover respondents as mentor, confidant and friend. Although both identify problems with the age-gap in terms of differences in maturity and attitudes, they draw important positive lessons from the experience in terms of future relationships, and the importance of maintaining beliefs, which run counter to mainstream societal mores.

ONE2 stresses how he saw his role as facilitator and mentor (helping a gay teenager come out). He also indicates that he learnt more about young people from the relationship namely, their greater capacity for affection than adults. Contrary to Ferenczi's incompatibility thesis (see chapter one), ONE2's partner was also interested in sexual contact as well. This suggests that the supposed affection - genital sexual boundary, demarking adult-child sexualities may be more complex and unstable across age boundaries. For example, where does the shifting and unstable category of adolescence fit it?

ONE2: *It was a significant relationship...It wasn't a relationship in the sense that we*

were partners. It was just an on-going companionship...There was a sexual relationship...He'd seen me at a campaigning event in...And he'd spent several months tracking down who I was...I still believed that young people got converted to older ones, so I was really worried...I shouldn't be letting this happen!...And from there it was kind of looking after a teenager...And the relationship went on for several years, and eventually he found another partner and drifted off...We still exchange Christmas cards and letters.

Res: You mention that age-gap relationships are not a significant feature -

ONE2: *No, not really!...My immediate reaction was to run a million miles! I saw him as highly dangerous, but I just felt I couldn't do that!*

Res: What did you get out of it?

ONE2: *I got a lot... That personalities and people matter more than whether it's right to break the law. Sometimes you have to do things for moral reasons, even though the public notion would be that they were immoral things you were doing...I learned more about the nature of young people, and I think that kind of rubs off you as the older person as well...He was much more open to being affectionate...The older people I've mixed with tended not to be.*

Res: Anything else on interests? For example, a young person might have different interests in music etc.

ONE2: *The relationship didn't depend on any of that. If we were living together and trying to build a relationship, the differences presumably would have been a big problem...This was just the guy who came to see me a couple of times a week, and that was how it was!...I think he probably saw it as the same...I think I was just somebody who was kind of understanding - that he wanted to spend some time with.*

ONE3 identifies developmental differences associated with different age groups as the most problematic aspect in his relationship. However, he does not extrapolate this to

all people of a particular age, stating that he sees persona rather than age as most significant in selecting a future partner.

ONE3: *David was seventeen - that was the first!*

Res: You mentioned the relationship as positive but that he was irritating.

ONE3: *Basically he was a seventeen year-old. It was positive because it was the first person I loved...[]...I learnt a lot from it - you could have said not to go out with seventeen year-olds, but that didn't stop me quite...But to be picky about the seventeen year-olds I go out with.*

Res: How long was the relationship?

ONE3: *Six-nine months...It was a very intensive period. I was working in a Rep theatre in...and we did Rocky Horror. David was a real Rocky Horror person...and we got together. And then, when the season ended, I came back to London, and that was why the relationship couldn't go the distance. We couldn't afford to see each other.*

11.14 Adult MADIS

Seven respondents recall a previous MADIS where both partners were over eighteen. Although intergenerational sexual experiences between adults is generally viewed less problematically than man-boy ones, the purpose of incorporating these accounts is to ascertain comparisons between them (in terms of relational dynamics, hermeneutics, subject positions), and how these are mediated within micro and socio-cultural settings, individual life-courses, and across the interstices of age, culture and sexuality.

10X, 2X and 5Y conceptualise their experience as the younger partner in an adult MADIS as a combination of realising sexual identity, establishing a more confident sense of self, and an enhanced ability to participate in social life. 2X taps into sexual citizenship discourses, in proclaiming his experience as a significant turning point in

his life course. However, the negative aspects recounted by 5Y, appear unrelated to age-gap factors, and more to do with the individual problems of his partner (alcoholism, physical abuse).

MADIS 10X: *In my previous relationship of twenty-five years, I was the younger partner...At that time twenty-two.⁴²⁶ And he was seventeen years older than me...I was very insecure. I needed the support of someone more mature...[]... He was from the West Indies, which is an important factor to me because of the colour. The age-gap difference bothered me to start with, but after I got over what people thought of me being with an older man.*

MADIS 2X: *I was twenty-four...I went to the Newcastle Conference⁴²⁷ and ended up having my first encounter...It was momentous for me...He was an usher at a church. I would guess he'd be about forty something...[]...Very intimate in my hotel room, but to me it was a big revelation that anyone would want to be sexually involved with me.*

MADIS 5Y: *My first experience was Angus who was much older than me...sixteen years. I was nineteen and he was thirty-five...About a couple of weeks later I moved in with him...In the beginning, it was positive for me because I didn't know anyone else and it gave me an outlook beyond...This was a break for freedom...That's when all his past started coming out about all his past problems...He started becoming an alcoholic and beating me up, and abuse every night. That lasted two years...Whatever money we were bringing in was going out...Ended up at the end of the day you can only take so much...more mental abuse.*

6Y, 5X and IND1 were the older partners in their MADIS experiences. Although 6Y characterises his relationship as positive, he qualifies this by relating difficulties in coping with his partner's illness. For 5X, material considerations significantly underpinned the age-gap dynamics in his subsequent relationships - with greater earning power enabling him to find a younger lover. As a political and academic gay activist, IND1 prioritises the ideologically transgressive role of the older person as

⁴²⁶ In reference to his actual age at the time.

⁴²⁷ This was a Conference for religious followers of a particular Christian denomination.

mentor in MADIS. This latter conceptualisation is concurrent with some boylover positions, however many radical boylovers criticise mentor-student type positions for appearing paternalistic (see Reeves 1992).

MADIS 6Y: *The last significant relationship I've had was with Neil who was fifteen years younger than me...He had...Asperger Syndrome...and it was a difficult relationship but I put it as a positive relationship. You can't live with someone for six years and it not, in some way, affect you...It was a real Burton-Taylor kind of relationship...We're still friends.*

MADIS 5X: *This is true of so many people I know who were in the younger half of a relationship and are now in the older half...The emotional changes totally went with the economic changes...[]...Keith was a chef, earning quite well, and I was a barman...Then my income matched his, then doubled his...Suddenly the balance shifted...[]...I remember how guilty I felt that I was betraying Keith...[]...Basically I had taken a younger lover, and I was seeing him.*

IND1: *I have had several relationships under eighteen over the years...seen them as another function as my teaching. Encouraged them to develop themselves further. They've never been impersonal, casual, strictly not tearooms, parks - always brought a partner home. I want to see them again and have interaction...Conversation is like getting off...mentoring kind of relationship.*

11.2 Most significant relationship

This section covers the most significant relationship - either as a previous or on-going relationship - identified by respondents in the questionnaire. Although the questioning was concerned with the specific impact of age-differentials on their relationship, consideration was given to addressing other facets of the relationship (personality, culture and sexuality). (See appendices fifty-seven and fifty-eight).

Table 3(a) Both partners participating

The following details are for those gay MADIS where both partners participated and are dated from the time the interview was conducted (winter - spring 2001).

Respondent Coding	Duration of Relationship (years)	Ages / Age-gap (years)	Initial meeting	Living arrangements
1X / 1Y	6	46 and 27; 19	Local cottaging	Separate
2X / 2Y	3	29 and 45; 16	Mutual gay friends	Separate
3X / 3Y	4	25 and 39; 14	Advert in gay magazine	Together
4X / 4Y	2	59 and 29; 30	Advert in gay magazine	Together
5X / 5Y	2	40 and 22; 18	Local gay pub	Together
6X / 6Y	6 months	39 and 20; 19	Mutual friends	Together
7X / 7Y	3	46 and 25; 21	Internet chat room	Together
8X / 8Y	8 (short period separate)	51 and 29; 22	Gay Christian event	Together
9X / 9Y	2	31 and 41; 10	A gay pub	Separate
10 X / 10 Y	3	50 and 22; 28	Chilean gay cruising area	Together (2 years separate before)

Table 3(b) One partner participating

The following accounts represent those respondents who are currently involved in a MADIS but where only one partner decided to participate. They are also dated from the time the interview was conducted (winter - spring 2001).

Respondent Coding	Duration of Relationship (years)	Age / Age-gap (years)	Initial meeting	Living arrangements
ONE1	13	32; 25	Phone chat	Together
ONE2	5	56; 29	Africa	Together
ONE3	1	42; 18	Thai gay cruising area	Separate

Table 3(c) Previous MADIS relationship

The following accounts represent those respondents who had had a previous MADIS relationship. They are also dated from the time the interview was conducted (winter - spring 2001).

Respondent Coding	Duration of Relationship (years)	Age / Age-gap (years)	Initial meeting	Living arrangements
IND1	23	67; 21	On a beach	Together
IND2	31	50; 17	Shakespeare play	Together
IND3	1	34; 16	Internet chat room	Separate
IND4	5	46; 24	Mutual friends	Together

11.21 Cultural / race

Although not covered in the original interview schedule, race and culture proved to be a significant aspect amongst respondents. This suggests a crucial intersection around sexuality and culture in MADIS, and the need for future attention to this in the literature.

In the following two cases both partners met each other outside Britain in their respective partner's host country, and returned to the UK. They indicate the difficulties encountered adapting to UK life (timetables, weather, missing family), but view their future prospects and relationship positively. They also highlight the profound impact, which the cultural context has had on their respective attitudes toward each other.

MADIS 10Y: *I'm taking this course to improve my abilities as a teacher but that's a sort of excuse for coming here. The main idea was to spend some time together-*

MADIS 10X: *I think we were apprehensive about how it would be. Being together for three months - being a honeymoon every three months. But it was very much a false situation. Now living together so closely – it's worked well.*

MADIS 10Y: *For me at times it's a bit difficult because it's the first time I'm living with someone else. All the relationships I have had in Chile, we always met and went out, never ever lived together. I always lived with my family. Yeah, but I think we're doing well.*

MADIS 10X: *Yes eating times...In Chile they eat very late-*

MADIS 10Y: *I wouldn't say it's caused by the age-gap, I would say it's because of cultural differences...When I'm here is the same thing that happened to him when he was in Chile. Here he becomes very protective to me, and in Chile I become very protective to him.*

10X and 10Y also refer to the erotic allure of cultural difference in explaining cross-

cultural sexual attraction. This eroticisation of cultural difference was highlighted in chapter four as a significant factor in earlier ethnographical studies of same-sex experiences.

MADIS 10X: *Sexually I find men of colour very attractive. As with my previous partner I said, the bigger, the better, the blacker, the sweeter! It's just an important sexual priority. I enjoy different cultures. I'm not particularly struck on the English culture, and find it very satisfying and interesting being with someone from a different culture and learning about that culture.*

MADIS 10Y: *I find it from the other side - other than I generally like men - I've always felt more attraction towards white guys since I was a very young boy.*

ONE2: *Once he had got to Britain he had a six month visa...He then went through the rigmarole of applying for Asylum on the grounds that he was gay...[]...and he got in until February next year, and...we've been very happy.*

Res: Has he had any difficulties adapting culturally?

ONE2: *Yes! The first few months were difficult. He wasn't allowed to work. I live in the country, so he was trapped...and he looked at the winter weather...but once he got permission to work...his life just changed because then he got friends.*

6Y met his current partner in the UK (6X). He identifies unresolved immigration issues, and partner's recent arrival to the UK, as major obstacles in forming long-term plans in their relationship.

MADIS 6Y: *He's a South African...and he's on a working holiday visa...and it runs out by the end of March. So we've got to get all that sorted out...where we could apply and stay here on the basis of our relationship.*

Res: Do you find any cultural differences with a white South African, adjusting to different experiences?

MADIS 6Y: *I think he also misses a lot of the in-jokes because he's not English and doesn't watch the same kind of T.V. programmes, soap operas - the same kind of experiences.*

In contrast to 10X and ONE2, ONE3's partner still lives in his native country. He visits him regularly but has no plans to live together permanently. Although closer to a pejorative "sex tourist" type relationship, ONE3 eschews any exploitative label on two grounds: firstly, that Dess initiated the relationship; and secondly, that meeting Dess' family gives the relationship more substance.

Res: Some people would say that this age-gap and cross-cultural relationship - older man coming in - is exploitative. How do you see it?

ONE3: *Dess actually made the first move...I've given him presents and I know he needs a bit of help...No, I don't see it as exploitative...The fact that I have been introduced to the family ... suggests that it's more.*

The final inter-racial MADIS is the only one where both partners are native British. Both highlight tensions within the gay community over such relationships, where racial and cultural roles are problematically reified and stereotyped.

Res: What has the reaction been from gay friends?

MADIS 1X: *There's a whole strange mixture of reaction on the scene-*

MADIS 1Y: *A side that accepts it and a side that do accept it but don't like to accept it in front of their friends.*

MADIS 1X: *There's a whole sub-culture on the scene: there's a collection of black guys who'll only ever go out with white guys, and white guys who'll only ever go to bed with a black guy. And there's always this thing that black guys have got bigger cocks.*

MADIS 1Y: *It's the ones that go for a certain type.*

11.22 Material dependency

Material power differences were viewed as a likely cause of tension in MADIS and therefore included in the interview schedule. This was based on the way career structures are constructed in the UK, providing the older partner with greater income and resources. However, this particular aspect did not prove as significant for respondents, with most regarding their ability to "pay their way" as crucial. Although many respondents (particularly younger partners) recognise financial discrepancies in their current relationships, they tend to view this as an inevitable reality - one that they were prepared to accept for the sake of maintaining their relationship. However, two respondents view their "domestic role" unsatisfactorily, contending that such a position would be viewed by society as demeaning.

In the following four cases, financial disparities are confounded with both partners living together (and in 6Y's case workplace too). In IND2's case, age disparities were not reflected in material inequality. The other three accounts fit more with expected norms, with 6Y, ONE2 and 10X earning significantly more than their younger partners. However, the partners tended to accept this as an inevitable corollary in the unfolding trajectory of their relationship.

Res: Has the situation of you studying and living with... made economic dependency an issue?

MADIS 10X: *It's a fact of life! So it's not an issue! Without it the relationship wouldn't be here. I've just accepted it and that is it!*

MADIS 10Y: *Yip!*

MADIS 6Y: *He's just starting a college course, and so he needed a job with flexibility...I don't think he particularly likes the work with me...but he's got some immigration issues and he's got to be able to demonstrate that he can support himself.*

Res: Is there any tension working in the same place and having a relationship?

MADIS 6Y: *I suppose the only tension is that he's not really doing the job that he wants. Also, when I'm at work I switch on to a different mode and...I'm less charmed than I'd been at home. I'd rather he had a different job.*

IND2: *We always used to pay our way. It was never a case of him paying,*

ONE2: *I earn quite a lot...He kind of pays his way as much as he can.*

The following case covers 5Y's concern that he is not fulfilling societal expectations of self-reliance. He is clearly dissatisfied with his current position within the relationship, which he frames in gendered and class terms as a feminised, domestic role, and therefore subsidiary to being a breadwinner. 5X contests this by elevating 5Y's importance within their relationship as being essential in providing a home life and as a lover.

What emerges from this is contrasting conceptions over security with a relationship. In contrast to more eulogistic characterisations of some of the gay and lesbian accounts in Weeks et al.'s study (2002), the following suggest potential tension between normative and gender understandings, and the "realities" of their personal relationship.

MADIS 5Y: *You have to go out and make a living - be self-sufficient...and now living like this, isn't anything to me...When I gave up my job, it was quite an alien concept to me. Oh I'm going to be supported by someone!*

MADIS 5X: *My contribution to the relationship can't be the same as your contribution because if they were the same you would have someone like you and I would have someone like me.*

MADIS 5Y: *It's a difficult concept for me because there might be a small minority who find it a turn on because of the role playing - people who have sugar daddies...*

I've got youth and he's got the age and the money but our relationship has developed of its own accord...Yes...I make a comfortable environment...Being in a social world to say I'm a homemaker, it doesn't have that sort of impact. This is not a good achieving thing.

8Y and ONE1 restate transgressive theoretical positions on power in MADIS. Although this is situated within adult MADIS, there are distinct similarities with boylover accounts in characterising power as multi-dimensional and capable of being subverted by the younger person. However, as argued throughout this thesis, it is questionable how far such a comparison can be made, and certainly other factors (subjectivity, cognitive awareness) have to be considered.

MADIS 8Y: *I'm definitely the money-grabbing exploitative partner. I have the looks, the youth and his money...[]...I think I have more benefits from the relationship because I get his experience and his money shared with my - not very much.*

ONE1: *Power is done in subtle ways...The balance is always shifting...He's got more money than me - always been there. But you get that in any relationship!*

The final accounts in this section (to varying degrees) minimise financial disparities in their relationship, but regard separate living accommodation and autonomy as crucially important facets.

IND3: *No problem about equality of money. His family are comfortably off. It was a battle over who was going to pay.*

MADIS 1X: *When we first met I was earning more than you, but now you're earning more than me...Never really been an issue...got his flat and I've got the house here.*

MADIS 2X: *He makes a reasonable income and I do find we go out for a meal and its two-thirds / one thirds split sort of thing...When we're on holiday, I will pay my own travel expenses...[]...It isn't an enormous issue, but I am aware that he has more financial power than I do.*

MADIS 9Y: *I'd only be happy with that if both parties were reasonably solvent. Our relationship works because our income disparity is not high. I have paid for my flat and have a few more material possessions, but that is a function of me having worked ten years longer than... has...If he was to depend on me in any other way - other than emotionally - it wouldn't work for me.*

MADIS 3Y: *Both had houses...House is in my name - kept it like that. But both of us contribute to bills and both earning similar wages.*

11.23 Hermeneutics of MADIS attraction

A central aim of the questionnaire and interviews was to allow individuals to assign their own meanings to their relationship. This involved examining potential differences in the way younger and older partners view the relationship, and the impact of the wider community, gay community, parents and friends on their relationship. (See appendices fifty-nine and sixty).

Normalcy

The following three accounts emphasise the normalcy of their relationship, drawing on a marital discourse (rows, mutual understanding and faithfulness).

MADIS 1Y: *We're getting blessed.*⁴²⁸

ONE1: *Just an ordinary married couple. We work at it, have our rows, we have the same problems as everyone else has...We don't sleep around.*

MADIS 8Y: *We're a married couple...He tends to be right on things when it's an experience answer...I'm usually more right possibly when it's people skills because...I can be a bit more manipulative.*

Stability

The following accounts identify stability and security as crucial prerequisites explaining the success of their respective relationships. These accounts also reinforce

the previous accounts by emphasising the normality, domesticity, and stability of their relationship, in stark contrast to popular stereotypes which see gay males as promiscuous and unfaithful.

MADIS 2Y: *Lots of trust. We both allow a considerable amount of space which can make the relationship stronger. No fights over domestic issues...It's a matter of personality, quite easy to get on with and very settled and secure.*

MADIS 4Y: *Security and being with someone.*

IND4: *It made me so much more happier and stable for a long time.*

MADIS 6Y: *Important, significant, really great...very domestic actually...I feel more secure.*

MADIS 3Y: *I can't imagine being with anyone else - despite having crazy arguments - we have our problems, the relationship is good.*

MADIS 3X: *It's lasted four years - longest relationship I've been in - most grown-up relationship. He's also been an anchor-point of my life - stability and trust...We've grown up. I've matured because of being in a long-term relationship and the responsibilities.*

Reciprocity

ONE3 and 7X highlight the shared nature of their relationship, and how the older partner can benefit in a MADIS from the expertise and physical capacities of the younger partner.

ONE3: *It's not just a one-way thing pupil-teacher – it's a two-way! You know the younger person can learn experience and things about life from the older person. I'm learning a lot from...!*

⁴²⁸ The forthcoming ceremony was to take place later that year (August 2001).

MADIS 7X: *A business partnership and there's a relationship partnership, and that's just one example of the way we share power...There's a lot of things that...does within our business and our social life that I'm either not physically or strong enough to do...I've learnt a lot from..., to shrug my shoulders and think that's inevitable.*

Physical features

Relatively few gay MADIS accounts mention physical attraction as a significant factor within their relationships. This was also evident in the return questionnaires. However the following three do refer to specific physical features, idiosyncrasies and habits, which attract them to their partners.

MADIS 6Y: *I think it's important that he is stunning when he comes into the room...I found him fun - unusual outlook on life and his life story was very interesting...and I generally enjoy his company.*

MADIS 6X: *He doesn't realise what I find attractive - stupid things...You know, things like him wearing a longer coat and it flowing in the wind. And why does he do that? ...What does he feel when he does that? Why do I feel like this when I see him doing that?*

MADIS 1X: *I think physical attraction is a large part of it...Obviously that's what pulled us together in the first place.*

Persona and friendship

A consistent theme running through the gay MADIS accounts is the importance of personality in creating an emotional bond. What emerge are narratives of friendship, care and intimacy - akin to many gay and lesbian interviewees in Weeks et al.'s study (2002), but also reinforced through trust in building the relationship. Within these relationships, intersubjective micro-factors (inter-personal negotiations, persona and shared values) are assigned substantially greater weighting than global structural factors (age or material discrepancies).

MADIS 4X: *The relationship has deepened over two years. It was intensely physical*

but is now a deeper friendship and trust, and will go on developing.

IND3, 8X and 10Y highlight the positive changes in themselves through interacting with their partner (including pleasure, greater confidence), and how their respective relationships have strengthened through time.

IND3: *I didn't see any low points. It was fantastic! ...Didn't last long enough. It was a pleasure being in his company.*

MADIS 8X: *I don't think that because...is a lot younger than me is relevant... It's just the fact that I'm relatively easy to get along with in the relationship. I don't think it's a young-old thing, I think it's just me.*

MADIS 10Y: *We've been together for three and half years...This relationship has meant a lot to me...I've grown a lot - more mature, more confident in myself. I've done things I'd never imagine I would do - like getting into a theatre group...[] ...When I met him, I was quite happy in Chile, but he just came and he knows at the beginning I didn't want to come a long time...I felt scarred...When I finally decided to, I liked it.*

5X and 5Y realise that tension is built-in to relationships. Although recognising the improvements in their own relationships through rowing less, they point to a “safety-valve” whereby each can enjoy a “one-night stand”. Although this contrasts with the dominant theme of monogamy and stability, both assign strict limits to such encounters, bound by trust.

MADIS 5X: *At the beginning we used to fight like fury...Over the last couple of months we haven't rowed once over anything.*

MADIS 5Y: *I know it's strange.*

MADIS 5X: *I think the dynamics are working better. I think we're understanding each other better.*

MADIS 5Y: *We had decided about six months into our relationship about us having this – it's a fine line between open relationship and monogamy...It ended up with us agreeing that we would have certain days that whenever we could turn to each other and have our euphemistic Friday night.*

MADIS 5X: *I think the thing that underpins the entire thing is that the risk is always there...We have three rules...always confess, never see them twice and don't do it in your own bed!*

Another aspect that emerges is complementarity, whereby each partner adopts differing roles and responsibilities within the relationship. Rather than viewing these as functionally restrictive, 2X characterises it as a natural, unfolding process. For 9X and 9Y, this involves an interchange of emotional support, chemistry and humour.

MADIS 2X: *...is seventeen years older than I am...I found personality wise - just been a natural thing for the relationship to keep going...We do get on so well...In some ways we compensate for each other, and in other ways we're very similar...It's quite an equal relationship in the way it works out.*

MADIS 9X: *It's definitely the case that I rely on him mentally...It's more than liking it. I really need it. Just feel that you're looked after...He felt a lack of someone to look after...and I think that's what I supply.*

MADIS 9Y: *When I met him he was a person who was quite openly in need of somebody to look after him...He wanted some sort of emotional support...We do fancy each other and I fancy him a lot, and we have a good sex life. In terms of personality we share a good sense of humour.*

Common interests

Several respondents identify similar social and leisure interests, alongside common values and attitudes to life which minimised - or collapsed altogether - the age-generational distant between them. Others claim that such differences, which emerged constituted the very catalyst for their relationship, and a major reason for its success.

The following three accounts refer to general similarities of interest (in terms of personal values, mindset and attitude to life).

IND2: *If we went to the restaurant...we could order a meal for each other...We could tell what the other was going to say to a question on different issues - virtually read one another's minds.*

ONE2: *One is that he laughs at things easily and I like that...A similar attitude to life as I do, in terms of how to treat people.*

MADIS 8X: *We're in our eighth year and show absolutely no signs of changing and that says it all!...Because we...mesh well...we do share quite a lot of values.*

Other respondents refer to more specific interests ranging from dance, music, architecture and politics.

IND3: *Went to restaurants, the beach...Most of the time at home...Musically we liked similar things, the charts...and politically he was active in the Green Party and I go towards that - environmental...I was a ...Town Councillor.*

MADIS 10X: *Theatre - which is very important.*

MADIS 10Y: *Music is 80% of my life.*

MADIS 10X: *As a typical South American...language is important. He's fascinated by English and since I met him I started learning Spanish...It's had a bonding influence...Music has brought us together.*

MADIS 2Y: *Common interest in music, involvement in religion and architecture.*

MADIS 4Y: *Enjoy holidays together, go to antique fairs, cinemas, eating out, into current affairs, business-minded.*

Only ONE1 characterises his relationship as one of opposites, but sees this as unproblematic in the conduct of their relationship.

ONE1: *We tend to be opposites very extrovert, both reasonably intelligent. I'm social – he's not. Far more business-oriented, I like to shop.*

Problems

Respondents identify several problems, which age differences have brought to their relationship, whilst others mention unrelated difficulties such as work patterns and / or personality conflicts. Analysing these accounts is further complicated by discerning what problems are relationship-specific (including age), or brought about by wider socio-cultural factors.

4X and 10X identify age-related considerations as potentially problematic in the future trajectory of their relationship. Both highlight the physical impact of the ageing process, and the multiple ways (sex life and common time) this could impinge on their respective relationships.

MADIS 4X: *I view stability, faithfulness in a relationship as I get older...I'll have to accept in another five years my interest in a physical sense will diminish, and he will want a more active sex life.*

MADIS 10X: *To me there is a worry if the relationship continues...I'm retired and ...is working and we can't spend as much time together as I liked to as if I had someone my own age...- to go out and enjoy things and visit places. Whereas...has to spend his time studying and work...Also the longer term aspects of age, whether... will still want to be around an old man and a stick.*

Four of the respondents stress the problem of work impinging on their shared social and leisure time. In contrast to tensions expressed by earlier respondents over conflicting domestic verses work roles, these respondents bemoan the difficulties created by excessive workloads.

MADIS 2X: *His job puts restrictions...He teaches and he is the musical director of various societies and a lot of his time is taken up at night.*

MADIS 1Y: *The only thing we need to do more is take time out for each other...Weekends are for each other, but half the time I'm working.*

MADIS 3Y: *We do argue due to work and timetables. I'm at college and night shift, I'm shattered, say hello and go to bed...But we do get away two or three times on holiday.*

9Y and IND2 refer to specific incidents (emotional immaturity and infidelity) where their partner's behaviour created significant difficulties. However, each detail how these were effectively negotiated with their respective partners.

MADIS 9Y: *He was emotionally difficult when I first met him in terms of his temper and his insecurity and jealousy...We had our odd spats as any human being in a relationship do but...using my work experience I manage that, and taught him that the behaviour was silly...But that's just the investment in building a relationship with someone.*

IND2: *Maud met someone who was twenty-one...This person didn't move into the house. Maud sort of had a relationship with him for a year but in all that time Maud and I were still in very close contact with one another... Then he came over and said I've made a decision it's you I want. It's just a silly phase I've gone through. So I said, you've got to be sure because I can't cope with this again...So we got back together.*

Power

In chapter three, power was conceptualised as relational, unstable and negotiated within localised, micro terrains. The relational dimensions of power within MADIS were seen as important, and incorporated in the interview schedule. It was however recognised that power disparities in adult-adult MADIS could raise different - but not necessarily incomparable - concerns and features than those involving men and boys / youths.

The relative statuses of the different components within MADIS with respect to mainstream discourses⁴²⁹ largely reflect popular "commonsense" understandings on age-gap relationships.⁴³⁰ Although several respondents recognise the potential tension that power differences could create in age-discrepant relationships, most contend that this was not a feature of their relationship. Indeed, younger and older partners stress the multiple and complex ways power acts as a two-way process in such relationships.

The following accounts contend that power dynamics in MADIS are nuanced. Whereas 2Y and 6Y refer to confidence and personality as potentially more significant, 7X, IND4 and 9X identify multiple *negative* ways (manipulation, withdrawing sexual relations, and psychological strategies) that younger people can make use of in a MADIS. 7X also points to *positive* ways (being responsible for finances) in which his younger partner exerts control and responsibility within the relationship.

Res: There are people who would say that in such a relationship, there is a power-imbalance.

IND4: *I don't believe it did in my case! The fact that we're still friends afterwards suggests so. He is or can be very manipulative, so I think in that sense he was just as capable of manipulating me as I was of him.*

MADIS 7X: *The younger partner is obviously attractive therefore can use withdrawal as a threat -...doesn't! Between us within our relationship, we perform different roles. ...deals with the money...So if I want to buy something, I'll ask...can we afford this?*

MADIS 2Y: *Power imbalance weighted toward older guy, no I don't think so! In a way not about age, but about confidence as to who you are...didn't have confidence in who he really was. I've given him confidence to approach the world in a different way. He only came out six months before meeting me...I certainly found someone who*

⁴²⁹ Including legal, media, popular, gay and lesbian, and developmental psychology.

⁴³⁰ For example, these would likely suggest that the power discrepancies between a fourteen year-old and a forty year-old, necessarily imply substantially greater significance than those between a twenty-five year-old and a sixty year-old.

was struggling with himself and was winning.

MADIS 6Y: I'm a classic A-type personality - I do need to control situations...I've never felt particularly confident about the way I look either...I've always been very good at earning money and always been very good socially...Depends on what kind of power you're talking about. Many more people would fancy him than would fancy me...He's a man of potential and ability and I'm not! He's extremely charming...and he will attract greater attention...But he would perceive these as foundations of sand...[]...He hates people talking to him just because he's good looking. He wants to be taken seriously. He resents been seen as a dull rent boy or something. So a lot of stuff you could say is his power base but he doesn't really appreciate it. There's personality. He's the arbiter of taste at home and...that is his domain and I'm very happy with him having that.

As the younger partners in their gay MADIS, 6X and 9X consciously minimise (or collapse altogether) power dynamics as a substantial component within their relationship. 9X goes further in questioning any necessary association between an age-gap and power in a relationship.

MADIS 6X: I don't think it really applies to me because I started the relationship, and I told him outright from the beginning that: I fancy you, and you fancy me, and this how this is going to work...[]...I think from the beginning... if there was any sort of power thing, I think it might have come from me.

Res: How would you use the power that you have in the relationship?

MADIS 6X: I try not to use it...From the beginning I told him I don't want any games!...Even if he doesn't intend to play a game on the power thing, it turns out to be a game I explain it to him and stop it straight away.

MADIS 9X: I don't see it as a power relationship at all...I think in an individual act of sexual intercourse there is some sort of power thing going on, but I don't think that's enough to sustain a relationship...You've always got something to give that the

other person needs. You don't need the same thing... I don't think it's about power at all and in fact people who are classically supine can use passive aggression to get their own way. I don't think it follows that because one person is older and mentally in charge, or even in charge of booking holidays and meals, they are necessarily the powerful person in that relationship.

11.24 Age-specific dynamics

The questionnaire and interview schedule addressed both age-specific themes and other dynamics. Although most respondents recognise age as important, they identify other aspects (personality, similarity of interests) as more significant. In his study of man-boy relationships, Leahy (1992b) noted a consistent discursive strategy of younger participants minimising age differentials, by adopting adult-like characteristics. Conversely, IND4 and IND3 as the older partners in their respective relationships, also put forward their younger partner's relative maturity as the main reason for their attraction.

Res: Five years when you started going out - he was seventeen and now twenty-two, a lot of changes going on. How has that affected your relationship?

IND4: *Funnily enough there were much less than I expected...The person I was having the relationship with is in many ways very different from an average person of his age.*

IND3: *He was quite a mature eighteen year-old and I was quite an immature thirty-four year-old...I've no idea why such relationships don't last...have strong feelings about being faithful.*

MADIS 8Y: *It helped that I've only ever fancied older guys and every year we've been together he's grown more handsome in my eyes.*

ONE2 and 6Y contest equating developmental chronology with age, identifying situations and examples where age roles are actually reversed.

ONE2: *Met him when I was fifty-six and he was twenty-seven...He was from Senegal. Although superficially you might expect the younger person would expect the older person to come and look after them, I think it's more balanced.*

MADIS 6Y: *Often I'll adopt the personality of the younger person who drinks too much and ...will adopt the personality of the more responsible, it's time we got home, don't take those drugs...and for god sake stop spending that money!*

Although IX, 3Y and 3X place some significance on the generational gap, in terms of perspective and physical endurance, they qualify this by highlighting personality factors including generally outlook on life as equally important determinants.

MADIS 1X: *We talked about it a fair bit...I've never been with anyone that was a couple of years either side of my own age, so it didn't seem strange...It's not really been a problem at all! Sometimes I feel I'm knackered and twenty years ago yeah but now, I'm a different generation, which gives you a slightly different outlook on life.*

MADIS 3Y: *I'm more get up and go and sometimes he looks at me, he'll say I'm immature.*

MADIS 3X: *He's always on the go...I don't know whether it's an age difference or personality. I think...will still be a bubbly person – it's age and personality difference...As I've got older, priorities have changed...I don't notice the age-gap.*

Age as insignificant

Several respondents even question whether age factors were relevant at all to the interpersonal dynamics of their relationship.

IND2: *I think Maud was more aware of the age thing than me because I was still under twenty-one...[]...Used to be very cautious of where we went.*

MADIS 8Y: *I don't think of him as being fifty-two...When I go with you to a club, I don't think of you as twenty-two years older.*

MADIS 4Y: *Age doesn't matter!*

MADIS 3Y: *Age is more significant as age is passing you by.*

IND2: *I've always liked the age I am.*

MADIS 7Y: *It's the person. I don't fall in love with a date of birth!*

MADIS 2X: *Not so much I prefer older men, is the fact that this relationship has worked so well. I have no preference - your type. It didn't work like that! What their age is or anything else – it's irrelevant!*

MADIS 5X: *Age for me is something I don't really consider.*

Attraction and identification with younger people

However, a significant number of respondents identify characteristics and features commonly associated with particular age groups (either younger or older). Several respondents state how their attraction to younger people originated from a liking to be in their company, and identify with them. In this respect, they share certain similarities with boylovers in chapter six. However, whereas the age-range of attraction of the gay respondents tend to be at, or just above, current age of consent statutes, those of most boylovers generally fall below sixteen.

Although ONE3 identifies youthful physical characteristics as an important criterion, he doubts whether he would countenance a relationship with a teenager. However, his preference for Thai youths may explain how he can effectively square attraction to smooth physical features (usually associated with teenagers) with an emotional preference for men in their early twenties. Further work examining the link between aesthetics, culture and sexuality may reveal useful insights in this area.

Res: The relationships you mention in the questionnaire are around seventeen to twenty-three. Is that your age-range?

ONE3: *It's gone up a bit recently. When I met...- my second big relationship - I was thirty and he was twenty-one...and that lasted seven years...Since finishing with him I've not really been looking for teenagers at all. I'll look at them and say yeah! But the age has risen to early twenties...It's not risen as much as I've got older.*

Res: You mention general attraction to younger men?

ONE3: *I don't know how you can define attraction to someone...There are certain features that appeal to me, and those tend to be associated with younger men. I don't like muscles...I always have a weakness for short guys...shorter than me...[]...and for generally smooth features. And that tends to be younger.*

8X sees a relationship with teenagers as problematic on account of his aversion to childishness. ONE3 and 8X's desire is clearly for young men as opposed to boys.

MADIS 8X: *I'm not really that interested in anyone under the age of twenty-five, but I think the fact that the pub's cut off was eighteen was quite convenient for me because it took that temptation anyway...But can see the attraction in someone that is younger, but I get very put off now with childishness.*

MADIS 4X: *My age-range is between twenty to mid-thirties. Outside that have to be exceptional...I can look at a fifteen/sixteen year-old youth and say he would be nice in ten years time.*

IND1: *Always with men younger than me - nineteen to twenty-one - barely legal.*

IND4, IND3, and 6Y explain their attraction to male youths as both physical and emotional. Along with specifically youthful physical features, they identify an emotional bond, and view young people as more "easy to get on with" socially and sexually.

IND4: *The people I find most attractive are probably in their early twenties and...healthy, less spare weight... usually have a full head of hair...More enthusiastic*

about life in general...much more exciting to be with than some older people...[]...I feel very comfortable with younger people.

IND3: Young people must have a nice face. Most other things you can change...My only explanation is...mental maturity...When I was younger, I preferred friends that were younger, and now my friends are mainly in their early twenties.

MADIS 6Y: I wake up to a fairly good-looking twenty year-old blonde in the morning...It would be naïve to say that doesn't have certain pleasures with it...I don't always enjoy the company of practised and sophisticated people who don't take risks, don't explore new ideas.

The following four Gay MADIS respondents detail various explanations for their attraction ranging from: youthful characteristics (in 7X's case), to emotional congruence for 8X and 2Y. Again, although the development of language to explain such an attraction shares certain similarities with boylover's explanations, the age-range of attraction of the gay MADIS tend to be late teens / early twenties.

MADIS 7X: Youth brings with it enthusiasm, agility, strengths and all that kind of physical attribute, and it also tends to bring with it lack of experience...That's a problem with a mixed age relationship.

MADIS 8X: I was scared to start up a relationship with anybody much older than mid twenties because that wasn't where I related emotionally...or gaily.

MADIS 2Y: I do like younger guys anyway...One relationship a year or two with a guy who was a student. He would have been twenty and I'd be about forty. I suppose it's partly...you don't let go of your own youth. That's part of the attraction. What matters is personality!

Attraction to adult men

The following share distinct similarities ML in chapter nine, in highlighting attraction to older men as significant throughout their life course. However, such attractions did

not go beyond the level of fantasy. 1Y and 4Y identify an omnipresent physical and emotional attraction to older people throughout their respective life courses, which they do not see as a father figure. 4Y explains this through his own relative maturity and an ability to relate to older people, whereas 1Y sees persona as a crucial facet.

MADIS 1Y: *I've always fancied older people. If it's a father thing or a brother thing I don't know...There's obviously a physical attraction but it's obviously the actual person...personality...more out-going.*

MADIS 4Y: *I always preferred older men. The attraction is not a father thing. People have always said that I've been mature - have always got on with older people...reflects my job. I work with older people and they relate to me more.*

10Y and 8Y's explanations for attraction to older men share many similarities with gay youth respondents in chapter nine. For example, 10Y explains that attraction to older men paralleled his recognition of being gay. He also stresses that he did not (similar to ML) find his peers attractive but instead actively sought relationships with older men. Finally, 8Y even identifies a clear-cut boundary to his age of attraction.

MADIS 10Y: *I've always, since I can remember, been attracted to older guys. Ever since I was feeling a bit different when I was at school. Didn't really find attractive any of my friends from school...It was always a teacher, someone I saw in the streets and I said, oh I like him! And when I started as a gay guy - nineteen/twenty - the relationships I have been in, have been with older guys.*

MADIS 8Y: *I don't fancy anyone under thirty-five, and over forty, I get butterflies in my tummy, and I can usually tell.*

6X's account draws out an inter-relationship between age, gender and sexuality. For example, he views the masculine features associated with older men as especially desirable. In attaching physical and emotional facets to this, he clearly identifies such masculine characteristics as preferable to the "boyish" qualities of his contemporaries.

MADIS 6X: *The thing that attracts me is probably 20% their looks and 80% how men think...Very different than mine. I don't know, their logic and all that! And I found that very attractive...is very masculine. That's what I find most attractive about him. Most younger men are just boys really – they're not masculine enough for me.*

The exchange between 5X and 5Y highlights seduction as an important aspect in MADIS. 5Y sees his partner's attraction to youth as primarily physical, whereas 5X contests this by arguing that there needs to be some degree of emotional and intellectual confluence. Throughout this dialogue both put forward their explanations for attraction to younger or older people respectively, characterising it as a discontent with their own generation, and willingness to “connect” with younger or older people.

MADIS 5Y: [to his partner] *The only reason I got to know you as I know you now, you're always after young boys...He knows everything to get a young boy into bed. He attracts them for some reason. He knows what to say.*

MADIS 5X: *Youth for its own sake doesn't work for me...maybe I look across the room and see someone is really cute and really young -*

MADIS 5Y: *When you see cute what goes through your mind?*

MADIS 5X: *Yeah turn on...When it's happened and engaged in conversation that's when it's make or break time for me. If there's not really a conversation that's working, then the libido goes down, as well as all the interest as well.*

MADIS 5Y: *I find that with older people.*

MADIS 5X: *Lots of people act like they're old. They've sort of lost it...My own age people have lost that!*

MADIS 5Y: *But do you think of yourself as forty-one?*

MADIS 5X: *No, I feel seventeen - joie de vivre.*

MADIS 5Y: *Everything's got to do with mentality...I'm twenty-two, I act older than you.*

11.25 Links with the gay community

Most respondents were infrequent participants on the gay scene, with many actively distancing themselves from it. Several interviewees stress the privatised nature of their relationship, in which social events were enjoyed with small groups of friends, and going out to non-gay venues. They also highlight their relative contentment in such contexts, and characterise this as more preferable to the more visible, public displays of being gay undertaken by active "scene goers".

MADIS 2X: *I'm not involved in the gay scene in...as such...I know a big community in their thirties and forties who are basically old married couples and are very happy like that.*

MADIS 2Y: *Lot of friends who are gay go out not primarily on the gay scene...[]... Our own scene - we've created it!...Not really high on the agenda, not been necessary.*

MADIS 3X: *Never really developed a taste for the gay scene.*

MADIS 4X: *Not interested in the gay scene.*

IND3: *Didn't really go out on the gay scene - once a month.*

ONE1: *Not big scene goers.*

ONE2: *The scene has never interested me as such anyway...Certainly wouldn't interest him. When I have gay friends as a crowd in the house. He feels comfortable with that.*

MADIS 10X: *We haven't been out on the scene much in....*

7X and 9X go further in criticising the contemporary gay scene in the UK. 7X explains his own personal treatment and subsequent alienation, through the gay community's attitude to MADIS, which he characterises (similar to the contributors in Lee's volume (1991) in chapter one) as hypocritical. 9X sees the main problem as one where long-term stable relationships are devalued in the gay scene, in favour of a dominant hedonistic commercial scene, which imposes its own normative idea of what a gay identity entails.

MADIS 7X: *I've been ostracised by the gay community... It's been two years since I've had anything to do with the gay scene...I was falsely accused of a misdemeanour. The gay community - 90% - refused to offer any support.*

MADIS 9X: *I don't think people like us fit into the gay scene...and I think most gay people probably live like we do. You may go out for a few pints, but you're life doesn't revolve around it. It annoys me politically that that's how gay people are seen because it's the most visible part of homosexuality...It amazes me that gay people who are like that get on their high horse about people who won't be promiscuous and extravagant with drugs.*

Conclusion

The bulk of relationships covered in this section were adult MADIS. Although many respondents had both peer and MADIS when younger, they did not feature prominently in personal narratives. Several younger partners in MADIS stressed how attraction to older men had been constant throughout their life-course, but most identified this as a "wanting to be with" rather than any particular sexual connotations.

Those respondents who did have MADIS experiences, as the younger person did not generally regard it negatively, but more as formative experiences in defining their sexuality and subsequent life-course trajectories. Furthermore, gay male respondents (in contrast to boylovers) did not perceive attraction to boys or young men as a central facet of their identity. The importance assigned by respondents to age in relationships was generally variable, with some regarding it as substantial but most identifying personality, similarity of interests and outlook on life as potentially more significant.

Chapter Twelve Summary of Research Findings

A significant feature in the face-to-face interviews and CMC of self-identified boylovers was a strong commitment to a boylover sexual identity, which they contended has been present throughout most of their lives. They identified physical, emotional and social characteristics which specifically attract them to boys. Many respondents characterised their growing awareness of such an attraction in two chronological phases. However, most noted significant difficulties in coming to terms with their orientation throughout their life-course.

No correlation was found between 'cycles of abuse' and later identification as a boylover, or any discernible aetiological correlation with pathology or social deficits. Respondents also revealed variable degrees of community identification ranging from: subscription to a magazine; involvement in Internet chatrooms; joining local self-help groups; to active participation in sexology conferences. Within such fora, boylovers continued to eschew mainstream conceptions of MADIS (abuse, exploitation) in favour of positive presentations of the relational aspects of boylove (mutual love, friendship and care).

Differences in age of attractions and the forms (desired or actual) relationships took, were observed between adult gay MADIS and boylovers. Most gay men in a current MADIS sought relationships with those in their late teens / twenties, and generally avoided establishing encounters or relationships with anyone younger. Differences were also noted between boylovers who sought relationships with under-thirteens and those who preferred thirteen-seventeen year-olds. However, any attempts at drawing clear boundaries between paedophilia, epehebophilia and homosexuality were problematised due to: a degree of overlap in ages of attraction; recognition by some gay respondents that their age preferences were influenced by the contemporary gay scene; and differences in the socio-cultural scripting of age throughout respondents' life courses.

The professional accounts (sex offender and CSA) revealed a discursive symmetry, through appropriating binary victim-perpetrator language. Their operational praxis was framed according to victimological assumptions. They also applied legal, moral

and behavioural frameworks in arguing for a continuation of the injunction on MADIS, and a reinforcement of the boundary between sexual orientation and sexually offending behaviour.

Two of the four political accounts (Pol1 and 2) advocated maintaining existing normative boundaries between child and adult sexuality. They articulated religious and conservative familial, pro-marriage discourses critical of same-sex and child sexual behaviours. Although Pol4 distanced himself from this, he characterised adult sexual interest in young people as predatory, and expressed concerns over the vulnerability of young people on the gay scene. Pol3 argued that current attacks on paedophiles reflect a politically motivated strategy by powerful groups to engineer hysteria and target a minority. He viewed these campaigns as reminiscent of historical witch-hunts, and as a crucial starting point in the erosion of fundamental civil liberties in the UK.

Despite the apparent dominant status of CSA/sex offender perspectives, several political and professional respondents felt they had a relatively limited influence in shaping public policy in comparison to wider material influences. They criticised the way young people were encouraged - either through commercial marketing, the media, or sex education - to behave in sexualised ways.

A total of six gay men had had such experiences when they were younger (ranging from sporadic encounters to longer-term relationships). Although a number of respondents highlighted generally positive attitudes, several stated that such experiences were all that was available. Although there was recognition of some problematic aspects of MADIS amongst some of the gay youth interviewees, they revealed significantly less negative attitudes to sexual relationships between adults and young people than both the professional and political accounts. They were also generally greater willing to countenance assertive youth sexual initiation in sexual encounters with adults, a more substantive young people's desires for older people, and positive benefits for younger people in such relationships.

ML's experience highlights a substantial gap in current research namely, the failure to

include a satisfactory explanation (outside CSA and victimological frameworks) of positive accounts of MADIS. He strongly eschewed victim status, viewing himself as a young person who actively sought, participated and enjoyed his experiences with older men. These experiences have given him, as an adult, the impetus to challenge such dominant perspectives. However, ML's narrative also reveals the various difficulties of proselytising such a story within mainstream discursive channels.

The three male survivors referred to the personal difficulties they faced throughout their lives in coping with the damaging effects of their abuse, and how a growing awareness of MSA and survivor support groups has helped facilitate this process. They identified common features in their abuse including a lack of family support, violence and coercion, and the omnipotent power and control which their abuser had over them. They also highlighted the severely traumatic impact which their abuse has had upon their lives in terms of their future relationships (with partners and their children), societal recognition of their plight, and reconciling hegemonic notions of masculinity with survivor status.

The bulk of relationships covered were adult gay MADIS. Although many respondents had both peer and MADIS when younger, they did not feature prominently in their personal narratives. However, those that had such experiences, did not define them as abusive or exploitative, but more as formative, or reinforcing experiences, in defining their sexuality and subsequent life-course trajectories.

Several gay respondents also highlighted varied manifestations of desires as young people for adults including being specifically attracted to the characteristics and persona of adult males. However, they did not place overtly sexual connotations on such desires. The importance assigned to age in relationships by gay respondents was variable. Some regarded their attraction to younger or older men as a substantial component of their sexuality, whilst others identified other factors (personality, culture, or common interests) as more significant.

The above accounts reflect the contested nature of the discursive positions on MADIS. The four perspectives (see appendix fifteen) were generally helpful in

evaluating the most significant influences on each of the respective positions. The first two positions (discursive closure and likely harm) were generally adopted by most professional accounts and some of the political approaches. However, one of the professional respondents lent some credence to the continua approach by acknowledging an heterogeneity of possible outcomes and subject positions on MADIS. This position was also adopted by many of the gay youth and adult gay respondents, who outlined a more nuanced set of attitudes to MADIS.

Male survivor accounts generally substantiated the second discursive position (likely harm) in appendix fifteen. However they also lend some credence to claims that the impact of CSA is significantly mediated by the nature of such experiences (consensual as opposed to coercive), and prior experiences (family background). Finally, paedophilic and boylover accounts drew on liberationist perspectives which identified the societal taboos placed upon such relationships as the central problem, alongside the need for a greater attention to empowerment within current child sexual rights discourses. They argued that mainstream characterisations of them as "child molesters" did not do justice to their "essential" identity as boylovers, or explain the positive and beneficial aspects that a consensual, reciprocal friendship could bring to the all-round development of boys.

Chapter Thirteen Conclusion

13.1 Overview

The impetus for this study was to provide a broad conceptual, theoretical, and historical framework for MADIS, engage with recent sociological debates on CSA, and young people's rights, and examine the construction of gay, paedophilic, boylover, male survivor, child and youth identities. It was informed by inductive and deductive approaches, with no governing hypothesis, but rather a series of inter-related critical perspectives which informed each component of the thesis, and constituted the basis for the research design and data analysis. MADIS was employed as a counter to both negative connotations (coterminous with CSA), and overly eulogistic pro-paedophilic conceptions. It was also constituted as a linguistic and heuristic tool for encompassing a range of relationships and identities, and to accommodate multiple subject positions and contested perspectives.

It was argued that MADIS had been socially and discursively constituted in late modernity through hegemonic CSA discourses, and that consequently, subsequent theoretical paradigms and research approaches were too narrowly conceived, and problematically skewed towards predetermined typologies. The wholesale adoption within mainstream discourses also assumed monolithic formulations on the relational dynamics and subject positions / identities within MADIS. This framework was considered inadequate and inflexible for addressing and incorporating the potential for contested experiences and motivations of individuals involved in such relationships.

The existing literature was critiqued for an overly simplistic approach - relying on static, essentialist and developmental frameworks - whilst paying insufficient attention to the material, social and discursive context, in which MADIS is constructed. The wholesale adoption of victimological typologies - based around functionalist conceptions of age categories - was seen as problematic, and indicative of the way in which MADIS has been uncritically constructed. It also contextualised the relative marginalisation of contested perspectives / subject positions on CSA, within embedded set of power-relations, in which child sexuality and adult sexual attraction to young people, faced a range of injunctions and pastoral monitoring.

The early paedophilic and boylover literature was critiqued for its naively simplistic approach to the relationship between sexual relationships and culture. By associating all negative outcomes in such relationships with societal taboos, such perspectives failed to critically analyse the differing contexts, in which such relationships occurred. Additionally, by collapsing power differences in MADIS, they overlooked problematic aspects such as the potential for "enforced" consent, and failed to address the wider problem of young people's structural disempowerment.

The second chapter conceptualised the discursive and material formulations on MADIS in western late modernity, specifically the multiple ways in which age and age-categories have acted as a normalisation axis in recent shifts in sexual hierarchies. It also highlighted the lack within historical sociology of a critical evaluation of the link between such shifts, and the differential status enjoyed by different sexual minorities.

Chapter three elaborated on the above to interrogate current mainstream sociological and Queer theorising on late modern sexual transformations. In relation to controversies over the repeal of Clause 28, gay male age of consent, paedophilia, and CSA, such theorising was seen as limited, suggesting a considerable mismatch between the above and MADIS, requiring further analysis.

Chapters two and three contended that what was taking place was not the displacement of traditional or modern epochs by late / post modernity, but reformulated strategies in which subjectivities were still being re-appropriated by 'regimes of truth'. It also identified significant gaps and weaknesses in reflexive and Queer approaches including: an inattention to materialist considerations; a wholesale failure to recognise the multiple ways in which boylover and young peoples' perspectives are still excluded from refashioning new strategies of subject realignment; and a failure to critique essentialist and normative constructions on MADIS.

Chapter three was also informed by Foucauldian and Bourdieusian analyses, as well as sociological approaches to child, youth and age transitions. It suggested that such

perspectives were able to inform, and develop further, the inter-related debates on MADIS over young people's rights, the distribution of social power and subjective capacities within, and across, age-groups, and CSA and libertarian approaches. Finally, it concluded that critical social theorising has been able to illuminate the contested positions, and establish a more comprehensive approach to power and subjectivity within MADIS.

Chapter four addressed the different ways MADIS has been dealt with in historical and cross-cultural approaches, in contrast to contemporary mainstream political discourses. Although structural power dynamics were identified as an important aspect, historical / cross-cultural analyses avoided imposing late modern CSA hegemonic typological frameworks, recognising a range of meanings and constructions (including reciprocal intimate friendship and aesthetic appreciation), and a transgression of ascribed roles within such relationships. Although such meanings and constructs could not be appropriated wholesale to the contemporary situation, they could provide a basis for a richer genealogy on MADIS.

The research design flowed logically from the research problem. It sought to bring a qualitative, multi-site approach to the major contested discursive frameworks and subject positions on MADIS. Each of the data chapters corresponded to each of the contested subject and discursive positions namely, boylover, professional, political, gay youth, male survivor, and gay MADIS perspectives. This methodological framework also laid the groundwork for the consideration of ethical and reflexive issues, a detailed descriptive analyses of the differing meanings articulated by the various positions, and through the above, a comparison of the contested discursivities.

After a detailed review of the literature, theorising the central issues, and an extensive qualitative set of interviews, this study has hopefully provided alternate constructs, fresh ways of analysing MADIS, and given the impetus for other studies to tackle this highly contentious area.

13.2 Problematizing the hegemonic status of CSA

This study has addressed central controversies in sociology notably structure-agency,

micro-macro, and essentialist-constructionist dualisms. It has also developed critical sociological perspectives which have illuminated the contested themes and issues. Firstly, it has identified gaps and weaknesses in existing perspectives, and provided a comprehensive critique of dominant theoretical and methodological approaches in this area. It also highlighted the way in which CSA has been uncritically applied in academic and professional approaches to the relational dynamics and subject positions of those involved in MADIS. Consequently, such approaches have failed to explore: the inter-relationship between contexts, subjectivities and power dynamics within MADIS; the potential implications for current theorising and research paradigms in adopting plural and contested meanings on such relationships / identities; or the relationship between such experiences, qualitative factors and the micro / socio-cultural contexts in which they occur. In contrast to the reified, dehumanised characterisations of MADIS - based on CSA and sex offender studies - accounts from survivors, gay youth, boylovers and gay respondents in the study reveal a more complex and diverse set of discursive possibilities and subject positions.

The implications of foreclosure

Secondly, professional respondents revealed that a major aspect of their work is to strategically use their professional tools in order to reformulate the subjective experiences of their clients. This involved shying boys away from construing their experience as positive, to internalising a victimological doxa and regime of truth as victims. For others, it entailed challenging the perceptions of some adult sex offenders that they were involved in "consensual" relationships.

Consequently, the hegemonic status accorded to professional management of MADIS, allows for the production of singularly negative scripts. Furthermore, CSA researchers and professionals have created the conceptual tools and environment, in which survivor accounts receive no such criticism, and are accredited unmediated status. However, such accounts are not created in isolation, and the male victims interviewed in this study undoubtedly made use of a greater awareness of MSA. Furthermore, influential pressure groups (media, legal profession and support groups) have reinforced this through pushing for historic claims to abuse. Consequently, any "re-visiting of experience" must be analysed in the light of the potential for relatively

large amounts of compensation, and the role played by the police and legal system in encouraging such claims.

In relation to the above, this study has also thrown up a curious anomaly in the way in which MADIS has been recently theorised - a point, which may have wider implications for the philosophy of sciences. This concerns the way in which mainstream feminist, gay and lesbian perspectives since the 1970s have criticised sexology's apparent positivist credentials of aloofness and objectivity as a sham, effectively masking patriarchal and heterosexist biases. However, in recent years, it is only in journals and approaches with a more positivist approach that MADIS has received consideration outside dominant CSA paradigms. In contrast, subjectivist-based studies have tended to focus exclusively on victim-based accounts of trauma and suffering, portraying them as hidden accounts from below, with most feminist, gay and lesbian contributors ignoring this issue, or regurgitating CSA formulations as "foundational truths."

Relational dynamics within MADIS

A central thesis of mainstream CSA, feminist and sociological perspectives is that MADIS desire is socially constructed on a power / subjectivity difference. The accounts of boylovers, some gay respondents, and gay youth suggest that this approach is simplistic, monolithic and fails to address other important aspects such as: quality of the relationship; attitudes, motivations and persona of those involved, and the micro-social contexts in which such encounters / relationships take place.

However, the accounts of male survivors and some young gay men indicate that power differences, reinforced with coercion and a restrictive context, are clearly problematic aspects in MADIS. The survivor interviewees also support Nava's contention - contrary to CSA and boylover perspectives which suggest distinct boundaries - that the consent / coercion dichotomy is rarely clear-cut (see Nava 1992). Although varying degrees of coercion were experienced by all respondents, consent (and even enjoyment by one) was eventually "obtained." However, all saw their experiences as abusive and harmful, and ones over which they had little control.

Furthermore, it is not clear from the pro-paedophile literature how they would address such difficulties. Clearly, in arguing for the flourishing of reciprocal and mutually consensual relationships, they oppose outright coercion and violence. However, the process whereby "consent" was eventually obtained in the cases of some of the survivors interviewed, suggest that the context each were in, gave them minimal opportunities to effectively challenge any sexual advances made against them. These incidences clearly constitute the most problematic aspect in the boylover position: that clear-cut delineations can be marked between coercive and consensual MADIS interactions; and suggest the need to theorise further the relationship between agency, epistemology, and context in framing consent debates on MADIS.

Challenging epistemological and ontological "certainties"

However, consistent with the data and critical theorisation, a tentative case can be put forward for more serious attention than previously given by mainstream legal, professional and political positions to the incorporation of a more agentic approach to children and young people's socio-sexual rights. This would involve: greater appreciation of the differing contexts in which MADIS occurs; recognising the potential for a continua of meanings and motivations; and greater sensitivity to the impact of societal intervention and labelling. It would also facilitate greater flexibility and opportunities for plural scripting of such encounters and relationships, but also give more resources to support victims of sexual coercion, and target individuals who commit violent, aggressive and abusive sexual acts.

13.3 Theorising sexuality and MADIS

This study has identified a fundamental disjuncture between the way MADIS is discursively constructed, and sociological and Queer theorising on late modern reflexive transformations in the intimate sphere. The language deployed in latter positions stress broadly positive trends, commensurate with liberal democratic transformations in other areas, and exemplified by an increasing number of choices available to individuals. In contrast, the language most frequently employed by boylovers mirrors that of previously excluded groups, in which current legal, political and media campaigns are likened to witch-hunts, fascism and racism, and where '1984' and 'moral panic' metaphors are invoked to highlight feelings of alienation,

persecution and exclusion. Male survivors of sexual abuse, though in markedly different ways, also do not apply language and constructs consistent with such transformations, but referred to the inadequate attention given to their plight through a lack of financial resources, and lack of public awareness.

What can be tentatively adduced from the data gathered from this study, is the multi-faceted ways in which paedophilia, child sexuality and MADIS now constitute the residue of distinctly modern sexual regimes; with each being constituted through normative, essentialist and hegemonic axes of power. Although dispersed in the micro-terrains of SOTPs, CSA professional practices, children's charities, media campaigns and political legislation, they have all contributed to a global pattern of domination, problematising any expression of child and youth sexuality, and MADIS.

This also lends support to Foucault's thesis on the continuation and proliferation of disciplinary 'regimes of truth', as shown by the way professionals and academic approaches have adopted CSA as a singular truth. There was also evidence for the use by CSA / sex offender professionals of mainstream feminist approaches in assigning automatic victim status to young people. One effect of this has been the sequestration of MADIS - by medical-psychiatric, behaviouralist, and victimological perspectives - through the creation of global power relations and the formation of strategic alliances, creating a growing ascendancy of developmental and normative approaches to young peoples' sexuality.

Potential areas of transformation

This leads directly on to a problematic aspect of Foucauldian theory namely, how the late modern subject, subsumed within networks of power-knowledge, is able to draw on transgressive discourses and possibilities. With regard to MADIS, attempts to define and map out a resistance strategy - similar to the way homosexuality was appropriated by gays and lesbians as a transformative identity - will likely face significantly greater obstacles.

Although many boylovers - particularly in the UK - continually refer to their increasing atomisation, surveillance and marginalisation, they also reveal incidences

of small-scale and embryonic forms of resistance. This is shown through the continued existence and activities of organised and informal groups, attendance at academic conferences, the creation of Internet fora to discuss shared values, and the articulation of polemical discourses outlining alternative meanings on boylove. All of these have arguably laid the groundwork for the emergence of an embryonic, yet credible, sexual identity.

The objectification of children and young people

However, the above attempts have to deal with one significant obstacle: in late modern western societies children and young peoples' social interaction, outside familial and pedagogical contexts, are predominantly with their peers. Consequently, opportunities for developing socio-sexual and intimate MADIS are severely limited. Furthermore, the relative success of CSA over the past quarter of a century may also reflect the extent to which young people have assumed a more important status in late modern western societies, but one that is commensurate with their dependent and objectivised position within families, and social and educational institutions.

The above situation also explains how strategies can be formulated within localised contexts yet still produce globalised forms of domination. For example, the formation of 'strategic alliances' on MADIS, identified throughout this study, have imposed a unitary conception of intimacy and child development which does not deny child sexuality, but inscribes its expression within an increasingly restricted set of possibilities. Although feminist contributors have asserted that backlash critics of interest-based politicking that lie behind CSA do not address the differences between such claimants (Richardson 2000a; Scott 2001), much of the language deployed in relation to children's sexuality, does share distinct similarities namely, a paternalistic and controlling attitude toward young people.

A further consequence of the way MADIS is treated in western societies has arguably been the increasing global phenomenon of "sex tourism", and the resort to downloading images and videos of young people involved in sexual acts. Although such practices are problematic, and on some occasions downright exploitative, such an upsurge has to be set alongside the increasing difficulties and restrictions placed on

any expressions of such relationships. Again, signalling out the individuals concerned as "Internet paedophiles" or "child pornographers" neglects the fact that such objectivisation of young people as sexual beings is largely due to the lack of any other vehicle for expressing such desires.

13.4 Future theoretical and research directions

The approach taken in this study would probably not have raised as much controversy a quarter of a century ago. However, the intervening period has witnessed a series of seemingly inexorable bouts of legislation, political campaigns, and media outbursts against paedophiles and / or sex offenders, and enhanced concerns over child protection. Future studies could therefore focus on the aspect of - similar to the work done in sociology and psychoanalysis on homophobia – "paedophobia". This would explore the relationship between attention to this issue, and increasing fears over child sexuality, and the possibility that paedophiles have been used as scapegoats for wider societal failings in relation to the treatment of young people.

Critical sociological approaches to the position of young peoples' citizenship claims may also provide useful insights for examining young peoples' sexual rights outside protectionist frameworks, whilst taking seriously more radical empowerment agendas. Although some may be critical of wholesale, or particular aspects, of liberal democratic transformations, the inherent logic appears to point to a momentum towards more inclusionary forms of sexual citizenship (gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, and Queer). Such trends are also likely to highlight significant discrepancies in discursive presentations of young people in the social, criminal, and intimate fields, whilst establishing (wittingly or not) the context for an extension to young peoples' sexual citizenship and more radical conceptions of consent. These developments will clearly have significant - yet ill-defined - implications for the future trajectory of MADIS.

Future approaches could also look closely at a finely tuned approach, sensitive to the context and positions of those involved, consistent with continua frameworks articulated earlier (see chapter one). This could incorporate more radical conceptions of citizenship, alongside a more diverse lexicon to cover the range of MADIS

experiences in line with Nelson's insights (see J. Nelson 1989).

Furthermore, the way in which transgressive subject positions of young people who do not identify themselves as victims have been consciously ignored constitutes, not a biased formulation whereby “hierarchies of agencies” confer victim-based accounts automatically with a higher status, but also an insensitivity to positive accounts. This suggests an urgent need for further research which is not infused with CSA and behaviouralist assumptions, and which accredits positive experiences of MADIS given by young people, with the same agentic status as survivor accounts.

Finally, Finkelhor, Alcoff and Wyre claim their aim is to facilitate the development of young people's sexual difference by protecting them from adult impositions. However, this position itself imposes a politically normative schema on the direction young people's sexuality should take. It palpably fails to facilitate the very autonomy and self-determination, which they assert should be the central aim in child protection measures. Whereas Adams may be too optimistic in ushering in a situation where sex is not perceived as something young people need to be protected from, it is further along such a continuum that future sexual agendas need to traverse (see *ibid* 1994: 349).

The future course of MADIS in late modernity should neither be a matter of policing all facets of intimacy and sexual interaction between age-groups, nor one which gives men (or women) a right to have sexual relations with boys (or girls) without any safeguards. Rather, it entails a recognition that diversity occurs within MADIS, necessitating protection in some situations, and encouragement in others. This can help create an environment in which sexual coercion committed against young people can be clearly identified and punished, but where genuinely consensual, mutual expressions of MADIS can be allowed to flourish, thereby enriching a plural, diverse and inclusive sexual citizenry.