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Male Age-Discrepant Intergenerational Sexualities and Relationships

Volume Two Appendices and Bibliography

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Appendices to Chapter One

<u>Appendix One: Paedophilia – A Composite Definition.</u>

In the Encyclopaedia Britannica paedophilia is defined as a

[p] sychosexual disorder in which an adult's arousal and sexual gratification occur primarily through sexual contact with prepubescent children. The typical paedophile is unable to find satisfaction in an adult sexual relationship and may have low selfesteem, seeing sexual activity with a child as less threatening than that with an adult. Most paedophiles are men; the condition is extremely rare in women

Encyclopaedia Britannia Online at http://search.eb.com/bol/topic?eu=60408&sctn=1 (Accessed 15/4/1999).

This composite definition shows how paedophilia has been constructed in late modernity namely, through language and terminology imported from a range of different disciplines and ideological positions, which is then assembled together. For example, the use of terms such as *disorder* and *condition* (my emphases) are more consistent with individualistic medical, psychopathological and psychoanalytical approaches and studies (see Groth and Birnbaum 1978; Marshall 1997).

Such contributions have also been instrumental in placing paedophilia among the list of paraphilias or sexual disorders. For example, the APA define paedophile as:

A. Over a period of at least 6 months, recurrent, intense, sexually arousing fantasies, sexual urges, or behaviors involving sexual activity with a prepubescent child or children (generally age 13 or younger).

B. The fantasies, sexual urges, or behaviors cause clinically significant distress or impairment in social occupational, or other important areas of functioning.

C. The person is at least age 16 and at least 5 years older than the child or children in Criterion A.

¹ In pages 527-528, section 302.2 of the APA's (American Psychiatric Association) 1994 Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM 1V) (4th Edition).

The use of *arousal* is borrowed largely from behavioural and / or psychoanalytical approaches which attempt to differentiate paedophiles as a sub-group(s) from the wider population, through analysing them as individuals with an "abnormal" attraction to an "inappropriate object" namely, a pre-pubertal child. This is often accompanied with analyses, which lump paedophilia alongside other generic paraphilias, or claim that paedophiles display similar discernible personality traits (Groth and Birnbaum 1978). As a result, medical-psychiatry, psychoanalysis and psychology have tended to characterise paedophiles as either: *deficient* in some respect for example, in sociosexual development or self-esteem (Marshall 1997); and / or suffering from an *excess*, in the form of a compulsive or obsessive sexual interest in children (see Wyre 1996).

The above approaches have also attempted to explain paedophilia, or classify "typical" types of paedophile, through reference to aetiological or explanatory factors such as: inadequate socialisation within adult peer relational networks (Finkelhor 1984: 43); underdeveloped personal social and intimacy skills (Blanchard et al. 1999; Marshall 1997); or a narcissistic personality (Scruton 1986). According to this approach, associated developmental and personality traits provide a substantial explanation for a paedophile's immature "fixation" on a child. They contend that children are chosen primarily because of their vulnerable and innocent characteristics (Wilson and Cox 1983; Scruton 1986; Wyre 1996).

The concept of *gratification* is also applied across a number of approaches (particularly within CSA studies and sex offender treatment models), to highlight how children or young people in *all* intergenerational sexual encounters and / or relationships are, by definition, victims. These experiences, so it is contended, are established solely and exclusively, for satisfying the emotional and sexual needs of the adult (see Finkelhor 1984; Jeffreys 1990; Revoize 1993; Glaser and Frosh 1993). This creates a fundamental disjuncture between child and adult sexualities, in which interpersonal and sexual meanings are interpreted very differently by children and young people compared to adults - primarily due to social and developmental factors in the way sexual knowledge is acquired by different age groups in contemporary western societies (see Lews and Bass 1990).

A final aspect of this composite definition is the way it draws attention to the gendered construction of paedophilic and intergenerational sexual desire. Some studies have focussed on women sexual abusers (Saradjian 1996), or suggested that adolescent boys' relationships with older women are more common than previously realised (Nelson and Oliver 1998). However, CSA has generally been theorised as part of a wider pattern of violent and sexually abusive relationships, generated within patriarchal institutional structures, and directly linked to how males are socialised and sexualised within contemporary western societies (Itzin 1996; Jeffreys 1990; Finkelhor and Browne 1986; Ellison 1996). Consequently, feminist and CSA approaches have tended to eschew individual pathological approaches, in favour of systemic CSA analyses which draw attention to the significantly higher prevalence rates of men as perpetrators, and girls and young women as victims (see Scott 2001). However, Ussher expresses some concerns that the prevalence and extent of adult women engaging in sexual encounters with boys may severely problematise feminist theorising on intergenerational sexuality (Ussher 1997a).

Appendix Two: Early literature (1960s-1980s)

Writing in 1964, Mohr et al. note the inclusion in the Encyclopaedia Britannica of 'all major deviations except pedophilia' (Ibid: 7). They criticise aetiological models for ignoring the 'nature, circumstances and consequences of the deviant act' (Ibid: 87). Mohr et al. also point out the weaknesses of previous studies in over-relying on clinical samples, and failing to establish a common classificatory system (Ibid: 87, 98).

They also argue that future definitions of paedophilia have to address 'primary phenomenological factors', such as 'the choice of the object (victim) and the nature of the act' (Ibid: 16). The authors give their own definition of paedophilia as 'the expressed drive for immature sexual gratification with a prepubescent child', and subdivide it into three age groups - adolescent, middle-age and senescent pedophiles (Ibid: 20). With regard to homosexual paedophilia, they suggest a peak in victims between 12-15 years - with overall rates of recidivism significantly higher than heterosexual paedophiles (Ibid: 26, 85). They go on to claim that recent studies show that the

² The use of the North American spelling pedophilia will be retained when it is quoted from sources.

intelligence, educational levels and occupational distribution of paedophiles shows no marked difference to that of the general population (Ibid: 47).

Mohr et al.'s generational trimordial patterning of paedophiles into adolescent, early thirties and early fifties has questionable merit as an operational criterion, as it rather crudely blocks groups into age-categories, without examining other aspects such as gender, the nature of the offence, and the possibility that attraction to children and young people continues throughout the life-course of a significant number of adult males. Nonetheless, they can be credited with identifying early signs of be the late modern preoccupation with paedophilia. This can clearly be seen from the number of studies and approaches forty years later - with a corresponding proliferation in the number of explanations for paedophilia.

After a review of a number of typologies of paedophilia, Howells concludes that 'it is no longer reasonable for researchers and theorists to propose a theory of paedophilia' (Howells 1981: 86). However, in chapter three he appears to veer in such a direction, by giving considerable space to psychoanalytical and social leaning approaches like Stoller - who characterises paedophilia as "hostility, revenge, triumph" toward a "dehumanized sexual object" (Quoted in Ibid: 58). He also makes use of Finkelhor, who identifies "deficits in heterosexual interaction and inability to develop courtship codes", as instrumental in the aetiology of paedophilia (Quoted in Ibid: 71), and West, who characterises homosexual paedophiles, as "lonely, socially isolated and sexually inhibited individuals... generally timorous, shy characters whose relationships with other adults...tend to be distant" (Quoted in Ibid: 72). Finally, Howells positions paedophilia along a dominance-submissive axis, with adults seen as dominant and threatening and therefore to be feared, whilst children in contrast, are non-threatening and easy to relate to because of their submissive status (Ibid: 74).

Although Taylor cautions against searching for a "typical paedophile" (Ibid 1981: XV), his plea for 'an approach to paedophilia which will provide information on its nature, variety, assessment and treatment' (Ibid: V11), relies on positivist approaches which have arguably encased the paedophile in a welter of explanatory taxonomies - problematically objectifying him / her. In the same volume, Yaffe draws on Crawford's (1979) study to posit a correlation between paedophiles and poor social skills and self-

control (Ibid: 78). He also adopts Groth and Birnbaum's (1978) typology of paedophilia as either an expression of a "fixated" desire for a child, or a "regression" from adult peer relationships (Ibid: 79).

Taylor's volume benefits from having a self-identified paedophile (see Righton 1981)³ writing on definitional issues. However his opening preface does present highly normative claims around paedophilia's status as a universally problematic sexuality. There is little doubt that when Taylor was writing, paedophilia was heavily problematised in mainstream professional, academic and popular discourses. It is however less clear how "universal" this is when cross-cultural studies are taken into account, and when the lack of material and cultural resources and opportunities for both self-identified paedophiles, and children and young people to contest such discourses are taken into consideration.

Wilson and Cox's study involved researching a number of self-identified paedophiles who belonged to a self-help group in London⁴ (Wilson and Cox 1983). They managed to obtain 77/180 returned questionnaires from members. They employed an EPQ,⁵ along with a number of selected case interviews. Based on the above findings, the authors posit a link between paedophilia and deficient social skills and shyness, but none between paedophilia and aggressive or psychotic symptoms (Ibid: 122), or between homosexuality and paedophilia (Ibid: 124). In the case of 'situational offenders', Wilson and Cox maintain that sex with boys may provide an element of novelty (Ibid: 122). They conclude that there is a potential inter-relationship between male socialisation, domination, inability to form adult relationships, and the subsequent need to seek a child, which may also be inherited through roles of sexual competition and selection (Ibid: 125).

Wilson and Cox claim that the 'perfect paedophile is inclined to be highly introverted' (Ibid: 59). They do allude to the questionable cause and effect relationship between introversion and 'engendered isolation', but fail to explore the social context in which

³ Reference to his previous sexual history was made in a BBC "Inside Story" Documentary in 1994.

⁴ They all belonged to P.I.E. (Paedophile Information Exchange), an organisation that was based in the UK, and effectively wound up in 1984 due to legal and social pressure (see Smith 1992).

⁵ The Eysenck Personality Questionnaire attempts to measure personality factors such as introversion, neuroticism or psychoticism.

paedophilic sexuality manifests itself, and how individual paedophiles respond to the labelling process, and the predominance of only negative scripts available to them in contemporary western societies. Furthermore, their approach to man-boy relationships, by likening them to pre-marital situational relationships, is too superficial and fails to address lifelong sexual identity of attraction of some men to boys, and the possibility of long-term relationships.

Overall, the early literature on paedophilia and MADIS is infused with psychodynamic constructs which fail to situate such theories within particular socio-historical locales, or explain historical and cultural variations, or the sudden upsurge in interest on paedophilia. Finally, severe biases and methodological weaknesses have contributed to little more than speculative frameworks and underdeveloped explanations on adult sexual attraction to children and young people.

Appendix Three: Legal and Political Responses

Over the past ten years there has been a number of strongly worded commitments by governments – particularly in English-speaking countries – to enact a range of legislative measures to deal with the problem of adults who commit sex offences against children. In addition to this, the Home Office Research and Statistics Directorate, regularly publishes research conducted on a variety of related topics on sex offenders mainly in prisons. These include papers 45, 55, 78, 79 and 104 respectively: 'Does treating Sex Offenders Reduce Reoffending?' (Hedderman and Sugg 1996); 'The Prevalence of Convictions for Sexual Offending' (Marshall 1997); 'A Review of Classification Systems for Sex Offenders' (Fisher and Mair 1998); 'An Evaluation of the Prison Sex Offender Treatment Programme (Beech et al. 1998); and Predicting Reconvictions for Sexual and Violent Offences Using the Revised Offender Group Reconviction Scale (Taylor 1999). A full report was also published by the Step team entitled 'An Evaluation Of The Prison Sex Offender Treatment Programme' (Beech, Fisher and Beckett 1999).

This above series of research followed the passage of the Sex Offenders Act 1997, and led, in July 2002, to the creation of the Home Office's Summary Report and Recommendations on 'Setting The Boundaries: Reforming the law on Sex Offences. In Scotland, the Scottish Office (after May 1999 Scottish Executive) has also followed a

similar agenda. This is shown by former First Minister McLeish, who issued new guidelines to tighten social services supervision of sex offenders (27/10/1998), and later called for '[n]o let up in the commitment to protect public from sex offenders' (19/2/1999). The Executive also conducts research through its 'Crime and Criminal Justice Research Programme', as well as providing up-to-date reviews of the current literature on sex offenders. Finally, after a three year period, a report was published for the Scottish Executive entitled: 'Reducing the Risk: improving the Response to Sex Offending' in June 2001. This listed 73 recommendations dealing with community safety, education and prevention, risk assessment, and the monitoring and accommodation of sex offenders.

Appendix Four: A Self-identified Paedophile Group

In addressing the issue of 'Pedophilia as a concept', Gieles charts the changing meanings attached to the label: from its original meaning of loving children, to a purely sexual one, in which notions of "love" were replaced with "desire", which in turn became displaced with behavioural notions of "predisposition" or "inclination" (Gieles (no date): IPCE Library). Sexual relationships between an adult and a child have, according to Gieles, been problematically redefined in line with professional constructs along victim-perpetrator lines. In view of the above difficulties, Gieles argues for 'the rejection of "pedophilia" as a usable and meaningful concept', because it has become "empty", "one-sided" and leaves no room for defining the younger person in a paedophilic relationship (Ibid). Instead, he argues for a criterion which focuses on 'the quality of the relationship', and which stresses intimacy without an exclusive attention on the sexual component (Ibid).

Appendix Five: Young gay male sexuality - Clause 28 and the age of consent

Central to this study is the way masculinity, sexuality and age is constructed in late
modernity. The political debates over the gay male age of consent and Clause 28, prior
to, and throughout the period of this study, have brought into sharp focus how the
above three have been positioned within the contested discursive positions. The debates
also bring into focus Jackson's claim that age of consent and Section 28 legislation rely

⁶ This account can be accessed at the IPCE Web site at http://www.humanbeing.demon.nl/ipceweb/Library/NLE4%20Att1.html

'on reductionist biology', thereby neglecting the social context, in which such debates took place (Jackson 1998: 70).

Carver and Mottier note how age of consent legislation for gay men was 'conditioned by the idea of young men needing protection from preying older homosexuals' (Carver and Mottier (eds.) 1998: 3). Similarly, Wise notes how the moral panics around Clause 28 were used by Conservatives to argue that 'vulnerable young men' required protection from making a 'wrong' lifestyle choice, in order to preserve the 'normal way of life and the family' (Wise 2000: 4, 3). In addition, such Conservative discourses strategically utilised the 'spectre of child protection and abuse' to reinforce their position (Ibid: 4).

Analyses looking at how the above discourses were challenged, focussed on the discourse of equality given prominence by the New Labour Government after 1997, and how the gay and lesbian movement mobilised around such a conjunction of discourses. For example, Waites draws attention to the then Home Secretary Jack Straw's criticism of the clear contradiction in British legal notions of consent whereby, it is possible for under-16s to understand evil but not to govern their own bodies (Cited by Waites 1998). For Waites, this is indicative of a broader 'confusion at the heart of conceptions of the shift from childhood innocence to adult responsibility and citizenship' (Ibid: 26). Smith expands on this by highlighting the important case of the "Stonewall 3," who he argues, brought an entitlement discourse into UK age of consent debates in 1994 by maintaining that adolescent gays were being denied their sexual rights due to the higher age of consent for gay men (Smith 1995: 21).

On a similar theme, Epstein argues that the various shifts in the age of consent debates throughout the 1990s produced a series of competing little, medium and grand narratives (Epstein 2000: 9). These included the continual interspersion of traditional Conservative and familial domestic ideology with medical or religious narratives, in which certain themes (such as demons in the form of 'sex monsters' were played alongside sexually innocent children, gay men cast as paedophiles) were subsequently selected, privileged and available, whilst others were concealed or silenced (Ibid: 9).

⁷ This refers to the case of three gay men who began a campaign in the European Court of Human Rights to demand an equal age of consent at sixteen.

Epstein argues that the debates in Parliament in 1994 and 1998 were influenced more by a 'developmental narrative which reasserted contestations over the status of 16 years-olds as citizens or kids, fixed or unfinished, rational agents or confused' (Ibid: 17). As a consequence, childhood became synonymous as a meta-narrative of equality, progress and enlightenment, in which the 'transformation of sexual politics necessarily involves a recasting of the politics of childhood' (Ibid: 18, 20).

Graupner examines the twin issues of sexual identity and adolescent sexual rights, and argues that 'consensual relations of and with adolescents over 14 (out of relations of authority) should be qualified a gay rights issue' (Ibid 2000a: 23). He criticises the motivations traditionally put forward for age of consent laws as 'overbroad and generalising' and contrary to the 'current findings of social scientific research' (Ibid: 30). He claims that such research shows that 'in mid-adolescence (over 14) the vast majority of sexual relations with adults turn out to be consensual and experienced positively' (Ibid: 31). Graupner argues that in establishing a legal benchmark of consent, a clear distinction must be made between immature children and adolescents (Ibid: 32). In support of this position, Graupner cites the findings of parliamentary commissions and current legal praxis in most European states, and concludes that 'adolescents are sufficiently capable of sexual self-determination' (Ibid: 35, 36). He does make it clear however that there remains a 'social need for the general infringement in (objectively) consensual sexual contacts with pre-pubertal children' (Ibid: 36).

The above contributions contain a number of important themes for the present study notably, how within the agendas of the contested positions, discernible shifts have taken place away from an outright homophobic discourse to a child protection one. However, many of the contributors - by solely focussing largely on the implications the above debates have for gay and lesbian equality - address the debates too narrowly. Consequently, the implication such debates may have for wider sexual discourses (including children's sexual rights and whether sixteen will remain as an immutable age for sexual consent) are left under-theorised.

Graupner's position is similar to several gay activists and theorists who have countenanced an age of consent at fourteen, whilst being wary of any further reduction

(see Tatchell at www.petertatchell.net; Waites 2000a). However, Graupner fails to address the potential for negative adult-adolescent relationships which is brought up in CSA research, and does not examine how gendered power differences might impact on intergenerational relationships. In order for a general claim of 14 to be made, a more substantive analysis of MADIS would need to be undertaken, alongside an analysis of gendered and sexuality differences, individual awareness of socio-sexual scripts, and the different contexts in which such encounters and / or relationships take place.

Appendix Six: 11-14 masculinities

The above authors elaborate on their research in a recent publication (Frosh et al. 2002). Although there was no direct focus on MADIS, it examines how boys in the UK made sense of their situation in relation to 'hegemonic' masculinity, and how such identities were mediated through race, class, gender and sexuality (Ibid: 3). Their study supports current sociological theorising, that '[e]ven at age 11, they are often capable of reflecting in a complex way on how their actual lives are at odds with what they would wish to be' (Ibid: 256). In addressing the issue of boy's subjectivity as active participants, Frosh et al. make it clear that in the main, they allowed boys to 'speak for themselves' (Ibid: 257).

The authors draw on a sample of 245 boys and 27 girls from 12 secondary schools in London, conducting both individual and group-based qualitative interviews. Amongst the boys, toughness, anti-education and physical prowess were seen as dominant male attributes, in contrast to "being gay", which was used as a term of abuse, and constituted a source of anxiety associated with preconceptions about 'popular ways of being boys' (Ibid: 12). For Frosh et al., their findings provide 'support for the existence of 'hegemonic' masculinity as a powerful idea that regulates boys' behaviour', but that such notions are contingent upon available cultural resources (Ibid: 76). They also identify differing gendered expectations amongst the boys in relations with their parents, with fathers seen as immature - and therefore good to have a laugh with - but whom many boys had difficulty achieving close contact (Ibid: 255, 259).

In conclusion, Frosh et al. found that the boys, contrary to pre-conceptions, were articulate, showed a deep understanding of the contexts in which they live and were able to appreciate alternative strategies in achieving masculine identity (Ibid: 49, 98).

However, the boys also admitted to having difficulties in speaking intimately to others, and that the prevalence of homophobic attitudes created tensions in their relationships with each other (Ibid: 264, 265).

The above research, by presenting insights into the way boys acquire particular conceptions of masculinity - and how this impacts on gender, sexuality and generational relationships - could act as a forerunner for a more specific focus on MADIS. However, the fact that access to such a sample was negotiated through educational gatekeepers, suggests the need for a shift in attitudes before such research is ever countenanced.

Appendix Seven: rebuttals of Finkelhor's position

Finkelhor's position has been challenged by self-identified paedophiles and boylovers (see O'Carroll 1980; Reeves 1992), and by academic critics (see Leahy 1992a; Li et al. 1993; and Rind et al. 2001a). Firstly, they contend that if social power differences invalidate adult-child sexual interaction, then other forms of social interaction between adults and children would face similar injunctions, including power imbalances between adults and children within legal, educational, familial and political contexts. Furthermore, by focussing solely on the power dynamics which age discrepancies can potentially bring to sexual relationships, Finkelhor has also been criticised for neglecting power differences based on social class and gender (see Middleton (ed.) 1986).

In response to the above criticisms, Finkelhor argues that potential harm (as opposed to a universal ethical case) could also be used as a basis for the injunction against adult-child sex (see Finkelhor 1984: 20), in effect switching within Leahy's conceptual framework, from a deontological to a teleological approach (see Leahy 1996). In his 'response to the Bauserman critique', Finkelhor introduces a further argument against such relationships namely, that they violate particular *cultural* norms of 'equality and self-determination' within western societies (Ibid 1991: 314-315). Although shifting strategies is not necessarily proof of a weak case, it is suggestive of a lack of clarity in Finkelhor's position.

Appendix Eight: A critique of Urquiza

Urquiza examines prevalence rates and the short-term and long-term effects of MSA amongst a sample of 2016 men within Washington (Urquiza 1988). He cites evidence from previous studies which support the claim that 'sexually abused males experience more behavioural disturbance following their victimisation...including aggression, destructive behavior, problems with peer relations, and argumentiveness' (Ibid: 17). Urquiza found that sexual abused males tended to respond more negatively as adults, than how they felt at the time. He argues that his findings support his original hypotheses which suggested higher prevalence rates of MSA than previously reported, and that 'men who have been sexually abused during their childhood differ significantly in several domains from non-abused men' (Ibid: 85, 89).

There are a number of problems with Urquiza's approach. Firstly, his hypotheses are clearly skewed toward negative consequences of MADIS (see ibid: 26-29). Secondly, the premise, which his study is built around, is clearly designed with the above outcomes in mind. For example, he states that his 'investigation will constitute a significant contribution to the field of CSA by establishing male victims of CSA as a population 'at risk', whilst later on, he reveals that 'this study was designed to identify problematic adjustment in a group of young adult men who were sexually abused during their childhood' (Ibid: 29, 68). The third weakness concerns a methodological problem with the way Urquiza extracted his sample. For example, the decision as to whether a subject met the criteria of being a victim of CSA was determined solely by himself, consequently allowing more subjective criteria to enter into the research process.

Urquiza's definition of CSA includes anyone under eighteen as a potential victim, regardless of mediating factors such as self-perception, and other qualitative factors. Furthermore, by excluding anyone involved in age appropriate sex play from his victim category, Urquiza appears to make normative assumptions on MADIS, implying that age-appropriate sexual experiences involve mutual consent, in contrast to MADIS, which necessarily involves some measure of coercion. However, by erecting them as necessary antinomies, Urquiza problematically grants himself the power to define what constitutes mutual consent and MSA.

Urquiza introduces familiar explanations for the different ways males construe their experiences of CSA, including the unwillingness to identify as victims for fear of losing masculine status (Ibid: 70, 71). This is borrowed from the dominant paradigm in the existing literature on CSA, rather than from the interviewees in his sample. They also do not fully substantiate many of Urquiza's original premises. Although he identifies a greater willingness amongst his respondents to view such experiences as neutral or negative later on, they still reveal a substantial proportion who do not view them according to a victimological paradigm. This leads Urqiza to speculate that although 'the majority of men in this study did not perceive the abuse as negative as an adult', they did exhibit 'psychosomatic symptoms' and self-concept difficulties - suggesting that denial may be the reason for many male victims failing to attribute their difficulties to the abuse they suffered (Ibid: 90).

Appendix Nine: A further critique of professional approaches to sex offenders

Leahy, in a submission to the Royal Commission into the New South Wales Police service, criticises a previous submission from Wyre (see Leahy 1992c). He argues that no 'prosecutions should be engaged in where the younger party was willingly involved and from an overall perspective regards the experience positively' (Ibid: 2). He argues that for boys such relationships can be viewed 'either as introduction to adult gay male subculture', or as part of a valuable friendship (Ibid: 8). Leahy criticises the way dominant professional discourses 'can lead to the younger person feeling stigmatised and defining their relationship in terms of that stigma' (Ibid: 10). He accuses Wyre in particular, of an extreme bias, and concludes that 'I find this treatment program quite sinister; a kind of brainwashing in which the offender gets released from gaol by convincingly denying what they earlier knew to be true' (Ibid: 3, 11).

Appendix Ten: Counter-Backlash

Scott

Although Scott's contribution focuses on the relationship between the shifting discourses of disbelief, false memories and moral panics to the actual testimonies of survivors of ritual CSA, she does make some relevant contributions to the wider debates over CSA (Scott 2001). This review of Scott's contribution will make no reference to her empirical findings.

Scott sets out to mobilise 'the life-stories of survivors in response to the discourse of disbelief that has discounted them as 'false memories' produced by a "moral panic" (Ibid: 10). She credits second wave feminism with 'amending mainstream perspectives' in approaches to CSA, by drawing attention to the failure of previous perspectives to address power differences between adults and children (Ibid: 14). Scott attacks studies which draw attention to paedophilia outside the family and incest CSA, for erecting a 'false dichotomy', and for 'cycles of abuse perspectives', for neglecting the gendered aspect of CSA namely, that most victims are female (Ibid: 18). After a review of research and professional work on CSA, Scott notes that by the mid 1980s, the above feminist paradigm had effectively eclipsed previous psychopathological models or suggestions of victim complicity (Ibid: 32).

Scott identifies the emergence of a 'discourse of disbelief' which has attempted to apply 'a number of strategies in order to dismiss ritual abuse as moral panic,' (Ibid: 38). These include accusing the media of stirring up such stories and trivialising the claims of victims by viewing them as the product of diverse interest groups (Ibid: 39). For Scott, such a deconstruction of the central tenet that CSA is widespread, is itself open to deconstruction through contextualising such challenges as also a set of situated claims, which are guilty of applying the concept of moral panic as a catch-all grand narrative to all cases of ritual and CSA (Ibid: 35, 48). She cautions that such approaches problematically conflate 'the panic', with the seriousness of the problem, whilst failing to explain ritual accounts within broader 'lived experiential' narratives (Ibid: 40).

Finally, Scott accuses such backlash discourses of failing to distinguish between fundamentalist Christian and feminist perspectives on CSA, being devoid of an analysis of power and status between different groups, and peddling 'a particular left-libertarian morality' (Ibid: 42, 49). She singles out the work of Jenkins, who she accuses of possessing a 'less than rigorous attention to research on the incidence and prevalence of child sexual assault' (Ibid: 41). In the case of the second component in the discourse of disbelief, False Memory Syndrome (FMS) advocates, she identifies a clear attempt to impose medical-psychiatric 'truth claims', a patronising attitude to women, and a complete failure 'to pay serious attention to what those who identify themselves as survivors have to say for themselves' (Ibid: 50, 54, 59).

Case studies on CSA research

For Reavey and Gough the link between past abusive experiences and present sexualities are made by professionals and lay people on the basis of a ready access to abuse narratives (Ibid 2000: 326). Drawing on the work of Plummer (1995), they posit that the telling of CSA stories 'has become a way in which "the truth" is confessed and offered as an absolute testimony and facilitating healing' and has increasingly become a crucial marker in the way 'people make use of culturally available discourses to represent their psychological history and interpret their past and present subjectivity' (Ibid: 327).

In Reavey and Gough's own research, all of their five female respondents 'recounted an abuse narrative that emphasised the power of the original trauma' (Ibid: 328). They go on to address a problematic area for the respondents in the recounting of their stories namely, removing themselves as a subject of seduction, and placing responsibility on a 'visible perpetrator' (Ibid: 330). Reavey and Gough argue for the use of such 'narrative therapy' as a way of situating 'people's stories in culture and discourse/s' (Ibid: 340).

Nelson

Nelson in a short working paper, calls for a 'radical reappraisal of research into CSA' (Nelson 1997). She identifies how research into the above "problem" has been spawned by Governments and professional as a knee jerk reaction, without making 'any apparent impact on either the incidence of CSA, or in they way it is dealt with by the courts' (Ibid: 1). In the practice of CSA research, Nelson identifies a lack of coherence, low priority given to prevention, lack of co-ordination, inadequate information, political interference and the marginalisation of feminist analyses of CSA in hampering progress (Ibid: 2-4).

For Nelson, previous social work approaches and training 'cannot confront the power of influential high-status abusers, nor of international paedophile and pornography rings' (Ibid: 4). Consequently, CSA research should be considered as analogous with criminal research, and has to take account of 'concealment, deceit, subterfuge, lying, manipulation and active disinformation by abusive adults' (Ibid: 5). Nelson points out that although prevalence studies 'confirm that CSA is a widespread social problem', it is not clear what the purpose of achieving greater accuracy is, and secondly, by the

very clandestine nature of much CSA, such research methods are 'unable to uncover the *true* (my emphasis) extent or nature of different forms of CSA' (Ibid: 6-7). Nelson advocates the use of: targeted approach which utilises police and custom's resources to catch internet child pornographers and paedophile rings; knowledge obtained by vulnerable groups and male survivors through support groups; current research on sex offenders; and a greater weight to be accorded to child testimonies in CSA cases (Ibid: 8-10).

In conclusion, Nelson states unequivocally that there is a clear link between CSA and mental health problems, but questions the need for further research, suggesting that such debates are played out in mainstream psychiatry without dealing with the central priorities of victims (Ibid: 12). She advocates greater research priority for treating the physical health symptoms of CSA within mainstream health services, public education programmes aimed at preventing sexual violence and school projects challenging teenage boys' current attitudes to women and children (Ibid: 14, 16).

Nelson's paper is informative at many levels, yet despite proclaiming a "radical" approach to CSA, she tends to repeat many of the problematic biases and methodological errors committed in previous studies. Firstly, she takes at face value that CSA is a problem without any critical constructionist perspective in situating it within the conjunction of a specific historical context, or being attentive to the relative success of dominant ideologies in allowing certain stories to be heard over others. For Nelson, CSA phenomenologically "just is", and re-iterating Masson's claim of a coverup of CSA by early sexologists (see Masson 1992), can be unproblematically traced through the work of earlier pioneers during the 19th century. Consequently, CSA's "discovery" is constituted as a meta-narrative of progress, in which contemporary advocates can assume a historical truth status, and avoid any critique of how vested interests - particularly mainstream feminism (which Nelson curiously claims has had a marginal impact on CSA)⁸ - have used CSA for political purposes.

⁸ This is in direct contrast to many contributors who note a preponderance of feminist thinking in social work, CSA research drives and in political campaigning on what they perceive as 'children's rights' (see Jenkins 1998; Okami 1990)

Nelson also fails to substantiate her claim that current research is hampered by the influence of an apparently influential coalition of pornographers and paedophiles. This claim, as in previous historical associations with sexual deviancy and influential elites, appears to be an attempt to manufacture influential and powerful demons, thereby raising the profile and resources available to CSA and Sex Offender professionals and researchers. Nelson also problematically focuses on extreme cases of child murders as evidence of the need for a more criminological approach. As most research on intergenerational sexual encounters clearly shows, such cases are very rare (Rind et al. 1998).

Although highlighting some methodological problems in previous CSA research, Nelson glosses over the difficulties many researchers have had in distinguishing consensual from non-consensual activities. Instead of examining the significant prevalence of neutral-positive responses across many community studies, she merely reiterates existing CSA rhetoric for maintaining vigilance against abusers. Her cursory analysis of male sexual abuse (MSA) (see ibid: 6), omits to mention the extensive body of research which has shown significantly different responses amongst males compared to females (Rind et al. 1998; West 1998; Leahy 1992b). Finally, in the area of CSA consequences, Nelson fails to do justice to the wide discrepancies between the claims and constructs deployed by CSA advocates, or critically examine the premises and constructs she applies to the "inevitable" consequences of CSA.

Nelson rightly draws attention to 'the low status of children' (Ibid: 4), and her advocacy of a greater weight for children and young people in giving their account of such experiences (Ibid: 10-11) is welcome. However, this ignores the problem of both the contexts in which such testimonies are given, and in the way such interviews are conducted. As Evans notes, any resultant testimony could be easily scripted by professionals to fit pre-existing paradigms (Evans 1993). Despite Nelson's optimism that such testimonies are relatively unproblematic, there have been a number of studies and well-documented cases, which highlight the multiple ways accounts can be manipulated by professionals (see West 1998). Furthermore, by using language such as the '[i]nability of children to speak of genuine abuse', and 'validate genuine experiences of abuse' (Ibid: 11), Nelson is clearly scripting a CSA position.

Nelson's avowedly feminist perspective also underplays the prevalence of women perpetrators, and the increasing recognition of the previous underreporting of sexual relationships between teenage boys and older women (see Nelson and Oliver 1998). Another worrying aspect is her claim that teenage boys should be targeted in school to address their current attitudes to children and women. Although certain forms of hegemonic masculinity such as violence, homophobia, and sexism need to be challenged, it is less clear whether such feminist-inspired educational policies would work (see Hoff-Summers 2000 for a critical view of mainstream feminist approaches to young males).

Appendix Eleven: earlier contributions

Constantine and Martinson challenge the dominance of 'notions...of sexuality during childhood as somehow "lesser"- less important, less significant, less consciouscertainly something apart from and qualitatively different from adult sexuality' (Ibid 1981: 1X). For Constantine, children's sexuality, by threatening 'the lynch-pins of a hierarchical society', is transgressive and subversive (Ibid: 6).

In the same volume, Langfeldt in his study of Norwegian boys, stresses the role of mutual masturbation in peer and man-boy sexual activity in developing 'more confident attitudes toward masturbation' (Langfeldt 1981: 69). Ingram described the boys referred to him in a counselling role as 'participating victims' in their sexual interaction with older men (Ingram 1981: 177). He characterises the sexual activity as 'boisterous sex play...mainly mutual masturbation', in which the boys responded with 'different reactions to those expected namely, with a 'certain robustness' (Ibid: 184, 177). However, he draws a cautionary note, by contending that the 'sexual act was only meaningful for the adult not for the child', and that furthermore, such sexual meanings were subsequently 'interpreted very differently by the man and the boy' (185, 186). In the same volume, Constantine identifies age 'as a potential factor in differential outcomes' in child-adult sexual relationships, but in reference to the thirty studies he covers on intergenerational sexual relationships, he suggests other, more salient factors, such as the degree to which the relationship is viewed as mutual and valued, and the impact of sexual knowledge and social reactions in influencing whether the experience will be viewed positively by the younger person (Constantine 1981: 219,

239). He controversially concludes that 'child sexual experiences do not differ qualitatively in their discernible effects from those of adults' (Ibid: 241).

The difficulties with the above study relate primarily to its limited generalisability. For example, Constantine drew on his experiences in the Communal experiment during the 1960s and 1970s, where there were moves towards allowing children to freely interact with "families of choice", and experiment sexually with both peers and older people. It would however be difficult to extrapolate such positive experiences to a wider context, where the social structures influencing generational relationships, and the availability of sexual scripts available to children are arguably very different.

Tindall examines nine retrospective cases of adolescent boys, over a twenty-year period, who had been involved with older men, concluding that all the boys 'developed into adults with sexual patterns considered acceptable by the culture' (Ibid 1978: 380). Amongst his respondents, Tindall notes the adoption of a 'fatherly attitude' by the older partners, an absence of coercion, and the expression of intimacy 'through mutual desires' (Ibid: 374, 380). He argues that his findings directly refute the claim that 'boys who had an experience with an older homosexual will eventually become homosexual or psychoneurotic or have any more problems than any other male adolescent' (Ibid: 381).

Tindall's study benefits from the incorporation of a longitudinal element. His main thesis is to challenge the "early seduction hypothesis" namely, the idea that boys who experience a sexual encounter or relationship with an older male are at risk of developing a gay identity in later life. However in making this aspect the central focus, Tindall appears to echo previous defenders of pederasty (see Eglinton's 1971 defence of 'Greek Love') in reinforcing the predominance of conservative and heteronormative discourses, by claiming that MADIS does not lead to boys subsequently adopting a gay identity. However, rather than viewing any correlation between MADIS and a gay identity as negative, a more constructive approach could focus on gay men's sexual experiences of MADIS, and identify the reasons for a greater readiness amongst them to interpret such experiences positively (see Rind 2001).

The final account is more problematic as it was produced by NAMBLA, who have a clear motive in proselytising positive MADIS experiences. Nonetheless, it was considered an appropriate and useful addition to this study. In the preface, Miller argues that the feelings expressed in the volume are not uncommon and substantiated by studies 'which show that consensual relations are not threatening and are usually viewed positively by the participating boys' (Miller 1996: Preface). Within the collected letters and sources, allegedly from boys involved in MADIS, there are a number of comments about their experiences. Greg (aged 16) states "I have been involved in a boy-man relationship since I was 12...and I love him" (Quoted in Ibid: 12), and Bryan (aged 12 1/2) commenting on his 23 year old lover says, "I love him and he loves me...I feel kids are people with sexual needs like adults" (Quoted in Ibid: 13).

Thorstad argues that the importance of this volume is to challenge the claim that it is only boylovers who speak for boys rather than young people, whilst also highlighting the way other groups (mainstream feminists and CSA professionals) continue to assume privileged status over the lives of young people (Thorstad in Ibid: 9). However, it is questionable how far such a volume will go to removing the suspicion that such accounts are selective, unreliable and easily manipulated by adults to extract the kind of views they want to hear. The problem for NAMBLA is that their aim to get the voices of positively experienced man-boy love will be continually thwarted by the very legal, professional and political restrictions placed upon such positions being heard.

Appendix Twelve Case Study: the Rind et al. (1998) Meta-analysis and its aftermath Over the period covered by this literature review, one of the most contested contributions was Rind et al.'s "A Meta-Analytic Examination of Assumed Properties of Child Sexual Abuse Using College Samples," (Rind et al.1998). Aside from the resultant political and media controversy, the Rind et al. study has provoked a wide range of critical, as well as broadly supportive responses. Of particular significance for the present study, is the way the issues were framed in political, media and academic forums, highlighting the complex inter-relationship between contested knowledge, positivist science and political ideology.

In their study, Rind et al. adopt a critical approach to many of the assumptions made by CSA researchers. For example, in their introduction they warn against the application of legal and moral constructs into scientific definitions, claiming that biases amongst CSA researchers, including extrascientific and subjective preconceptions, have led to conclusions which reinforce their political ideology (Ibid: 21-22).

After carrying out a review of 59 college samples of CSA, the authors identify the importance of causality, pervasiveness, intensity and gender in producing differential individual outcomes, which suggested a considerable inadequacies in the language and constructs employed by mainstream CSA researchers and theorists. On the basis of their results, Rind et al. propose: a greater recognition of differential outcomes and experiences in adult-child sexual interaction; approaches which focus more on the subjective perception and reaction of young people to such experiences; more objectively grounded analyses of the qualitative aspects within such relationships; and the need to avoid wholesale, unwarranted and unscientific inferences (see ibid: 46-47).

Paolucci et al. put forward a counter meta-analysis on CSA based on 37 studies (Ibid 2001). In direct contrast to the above study, they argue that their research provides evidence for a 'multifaceted model of traumatization rather than a specific sexual abuse syndrome of CSA', and conclude that there is 'compelling evidence of the negative impact of CSA on human development...associated with PTSD and depression, as well as with suicide, sexual promiscuity, the victim-perpetrator cycle and poor academic performance, regardless of victim, age, gender or socio-economic status' (Ibid: 17, 33).

There are several problems with Paolucci et al. 's approach. Firstly, in their discussion section (in stark contrast to Rind et al.) they claim that no differences were observed in the effects of CSA based on age, gender, and the type of abuse (i.e. coercion versus consent) (Ibid: 30). In the case of age, they claim that no differences exist in victims aged between two-twelve, ignoring the fact that most CSA studies extend the potential age of victims up to eighteen. As a consequence, this skews their conclusions. Furthermore, in examining the effects of CSA on pre-pubertal children, they take no account of young people, who have consistently reported more positive outcomes and significantly less negative sequelae in MADIS.

In their earlier look at prevalence rates, Paolucci et al. include adolescents among the figures, and later on state that their definition of a child as a victim is based on legal statutes (Ibid: 21). However, this fails to recognise age of consent differences across western states. For example, for their study, Paolucci et al. drew exclusively on English-speaking countries (mainly North American) but even here, there are significant differences in age of consent laws (see Graupner 2000b). Furthermore, most of the studies they rely on were conducted in the 1990s, when CSA approaches were increasingly dominated by victimological thinking.

The above authors also make little effort to disguise their biases in this area, deploying words such as 'alarmingly high prevalence' (Ibid: 17), along with loaded terminology such as 'victim-perpetrator'. In addition, they rely predominantly on clinical samples, and fail to adequately consider mediating factors, such as family background or prior psychological adjustment.

Significantly, Paolucci et al. fail to do justice to supporters of MADIS, by claiming that '[d]espite a lack of theoretical and empirical support, proponents of child and adult sexual relationships have argued that sexual interests and behaviors of adults with children should be considered acceptable, normal and healthy' (Ibid: 19). Firstly, just because a position has minority support does not discredit both its theoretical and substantive case. Furthermore, Paolucci et al.'s coverage of such positions is limited and superficial, citing only one study. Finally, by stacking the number of studies which show the negative consequences of CSA, they fail to cite numerous CSA studies which do highlight heterogeneous outcomes (see Coxell et al. 1999), as well as those which show distinctly positive results (Sandfort 1987; Leahy 1992b).

In view of the above biases, cultural and temporal specificity and methodological errors, Paolucci et al.'s claim that '[i]t may be that the experience of CSA itself stands out as a negatively significant event, which does not discriminate across individuals but rather affects human development in a consistent manner' (Ibid: 31) appears unwarranted.

Ondersma et al. (2001) and Dallam et al. (2001) identify several flaws in the Rind et al. study. Both highlight the danger of its use by 'pedophiles' to support 'predetermined

advocacy positions' (Ondersma et al 2001: 713). Ondersma et al. also accuse Rind et al. of defining harm too narrowly, ignoring the fact that existing male socialisation scripts tends to forbid males adopting victim status, and of making the dubious assumption that 'children and adolescents can make informed decisions about having sex with an adult' (Ibid: 709, 710). They conclude that abuse is defined by the legal and moral consensus of a given society, and solely based on adult sexual gratification (Ibid: 711). Finally, Dallam et al. criticise Rind et al. for restricting their study to college samples, thereby underestimating the overall impact of harm in CSA (Ibid: 717).

In a subsequent rebuttal, Rind et al. criticise Ondersma et al. for their unscientific approach in asserting that 'all outcomes...positive and negative alike...become evidence for harm', and also the value-laden way they frame terminology in 'moral and political language' (Rind et al. 2001a: 750, 752). They go on to provide a further meta-analysis in order to separate college and community samples, which they argue, contradicts Dallam et al's claim that there was no significant difference on measurable harm within the college and community samples on CSA. Rind et al. conclude, that the opposition to their study has been influenced by 'unverified clinical opinion and victimological ideology to justify a particular social and therapeutic agenda', which is in turn guilty of 'inappropriate pathologizing and generalizing to expand the number of victims' (Ibid: 753).

Oellerich, in broad agreement with Rind et al.'s findings, states that 'the blanket statement that the sexual abuse of children is harmful to its victims is false (Ibid 2000: 67). In order to substantiate this, he cites a number of studies which concluded that a significant number of CSA victims were not harmed. Oellerich identifies a number of problems with the 'victimological paradigm', including the often biased and polemic constructs which are casually introduced into research design and the way the scientific and professional community have created non-empirical constructs to sustain a self-fulfilling ideology (Ibid: 77). More significantly, he criticises such approaches for failing to distinguish between abusive and non-abusive MADIS and, echoing Rind et al., advocates the analytical separation of 'wrongfulness with harmfulness in sexual matters' (Ibid: 77).

Others see Rind et al's findings, as a process of 'scientific inquiry' that is inevitably set within a 'cultural and political framework', and therefore requiring an understanding of the range of historical and contemporary forces operating upon it (Haaken and Lamb 2000: 7). For Haaken and Lamb, these forces include child welfare advocates and feminists who have both had a stake in citing significant traumas from CSA as the basis for attaining more resources for child protection and therapy (Ibid: 10). They go on to argue that such 'abuse stories' have been increasingly mobilised for politically strategic ends, given a significantly greater priority than other stories, and became important in unifying women (Ibid: 11). However, the authors view the uproar generated by the contents of Rind et al.'s study as largely motivated by political and professional (psychiatry and psychology) conservatism (Ibid: 8, 9).

Haaken and Lamb also criticise Rind et al. for slanting the debate towards accepting at face value positive accounts, whilst accusing CSA approaches to all adult-child sexual experiences, of obscuring "the true nature of the behavior and its actual causes and effects" (Ibid: 10). This, according to Haaken and Lamb, contradicts the authors stated approach 'that sexual experiences are open to multiple meanings and interpretations' (Ibid: 10). They conclude by stating categorically, that 'children can never be equal participants in relation to adults and sex', and that any failure to recognise this will only increase the potential for sexual exploitation (Ibid: 12).

Haaken and Lamb argue for a middle ground approach between constructionist relativism and universal notions of justice in analysing the implications of the above research (Ibid: 7). In the case of women victims, the authors argue for 'alternative means of entering into the psychological and social meanings' of their accounts (Ibid: 14). They also advocate a clearer 'understanding of children's agency and sexuality...which allows them their sexuality and some capacity for consent' (Ibid: 14).

The authors eschew any truth status to adult-child sexual experiences, but rather contend that such contested definitions have to be set within conflicting cultural notions on age and gender, and on how such notions are framed and interpreted (Ibid: 14). However, returning to their original philosophical dilemma, Haaken and Lamb put forward a moral position on adult-child sex which constructs a baseline based upon broader social and cultural notions of how to treat children. They argue that this

inevitably brings in issues of exploitation and care, as well as 'common morality', suggesting that '[t]here are many good reasons for adults not to have sex with children' (Ibid: 14).

Haaken and Lamb's corrective to Rind et al's excessive faith in positivist science's ability to provide an "essential truth" for claims surrounding CSA is welcome. Furthermore, their attention to the socially constructed way such diverse and multiple meanings are produced, is central to the current study. However, in their conclusion, Haaken and Lamb deploy problematic notions (such as 'common morality', 'sexual exploitation', 'care and protection') without offering any critical analysis of how these may in turn be open to contestation in the area of MADIS, thereby foreclosing the very philosophical approach they advocate.

With reference to the general debates surrounding adult-child sexual contacts, Ericksen draws attention to previous contributors such as Kinsey, who concluded that harm was 'induced by outraged adults', and that of Laumann, who stressed the importance of 'gender differences in negative perceptions' (Ibid 2000: 22-24). She also addresses the difficulty for any research into CSA of being able to 'separate the effects of highly correlated variables because of issues of multicollinearity', whereby attempts to control for the effects of different variables, coupled with determining what is cause and what is effect, render any conclusion problematic (Ibid: 24).

However, in spite of the above provisos, Ericksen takes a broadly critical approach to Rind et al., who she accuses of masking 'a liberationist agenda' under the guise of objective science (Ibid: 23), and for neglecting the fact that any analysis on child-adult sexual interaction must examine the retrospective accounts of adults, the difficulties of a child giving consent, and 'the differences in power between adults and children' (Ibid: 25).

The first point to make concerning the reliability or usefulness of meta-analysis as a methodological tool within the social sciences is that the dichotomous conclusions drawn from the above two meta-analyses, has to cast severe doubts on the ability of such a methodology to achieve the aims of its proponents: being more robust, accurate and "scientific." Although Paolucci et al. draw attention to the problems of meta-

analysis namely: which studies to include; a lack of clarity over confounding variables and consequences; and minimal attention to mediating variables (see ibid: 32), there are more fundamental weaknesses with it. Firstly, adding together the results of studies in any particular area may simply reproduce the flaws in the methodologies and research designs of the studies covered. Secondly, any attempt to compile studies involves a snap shot of a specific time and socio-cultural context, ignoring material inequalities and the marginalisation of certain social groups and discursive positions. As stated earlier, research into CSA has often been informed by political ideological insights, and situated within a particular historical locale. Finally, central to the philosophy of the social sciences approach taken by the current study, is a general wariness of positivist science's claims to impartiality (and in the area of MADIS this is arguably particularly relevant), coupled with the aim of challenging the very truth claims made by such approaches from a broadly Foucauldian perspective.

Appendix Thirteen: personal boylover accounts

In the current climate it is not surprising that self-identified boylovers do not publicly air their sexual identity, or catalogue the details of any relationship. An exception to this is Michael Davidson, who begins his first contribution with the unapologetic statement, 'this is the life history of a lover of boys' (Ibid 1997: 1). He likens his desire for pubertal boys to 'motherliness' and 'passionate protectiveness' (Ibid: 31), describing himself as an 'eternal adolescent' who shares the same interests as a boy's (Ibid: 1, 346). In a concluding statement, Davidson says

I'm stating...the truth about myself: my highest, most intense, pleasure or happiness is of the mind; and it comes from seeing, being with, touching, looking into the mind of a boy who, emotionally, mentally, rather than bodily, is simpatico (Ibid: 47).

The value of Davidson's accounts, although historically situated in the 1960s and 1970s and inevitably woven with anecdotal references and subject to embellishment, lie in their status as an unrepentant account of a man who celebrates his sexuality, whilst also providing an intimate account of what MADIS meant to him.

⁹ The original book was written in 1970.

In a contribution entitled 'The Man They Call A Monster', Wilson sets out to examine—the personal biography of Clarence Osbourne who had over 2500 sexual encounters with adolescent boys in Australia (Wilson 1981). He notes that not one of the above's partners ever complained to the police, suggesting a 'contradiction between the sexual pervert label and victims' opinions' (Ibid: 1). According to Wilson, Osbourne made contacts with adolescent boys in different contexts (including swimming pools, beaches, hitch-hiking), using a number of ploys such as: verbal cues; and observed signs of willingness to achieve a rapport with young people (Ibid: 22-24). Wilson claims that most of Osborne's partners were heterosexual who enjoyed the physical stimulation and excitement of sexual interaction with an older man (Ibid: 38-39). For Wilson, the varied nature of the sexual acts (mainly mutual masturbation and intercrural), and different dynamics within each of the relationships Osbourne had with young males, suggests that the dominant conception of man-boy relations, in which an 'active dominant older man oppresses an inactive, passive young boy' is a gross simplification (Ibid: 43).

For Wilson, 'Osbourne was the catalyst that enabled boys to explore their sexuality' (Ibid: 57). After examining Osbourne's possessions after his suicide, Wilson notes a man with an 'explosive sexual drive and a curiosity in young males', who saw himself as a mentor to his young partners, viewed sex with them "just a bit of fun", yet idolised young males in the 'Greek Love' tradition as the 'epitome of what was beautiful and natural' (Ibid: 73, 77, 80, 89). He also argues that Osbourne's experiences highlight the great need which adolescent boys have for emotional and affectional bonding, something often not readily available within family units or between male peers (Ibid: 86).

Appendix Fourteen: earlier boylove literature

The following citations are taken from a range of sources given to me by a respondent to the current study. The purpose of including them here is to show the degree of activism amongst boylovers at this time (early eighties), and some evidence of a different approach by certain sections of the gay community to paedophilia.

- 1) "Paedophilia and Public Morals: A Campaign Against Public Morals Publication" CAPM (1980).
- "STOP THE SHOW TRIAL OF THE PIE FIVE
- DROP THE CHARGES AGAINST THE PIE FIVE
- FOR THE FIGHT OF PAEDOPHILES TO ORGANISE
- NO STATE HARASSMENT OF YOUNG PEOPLE
- FOR THE ABOLITION OF CONSPIRACY LAWS" (see ibid: 58).
 - 2) London gay Workshops: Building The London Gay Community London gay Workshops Collective (London 1982)

Lots of gay men treat younger gay men in exactly the same way - they are seen exclusively as sex objects and often afforded the demeaning label of 'chicken'...[] ... There is no need for consent laws as far as gay men are concerned - unwanted sexual intercourse or rape are forms of assault and should be treated as such...[]... Paedophiles are not synonymous with child molesters in the eyes of the law and uninformed public opinion which deem that children cannot consent to sexual activity (touching, kissing, cuddling) with adults without being exploited or raped. This view is based on the denial of children's sexuality and the waiving of their rights in favour of parents or of the state...In the longer term the gay community could help paedophiles by raising the important issue of the rights of children and by campaigning for the decriminalisation of consenting sexual activity (Ibid: 7, 20).

3) What is Pedophilia...anyway? Sonenschein, D. (1982) Austin Pedophile Study Group

pedophilia - refers to a person's ability to share and enjoy sensual relations with children in non-violent, non-coercive relationships...Professional definitions focus on genital sex and imply the children are victims of psychological or physical violence. Such popular usage, however, is purposely meant to limit, obscure and deny the varieties and values of child-adult sex

4) Boy Love World 1: A Ganymede International QUARTERLY (Netherlands 1986) "BOY-LOVE WORLD' is a brand new magazine, the aims of which are to inform, educate, and liberate all concerned with boy-love." (Ibid: 4)

Boy Love World 2: A Ganymede International QUARTERLY (Netherlands 1986)

It is ironic that societies that claim to be free, and proclaim the liberty of individuals, appear now to be among the most oppressive in the world as far as minority groups are concerned...In the name of love, let us not give in to those who wish to control us, make us conform to their narrow dogmatic beliefs. Let us peacefully fight for our rights and those of the young people we love (Ibid: 4).

Appendix Fifteen: resultant configuration of the field

From looking at the perspectives outlined on MADIS, it is clear that they involve highly contested discursive positions. The purpose of this concluding summative framework is to establish a coherent basis for theorising MADIS in chapter three, and provide constructs and understandings which may assist the data-analysis in chapters six to eleven.

Approach one: a discursive closure

The first approach adopts a 'discursive closure' on MADIS (paedophilia and ephebophilia). This approach draws predominantly on essentialist perspectives by applying absolute moral and ethical baselines to such behaviours and identities, viewing them as unacceptable and reprehensible. This approach also draws on constructivist analyses which contend that the continued legal and moral injunction against sexual relationships between adults and children or young people should be maintained due to the excessive power difference and the relative status of children and adolescents vis-à-vis adults.

CSA theorists have regularly utilised both essentialist and constructivist approaches to argue that children or young people are incapable of giving *meaningful* and *informed*

consent to such relationships, based on a basic and fundamental lack of subjective understandings of sexual meanings and knowledge of sexuality. The above also maintain that, due to the distinct disparity between adult and child sexuality, the sexual needs of adults will inevitably predominate over the emotional and intimate needs of children and young people.

Approach two: socially constructed as problematic

The second approach argues for a general injunction based on the *likely outcomes* for the younger person involved in such relationships. This approach identifies two often interrelated problems namely, psychological harm and the high risks for children and young people involved in such encounters and relationships. This approach draws on empirical studies which highlight medical-psychiatric traumatic consequences from such experiences. Other approaches note other consequences of such experiences including poorer social functioning - generally measured by educational performance, future inter-personal relationships, and reliance on medical or psychiatric counselling.

A further strand within this approach has been informed by feminist perspectives, which have linked specific socio-sexual behaviours (particularly MADIS) to the maintenance of hegemonic notions of masculinity. This perspective puts forward a *causal explanation* for the prevalence of such relationships namely, the dominant position of males within familial, social and cultural sites. It also stresses the multifaceted way in which such behaviours reinforce patriarchy, through encouraging boys to adopt sexually exploitative behaviour, leading them to deny "victim status", whilst creating a recurrent pattern of victim-perpetrator abusive behaviour.

Approach three: a continuum model (constructionist)

A third position on MADIS has been taken up (to varying degrees) by some feminist writers, gay theorists and social scientific researchers. This perspective can be loosely termed the 'qualification' and/ or 'continuum approach' to intergenerational sexuality. For this perspective, attention to mediating factors within such relationships including: gender; age and age-differentials; social context; subjective understandings of sexual acts and behaviours; and the nature and quality of particular relationships is of crucial significance.

Approach 4: libertarian and pro-MADIS perspectives

The final discursive position is the diverse support-based literature in favour of removing the injunction on MADIS. This includes advocacy-based literature, as well as a diverse range of broadly libertarian perspectives critical of such a wholesale injunction. The support-based literature tends to adopt the term boylover to denote the socio-sexual identity of an adult male who wants to form relationships with boys or youths. It also emphasises a discourse of love and friendship as a central facet of such a persona, whilst generally minimising the sexual component of the relationship. This position also stresses the capacity of pre and post-pubertal boys for sexual pleasure, alongside a libertarian sexual ethic which argues for the right of children and young people to the self-determination of their own bodies. It also maintains that children and young people have the capacity to provide (meaningful) consent to such relationships, and that any intervention by the authorities should only take place in genuine cases of abuse, where force or manipulation has been applied.

Central to such positions is the claim that there are potential benefits, which a mentoring role outside of familial relations can bring to the socio-sexual development of boys and youths. They also stress how the very injunction placed on such relationships, contribute to increasing alienation amongst boys. Notions of abuse, harm and exploitation are not seen as a generic feature of such relationships, and should not be applied to non-consensual, physically violent incidences. Such positions also draw on libertarian perspectives which claim that negative reactions to intergenerational sexual experiences are often brought about by the pre-existing societal taboos placed upon child sexuality, and professional intervention.

On issues concerning power, such perspectives argue that power imbalances exist within all socio-sexual relationships. They also identify the multiple ways, in which power differences can be subverted by a younger person using the *(negative)* power of disclosure or blackmail, and / or the *(positive)* power of asserting their individual sexuality. This perspective stresses the importance of qualitative features within MADIS (including mutual respect, pleasure, friendship, and reciprocal love), which they contrast with dominant CSA characterisations of such relationships, as inherently predatory, exploitative and violent.

Appendices to Chapter Two

Appendix Sixteen: historical antecedents to the sex offender

Wider dangers to young people from sexual content in the media have distinct antecedents. For example, Evans highlight's Wertham's 1953 study on the sexual content in comics, entitled 'Seduction of the Innocent', as a case in point (see Evans 1993: 226). The above also helped establish a fertile environment for the passage in the US of the Children and Young persons Harmful Publications Act in 1955 and the establishment in most states of laws to protect children (see McLaren 1999: 161). Further Statutes up to 1962 in Florida and California, established a link between child and youth protection in schools, homosexuality, and threats to neighbourhoods of the "stranger danger" (see chapter four in Jenkins 1998).

Appendix Seventeen: paradigmatic shifts in same-sexualities

It has been a widely held contention amongst historians of sexuality, that paradigmatic shifts took place in western European away from pederastic to androphile relationships as the dominant modes of homosexual desire (see Dynes 1992: 228). According to Bleys, in 19th century Europe, the period for young males prior to heterosexual marriage allowed for interpreting male adult-youth relationships in line with 'democratic disequilibrium or cultural habit' (Ibid 1996: 190). However, such notions were increasingly at odds with the psychopathological construction of the modern homosexual, where the passive roles of adolescent boys could now be seen as proof of congenital homosexuality (Ibid: 237). Trumbach also situates the above within the wider changes within western societies of an evolving shift in European gender roles, in which it became increasingly difficult for boys to be 'passive', and then switch to an active role in a sexual relationship with an adult male (see ibid 1989).

Appendices to Chapter Three

Appendix Eighteen: Foucault on historical transformations

Foucault contends that by the end of the 19th century, children and young people's sexuality was simultaneously recognised and problematised through medical-psychiatric intervention (see ibid 1978). He also stresses how adult homosexuality was simultaneously identified, defined, and codified - constituting, in effect, an object of scientific enquiry, in which medical-psychiatric intervention could take place through the deployment of a barrage of typologies, behavioural classifications and aetiologies (Ibid: 41).

This constitution of the homosexual as a species, led in turn, to the formation of an identity strategy, whereby homosexuals applied those very classifications in the form of a 'reverse discourse', which 'began to speak in its own behalf, to demand that its legitimacy or "naturality" be acknowledged, often in the same vocabulary, using the same categories by which it was medically disqualified' (Ibid: 101). This 'century of transformation' from the first recognised entry of homosexuality into the medical sexological lexicon (1869), to the Stonewall riots of 1969, and a "post gay liberationist era", has been comprehensively covered in the gay and lesbian historiographical literature (Plummer (ed.) 1992; Nardi and Schneider (eds)1998; and Duberman et al. (eds)1989).

The benefit of Foucault's approach however is that it provides a convincing explanation for how discursive practices and subjectivities on sexuality are constituted and then reconfigured through further subsequent shifts. Chapter two largely adopted this approach, to address some of the temporal dynamics, which have arguably led to such a transformation away from MADIS toward "age-egalitarian" relationships. It was argued that such a transformation took place in which age, rather than gender, increasingly acted as the nodal point, or point of application, of normalisation, and consequently a primary vector (vehicle for transformation) for a diverse number of power-knowledges to coalesce around (see Foucault's dialogue with Danet and Hocquenghem in Kritzman (ed.)1988).

Consequently, the adult male deviant was no longer imbued with medical-psychiatric characteristics associated with gender identification' instead the focus switched to age as a defining axis of medical-psychiatric, behavioural and socio-sexual normalisation. Consistent with Foucault's challenge to the repressive hypothesis, the paedophile and/ or sex offender and / or child sexual abuser and / or child molester, has not been hidden away (see the voluminous rise in the number of studies and references on paedophilia and sex offenders shown in chapter one). On the contrary, there was a 'determination on the part of agencies of power to hear it and cause *it (sex)* to be spoken' (Ibid: 18). In effect, the 'implantation of perversity' had, by the late 20th century, been re-directed toward and mobilised against, a more specific object (sexual pervert) whose sexual desire was directed towards children and/ or young people. This necessitated following Foucault's advice by devising a 'different grid of historical decipherment' (Ibid: 89), coupled with an analysis of the unfolding 'norms, rules, and signifying totalities' which effectively constitute the bridge between such an object, and the condition which make his emergence possible (Visker 1995: 42).

Appendix Nineteen: A 'Procrustean Effect'

Rind et al.'s use of the concept 'procrustean effect', referred to in chapter one, on how subject positions within MADIS have been constructed in line with dominant CSA paradigms will be further elaborated here (see Rind et al. 2001a: 753). This term was applied by the above authors to highlight how an end-product (in this case CSA as dominant truth) achieves its effect by 'violent or ruthless means' (Ibid 2001a: 753).

Rind et al., and other critics of the discursive disclosure position, contend that a major methodological problem with the discursive closure on CSA is the very totalistic construction it erects around subjectivities, and research paradigms. Consequently, if a significant number of cases do not fit, the above approach is unable to modify, or alter, any facets of its a priori framework - constituting a good example of what Hakosalo identifies as imposed descriptive framework, which is then applied as a 'means of control and method of domination' (Ibid 1991: 50).

Rind's analysis of CSA fits well with a Foucauldian approach which interrogates the multiple techniques used by the above perspective to attain such a dominant truth status. These include denying space and credibility to other claims to legitimacy,

exploiting professional relations of power through their particular role as confessants in attempting to reconfigure sexual desires and experiences, and applying particular socio-psychological knowledge (s) to categorise experiences, thereby assuming expert status on MADIS.

Appendix Twenty: Gay and lesbian responses to MADIS

Until the 1970s, MADIS was relatively under-theorised, and was generally given scant attention in public policy discourses. At a similar juncture in Europe and North America, the position of gay and lesbians, although still subject to a range of discriminatory and normalising pressures, was gradually improving, culminating in the removal of homosexuality from the APA (American Psychiatric Association's) list of medical-psychiatric disorders in 1973. At approximately the same juncture, increasing efforts were made to increase the protection of children and young people from sexual abuse. Although speculative, and requiring far more empirical and historical contextualisation, analyses on a potential link between increasing acceptance for one sexual minority (gay and lesbians), at the expense of another (boylovers), could prove an extremely useful addition to theorising on late modern transformations in intimacy.

Appendix Twenty-One: A Chronological and Discursive Overview of the Conflicting and Differential Assigning of Subject Status to Children and Young People

During the early stages of this study, major discrepancies were noted in the way children and young people were discursive presented. In the area of intimacy and sexuality, the dominant language ("at risk," "vulnerable," and / or "innocent) used in legal and media discourses for characterising young people. This contrasted with their subsequent portrayal in other areas (criminological), where recognition of substantial subjective capacities (awareness of consequences, guile and ability to subvert power imbalances held by adults) tended to prevail.

Although, the above highlight significant (and, at times, blatant, discrepancies), there has been a general lack of critical analysis, not only of the way children and young people are constituted as discrete subjects within the various areas, but also in the way their interaction with adults is subsequently characterised. Throughout the course of this study, a range of media (tabloid and broadsheet newspapers, TV documentaries, dramas, news broadcasts, and cinema) was analysed to assess the extent of this trend.

Section One: Child Sexuality

Sex Education, age of consent, Clause 28 and contemporary trends

1999

G. Roberts, Scottish Daily Mail (pages 8-9) "Fury over new sex clinics for the underaged" (also detailing a father of 13 when a girlfriend of 17)

2000

13/2 P. Wintour, Observer (page 1) "Cabinet split on moral code for children"

29/3 W. Vukosa, Metro (page 9) "Teenage pregnancies soar to new height" (detailing

Office for National Statistics figures showing 8,400 under 16 pregnancies)

19/6 A. Daniels, Scottish Daily Mail (page 16) "The generation of girls reaching puberty under 8"

23/6 S. Doughty, Scottish Daily Mail (page 17) "Lost innocence - teenagers who know too much too soon about the facts of life" (detailing that channel 4 survey shows that a great majority of teenagers have a sophisticated sexual knowledge. Comment from National Family Campaign of the dangers)

23/6 T. Dawson, Scottish Daily Mail (page 4) "Teachers can't put sun cream on pupils" (in Scottish Borders for fear of CSA accusations)

25/6 S. Flockhart, Sunday Herald (page 5) "When sex is child's play"

21/6 J. Hope, Scottish Daily Mail (page 15) "One in four girls doesn't wait till 16 to have sex" (comment from Whelan of Family and Youth Concern "all the taboos that once used to protect people have gone")

21/6 A. Frean, Times (page 9) "One in four girls doesn't wait till 16 to have sex"

26/6 I. Garner, Scottish Daily Mail (pages 24-5) "The destruction of innocence" (detailing a family who talk openly about their sexual experiences)

16/11 A. Stothard, Scottish Daily Mail (page 53) "Why I, as a teenager, says gays shouldn't have sex at 16" (detailing teenagers with "volatile emotions", fear of older men, anal sex and AIDS)

18/11 BBC Scottish News (5.50 p.m.) (on the controversy over sex education with "precious life" claiming that sex education equals CSA).

- 2/1 E. Barnes, Scottish Daily Mail (page 1) "Churches' anger as ministers ignore marriage"
- 11/1 E. Barnes, Scottish Daily Mail (page 10) "Parents hit back at plans to give girls pill in school" (E. Sutherland, child law expert at Glasgow University: "The child's right to consent is there irrespective of what the parent wants")
- 12/3 A. Whittam-Smith, Scottish Daily Mail (pages 18-19) (stressing fears of Liberal elite and disturbing images of children)
- 13/3 F. Nelson, Times (page 13) (Sex education worries over new guidelines curtailed with "new requirement to give parents power to monitor what their children were being taught.")
- 22/3 Commentary, Scottish Daily Mail (page 12) "Parents need to be vigilant"
- 23/3 E. Barnes, Scottish Daily Mail (page 1) "Lessons on gays and condoms for children aged nine"
- 12/4 A. Montgomery, Bearden and Milngavie Courier (page 5) "Pupils suspended in internet porn row"
- 14/7 I. Oakeshott, Scottish Daily Mail (page 2) "Marriage u-turn in new sex guide for schools"

2002

3/2 M. Wroe, Sunday Times Magazine (pages 49-50) "Are parents right to spy" (details that 64% of parents found their children talking to strangers online and general fears of internet prowlers - see www.chatdanger.com, www.kidsmart.org.uk, www.

2003

- 18/2 Channel 4 News (7 p.m.) 15 year-old British girl defends Turkish boyfriend but sentenced to 5 years
- 4/9 ITN News (6.30 p.m.) on 15 year-old boy and 12 year-old girl runaways not emotionally mature.

Section Two: Child and Youth Criminality

1999

6/11 A. McWhinnie and I. Sharp, Scottish Daily Express (page 30) "Savagery on the street" (detailing 16 year-old "thug" and 13 year-old who hit an older man with an axe) 27/11 A. Coggan, Scottish Daily Express (page 17) "9 out of 10 children commit crime by 16" (based on a Stirling University Survey. Also claims 68% of boys have been involved in street violence)

2000

15/1 I. Smith, Scottish Daily Mail (page 39) "Executive to ask children on smacking" 6/4 J. Brocklebank, Scottish Daily Mail (page 10) "Guilty: boy killer, 14 who left widow to die"

17/2 A. Adams, Metro (page 7) "Shocking rise in school violence" (2,000 violent incidents against Scottish teachers last year)

8/4 New Item, Scottish Daily Express (page 6) "Youth 14 locked up for 10 years" (judge stated "no alterative for those appalling offences")

29/6 S. Doughty, Scottish Daily Mail (page 21) "Young people who throw away their health on drink and drugs" (Office for National Statistics that crime is largely committed by young people and that one in four under sixteens are having sex) 4/12 BBC News (6p.m.) on curfews for under sixteens.

5/12 A. Sage, Times (page 25) "France wrings its hands as young run wild" (talk of social breakdown, akin to Lord of the Flies)

2001

1/4 S. Moore, Scottish Daily Mail (page 31) "We have robbed our children of innocence" (also adds "we are all rightly repelled by the idea of paedophiles 'grooming' children so they can abuse them. Yet it strikes me that we are letting our children be groomed by advertisers, magazines and TV")

1/4 A. Gordon, Scottish Mail on Sunday (page 25) "Teenager assaults pregnant teacher"

10/6 M. Aitken, Scottish Mail on Sunday (page 15) "Police plea on move to raise age of criminal responsibility as offending surges - don't tie our hands over child criminals" (details how 8-11 year-olds commit 5,000 crimes. Also concern that 16 and 17 year-olds would be taken out of the adult criminal system)

27/7 I. Oakeshott, Scottish Daily Mail (page 17) "Too much too young" (highlighting one-third of teenagers are regular drinkers)

27/7 BBC News (6 p.m.) 14 year-old boy sentenced for 28 years as an adult for the murder of his teacher

2002

30/1 BBC News (10 p.m.) Item on four teen murderers – characterising them as violent and cunning

12/2 L. Purves, Times (page 22) "Time to move beyond boys will be boys" (claim that society has lost the plot with male adolescents and that boys need men)

16/2 Channel Five News (9 p.m.) Item on a14 year-old child molester

15/4 ITN News (12.30 p.m.) Focus on putting young tearaways behind bars

17/4 R. Ford, Times (page 10) "Young petty offenders to be taken into custody" (Home Office Plan to cover 10-12 year olds.

18/4 S. English, Times (page 7) "Boy faces 15 years behind bars for Dundee murder"

13/6 S. Ventura, Glaswegian "Anti-social crack down" (characterising Spittal as "teeny horror")

9/7 M. Gove, Times (page 18) "The minimum our children deserve is their youth - we have all collaborated in the dangerous erosion of innocence"

8/9 T. Atten-Mills and J. Harlow, Sunday Times (page 31) "Silence of the dead-eyed boy murderers" (13 and 14 year old face life for killing their father in Florida)

25/9 R. Watson, Times (page 20) "US has worse record for juvenile executions" (US executes 2/3 of all child offenders killed by the death penalty, with 34/50 States allowing it for 16 and 17 year-olds)

3/11 BBC News 24 (8.10 p.m.) Eighty under 18s in death row.

2003

31/1 A. MacLeod, Times (page 14) "Scottish teachers attacked 'every fifteen minutes'"

31/1 Correspondent, Times (page 15) "Yobs beat father who asked them not to swear" (two 17 year-olds)

1/3 F. Neil, Times Magazine (pages 16-22) "The trouble with boys"

11/3 A. Scotland, Times (page 9) "Record number of children go before hearings"

(40,000 dealt with in 2001 and 2002, with 63% for their care and protection)

26/4 Channel Four News (7 p.m.) Children of War in Queantanom Bay

1/6 BBC News Scotland (5 p.m.) Rise in teen assaults against parents

2/6 M. Tait, Metro (page 12) "Rise in parents assaulted by kids" (Parentline Scotland on violence and abuse of 40 cases)

Section Three: Sexual Encounters between Boys and Women

1999

6/11 I. Gallacher, Scottish Daily Express (page 16) "Pupils took bets on sex with tutors" (on the trial of Renate Williams accused of "seducing" a 15-year-old "alleged victim"

2000

29/9 R. Price and T. Woodward, Scottish Daily Mail (pages 10-11) "A year in jail for the child seducer" and "twisted obsession" (characterised as cynical exploitation of young boys by victim's families)

30/9 T. Amoore, Scottish Daily Express (page 25) "Law is at odds with our view of Mrs. Robinson"

2001

15/5 D. Wilkes, Scottish Daily Mail (page 25) "Jail for the childminder who seduced a boy of 12"

21/7 G. Keeley, Scottish Daily Mail (page 40) "Mother who had affair with boy of 15 faces prison" (now 17, claims he was seduced)

2002

22/1 M. Horsnell, Times (page 7) "Young teacher lured boys into sex at parties" (term assaults used)

4/2 BBC News (6 p.m.) Gehring seen as risk to children and guilty of sexually inappropriate behaviour.

5/2 S. Stevenson, Metro (page 1) "Teacher a sex risk" (Gehring case)

6/2 R. English, Scottish Daily Mail (page 7) "Sex case boys to sue"

10/2 A. Craig, Sunday Times News Review (pages1-2) "Lessons in Lust" (Gehring's affairs, superimposed with sexually provocative boy in school uniform)

11/2 Channel Five News (7.30 p.m.) 16 year-old with Gehring said she was caring and that he wanted it

Section Four: Paedophilia and Sex Offenders

The various discourses on paedophilia and sex offenders were also scrutinised, in relation to Foucault's claim that late modernity has, in contrast to previous theories, witnessed a discursive explosion on sex. As can be seen from the material below, both areas of paedophilia and child sexuality, have witnessed an arguably exponential increase throughout the period covered by this study.

1999

- 5/11 P. Samson, Scottish Daily Mail (page 4) "Winning acts to save children from abuse"
- 6/11 V. Mitchell, Scottish Daily Express (page 12) "Club boss on sex register" 13/11 P. Harris, Scottish Daily Mail (page 4) "Glitter jailed for an evil obsession"

2000

- 6/1 D.Taylor, Scottish Daily Express (page 9) "Police target internet merchants of porn"
- 14/2 New Digest, Metro (page 11) "Paedophile ring ran for 20 terrible years"
- 16/2 S. Doughty and M. Hickley, Scottish Daily Mail (pages 4-8) "Care homes scandal 40 monsters who must be found"
- 17/2 S. Doughty, Scottish Daily Mail (page 15) "Blair promise to hunt N. Wales suspects" (claim of 11,000 victims in care home CSA in Wales).
- 19/2 Editorial, Scottish Daily Mail (page 12) "When 'care' seems almost a blasphemy"
- 19/2 J. Twomey, Scottish Daily Mail (page 4) "No sympathy for sexual psychopath blasted to death on own door step"
- 20/2 M. Merrit, Scottish Mail on Sunday (page 15) "Anger at charge to vet youth workers"
- 19/3 J. Doward and A. Smith, Observer (page 13) "Exposed: where child porn lurks on the net"
- 25/3 N. Craven, Scottish Daily Mail (page 17) "Jail escape for the Bay City pervert"
- 25/3 G. McIlwraith, Daily Record (page 9) "From tennybop idol to vile pervert obsessed with child porn"

- 6/5 G. Smith, Scottish Daily Mail (page 15) "Shame of teacher in gay assaults on boys"
- (detail 17 year-olds as victims)
- 21/6 News Digest, Metro (page 11) "Boys suffer more abuse" (Childline Scotland revealed one in three calls are from boys).
- 23/7 30/7 News of the World "Naming and Shaming" Campaign
- 23/7 News Digest, Metro (page 4) "Sex offenders monitoring fears"
- 24/7 Responsibility for sex offenders to Scottish Executive
- 24/7 Lords block attempt to repeal Clause 28.
- 25/7 J. Kupfermann and P. Harris (pages 22-23) Sarah Payne Funeral Item
- 27/7 S. Thomas, Scottish Daily Mail (page 14) "Why I loathe myself" (statement from a self-confessed paedophile)
- 30/7 M. Bright, Observer (page 1) "Scores of paedophiles forced into hiding"
- 5/8 Editorial, Daily Telegraph (page 21) "Rebekah gets her riot" (naming and shaming campaign of 110,000 but need to distinguish offenders)
- 5/8 D. Sapsted, Daily Telegraph (page 7) "Sex offender goes underground after riot" 9/8 BBC News (6p.m.) on "Portsmouth mob rule"
- 13/8 B. Jones and S. Walters, Scottish Mail on Sunday (pages 6-7) "Jail perverts for life says Hague"
- 13/8 S. Moore, Scottish Mail on Sunday (page 31) "In the name of Sarah...end this vile persecution"
- 14/8 M. Hickley, Scottish Daily Mail (page 2) "Labour may heed Hague's call for life for paedophiles"
- 15/8 T. Reid, Times (page 6) "Paedophile suspects offered safe houses"
- 30/8 5/9 Special issue, Big Issue, "Don't tell mummy child sexual abuse action month"
- 3/9 N. Rufford, Sunday Times (page 1) "Paedophile homes to be raided"
- 16/9 M. Hickley, Scottish Daily Mail (page 23) "Sarah's law keeps sex register secret" (Straw introduces raft of new measures to protect children from paedophiles)
- 19/10 E. Barnes, Scottish Daily Mail (page 7) "Wrong abuse" (claim that half the number of children placed under protection orders were in no danger)
- 20/10 BBC News (6p.m.) on "Horrific crimes" against children by paedophiles in the priesthood
- 24/10 BBC News (6p.m.) on Predatory paedophile on the Internet

1/12 N. Bunyan, Daily Telegraphy (page 15) "Soccer boss carries dark secret of abuse

'he was too powerful'" (claim that Jones abused three boys for his own sexual gratification)

10/12 D. Rose and A. Chapman, Scottish Mail on Sunday (page 6) "Soccer bosses sex accusers lied to get a cash payout"

2001

8/1 Photo advert run by the police service of a thirteen year-old rent boy, Scottish Daily Mail (page 14)

8/1 G. Madeley, Scottish Daily Mail (page 6) "New claims of shock torture and sex abuse hit catholic monks" (claims in three Scottish schools)

10/1 BBC News 24 (8.35 p.m.) on 7 convicted of Internet pornography (Wonderland).

11/1 D. Fisher, Metro (page 1) "Sickest net ring busted"

18/1 B. Gardner, Metro (page 2) "Police break up child porn ring"

25/1 King charged with seven counts of indecent assault.

26/1 B. Taylor, Scottish Daily Mail (page 25) "Pop mogul faces eleven new sex charges"

13/2 ITN (12.30 News) Representative of Kidscape talks of horror and the need for never-ending war and more policing

13/2 BBC News at 6 p.m. on how internet should be controlled

15/2 S. O'Neil, Daily Telegraph (page 15) "Paedophiles to be lured by police on Internet"

15/3 BBC News at 10 p.m. on Home Office Report on need for safety in our homes, grooming for abuse and on vulnerable teenagers to this new and frightening technology.

25/3 J. Gerard, Sunday Times News Review (page 5) "Voderman interview" (wants paedophile sites banned)

27/3 J. Brocklebank, Scottish Daily Mail (pages 1 and 5) "He deserved to be jailed but he's got off scot free"

10/4 ITN News 6.30 p.m. on paedophiles in chatrooms and need to talk to teenagers about it through a Coronation Street actress.

17/4 Nolan Committee Report on CSA in the catholic church

18/4 R. Yeo, Metro (page 4) "Plan to screen pervert priests"

19/4 D. Fisher, Metro (page 11) "Police cybersquad to hunt net paedophiles"

homes

- 11/6 D. Fisher, Metro (page 5) "Blunkett reviews paedophile lists"
- 12/6 Digest News, Metro (page 4) "New laws to control sex offenders"
- 12/6 BBC Scotland News 10.25 p.m. Self-defence for primary pupils against paedophiles
- 20/6 J. Staples and A. Walker, Scotsman (page 1) "120 boy victims in abuse probe" (Glasgow council-run homes).
- 4/7 Publication of Bernardo's Report on boy prostitution "No son of mine"
- 5/7 P. Gallacher, J. Robertson, A. Walker, Scotsman (page 3) "Sex shame lawyer runs out of legal loopholes" (detailing Danskin's abuse in Boys Brigade as loathsome and obscene, causing victims trauma and suicide)
- 26/7 Screening of Channel Four's Brass Eye Programme on paedophilia
- 28/7 A. Brummer, Scottish Daily Mail (page 2) "Child sex photos man wins appeal"
- 29/7 BBC News (10 p.m.) Concerns over decency and participation of children in the Brass Eye programme.
- 30/7 M. Clarke, Scottish Daily Mail (pages 4-5) "Unspeakably sick –yard launches inquiry into channel 4 paedophile spoof"
- 14/8 First Screening of the film LIE in Edinburgh Filmhouse.
- 19/8 D. Boyd, Sunday Observer magazine "Breach of trust a suitable boy" (details of a sexual relationship between a boy and his teacher at Loreto school)
- 26/10 BBC News (6 p.m.) Archbishop of Cardiff resigns due to failure to act against paedophile priests
- 30/10 Channel 4 (7 p.m.) John Carr (NSPCC) on need to monitor ISPs
- 21/11 King sentenced
- 24/11 D. Jones, Scottish Daily Mail (pages 28-30) "I was one of Jonathan King's victims"
- 29/11 Reportage, Times 2 (pages 4-5) "I couldn't help myself I became obsessed" (inquiry into a link between canning and paedophilia)
- 12/12 Channel 5 News (7 p.m.) Sarah Payne murderer convicted. Talk of introducing a register
- 16/12 R. Woods, Sunday Times News Review (pages 6-7) "New ways to stop the men who kill children" (picture of deranged looking Whiting who killed Sarah Payne)

against predatory paedophiles

18/2 BBC News (10 p.m.) Sarah Payne's parents urge Blunkett to do more on identifying paedophiles

26/12 BBC News 24 Talk of locking up dangerous paedophiles without a conviction

2002

31/1 M. Christie, Glaswegian (page 11) "Kick out perverts residents say 12 paedophiles live in area"

12/2 BBC Breakfast TV Talk on Observe Scotland Campaign to monitor teachers and social workers

22/3 Channel 4 (7 p.m.) Poe addresses issue of CSA

20/4 Murder in Mind Drama (Deliberate labelling of paedophilia alongside child killer)

24/4 BBC News 24 on dawn raids on 75 Internet child pornographers

20/5 BBC News (7 p.m.) Need for more resources for police against Internet paedophiles

8/6 Comment, Scottish Daily Mail (page 12) "Serving the truth" (commentary on BBC Documentary "The Hunt for Britain's Paedophiles"

2/7 BBC News 24 Police lead raid against paedophile groups

10/8 C. Gysin and P. Allen, Scottish Daily Mail (pages 2-3) "Please spare Holly and Jessica" (in the same pages heading "Carol Voderman on the monsters who lurk on the internet")

10/8 T. Baldwin, Times (page 1) "Crackdown on internet paedophiles"

10/8 D. Rowan, Times (page 7) "Hunt highlights dangers of the internet"

14/8 C. Wilson, Scottish Daily Mail "Inside the mind of a paedophile" (draws a link between domineering mothers, weak fathers and sexual desire for children)

19/8 Mac Cartoon, Scottish Daily Mail (page 5) Showing gallows for paedophiles

19/8 M. Kenny, Scottish Daily Mail (page 4) "Only the death penalty would properly satisfy our ultimate need for justice"

19/9 A. Sparrow, Daily Telegraph "Track paedophiles by satellite says Letwin"

2/10 D. Carter, Times (page 11) "Blunkett to disclose new policies on sex offenders"

27/10 D. Bond, Times (page 29) "Drive to end child abuse" (details of 750 abuse cases last year in sport and clamour to increase vetting of sports coaches)

- 11/11 BBC News (6 p.m.) Hundreds of suspected paedophiles arrested and more to follow
- 21/11 H. Stud, R. Gledhill and C. MacDonald, Times (page 1) "Child abuse hotspots uncovered in five catholic dioceses"
- 26/11 Radio 4 Today Programme (8.30 a.m.) Roman catholic leader did nothing about the abuse of a 17 year-old boy
- 29/11 BBC Breakfast Bedford school refusing camcording of nativity plays
- 1/12 D. Leppaed and M. Ludlow, Sunday Times (page 7) "FBI nets 7,000 more British users of child porn websites"
- 15/12 Edinburgh Council bans photos of nativity plays
- 17/12 ITN News (6.45 p.m.) Internet paedophiles arrested

2003

- 11/1 ITN News (10 p.m.) Arrest of Pete Townsend and link to his own abuse
- 15/1 Editorial, Times "Networks of trust the internet and the abuse of innocence"
- 16/1 H. Stud, D. Kennedy, R. Gledhill, Times (page 12) "Cardinal found job fo another sex case priest"
- 16/1 T. Stuttaford, Times 2 (page 8) "The evil of child porn addiction"
- 16/1 ITN News (6.30 p.m.) Matthew Kelly arrested.
- 18/1 G. Jones and J. Edwards, Daily Mirror (pages 4-5) "The net widens"
- 18/1 N. Craven, Scottish Daily Mail (pages 20-21) "The real child porn scandal"
- 22/1 News Digest, Metro (page 2) "Parents fear of net sex pests" (details that NSPCC survey shows 9/10 parents worried)
- 29/1 BBC Kenyon Confronts (7 p.m.) Statement by Wyre that there are thousands of paedophiles. General criticism of 1997 Act and need for tougher measures
- 30/1 R. Ford, Times (page 12) "More protection for children" (details of new Sexual Offences Bill on new grooming laws)
- 6/2 BBC News (6 p.m.) Internet grooming what can parents do?
- 12/2 BBC Scottish News (10.30 p.m.) Passing protection of children
- 5/3 BBC News (6 p.m.) Recommending that paedophiles should be banned from travelling abroad
- 6/6 BBC News (6 p.m.) Fear that a paedophile will be out after only one year for grooming two 13 year-old girls

25/7 S. Tendler, Times (page 7) "Computer helps fight paedophiles" (highlight

Operation Ore - 6,000 suspects)

8/9 BBC News (6 p.m.) Blair calling for overhaul of child protection

14/9 ITN Frost (9 p.m.) MSA in boy's football team

24/9 BBC News (10 p.m.) Microsoft closes chat room to protect children from paedophiles

27/9 BBC Waking the Dead (9 p.m.) On MSA in care homes

4/10 MPs vote for first reading of Sexual Offences Bill

10/10 D. McGrory, Times (page 7) "Britain's worst Internet groomer jailed for 5 years" (highlighting fears of family and child campaigners. Superimposed with a picture of a "vulnerable" 14 year-old girl sitting at home)

Appendices to Chapter Four

Appendix Twenty-Two: Mayan Pederasty

Sigal views Mayan pederasty as ritually prescribed according to 'political and social ascension', in which noble youth became objects of desire by the leaders of society (Ibid 1997: 2). He argues that Mayan pedagogic and pederastic rituals were a strategy 'to manipulate and control political desire' in which "batabs" acquire future citizenship roles from the superior "halach uinic", through a homoerotic, asymmetrical relationship (Ibid: 17). Sigal conceptualises this relationship as bound up through 'semen and blood', with the adolescent nobles acquiring 'symbolic knowledge' from their elders through semen (Ibid: 19). He also suggests a similarly with Greek pederasty, in the central place occupied by the youthful body, and in the way homoerotic desire for youths, facilitates particular power relationships between older nobles and an aspiring youth citizenry (Ibid: 20-21). Sigal claims that contemporary documents suggest 'a close connection between political power and pederastic desire,' in which elder nobles sought 'to maintain symbolic power over community and lineage' (Ibid: 24).

Appendix Twenty-Three: a brief Classical Greek lexicon on sexual meanings

The definitions given below come from the range of sources used in the bibliography for this section.

Kinaidos - an effeminate man who is anally penetrated;

Philos - friend or dear one;

Philia - friendship;

Symposion - drinking party;

Skolia - drinking songs;

Sophrosune - self-control or chastity;

Hubris - outrage;

Hubristas - without control;

Cordax - indecent dance

Erastes - older man in a pederastic relationship;

Eromenos - boy / youth in a pederastic relationship.

Appendix Twenty-Four: case studies on modern cross-cultural examples

In Seville during the Inquisition, Perry notes ambivalence by the authorities to the position of 'boys under seventeen' who could be 'considered accomplices rather than culprits', but were often 'described as victims of older men' (Ibid 1989: 78). She also claims that 'officials hesitated to regard kids as instigators because this could have acknowledged that the usual adult-child power relationships could be inverted', and that 'relationships between men and boys reflected human needs in a city of many orphans, transients, clerics and women sworn to celibacy' (Ibid: 78). During the same period in France, Rey identifies a shift in which the 'notion of divine law was being replaced by the notion of civic morality', whereby police fears over 'the roving reducer of innocent boys' led to the adoption of an 'increasingly moralistic and paternalistic discourse with young men' (Rey 1989: 138-139).

In Holland, Noordam claims that 'boys were in great demand as long as they were young and handsome', and that 'courts did not consider sodomical acts by children to be different from those by adults, nor were they categorised separately (Noordam 1989: 223, 281). In Germany, according to Sweet, it was "pedagogical eros" rather than homosexuality' that constituted the main form of same-sex praxis (Ibid: 161). Steakley notes the prevalence of "Knabentabagie" (boy houses), 'where fourteen, fifteen and sixteen year-olds gather', which a contemporary Friedel describes as embraces between "older rams" and "younger ones" (Steakley 1989: 169, 170). Finally, for Trumbach, male same-sex praxis in 1800 London was divided into three groups: 'the sodomite, adolescent and adult male,' (Trumbach 1989: 421). He identifies three adolescent stages as 'prepubescent boys between ten and fourteen, early pubertal boys between fourteen and seventeen, and settled adolescent boys of seventeen to twenty' (Ibid: 421). He also divides adult male attraction into four groups:

- 1) those attracted to prepubescent boys and indifferent to gender;
- 2) traditional libertines prepared to have sex with boys or women with age not as important as gender transformation and availability;
- 3) those attracted to early-late adolescent boys, desiring a reciprocal relationship who excluded women from their desires and seen as effeminate in their behaviour;
- 4) and those who were not conscious of desiring boys of any age or behaviour (Ibid: 422).

Appendices to Chapter Five

<u>Appendix Twenty-Five: knock backs - gatekeepers, non-starters, non-respondents and dead-ends</u>

During the course of the current research, the extent and variety of problems incurred in gaining access to a range of different populations were multi-faceted and extensive. The following sub-section draws attention to four particular case examples to highlight such difficulties.

Example One

Glasgow Bi-g-les (bisexual, gay and lesbian) youth group is based at Glasgow's LGBT Centre. An informal approach was made to the Chairperson of this group after a screen showing of the film "Get Real" at the GFT (Glasgow Film Theatre). The film depicts the 'coming out' story of a sixteen year-old schoolboy in the UK. At the end of the film there was a panel discussion, and a statement by a sixteen year-old gay youth on homophobia in schools, and how Clause 28 had affected him personally. After outlining the nature of the current research, the Chairperson seemed optimistic that it would be possible for me to approach the group. After sending him a copy of the intended questionnaire, an informal meeting was arranged in which the purpose of the research was outlined and attention drawn to the contact address on the notice board of the Centre for anyone who wanted to respond to my request. In attendance at the meeting was an individual working with 'Phase West' (a branch of Glasgow City Council Social Work Department) whose remit was primarily to support young gay men's health projects. His concerns were voiced at two separate meetings over 'exploitative relationships', and that members of the group may be used as 'lab rats'. Despite follow-up attempts, no further contact was made.

Example Two

Initial approaches were made to professionals working with sex offenders in prisons and clinics. Despite recognising the over-reliance in previous studies of such sample populations, attempts were made to include prison and clinical case examples, not as a simple control group to facilitate comparison, but rather to examine the extent to which personal accounts were affected by legal and medical intervention. Two attempts were

made to access a prison in Coventry and a clinic in Sussex, whose function was to treat sex offenders.

In Prison

After initial letters to, and subsequent clearance from the Prison Governor, a covering letter was sent outlining the nature of the research, along with the draft of a letter, which would be distributed to male prison inmates who had been convicted of sexual offences against boys or youths.

RoomT201

Department of Sociology

Adam Smith Building

The University of Glasgow

Glasgow G12 8QQ, Scotland, U.K.

Telephone 0141-339-8855 (extension 0449)

E-Mail: 8321861y@student.gla.ac.uk

To the Prison Governor,

I am a research student with the

Department of Sociology at Glasgow University, and am currently working on a project, which involves interviewing men who have committed sexual offences with boys or male minors. The purpose of the interviews is to gather data, which is as full and reliable as possible from the men themselves on what motivated them in their actions, and how they make sense of their experiences. As the opportunities for meeting such a group are very limited, I would be very grateful if you would consider allowing me to conduct interviews in your establishment.

During any prospective interviews, the anonymity and confidentiality of anyone involved will be completely respected. If you have any queries concerning the nature or purpose of the research, or require further elaboration of how any data will be used, I will be happy to answer them. You can phone, email or write to me at the above address.

Yours Faithfully, Richard Yuill

The letter to each inmate contained a return tear-off slip and self-addressed envelope, in which they could agree / disagree to participate in the research. A probation officer, attached to the prison, subsequently distributed the letters, and tentative plans were made for follow-up interviews in the prison. After several weeks, five slips were returned with three agreeing to participate and two refusing. A few days later, an initial telephone call was received from the prison psychologist who wanted to know if the University had approved the research. After receiving confirmation, she stated in a subsequent telephone call that any further research could not proceed in its present format. She asked for the inmate's slips to be returned, and said, that the research proposal would be sent to a central psychological research facility in London. Approval was subsequently obtained but with the proviso that I was asked to reformulate the letter to the inmates, in order to fit in with on-going behavioural programmes which labelled the assumptions of inmates as 'cognitively distorted'. Furthermore, I was encouraged not to give my name or a return address due to the dangerousness of such inmates. As a result of this intervention, the initial research design was compromised to such an extent that I decided not to proceed any further.

In the Clinic: the researcher becomes subject

After making contact with several local council social work departments in Scotland, whose specific remit dealt with the management of sex offenders within their particular geographical area, an opportunity arose to conduct an interview with the deputy manager of a major clinic, which treated sex offenders. Towards the end of the interview, I was asked my opinion on this topic, whereupon I responded that it depended on a range of factors, and that a range of different perspectives informed the current research. It was then pointed out to me that the clinic's programme of 'cognitive distortion' could not be jeopardised, and that regardless of differential outcomes, abuse must be categorical. After the meeting, the deputy manager agreed to try and arrange potential interviews but despite a follow-up letter, no further contact was made.

Appendix Twenty-Six:

Letter and follow-up questionnaire on Gay MADIS Relationships

GLASGOW UNIVERSITY

Dear friend,

I am conducting a Ph.D. research project on relationships between younger and older gay men at Glasgow University and would be grateful for any feedback on relationships you are in, or may know of, where there is an age-gap of ten years or more.

The point of this project is to give young gay men a voice. I would be grateful for any feedback in this area and any information will be treated with confidence and anonymity guaranteed.

You can mail me at the above address or e-mail me at:

8321861y@student.gla.ac.uk

Telephone: 0141-339-8855 (extension 0449)

Sincerely,

Richard Yuill

Gay Pride

QUESTIONNAIRE ON AGE-GAP GAY MALE RELATIONSHIPS.

The following questionnaire is part of a PhD study, which I am involved in, through the Sociology Department of the University of Glasgow.

The research is primarily concerned with age-gap relationships between younger and older gay men.

The purpose is to gather information from individuals who are currently, or have been, involved in such relationships so that both younger and older partners can put forward their own meanings, reflections and interpretations on them.

All information will be treated with confidentiality, and the identities of anyone who participates will be anonymous.

I would like to thank-you for taking the time and effort in filling in this questionnaire.

1.	What are the current ages of :		
	Yourself		
	Partner		
2.	What were your ages when you first	met:	
	Yourself		
	Partner		
3.	How did you first meet?		
	Gay Club or Bar		
:	Internet Chat Line		
	Other Gay Venues (Please Specify)		
	Work		
	Through Friends		
	Other (Please Specify)		

4.	Please place a number beside your fa	mily, gay friends and	
	straight friends which best describes their reaction to your		
	relationship.		
	(with 1 representing 'very supportive	e'	
	2 'supportive'		
	3 'disapproving'	• • •	
	4 'very disapprov	ing'.)	
	Family		
	Family Car Evianda		
	Gay Friends		
5.	Straight Friends	- d l - 4: l -: - 9	
5.	How have the above reactions affecte	ed your relationship?	
	Made it more difficult		
	Made no difference		
6	Made it easier	0	
6.	Are you the younger or older partne	r?	
	Younger Older		

7.	Have you had previous age-gap relati	ionships of more than	
	five years before?		
	Yes		
	No		
8.	If yes, how many such relationships h	nave you been in?	
	One		
	Two		
	Three		
	More than Three		
9.	In these relationships, what were the	ages of:	
	Yourself		
	Partner		
	(Please put the above in order for	1 st 2 nd 3 rd 4 th	
	each relationship from first to last).		
10.	Please indicate the extent to which ag	ge is a factor in your	
	relationships :		
	Very Significant		
	Significant		
	Not Significant		
11.	How common do you think age-gap 1	relationships are	
	within the Gay Male community?		
	Very common		
	common		
Ì	Less Common		
	Unsure		
12.	How common do you think age-gap i	relationships are	
	within the Straight community?		
	Very common		
	common		
	Less Common		
	Unsure		
13.	How common do you think age-gap relationships are		
	within the Lesbian community?		
	Very common		
 	common		
	Less Common		
	Unsure		

14.	If you think that age-gap relationships are more common
1	amongst gay men, why do you think that is the case?
	\
i	
ī	
€	
15.	This final section allows you to make any points, which you
10.	feel the questionnaire has not addressed, or expand on
	certain issues raised by your own experience(s) of age-gap
	relationships.
<u> </u> 	
<u>.</u>	
<u> </u>	
1 1	
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1	
ļ	

Please answer this section if you are the <u>younger</u> partner.				
1.	Place the following categories in orde	er	of	f importance
	regarding what attracted you to your			
	beside the most important aspect, an	<u>d</u> 4	4	beside the least.)
	Attraction to Older Men in general	L		
	Economic Security	L		
	Personality			
	Physical Features			
	Other (please specify)			
2.	Have you had a sexual relationship v			
	years older than yourself when you v	vei	re	under 18?
	Yes	ļĻ	4	
	No	Ļ		A3
3.	If you answered yes, how would you describe the			
	experience?	T =	-	
	Very Positive	╀	ᆗ	
	Positive	╀	_	
	Neither Positive nor Negative	냳	╛	
	Negative	\coprod	ᆜ	
	Very Negative			
4.	How significant have relationships w your life?	itl _	h ·	older men been in
	Very Significant			
	Significant	\prod		
	Not Significant			
5.	Have you had a sexual relationship with someone under 18?			
	Yes	\prod		
	No	忭		
6.	If Yes, how would you describe the experience?			
	Very Positive		Ť	
	Positive	忭	Ħ	
	Neither negative nor positive	忭	٦	
	Negative Negative	忭		
	Very Negative	忭		

7.	What benefits has the age-gap contributed to your current relationship?
8.	What problems has the age-gap contributed to your current relationship?

Please answer this section if you are the <u>older</u> partner.				
1.	Place the following categories in order	r o	f importance	
	regarding what attracted you to your		-	
	beside the most important aspect, and 4 beside the least.)			
	Attraction to Younger Men in			
	general			
	Economic Security			
	Personality			
	Physical Features			
	Other (please specify)			
2.	How significant have relationships w	ith	younger men been	
	in your life?			
	Very Significant			
	Significant			
	Not Significant			
3.	Have you had a sexual relationship with someone five years older than yourself when you were under 18?			
	Yes			
	No	T		
4.	If you answered yes, how would you describe the experience?			
	Very Positive			
	Positive			
	Neither Positive nor Negative			
	Negative			
	Very Negative			
5.	Have you had a sexual relationship with someone who was under 18?			
	Yes			
	No	F		

			
0.	If you answered yes, how would you describe the		
	experience?		
	Very Positive		
	Positive		
	Neither Positive nor Negative		
	Negative		
	Very Negative		
7.	What benefits has the age-gap contributed to your current relationship?		
8.	What problems has the age-gap contributed to your current relationship?		

Please answer this section if you are not currently in an age-gap relationship but have had previous experience of such relationships.			
1.	Were you the younger or the older pa		
	relationship?		
	Older		
	Younger		
2.	Place the following categories in order of importance		
	regarding what attracted you to your partner. (Put 1		
	beside the most important aspect, an	d 4 beside the least.)	
	Attraction to Older/Younger Men		
	Economic Security		
	Personality		
	Physical Features		
	Other (please specify)		
3.	When the relationship ended, how sig	gnificant was the	
	age-gap a factor in this?		
	Very Significant		
	Significant		
	Not Significant		
i	Not Relevant.		
4.	Looking back on this relationship, do you consider the experience to have been:		
	Very Positive		
	Positive		
	Neither Positive nor Negative		
	Negative		
	Very Negative		
5.	Have you had a sexual relationship w	vith someone 5 years	
	older than yourself when you were under 18?		
	Yes		
	No		

6.	Looking back on this relationship			
	do you consider the experience to have been:			
	Very Positive			
	Positive			
1	Neither Positive nor Negative			
]	Negative			
	Very Negative			
7.	Have you had a sexual relationship with someone who was under 18?			
	Yes			
	No			
8.	Looking back on this relationship			
	do you consider the experience to have been:			
]	Very Positive			
	Positive			
	Neither Positive nor Negative			
	Negative			
	Very Negative			
9.	What benefits do you think the age-gap contributed to your previous relationship?			

10.	What problems do you think the age-gap contributed to your previous relationship?

Appendix twenty-seven: interviews schedules

The interviews of gay partners, gay and lesbian youth, boylovers and survivors covered general common biographical details including: current situation (jobs, family, friends); formative experiences (family background, childhood and youth); first sexual experiences (MSA, gay, boylover); impact and effects on respondents; significant life-course experiences (coming out, marriage, relationships); reaction and attitude of friends / society; and how each respondents position themselves within either: a gay, boylover, or survivor identity.

However, clearly each interview involved addressing specific aspects of an individual respondent's life-course, and follow-up questions were significantly affected by the different experiences which respondents brought to the study. For example, interviews with gay youth and on-going gay partnerships focused on:

Current situation (current job, geographical area);

Gay identity (early experiences, coming-out);

History of relationships (long-term / short-term; same-age / age-gap; age of attraction; general patterns such as attraction to youth or older men;

Context in which present relationship started (gay scene, internet chat rooms, cottaging);

Duration of recent relationships (one-night stands, encounters or longer-term relationships);

Social aspects (conversation, who initiated, follow-up meeting);

Why attraction to particular age characteristics? Physical, emotional. (importance of age to general gay identity);

Problematic aspects of such relationships (exploitative / power / subjective imbalances;

General attitude of gay community and friends to current relationship.

The interview-schedules with the remaining two discursivities (political and professional) required attention to more specific facets such as: the controversies surrounding Clause 28 and gay male age of consent legislation; gay and lesbian rights; the management of paedophilia / sex offenders in the community; and young people's sexuality.

Appendix twenty-eight: The IPCE Conference (Berlin 2001)

Initially, it was thought useful to incorporate some of the main discussion topics brought up at the Conference. However, in view of the difficulties created for this study with my involvement with the IPCE, it is probably politic (but very unfortunate) to omit particular mention of any details.

Appendix twenty-nine: Koinos Advert

I would like to open-up a dialogue with boylovers in as many different nations and cultures as possible. Although in-depth interviews will take place in Scotland and the UK, I would greatly appreciate feedback on personal reflections and experiences from all boylovers on the nature of boylove relationships and what a boylover identity means to boylovers themselves. It is important to stress that any information disclosed will be completely confidential and the identities of anyone who corresponds through Koinos, or with me directly, will be anonymous.

If you can contribute I would be extremely grateful. (Insertion of Contact Address)

Appendix thirty: Information given to Boylove Internet chat rooms

All the chat rooms had an email contact address. Initial contact was made through posting a detailed description of the study, outline of a specific request for the participation of self-identified boylovers, and an assurance of anonymity and confidentiality. Then the areas to be covered in a prospective interview schedule were outlined including individual personal biographies, life as a boylover in contemporary

western society, and perspectives on man-boy relationships. In the case of individual boylover sites, email contact was also used, and the nature and purpose of the research outlined.

Appendix thirty-one: initial letter to male survivor groups

I am a PhD student based at Glasgow University. Part of my research involves making contact with men who have experienced sexual abuse. I understand that this is a very sensitive topic. All correspondence, and subsequent interviews, will be conducted confidentially, sensitively, and the identities of all participants anonymous. Yours Faithfully, Richard Yuill

Appendix thirty-two: Article in the Big Issue April 19-25, 2001, p. 40

Research on Young Men's Sexual Histories

I would be grateful if young men who are currently, or have been involved in, short-term sexual encounters, or long-term relationships, with older men could get in touch. The purpose of this research is to look at how young men themselves view such encounters or relationships. All information will be confidential and anonymous. (Contact Address).

Appendix thirty-three: Article in GayTimes, December 2000, p. 78

This advert appeared in Forum appeal section.

A RESEARCHER at Glasgow University is looking at relationships between older and younger (especially those in their teens) gay men. If you are, or have been, in such a relationship, please contact in complete confidence Richard Yuill. (Contact address).

Appendices to Chapter Six

Appendix thirty-four: Index (and extracts from) boylover Internet community sites
These boylover Internet sites and communities were also analysed in relation to the
importance Foucault attached to localised, subjugated knowledge as a potential
'counter-point' to dominant power-knowledge configurations (see chapter three). This
involved collecting articles, newsletters and statements in order to survey the range of
meanings such individuals and communities place upon their identities. All the
information quoted from these sites is accessible to the public.

Community Sites

- Paraklesis Volume 1-Issue 2- Fall 2000. What is boylove? http://www.cblf.org/paraklesis/whatis.htm (Accessed 1/11/00).
- NAMBLA Home page http://www.NAMBLA.org/ (Accessed 8/8/09).
- BL-Support Email list http://www.iapetus.demon.co.uk/bl-support/ (Accessed 9/1/01).
- alt.support.boy-lovers mailing list http://www.blueseal.demon.nl/asbl/asblfaq.txt (Accessed 9/1/01).
- Boys2haven <u>wysiwyg://main.59/http://www.boys2haven.org/b2h-about-us.html</u> (Accessed 9/1/01)
- Safehaven and Safehaven Foundation Press
 http://www.safet.net/shfp/ulbabl/ulbabl.cgi (Accessed 1/8/01) and surveys (Accessed 7/9/01) and posts (Accessed 8-19/11/99)
- IPCE http://www.humanbeing.demon.nl/ipceweb/ (Accessed 8-19/11/99)

Individual contributions 10

- 1) http://www.lester.co.uk/distryl/ (Accessed 26/10/01)
- 2) CMCE (caveman club enterprises)

 http://www.fpc.net/pages/cvmn/information/pers2.htm (Accessed 1/11/00) The boylover manifesto http://www.cyberpass.net/~bla/e-manifest.html (Accessed 1/11/00).
- 3) Chuck

¹⁰ Approaches were made to fifteen individual and six community boylover sites. However no one responded (see chapter five).

wysiwyg://thePage.11/http://members.nbci.com/_XMCM/chuckles34/index.html (Accessed 1/11/00).

- 4) www.philianews.org http://www.philianews.org/define.htm (Accessed 1/11/00).
- 5) http://www.fpc.net/pages/paiderastia/pedo.html (Accessed 23/11/99).
- 6) Boylinks http://clausgz.com/BL-mirror/written.html (Accessed 8/8/99).

Cyber Ethnography: Boylover Identity Sites

The following represents a selection of boylover statements in Internet sites. Within such accounts, there is more scope for reflective and extended perspectives.

Individual Sites: Statements on Boylove

1) "Eagle and Cup"

wysiwyg://78/http://www.fortunecity.com/village/Williams/208/Alform.html (Accesed 24 / 11 / 99)

[]...lots of people find adolescent boys attractive. That is why River Phoenix was so popular, or Sal Mieo, Scott Baio, Donny Osmond, Michael Jackson, Macauly Culkin, Ricky Nelson and movies like the Blue Lagoon, Lord of the Flies, The Dead Poet Society, The Karate Kid, Tarzan...[]...Its good box office...[]...The CZG is concerned with loving relationships and urges our members to resist efforts to restrict or to discourage their full use of all legal and constitutional rights...[]...Boy lovers are not cruel, they do not kill, rape or abuse boys...No one intentionally harms a person he loves

(Ibid: 3, 4).

2) "Chuck"

wysiwyg://thePage.11/http://members.nbci.com/_XMCM/chuckles34/index.html (Accessed 1/11/00)

I resent people calling us "child molesters" etc. A true boy-lover is...driven by one thing in making boys happy, making them feel loved, and cared for. A true boy-lover wouldn't do anything to harm a boy physically or emotionally...If a boy-lover enters a relationship with a boy it is the boy who determines it's bounds...Sometimes these

relationships are just friendships. Other times they are more intimate, bordering on the sexual, including some experimentation by the boy. In such a relationship the BOY determines everything (Ibid: 1).

3) "David Mark"

"Why I am a boylover?"

http://people.a2000.nl/kabouter/IB/story/dmark.htnl (Accessed 25 / 11 / 99).

It's location is the heart. It's emotion is love. And its understanding is simple, "Because I am." I had a realisation this night. I no longer need to know, "Why am I a Boylover?" The answer is not necessary. I now simply know and accent the truth that, "I simply am because I am.

4) "green" (1998) The Boylove Forum

(http://www.boylove.net/index.html) (Accessed 20 / 11/99)

It is also time for BoyLovers to get to know each other, to learn, grow, and find a healthy, safe place in our society...[]...As a Boylover. I have a story which brings me to this point in my life. The journey that has shaped my life...[]...I explain my plan which can safely integrate BoyLovers into an open and honest place in our culture, rather than a thankless hidden inner life.

Statement (http://www.boylove.net/statement.html) (Accessed 22/11/99)

We have existed as long as humanity, and we will be around until the end...We call ourselves Boylovers...So hated and persecuted just for having the thought, we meet on the internet anonymously. We are everywhere...We are human beings...[]...rape is a totally different pathology altogether...I've known and loved many boys; they all loved me just as much, and they still do. The respect I show them far exceeds the respect that children get as a whole.

Movement (http://www.boylove.net/movement.html) (Accessed 22/11/99)

For a person living with these feelings it is tough to make any connections with the world; to fit in... We are taboo among taboo, just for the thought... Without being able

to share something about ourselves, we don't learn as much about it...I have learned to respect and honor boys...If I wanted to exploit a child for my own selfish gratification, why would I advertise?

Essay (http://www.boylove.net/essay.html) 22/11/99

BoyLover ... One who has a strong attraction, respect, and admiration for prepubescent boys. The attraction is emotional and usually sexual (Ibid: 2). The attraction is for the entire boy; that is, the BoyLover is attracted to the personality of boys, the mannerism of boys, the playfulness of boys, and of course the beauty of boys... The emotional bond is the priority of the BoyLover / boy relationship (Ibid: 3)...[]...Many men who would consider themselves BoyLovers are in fact attracted to adolescent males rather than prepubescent males...[I]t is clear that BoyLove is its own orientation; that is, it can't be considered an auxiliary of homosexuality...[]... Boylovers have not really had a chance to define themselves or their place in our culture...[]...Mentoring seems to be the prevalent behavior of the fully realized BoyLover. The desire to teach, to assist in growth, to guide, to show genuine friendship and mutual respect to a boy (Ibid: 4)...From my countless interviews with BoyLovers it can be said without a doubt that sexual gratification is not the center of the BoyLover experience (Ibid: 5)...[]...The first and single biggest cause for people to close their minds to what a BoyLover is comes from our fear of sex in general (Ibid: 9). The second biggest cause...is when they hear about alternate sexualities...[]...There is no single characteristic that can be singled out to have "caused" them to be BoyLovers (Ibid: 10). Separating from the BoyLovers was a grand way to kiss up to heterosexuals...they needed public acceptance...For now, the BoyLove movement...needs to stay separate from any other movement (Ibid: 11). There are religious reasons why some fear or hate the concept of BoyLove...[]...Another dominant argument is the issue of power...I dare say that the boy holds a lot of power in an intimate relationship with a man...the boy knows...the mere accusation could destroy the man...The one who needs the relationship most will have the least amount of power (Ibid: 12)...[]...Organizations like Big Brothers have captured the essence of BoyLove (Ibid: 15)...[]...the child that consented must at that point pretend that they were a victim even though they enjoyed it, and in many cases initiated it...we rob children of their dignity when we take away their right to choose

what pleasures them or not (Ibid: 16)...Let us separate the notion of rape and consensual adult / child sex...[O]ffer a license in mentoring (Ibid: 17)...[T]he vast majority of the sexual contact is done in the natural way in which children express their sexuality...The denial of sexuality causes many dysfunctions...[]...If man / boy sex is ever allowed, it should never be expected (Ibid: 20). Men and boys need to bond, that is a historical fact...every culture shows men and boys bonding (Ibid: 21).

5) S. Ahmed (Pakistan)

"Of Boylove and Boylovers"

http://www.chowk/Gulberg/Hearth/spmahmed_aug3199.html (Accessed 23 / 1 / 99).

I too would like to write passionately of the intense love I have for boys, of the rapture I feel in their presence, and of the extraordinary beauty I see in them (Ibid: 16)...[] ...Indeed, we corrupt language to the extent that when we do use such terms as 'pedophilia', they have a meaning completely opposite to what they once did....It is ironic that a word that has 'paides' (=boy)...should come to mean something that epitomizes antipathy towards children (Ibid: 18)...[]...Witness the constancy with which the adult in even a consensual non-penetrative sexual and loving relationship is branded a 'molester', and the adolescent his 'victim' - tantamount to equating any adult illicit love-making with rape (Ibid: 21)...[P]erceptions can be distorted when language is used to service hysteria...According to the new paranoid, everyone is a potential child molester...[]...[C]onclusions must be bent to fit premises 35)...[]...[T]here are fashionable and unfashionable oppressed minorities...pedophiles...is to be the whipping boy of a society haunted by its own insecurities, fair game for the projection all demons born of repression (Ibid: 39). We, after all, live in a society where a boy of 12 would rather be seen dead than hugging his dad outside the school gate (Ibid: 41)...[]...All the negativism, all the repression, was simply re-directed (Ibid: 48)...[] ...Intergenerational relationships, I am told in the end, would always be defined by an inequality of needs. Nothing to me, better betrays the de-erotocizing of love in our postmodern worldview than the above argument...We are asked to believe that there even exists such as thing as 'equal' needs - in ANY type of relationship...[]...What then can a boy get out of such relationship? A friend with experience and stability whom he can trust with his inmost fears and desires, with whom he can be himself, explore himself, free from stifling peer pressure, one who puts the boy's welfare before his own (Ibid:

61)...[]...In shielding children from sex, we are really more concerned about protecting them from harm, or is it rather protection against the offense to our own sensibilities? (Ibid: 62)...[]...Is this not, at heart child abuse - abuse of their right to sexuality (Ibid: 63).

6) Jay

"The Boylove Manifesto"

http://www.fpc.net/pages/jay_h/emanifest.html (Accessed 30 / 11 / 99)

As boylovers we distance ourselves from the current discussion about "child sexual abuse" (Ibid: 1)...[]...The discrepancy between the desire a child may experience and the restrictions placed upon these desires by society harms the natural and healthy development of his or her sexuality...Human sexuality plays the same part in a boylove relationship as it undoubtedly does in any relationship between human beings...A boylover desires a friendly and close relationship with a boy... The boy is drawn to an adult who takes him seriously and treats him respectfully...[]...In a boylove relationship, the boy is afforded the chance to experience himself as a person...His spirit, as well as body, are seen as a whole. Not as something that is still in the process - a developmental stage on the way to adulthood (Ibid: 2)...[]...[]! is the right of the boy to develop his personality and his sexuality freely...Further, any restriction that may interfere with the development of his personality, or those that may prohibit him from experiencing his sexuality without restraints, may also be considered an infringement of his rights...Most importantly, the boylover must not interfere with the autonomous development of the boy...It should be considered a form of abuse when a boy is prohibited from exercising his rights to experience a loving relationship... We demand the freedom of individual sexuality for boys and boylovers...[T]here are people who are defending the best interests of an age group and they haven't even bothered to ask members of this age group if this representation is desirable, or in their best interests (Ibid: 3)...[]...We demand a forum for open communication between boylovers. A forum that is entirely free from repression. This discourse, support and a sense of community is important (Ibid: 4).

7) Jarod, B. (1997) "On Boys and Boylovers" http://www.demon.nl/freespirit/fpc/pages/boy-muse/report.html (Accessed 31 / 7 / 99)

Abstract

Amidst the near-holocaust proportion of anti-pedophile hysteria, a number of facts about man/boy love have been ignored. Consensual sexually expressed friendships between boys and men exist. Age of consent laws and prosecutorial attitudes treat all man/boy contacts as abuse although there is no justification to do so. True pedophile desire is built around the boy's pleasure. Prohibition of all pedophile acts is unjust and implies the persecution of a minority. Even worse that the hatred expressed towards boylovers is the complete ignorance of the positive aspects of sexually expressed friendships between boys and men... Current laws violate boys' rights to sexual self-determination. Lawmakers should remove age of consent laws... Many boys possess very natural 'expressed needs' for sexual attraction from a person of their own choosing: an adult male friend who instils trust, courage, love and affection through the intimate sexual friendship, a friend who treats the boy as an equal and in doing so boosts the boy's feeling of self-esteem and self-worth.

8) Anonymous "Boy-love and the Human Genome"

http://www.serve.com/tern/visualboy.html (Accessed 8 / 8 / 99)

These behaviours evolved long ago and continue to exist in modern times as manifestations of our species <u>primitive genetic imperative</u> (Ibid: 1)...[]...The TeenBoy Love gene continues to survive because human survival, genetic replication, and social status are boosted by close male-male relationships which develop when a boy and a TeenBoy Lover are attracted to each other (Ibid: 3).

9) Distefano, M. "Unconditional Love" (December 1998) http://www.greenbelt.com/news/ul/dist.htm (Accessed 23 / 11 / 99)

I never chose to be this way...Their gospel shuts me out of the kingdom of god (Ibid: 1)...[]...[I]t wasn't until my mid 20's that I realized I was only attracted to boys between the ages of 12 and 15. I am a homosexual ephebophile...During the past twelve years...I have come to realize that my real desire is to befriend a boy...My sexual feelings for boys are only part of a larger set of feelings of attraction, which have emotional, intellectual, and even spiritual components...[]...According to their website, the American Psychological Association defines sexual orientation to be an

enduring emotional, romantic, sexual or affectional attraction. Because this so accurately describes my feelings for boys (Ibid: 2). I refer to them as an orientation (Ibid: 3).

Community Sites and Forums

1) FPC (Free Paed Cooperative) "Free Spirits" Boylovers on the Internet http://www.ivan.net/ (Accessed 4 / 8 / 99)

[]...attraction to boys that many males exhibit, in which there are erotic, aesthetic, and spiritual aspects...[]...Boychat is a forum in which boylovers can explore issues related to their sexuality and provide mutual support and companionship...run by boylovers for boylovers (Ibid: 1)...[]...They know that boys, even if not already victims, will become so at the hands of the police in the name of child protection...They are aware also of the enforced "therapy" that consists mainly of destroying the offender's sense of self worth with no chance of actually changing sexual orientation....Boylovers have not chosen of their free will to become so. It is an attraction most discover within themselves at a very early age...but find no encouragement from a society and a press that labels all people with that attraction...as evil monsters...Most therapists do not even know how to handle the situation constructively (Ibid: 2).

"About the Blogo" 1997 Kalos http://www.ivan.net/Blogo/blabout.htm (Accessed 4 / 8 /1999).

Graphic Representation of a Man-Boy Love Relationship.

2) SafeHaven Foundation http://www.safet.net (Accessed 3 / 1 / 1998) "The Philosophy of SafeHaven"

The primary purpose and function of SafeHaven is to promote communication, understanding, and mutual support among those who have come to realize that their genetic inheritance includes...a definite pedosexual attraction...[A] ny physical expression of this pedosexuality is only acceptable with the encouragement and consent of the boy involved...exploitation, coercion, predatory behavior, or other non-consensual intergenerational contact is explicitly discouraged and condemned by all rational and responsible boylovers...In contrast to those who falsely call themselves

"child advocates", we abhor and reject the concept that children are asexual chattel property with absolutely no right to make choices for themselves. We look forward to the day when the emancipation and deliverance of both loved boys and boylovers will be a reality.

Lexicon

This [boylover] is defined as "An older boy or man who desires to provide companionship, protection, nurturing, and material needs for a younger, usually non-related boy, to an extent that goes distinctly beyond the average relationship concerning closeness and intimacy, and who also has a pedosexual attraction to that boy which may, if consented to by both, result in sexual activities.

The term "loved boy" is used for a preadolescent or adolescent boy who has a desire for a close and intimate relationship with a non-related older male, which may or may not include a sexual attraction to that older male.

http://www.safet.net/ibid/history.html (Accessed 8/8/99)

The concept of International BoyLove Day! Was proposed on Safehaven on June 28, 1998...to give honor and due credit to those courageous men who have given over their lives to the love, nurture, and mentoring of boys.

http://www.safet.net/vision/vision.cgi (Accessed 8/8/99)

The Biggest vision is of a world in which responsible boylove would be accepted for the positive force that it can be, and where loved boys and boylovers would be free to lead their lives according to their conscience...[A] quiet place removed from the stress of coping with a hostile world.

http://www.safet.net/info/ (Accessed 8/8/99)

"Boylove, Truth versus Myth"

The bilateral love between a boy and a man, although it has a long and honourable history, has been corrupted in our time into something that is supposedly drastically harmful to the boy, and a perversion on the part of the man. Nothing could be further from the truth.

What is Boylove?

Boylove, or BL, as used by Paraklesis, refers to an emotional and sexual attraction that some men have towards prepubescent or adolescent boys. We make a crucial distinction between feelings of attraction and behavior. Boylovers, by our definition, do not molest boys...Boylovers tend to experience a deep love and affection for certain boys to whom they are attracted. They desire to get to know them, care for them, and develop a close emotional bond with them. They enjoy their personalities, and celebrate their abilities and accomplishments...[]...[T] hese feelings are a deep and enduring aspect of a boylover's psychological make-up, and for this reason we consider BL to be an orientation...Like all other people, boylovers do not choose their orientation, and it is not known what causes it.

4) alt.support.boy-lovers mailing list

http://www.blueseal.demon.nl/asbl/asblfaq.txt (Accessed 9 / 1 / 1)

ASBL-L is a mailing-list forum for people to discuss their feelings towards young boys (ie: boys before their fourteenth birthday). It is intended to provide peer support for those having difficulty with their feelings, for boy-lovers who feel isolated with their boy-loving, for those who possibly have no other avenue of discussion than via the internet, and for anyone else wishing to educate themselves about the nature of boy love and boy-lovers (Ibid: 1-2)...[]...A boy-lover is an adult who feels attraction to young boys who are either pre-pubescent or who have not yet attained full 'adolescence'...Like every other facet of one's personality, being attracted to young boys on whatever level is hardly a matter of choice... "Why would someone choose such a lifestyle?"...[W]e experience these desires as if they are 'natural'...What is most important is the way we feel emotionally, and this almost always determines how we will act with boys (Ibid: 2)...[]...Most boy-lovers feel an intense emotional and physical attraction to boys that can only be described in terms of love. They feel that boys are people of beauty, intellect and heart, and as such, are deserving of respect, love and cherishing (Ibid: 3)...[]...Abuse is an act of aggression and coercion, and such behaviour goes against the nature of boy-lovers...[]...Boy-lovers feel personally

repulsed at the idea of the true sexual, physical, or emotional abuse of children (Ibid:

4).

5) BL-Support Email List

http://www.iapetus.demon.co.uk/bl-support/ (Accessed 9 / 1 / 01)

"This is a support and discussion forum for boylovers, loved boys, gay boys."

6) NAMBLA Home Page

http://www.NAMBLA.org/ (Accessed 4 / 9 / 00)

"Our movement today stresses the liberation and empowerment of young people.

Freedom is indivisible. The liberation of children, women, boy-lovers, and homosexuals in general, can occur only as complementary facets of the same dream."

Appendix thirty-five: current situation and formative experiences

Boylover respondents came from a number of different geographical locations. They also show a wide age-range, but with the majority being older adults.

BL1: I am 53 and retired...two and half years ago. I have lived in Greenock all my life.

BL2: I am 26. I have 1 sister - mother and father still alive...Fairly good relationship but not when it comes to the most important things.

BL3: I live with my parents. I'm 23...No problems they leave me to myself - two younger brothers - It's fine!...[]...I have a few friends...[]...I'm happy in my work.

BL4: I'm sixty-eight...[]...My mother died eighteen months ago. I had looked after her for the last thirty-four years.

BL5: No brothers or sisters...remaining family my father and stepmother.

BL6: I am over 60...I have been retired for several years now.

BL7: I'm 61 at the moment. I usually describe myself as retired...I've got one sister - six years older.

BL9: I am 46. I have been married twice, have two sons - twenty and twenty-one - and I am recently graduated with a BA in psychology.

In contrast to sex offender professional explanations, respondents did not identify any significant problems through their formative years, but instead refer to their early development as generally unproblematic.

Family background

BL2: My parents always got on very well with each other - never had a quarrel or a divorce... I don't think there's any particularly moving event.

BL4: In terms of a 1930s and 1940s childhood, I suspect it was perfectly normal...We moved out of London when war was declared...and I spent a fairly idyllic time with me and my brother.

BL6: We were a happy family...[]...I had to learn to make my own entertainment...and to this day I am perfectly happy to be on my own for long periods.

BL7: I think it was pretty average for families during that period in the 40s and 50s...[
]...Originally working class developed into a lower middle class - very much associated with the protestant ethic: work hard, study and then you will succeed.

BL10: I was born in 1945. My parents were loving and very concerned about me and my brother. So I don't see any problems in my early up-bringing at all.

BL8: My parents bought a house in Southport. That's where I spent a very happy childhood.

BL5: Happy as happy as any.

BL1: I've never told my parents, only my sister... Worried about the rows.

BL3: I've got two brothers that are gay...No I'm not gay - not attracted to older men...I've got an Uncle who is gay.

Childhood / adolescence

BL2: I certainly didn't know anyone in my peer group who was homosexual...There was a lot of pressure to have a girlfriend...I just went through my years pretending to myself, and everyone else, that it would somehow happen in the future but of course it never did! But I didn't actually confront that with myself maybe until I was about 17.

BL7: I had the normal number of school friends...I remember wanting to play out most of the time until the study side of my life.

BL6: Happy and contended most of the time.

BL3: It was okay when I was younger and then when I got older it sort of petered out a bit - when I was fifteen or sixteen.

BL4: I had friends at school...nothing specific.

BL2: Not a great deal. Not what I'd call friends - more acquaintances I suppose.

BL5: I was the general victim of the school bullies...especially when it became known that I was also the school poof.

BL6: I went to prep. school until 18 when I left public school...I wasn't happy at prep school for the first few years, I think perhaps because I was such a loner, I was shy...But by the age of 11, I was used to the school routine. I was happy there and...when I was at public school...there was so much going on.

¹¹ Shortened abbreviation for Boylover.

BL10: My relations with kids of my own age...from age four, five, six onwards were entirely satisfactory and...pretty ordinary. I didn't have any trouble relating to kids of my own age.

Appendix thirty-six: early sexual experiences

BLA: The relationships were with my contemporaries at school. They started when I was at the prep. with two or three other boys - ten year olds...We'd go out in the playing fields toilets and inspect each other...We were particularly open about it...

[]...I had lots of sexual escapades with the boys - both in my class and in the Scouts...I went into the senior scouts and continued my association with a new lot of juniors and largely that died out when I was eighteen/nineteen and went into the Army...We'd all had sex in the forties when we were pre-adolescent but there wasn't even the word homosexual in our vocabulary - never mind pederast or paedophile. And as far as we were concerned we were doing something we enjoyed.

BL7: When I was thirteen, another boy in the same class as me. He fact he was over a year younger than me and I fell in love... except the added thing with this boy was that there was a very strong sexual feeling too and it lasted quite a long time - some two-three years...It became physical...[]...I think his reactions were friendly but rather amused at the idea, but not disgusted in any way.

BL10: Secondary school when at eleven, I started to have sexual contact with my young friends in class...On the playing field at lunch time...That was simply a matter of mutual masturbation. There wasn't anything intimate about it. It wasn't love - merely intense erotic interest in equals.

BL8: I had one or two little liaisons in the woods when we'd compare each other's willies etc. Then I went to boarding school at Wales at the age of twelve...Everybody was jacking off in the dormitories at the time and I soon became an avid participant in this sport and soon it led to mutual masturbation in the toilets...From the age of fourteen, I was sucking other boys cocks...and...it was totally normal - although everyone pretended to be shocked about it...The word gay or queer hadn't been invented then.

BL6: When I was at public school, homosexuality was accepted. Some people were homosexual, some were heterosexual and you just got on with your own thing.

Appendix thirty-seven: "ideal" relationships

This section allowed respondents to encapsulate what they conceptualised as an ideal man-boy relationship. ¹² This included examining what in particular, attracted respondents to boys / youths (in terms of age, features, characteristics), and the subsequent activities which they would want to be involved in with a prospective younger partner.

BL1: I like the typical disco-bunny. I don't like camp or effeminate guys...I like Byker Grove, Ocean Odyssey...I like the boys in it - slim, not too tall.

BL2: I think because I find boys more honest for one with themselves and with others ... They've got some kind of spirit of their own!

Res: What is your age of attraction?

BL2: Probably between the ages nine-thirteen to fourteen...I can't really say I like x feature and x feature...I suppose the less sporty, mainly because I'm not very sporty, so I'd feel more in common with them. So better able to be a companion or whatever for them...I'd want to undertake less active leisure pursuits...anything...If he couldn't think of anything to do, I'd just pluck something out of the air - lets try this. I don't think I'd like to undertake any specific activity, just something we both find interesting or pleasurable and something that he hadn't tried before or had the resources to try himself, I'd be able to facilitate.

BL3: More or less the same age at eleven or twelve.

¹² Although ideal was used in the interview schedule, many respondents eschewed this as potentially problematic in objectifying boys. However, in view of the fact that some boylover respondents (particularly younger) had no experience of a MADIS, it was seen as the only way to elicit meanings and interpretations from them on such relationships.

BL7: In terms of physical sexual attraction, early, pre-teen - sort of nine-twelve...but it can stretch up to fifteen / sixteen!

BL6: I had taken a vow of celibacy to myself and I had no wish or inclination to break that. Perhaps it was a challenge to myself, or a safety thing. Apart from wrestling or fighting, I was never tempted to go any further than that.

BL10: Talking very much about pre-pubertal boys...and they just stayed the same age as I got older.

BL9: Being in the company of a boy who loves me as I love him is the most compelling experience I've ever had.

BL4: The things that attract is their excitement with life...Its their sheer exuberance with life that really excites us and keeps us young.

BL8: I'm attracted to boys - the ten, eleven, twelve, thirteen age group...I find boys at that age just good fun. I'm particularly attracted to good looking, well built but not fat...and all the little things about being a boy.

Appendix thirty-eight: Boylover Cyber Communities

Respondents, particularly younger ones, identified the importance of the Internet to boylover community formation. They also stressed the international dimension of boylover Internet support groups - and how this has facilitated a spirit of co-operation across boundaries and cultures.

Res: Do you self-identify as a boylover?

BL2: I labelled myself as a boylover when I was twenty-four when I discovered the term on the Internet.

BL3: Yeah I do now...about a year ago...When I first got on the Internet. I was searching for pictures and I came across one of the boylove chat rooms and that's how I got into this and found out about it. In my head I'm thinking I'm not right-something's

Res: How did they change your view about yourself?

BL2: For most of my adult life, I've hidden myself away because I've been made to feel like a criminal, even though I've done absolutely nothing wrong. So now that I'm actually coming to terms with who I really am, I feel completely comfortable with myself.

BL3: It's a support group.

BL5: It must have been looking through the list of Newsgroups and I found support boylovers...So I started reading it and that's when I discovered boylovers existed.

BL11: I found a lot of sites of people and I started making friendships on the internet and doing a lot of travelling...[]...It didn't take me very long to realise what I've been all my life but didn't know. Through the interchange of information, the friendships with other people revolutionalised my life.

BL4: I was recommended to go on the...list...in the States was a political activist and he was gathering all the political activists together and we had this network.

Appendix thirty-nine: (Gentlemen With An Interesting Name) GWAIN - A UK Support Group

These accounts detail how some respondents have been able to form a small, politically active group with shared values, which offers an embryonic identitarian forum for the airing of views, and contestation of dominant CSA positions.

BL6: I look on this group...as the mutual society - that the one should have for the other in prosperity and in adversity.

BL7: Altogether there will be eight or nine people at a regular meeting. Tends to help each other if they are in trouble with the law...It tries to establish or maintain contact

with other groups outside the UK, and on a haphazard basis with people who maybe in other small groups within the UK.

BL8: I met other boylovers...and I have found it has been totally positive and helpful...[]...I just like to be able to share with others that I have this attraction.

Appendix forty: personal stories

One of the most important aims of this study has been to fill in the gap - recognised by Plummer (see ibid 1995: 118) - of including the paedophile and boylover's stories within late modern transformations in the intimate sphere. A central component within such stories, is that respondents fell they are generally misunderstood minority who have been unfairly treated. They also maintained that their voices have been silenced in similar fashion to the way previous minorities (blacks, Jews and gays) were in the past.

BL4: I was arrested for raping a ten year-old boy...took all my stuff, tried to make a case for possession - couldn't!...This was the fourth time they had been at my place since 1993...[]...The ten year old had been boasting at school that he did it with me and one of the boys told his dad...[]...It was a full trial at the old Bailey...They found me not guilty.

BL6: From early on in my student days, I started collecting what might be called kiddie porn. As far as I was concerned, this was my safety valve...I was the very first person to be arrested...My safety valve proved my undoing and I lost my job. The school had to dismiss me and I was out of scouting and everything else.

BL9: She [his sister] decided that I was dangerous to this boy, and she turned me into the authorities.

BL1: I was arrested soon after when I took this thirteen year- old to a fairground ride. His parents found a letter from me to the boy but the Sheriff took no action. From then I decided to limit myself to rent boys and gay clubs. It was easy, safe and secure.

BL10:

[Incident One]

I rather fell for one of the boys in the chess club and I went round to his house on a number of occasions and we got very close...That resulted eventually in my sacking from the school.

[Incident Two]

There were two lots of prosecutions arising out of PIE. The first in 1979 were for conspiracy to corrupt public morals and that involved five of us in the dock out of seven who were originally in line... There was a trial - two or three years later - after I'd been convicted and gone to jail on a two year sentence on incitement.

BL8:

[Incident One]

I was asked to immediately sign a document of resignation and then they asked me to get off the school premises by midday and that was the end of my teaching career...I was put on the banned list of teachers - list 99.

[Incident Two]

I was convicted of possession of indecent photographs of children and they could have given me six months in prison but in the end the probation report recommended that a custodial sentence was inappropriate, and that I was sentenced to three years probation, five years on the sex offenders register and compulsory attendance at 24 sessions at SOTP and eight sessions of relapse prevention.

Appendix forty-one: problems and obstacles

Respondents identified a number of factors and trends which they felt explained the continuing difficulties in articulating a boylover and paedophilic identity.

Gays, Lesbians and Feminists

BL1: They have fought for the legal acceptance for the gay movement and have distanced themselves from such relationships. The GayTimes talk about sixteen and seventeen year-olds being decriminalised. But what about adult partners?

BL13: Society gave feminists a certain amount of liberation in certain areas...child care, looking after children...The area of child sexual abuse almost became an industry which some feminists could benefit greatly from...The early GLF¹³ was supportive...What happened was that gay politicos formed alliances with lesbian feminists and started to go along their line of thinking...They choose deliberately to go away from the original ethos...liberation, to concentrate on what could practically be achieved. In the process they decided to put down and squash the minorities.

BL4: Feminists have dragged us down this path by putting us there.

BL7: Some sections of the gay movement were quite supportive right at the very beginning. Later on they became frightened of getting labelled as paeds...Feminist sections within the gay movement were some of the most vehement attackers...far right groups, the fundamental Christian movement, leading to the police.

BL11: I think a lot of it can be associated with the rise of certain elements of feminism... and the need of some women ...to control sexuality...They're aided and abetted by the political right-wing and religious right wing.

BL12: The current witch-hunts against paedophiles started in the US in the late seventies with groups of reactionary feminists as opposed to radical feminists...I believe that's exactly what it is - a hate campaign.

BL9: We're a repository of what is left. Society needs a scapegoat...and we're at the bottom of the rung.

BL10: The "Second Wave" of feminism produced a reaction to what was happening to women...In regard to paedophilia - and sexuality as a whole - we've also see the age of Aids ...[]...Also there's been a resurgence of conservatism...The gay movement got particularly strong during the liberal era and...largely made itself successful at the expense of paedophilia.

¹³ Gay Liberation Unit.

Res: Do you feel the gay movement have been complicit in separating themselves out from paedophilia?

BL10: Absolutely! Its absolutely treacherous...and hypocritical!

The media

BL1: The paedophile hysteria is the press working it up with an easy target of child sex abusers and for them there is no difference between people using force and a consensual relationship.

BL4: The role the tabloids found for themselves in sex-deviant sex.

BL5: The gutter press, the bigots who run it.

BL8: The first thing I'd do is close down the News of the World...It's not just those papers - even in the broadsheet press, Radio Four - everything is given so totally one-sided...we're dealing with a very ignorant, easily swayed majority of people who believe everything that's written.

BL12: There's a conditioning process going on out there. You're only allowed one viewpoint!

Legal system

BL11: People that are out there legally or illegally witch-hunting. There's a quasiorganised movement to eradicate boylove and boylovers and loved boys in the process.

BL7: The legal position is one of the stumbling blocks.

Fear of retribution

BL7: Considerable difficulty of presenting ourselves to the public without severe repercussions.

BL12: We get so few opportunities to answer back in this society.

BL13: What really pissed me off going to $ILGA^{14}$ - an organisation that thought it might be getting somewhere...suddenly started denying minority rights within its own grouping.

Popular misconceptions

BL2: I think the main thing is the myth that boylovers are predominantly just after sex with boys and also the hysteria around things that are done to children.

BL3: The label that people put on you if you want to be with kids - evil or perverts!

BL8: Society always seems to want someone who they can launch a witch-hunt against - gays. Society always wants someone that they can hate.

Socially and culturally entrenched attitudes

BL6: I don't see any immediate likelihood of any changes but when I look back to other centuries...why not?

BL3: That's difficult because people just don't want to think!

BL4: We're in the middle of a cultural revolution... Whole groups look inwardly and they are frightened and they look for a scapegoat and that's us par excellence.

BL11: There's always us and them. Whatever them is - Jews, Gypsies and blacks, homosexuals, boylovers. There's always going to be a them!

BL3: It!

Appendix forty-two: manifestations of resistance

Several respondents added personal postscripts, in which they stressed their willingness to stand by their beliefs, reject societal conceptions, and fight-back. Others referred to tangible acts including writing, setting up Internet sites, challenging professional praxis, attending conferences, and political campaigning.

¹⁴The International Lesbian and Gay Association.

Personal statements

BL12: I don't think total liberation will ever be possible. We have to be honest with our own feelings and not feel negative.

BL6: I think that it's going to be a long and slow process before there's going to be any general acceptance.

BL10: I felt a responsibility to my own identity and likewise to other paedophiles and their own identities. That's why I felt it necessary to fight and not to call myself something other than who I am.

BL9: Passion to make this world a safer, saner place for BLs and their LBs¹⁵...It has become my raison d'etre.

BL8: Overall I think that I have been a positive force in the lives of many thousands of boys and I've caused them nothing but pleasure and happiness ...I personally think that a boy is harmed far more by being dragged through the bloody police, social work, courts than ever he is by having harmless consenting loving sex with a loving adult.

Resisting SOTP

BL8: On the so-called sex offenders treatment project, which I found absolutely unhelpful in every respect...I started off...by stating that I had not committed a sexual offence against any person and therefore that I shouldn't be on the course...I tried to say that my offence is not the same as everybody else's but I was told in no uncertain terms by...that I was just as much a sex offender as they were because those children, who were in the picture, were abused by having their pictures taken - even though they were smiling and laughing...At first, during the course, I tried to fight against it. I tried to say, its not fair. Its not true!...In the end, I found it was a complete waste of time. The only way to get through the course - because there were continual threats from ...

¹⁵Abbreviation for loved boys.

Cyber resistance

BL11: Probably the largest and best known is the ... Chatboard... I suddenly received a notice... they were going to have to get rid of me or get their whole site cut off... This is indicative of the lengths people will go to suppress any discussion... It was a place where the theories of boylove were discussed openly and there were proposals that the law should be changed... They are afraid of the idea that boylovers can communicate with one another and they want to do everything they can to stop that communication.

Writing books and papers

BL10: I began the first chapter as a personal note. And it was only after thinking about it - to expand it to the history of PIE and my involvement in it...I got more and more into writing and research down at my local...branch library...I contacted people like Ken Plummer and Jeff Weeks and they were kind enough to speak to me - as was Donald West at Cambridge.

BL11: The name of the book is 'Understanding loved boys and boylovers'...I did write an essay. It was entitled, "the real evil amongst us!" I submitted it to 'Current controversies in sex matters - taking sides!' It went up to the top management level and someone up there vetoed the all idea...At this point in time it occurred to me that I should try to expand this into a small book...I put the thing together.

BL10: In 1999, I was approached by...of Cambridge...to deliver a Paper at Paris at the International Academy of Sex Research on Sexual privacy from the paedophile's point of view...There was a lot of good reaction to my paper...but there was quite a lot of bad reaction as well - notably the Director of the Kinsey Institute who said I should not have been invited because it could result in unwelcome publicity and research grants being put under threat.

<u>Political organisation - NAMBLA</u>

Although no campaigning organisation exists within the UK, the following is an account of a British boylover who was active in NAMBLA, and in UK sexual politics throughout the 1980s.

BL13: I would avoid the word consent - and this is something we worked on in NAMBLA - because consent implies that both people fully understand what they're doing, analysed and studied and know everything what they're doing, whereas the clear issue with sex with children is what we call willing participation...Within NAMBLA itself, the feeling was that age isn't the key issue, that it is the willing participation that is the key issue and that generalising on age isn't the right way...

[]...laws should be more aware of coercion and threats but looking positively at positive sexual encounters and recognise the value of them.

Appendix forty-three: reflections on future strategies

Many interviewees put their own views on what future political strategies should be deployed to improve current attitudes to MADIS.

BL11: Through level-headed research and education... What we need to do is to get our facts straight, get them verified, get them published in scientific journals... build a case of respectability.

BL4: Educate the people.

BL2: Two issues. One is the age of consent. That's to do with a child's right, more than a man's right to have sex but I think more importantly some kind of representation of boylovers as ordinary people - be it through the media or some kind of recognition that boylovers are in society doing good.

BL5: Its down to information really...I would have an anti-discrimination law and end all age-discriminations of any kind.

BL7: Just to make the occasional small impact on public opinion rather than pretending to think we can fireball right through them.

BL10: A really big issue - was my kind of activism worthwhile? ...I'm not even now convinced that what we can do on its own will be effective. I think we'll have to get lucky in some sense, or there maybe forces of history...which will act in our favour...From a personal point of view I find it very satisfying thinking and writing

about these issues and would feel more frustrated and depressed not writing about these issues.

BL8: I'm totally pessimistic. I've been saying since back in the eighties, oh it can't get any worse and it does and then they produce another law and another law.

BL13: I think the only thing that might help is more academic research... That people would be given the air time... but I don't see that happening with the very few people that seem to be currently controlling the media.

Appendix forty-four: CMC questions

Initially, a questionnaire for boylover CMC respondents was considered. However due to the relatively small number of participants, extended questions covering the same ground as the face-to-face schedules were favoured (see below). These allowed for more reflection and gave the opportunity for respondents to opt-out of answering any of the more sensitive questions.

- 1) Do you think that being a boylover is central to who you are?
- 2) What is the 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 the relationship).

- 3) What perspective do you put on your social, personal and sexual feelings towards boys?
- 4) What do you feel are the main obstacles towards a greater acceptance of boylovers in society?
- 5) What steps would you put forward for boylovers to achieve greater recognition in society?
- 6) Do you think there is a sense of community amongst boylovers?
- 7) If so, what steps have you taken to involve yourself in such a community?
- 8) What are the problems you have found in accessing such a community?

Appendices to Chapter Seven

Appendix forty-five: past case studies

Due to the volume of case studies and length of experience, respondents frequently refer to previous and / or current cases which they were directly involved in. Throughout the interviews, metaphors such as journey were frequently deployed in order to reflect the difficulties their clients have to face in moving away from sex offending behaviours.

P7: I'm working with a man who abused a fourteen year-old but would have fucking killed anyone who touched his own daughter but he wouldn't see a fourteen year-old as a child. If she wanted it, she could have it!

P5: Case of a man who was a risk to fourteen year-olds but I stopped that...[] ... With the condition that he had to remain in Gloucester.

P3: I'm working with an elderly man who has been homosexual when he was not allowed to be homosexual...He's a very nice gentleman, but if you look at the abuse he perpetrated against young boys, there was nothing gentle or kind...It was emotional abuse.

P6: One with a fifteen year-old said it was a relationship but when you read the indictment not quite a relationship. There was a degree of force used.

P8: One person - who is now forty something - and is married to someone who is thirty something, and the relationship started when the thirty something was twelve. So they're saying, this was a mutual relationship, remains so, and we're now married and have children of our own.

P9: Concerning one boy ...disclosed to family. Didn't like it - hurt. Realised he was being abused. He was fourteen but had a maturity of eight.

The following are a number of case studies, which child protection respondents came across during their work. These examples also illuminate more clearly the dominant influences (family system theory, psychoanalysis and MSA) on their approaches, whilst providing more detail on how child protection professionals construe MSA.

P10: Boy One was abused by a trusted friend of the family. Now fourteen. He was abused at five or six. He has a speech defect and chaotic large family...- endemic crises.

P12: Internalisation process split off.

P10: Boy Two experienced abused by other boy at his deaf club - big scary boy, not much older who abused many boys and a girl...[]... Internalised an unspoken message from his father that he is the cause of all the problems...Process was to deny it.

P12: Another case of three boys who were sexually abused by their grandfather ...involved torture. The older boy had turned abuser and the Mum found out he had abused younger cousins...[]...Only one boy was abducted by a stranger who had groomed him. Was unconnected with the family. The boy was eight - was picked up from school...[]...Boy's shame and guilt - manhood has been affected - not big enough!

P11: Example of a fifteen year-old boy in gay clubs got off with twenty-eight year-old but looked twenty-one and the fifteen year-old looked nineteen and was looked after by local authority at the time, and the adult was employed by the local authority...

[]...Age not being an issue - the fifteen year-old boy was putting himself at risk.

Appendices to Chapter Nine

Appendix forty-six: Coming Out (1)

The following accounts detailed some of the key issues and difficulties that young gay males faced in coming out as gay in Leicester.

M5: I came out to a friend when I was sixteen.

M2: At the start I was vulnerable in working out friends - so many stories of gay bashing.

M5: I got serious shit and on top of that there was a big cultural change. I got names in the corridor and then I would get slagged off...[]...There was no support at that college. No gay group. They were catholic!...Never saw anyone who was gay...I get all my support from home and from here.

M3: My first experience was after doing O'Levels. I'd heard that there was this gay village, I was eighteen - oh god I was so naïve!

M1: I was fifteen and with a few friends we had been to the show together and at the end of the show we went up to the pub - it was a dive! A friend said, you know this is a gay pub. And my heart sank...and then two years later I came out to her.

Appendix forty-seven: follow-Up questionnaire for M2

In order to follow up M2's experiences, I sent him a questionnaire to document his experiences more fully. He went on to highlight a total of four MADIS relationships he was involved in. The first was when he was fourteen with a twenty-eight year-old, the second at fifteen with a thirty-four year-old, the third at fifteen with a thirty-one year-old, and the final one when he was sixteen, was with a twenty-seven year-old.

In response to Question Fifteen of the Questionnaire he replied,
"I have had good and bad experiences. I have been in violent, happy, controlling
relationships. But I am only attracted to older men."

In the section for the younger partner, he placed personality as the *most significant* factor in his relationships and summed up his MADIS experiences in general as *very* positive and very significant.

Appendix forty-nine: Coming Out (2)

The following accounts detailed some of the key issues and difficulties that young gay males faced in coming out as gay in Scotland.

Y1: I knew I was gay at fourteen! Never discussed the subject in moral education - bigoted pupil comments - homophobic.

Y2: I was living at home in Lanark and involved as the only member in Lanarkshire...Isolation is still a factor.

Y3: I've had an obnoxiously easy ride. My family and friends have been very supportive.

Y4: I was in an all-boys school of 700...and wasn't able to come out...When I came out I told two friends after school. They were very very good about it, but then at university, new environment clean break but everyone is very good.

Y5: For me coming out was generally positive. I don't have a gay identity - being myself! It's not a big issue.

Y6: It wasn't mentioned at school except shouting across the playground...Everyone in school knew I was gay before I did. I was very lucky - no real homophobia...It is a small town environment with no gay clubs but a good gay group. We are close, look out for each other and offer support through an informal network.

Y7: I was openly gay in sixth year...[]...I knew I was gay when I was ten but until I was sixteen, I was uncomfortable because I couldn't be the person I wanted to be...
[]...That's the practicalities of fear!

Y8: I've not faced hostility. I came out at school and my closest friends were women - so didn't care.

Y9: I realised when I was eleven or twelve. I phoned up switchboards, slammed down the phone and tried a year later.

Y10: I came out a couple of years ago. I've still not told parents, only my closest friend...I've not faced any homophobic violence. There is good support from the University.

Appendix Forty-nine: current situation and personal background

The following outlines some personal details revealed by ML on his formative years.

Early childhood

ML: It was a fairly normal childhood. I was living in the West Indies. I travelled a lot with parents to various tropical countries.

Res: Were you taught sex by your parents?

ML: I didn't really need it explained to me! I wasn't dim...There was no particular taboos and again in Africa on the coast, boys and men would go swimming naked in the sea.

Appendix fifty: "re-visiting the past"

Below is ML's account of his attempt to contact years later, a man he had had a sexual relationship with in the past.

ML: I decided to contact this person I had had the relationship with...because I became increasingly...aware of the witch hunt against paedophiles over the last fiveten years. The ferocity has been stepped up and I suddenly thought there were people I had relationships with when I was younger. They weren't monsters! They weren't these people that are being described today in the media as predatory, evil people tracking down children and using children. I wanted to see him again because I wondered, as an old man, how the hell he must feel?...I contacted him...[]...I persuaded him with a

few letters and a couple of phone calls to meet up with him...And on one occasion he phoned me up. He said strange things to me like, I spent the day drawing photos, and that really upset me because I realised I'd done something terrible and I stepped back into his life and maybe he did have memories and he did have pictures - things that he collected...and suddenly he had this person revisiting his life.

Appendix fifty-one: three-way conversation

The following is excerpts from ML's contributions to a three-way discussion on the sexual politics of MADIS, which included ML, his partner and myself.

ML: Feminists have not looked at themselves closely enough: which issues they're actually addressing. Publishing houses are still male dominated and they're controlling women to publish precisely what they want the women to publish and it's the only area where they have a capital growth and a commercial interest which is allowed to grow and...I think women make money out of the protection of children and that's all they are allowed to do...[]...There's a huge grey area now because the G.L.F. and the man-boy lovers never resolved that central issue about age of consent...And paedophilia is one of those unspoken rules where you don't cross the imaginary border: the world of infancy and childhood and corrupt that world by adult fixations on sexuality.

Appendices to Chapter Ten

Appendix fifty-two: current situation

S1: I'm forty-four. I'm currently working half the week at Crewe...and half the week at the training section at Cumbria. I've got two grown-up children and I've remarried and got two small children.

S2: I've been married since 1984. Got divorced '89. I've got two children.

S3: I'm thirty-three...He's starting harassing me again, tried to control me again...starting touching me again.

Res: Would you consider that you have a wide circle of friends?

S1: I'm still in contact with old school friends who are in blue-collar jobs.

S2: No! I choose my friends very carefully because I consider myself a vulnerable person.

S3: I haven't been able to develop myself and that's where I have a lot of difficulty with friends - I get paranoid. It's my abuse that's causing all that.

Appendix fifty-three: family background and childhood

S1: I was very distant from my father. Worse than that it was a very antagonistic relationship.

S2: It was a two - parent family but it didn't feel that there were a family around. There was a lot of, do your own thing! There was no restrictions.

Res: Some kids might regard that as a positive thing?

S2: No! I was one of those kids that needed extra attention and I didn't get it!...I had no self-esteem...There was no love in this family at all. That's one of the reasons why the sexual abuse come in.

S3: I was born in Aberdeen of Czech parents...I was the last-born. I've got five brothers and two sisters...[]...I was fostered by my sister. She never really loved me. My mother died when I was four and she blamed me...We never really had a good relationship. I was getting beaten up all the time by her and her husband...I was money to them - I wisnae a human being...I hated myself!

Peer friendships

Res: Did you form strong peer relationships with male friends?

S1: I did but what clouded my relationship from the age of eleven on was the fact that I started being abused by a teacher at school, and that then had an impact on how much I could trust other people...I became a lot more violent, unpredictable.

S2: If I had any friends, they were just a temporary fix...Because of the family environment I was in I didn't trust anybody and I didn't think people trusted me.

S3: I was always bullied at school. I didn't have a lot of friends because I was inward all the time...My sister was saying I was having problems in the house. She said I was very aggressive so she contacted a psychologist...I had to go and see this psychologist for five years - once every two weeks...I never had any feeling of friendships and love in the family. I was scarred I would be rejected.

Appendices to Chapter Eleven

Appendix fifty-four: personal backgrounds

The accounts below give brief details on respondents' current situation and personal backgrounds.

Current situation

IND1: I'm sixty-seven, live in Australia, and retired.

IND2: I'm fifty-one. I have lived in Arlington all my life. I've been hairdressing since I was eighteen - still enjoy the job.

IND3: I'm thirty-six...credit analyst and I live in Dorset.

ONE3: I'm forty-two years of age. I work for an airline - for three years...[]...I've lived down South for twenty years.

ONE1: I'm thirty-three, live in Newcastle for three and half years...but have lived in the States and Costa Rica.

MADIS 1X: I'm fifty-two. Now I'm a landscape gardener...which I have been now for six years...[]...Lived in Cardiff for twenty-five years.

MADIS 1Y: I'm working as an assembler which is car components.

MADIS 2X: I'm twenty-eight. I'm studying for a Masters Course Part-time in Bath. I'm working more or less full-time to raise money to continue that course.

MADIS 2Y: I'm forty-five, born in Coventry in 1955...[]...Came to Lancaster as a student and self-employed as a musician.

MADIS 3X: I'm 35 and a nurse in the NHS. I'm now with the prison service...dealing with more psychiatric cases in prison.

MADIS 4Y: I'm twenty-nine, I'm a care assistant in an old people's home. Been living here for two years.

Formative and early sexual experiences

Res: Was there a period of time when you realised you were gay?

IND2: I always thought I was gay but when you're eleven or twelve, you thought are you just going through one of these phases? When I got to seventeen, I realised I was gay but in those days it was very difficult to meet people.

ONE2: I'd just started at Grammar school - eleven and half or twelve. I was walking home from school and the other boys were talking about another boy in the class, oh I think he's a poof! And I thought there and then, I must never ever let this out!

ONE1: Not easy with family - took a bit of stick. Quite offensive with brother.

MADIS 5X: When I was a kid I knew I was gay right from early on but the thing is I saw this movie - I can't remember what it was - and it was about this couple, eighteen/nineteen and I was very very young but I thought that's what I want!

IND1: I began noticing men in a new way...I began masturbating with male pictures...[]...I located an underground gay dance - known to effeminate homosexuals. But I thought of myself as masculine.

MADIS 6X: I'd say about ten... I played with my sister's dolly and my mother's hairdos...I did modelling at an agency but still denied at school that I ever did it, even though I was on magazine covers. My mum lived outside Johannesburg at that time. It was conservative. There were gay clubs but I was too young to go to them and I didn't really know whether I was gay or not.

MADIS 2X: I didn't allow myself to be gay when I was a teenager - especially because it was the worse thing I could possibly be.

Childhood and adolescent sexual experiences

A significant number of respondents revealed early sexual experiences with peers. For some, these experiences were substantial, and constituted an embryonic scripting for their future gay identity.

ONE2: I got pally with a kid when I moved...Weekends and evenings we'd go around together...on holiday, and as we got older it just turned into a gay relationship - obvious spontaneous thing. I was eleven or twelve.

MADIS 7X: Starts from the age of eleven. At that time I was begging the older boys to let me join in what they were up to already and wasn't allowed on the grounds that I was too young... When I got to the age of sixteen...thrown out by the scouts - eternal shame! I was told I was lucky not to go to prison for what I'd been doing!

MADIS 8X: That was just the kind of schoolboy sex...It was very much peers and very furtive and very occasional...Probably about two or three boys over six or seven years - on and off...[]... Most of my sex...was when I went out cottaging at sixteen... which wasn't something I was very happy about.

MADIS 1Y: Sort of experiences in school but nothing in depth. That led on from cottaging because as far as I knew there weren't any clubs.

MADIS 2Y: First relationship at university - some flirting and fun before that. No real sex before eighteen. Some experiences in lockers.

MADIS 5X: Most of my childhood was a series of little encounters with kids my age...I got to the point where I was contriving encounters, find devious ways of them knowing where I was going without saying it.

MADIS 3Y: I started at eleven knocking about. I knew what I was up to - more than experimentation. Majority with guys who were straight.

MADIS 4X: I went to public school and the influence of homosexuality first appeared.

My interest at twelve was older boys at fifteen/sixteen and how they look?...But in late teens, I had relationships with school friends. Then it just stopped.

Appendix fifty-five: Coming Out (3)

Respondents revealed a diversity of experiences, ranging from unproblematic trajectories in self-identifying as gay, to more protracted and staged courses, which were substantially affected by parental reaction, marriage, and societal taboos.

MADIS 8X: I came out when I was eighteen/nineteen to twenty, but then promptly went back in again and came out again at the age of thirty-nine/forty. And when I was with Ruth [his wife] and was experimenting a little and going off like a young teenager...[]...When I left Ruth, I can almost remember the day...walking down the streets and looking at a guy and thinking, it's okay for me to do this now!

IND4: I actually came out quite late to myself about thirty...It wasn't really a problem.

IND3: Only negative reaction was that my father used to call me son but has never called me son since.

ONE2: And after that I was never in any doubt about being gay, and I never felt there was anything particularly wrong with it but...I didn't know how to find a gay partner...I then stumbled upon C.H.E. 16... Within two-three weeks suddenly my life was revolutionalised.

MADIS 6Y: My mother has been very supportive...My brothers are a totally different kettle of fish and the wider family as well...[]...It's a pity, I see more of their children and I think that's about getting on with younger people.

MADIS 7X: From my perspective, it was about meeting other gay people and I increasingly became aware of the existence of gay people and almost the legitimacy of it.

¹⁶ The Campaign for Homosexual Equality.

MADIS 1X: At University in Birmingham... There was a point in the mid eighties when I was not really off it... The changes were unreal when I think back from the pubs I first went in to the scale of things these days.

MADIS 2X: Within myself I had actually become very homophobic...I felt I couldn't possibly be a Christian and be a homosexual...I was sort of tearing myself apart for a long time...[]...I found out that one of our lay preachers at the Methodist Church I was attending was gay and I suddenly realised there was somebody I could talk to.

MADIS 2Y: Came out to friends at school - gradual process at university. Not enormously out on gay scene.

MADIS 5Y: When my sister caught me in bed with her boyfriend.

MADIS 9X: I came out when I was nineteen, in the sense of telling my family and people but I was gay for a lot longer...[]...Very easy to come out actually. It was nerve racking to tell mum and dad but I already told that year my close friends and not had any negative reactions...[]...I initially accepted everything myself years earlier.

MADIS 3Y: April 20 1990. I told my parents at sixteen - never needed to come out to friends - okay now.

MADIS 3X: Came out-in stages. Friends and peers took longer than family...Realised I was gay bi-sexual in my mid-teens.

MADIS 4X: I became restless at forty-one or two dalliances. At fifty - life slipping away - not living the life I lived anyway.

MADIS 4Y: Came out at eighteen at home with parents accepting it.

ONE3: With my father it's not talked about...My mother has actually been down and stayed with me when I was living with the Italian guy.

MADIS 1X: *In my family sometimes it does cause a bit of friction.*

MADIS 10X: She doesn't know I'm gay...My brother and sister-in-law know, very supportive.

MADIS 2Y: Not in the closet and not completely out. With teaching children it could be difficult...[]...Sometimes want to tell parents but my stepfather would find it difficult i.e. gay people are from Mars. Mum has a similar sort of attitude - beyond comprehension.

MADIS 9Y: My family and I didn't really discuss it because when I left home at eighteen, I'd completely divorced my family...Friends are different at work and close...[]...I did come out - not in a big bang sort of way. It just happened! I'm a private person to people.

Appendix fifty-six: legal constraints

Some respondents stated that previous and existing legal injunctions (either in being gay or on the age of consent) had a significant impact on them.

ONE3: [Reference to previous relationship]. It was illegal at the time It wasn't just one year. It was quite a few years - still twenty-one at that time.

IND2: We were a lot careful...It was illegal. It was very difficult.

IND1: I had to discover what gay men did with each other...but in...in the early 1960s it was still illegal.

IND3: My lodger expressed an interest in me. He was seventeen. It wasn't the age of consent - he was the son of a best friend.

MADIS 6Y: I suppose when I went out with George he was seventeen and I was in my thirties. I was aware that we'd broken the law but not had that much effect for me.

MADIS 7X: One of the things I discovered about my sexuality was that it was illegal...It was very dangerous to be who I am and that's a terrible thing to discover!

MADIS 8X: It was inconceivable!...[]...When I grew up my first five or six years at secondary school it was still illegal.

Appendix fifty-seven: background to the relationship Individual respondents

IND2: I always like Romeo and Juliet ...I just looked across and looked at him in the eye and thought you look interesting...At eighteen, the world's your oyster, you're young, you're attractive...He actually came over to speak to me and said he was with James and could he meet me later...We had a few drinks, chat and then he said, can I meet you the following Monday?...[]...We went for a drink and chatted about life in general...[]...The following week he rang up...do you want to go away for the weekend? So we went back to York again. That's when we first had sex that weekend...After that life just went on a merry-go-round.

IND3: We met on a chat line when I was thirty-four and he was eighteen...[]...He disappeared and then came back a few years later and I was invited up to London where he was performing in a play.

ONE2: I saw this advert African student looking for a friend...And I thought, I'll give it a go!...[]...After about six weeks, a letter suddenly turned up from Chad...[]...The next thing was a reverse charge call from Chad...It was this guy, when are you coming to see me? Or when can I come to see you? And we then continued to exchange letters and occasionally phone calls for a month or two...And when I got there we went around and had a really good time...He was a really nice guy, and sort of changed over from just each other thinking what we could out of it to friends.

ONE3: [In Thailand] That was just one of those things. You walk down the street, you see someone you like and make eye-contact and then look back at the same time - and the Thais are a little bit more up-front than the English. He just smiled and said hello...And then we went to a gay bar round the corner...He said to me the first time we met, can I come to your hotel tonight Because I want to learn?...[]...He's a student

full time and he works in the evenings to earn his money as a hairdresser and make-up artist.

ONE1: Met in 1988 on leave a message-message service.

Partnerships

MADIS 6Y: A friend of mine, who's ... age, had met him in a night club and just brought him round for a coffee and that was several months and then we started having a relationship.

MADIS 6X: Well first there was kind of chemistry... We knew each other for a couple of months...[]...I did like him and I did fancy him.

MADIS 7X: How the relationship started was through the Internet...He was in Gateshead and I was in Luton and then I was invited for a visit - which I did.

MADIS 8X: I met... in '93...It was completely by chance. He was just on his way from leaving University...I think it was the Lesbian and Gay Christian movement which Brighton Gay pride happened to be running ... We ended up by both going along...And at the end of it he looked like a lost soul and he gravitated towards me.

MADIS 1X: [Reference to cottaging location] *Initially it was just sex at the time...We* met once and then-

MADIS 1Y: We met again and I asked you to come back.

MADIS 1X: We just stopped at weekends. Come round here a couple of times...It just developed from there. I suppose circumstances had a bit to do with it. At the time he was going through a bad patch with his ex and my partner had just died.

MADIS 10X: We met when I went to Chile...[]...I happened to be near a well known cruising park in...[]...We met, started writing to each other.

MADIS 10Y: That was quite a nice thing because even when I first met him I liked him and I said right what could happen would be great and fine.

MADIS 2X: I had been in contact with a friend of my landlord...and he suggested to get in touch with this man who had been an old boyfriend of his - who was.... I phoned ... and said, do you want to meet?...We just got on so well and turned into this contemporary relationship.

5Y: This was at the end of the evening... I didn't have the courage to go up to you and it came up to closing time and...and I said, I wanted to stay... You were saying I could stay with you and you could drive me back in the morning -

5X: Subtle hint!

5Y: So it ended up us both sleeping together.

MADIS 9X: We met in a pub and we were both on the pull...I fell in love almost straight way...Really did make me feel more calm than I had done for a long time and he's the kindest man I've ever met.

MADIS 3Y: Met with ad. in the Pink Paper...Whistle-stop romance - writing in May and then moved to Leeds. But I had never lived in a city, so came back to the Isle of Man and it worked out.

MADIS 4X: I advertised in the GayTimes and... replied.

Appendix fifty-eight: general attitude to relationships

Respondents detailed a number of considerations on what they regard as important aspects in relationships. For some, monogamy and commitment were important attributes to aspire to; whereas others considered liaisons with someone other than their current partners.

ONE3: I've got stronger sex drive than some of the younger ones. I am very intense.

IND2: I think if you find someone you really do love, you should stick at it, not playing around.

MADIS 8X: The only reason that... worked is because he came across very adult...I am not happy about is an uneven relationship...As long as there was something to balance the obvious things that come with age because they were giving something in return - whatever it was.

MADIS 8Y: In the first couple of years we were monogamous... After two years seeing other people that was extremely liberating for our emotional relationship because that made us equals, because he was no longer the one teaching me.

MADIS 5Y: You relate to that person sexually...You have good sex and conversation, intelligence...a friendship bonding...Sexuality is a private moment sharing intimacy...about like family you've chosen...You can look at any person in the street and say I want to sleep with that person. It doesn't detract from your feeling that you love that person.

MADIS 5X: Yeah but the risk is always there... When you meet someone else there is lust despite the fact that you're in a relationship... I'd much rather know that my other half is playing by the rules and satisfying the lust even though the risk is still there.

MADIS 9X: There's got to be some sort of difference between men because you're physiology is identical, your chromosomes are identical. So it is important to have a marked difference which heterosexual couples have given to them by their biology.

IND1: Sexuality is an ideology - not just physical sense...[]...It depends on the resources and intellectual capacity of youth.

ONE1: I prefer someone intelligent not vacuous.

MADIS 7X: The law is intrinsically wrong... Unless you're dealing with abuse, and abuse is covered by general law anyway. I wasn't talking about abuse because everything I ever have done has been by mutual agreement... What I can say and will

say, is that I was sexually active from the age of eleven, and I don't see at the age of forty-six, anything wrong with that. I was in control at all times! I choose to do what I did at all times!

Appendix fifty-nine: attitude of the Gay Community to age and MADIS

Most of the respondents saw age as an important feature within the gay scene - with youth being especially valorised.

Res. Has it been your experience that the cult of youth is a strong feature in the gay community?

IND2: It is these days but not in the early stages.

IND4: If you go in certain pubs and its all people in their late teens and early twenties, I feel very much out of place in that sense.

MADIS 1X: Lot of younger people owning, running the bar - whereas twenty years ago all the bars, clubs were run by older people.

MADIS 2X: There is a lot of emphasis on image. As gay men, you do have this odd position of being in both camps at once - its not a situation that heterosexuals seem to have - which is them and us and you can objectify people.

MADIS 5Y: I think that most gay people are trying to keep young. I think it's you want to be the fittest, most good looking in the crowd... Youth is almost a trophy to be won. You can pick, choose and control people - if you've got the confidence to use it...I'm young but I've never been able to use that youth in the way I've seen other people using it... Youth and confidence gives someone young control which makes them more desirable to someone who's older.

MADIS 3X: Age is a big factor for gay men.

ONE3: Everyone wants to be eighteen-twenty-five.

To MADIS

ONE2: No longer Greek Love - not the same function for Queens...as an intermediate role in which young people could go to.

MADIS 7X: I got myself in trouble for mixed age relationships because gays don't approve of that sort of thing.

Res: Why do you think this is?

MADIS 7X: Jealousy - I'm not allowed to do it, so why should anyone else get away with it?...I think there also exists a taboo - younger people who actually quite like older people don't like to admit it because it's not cool and that's the particular way I got in trouble.

MADIS 10X: Partly because people are bolder about their way of life...they have to be different...So if they fancy someone who's of a different age, then they'll go for it!

MADIS 9Y: Emotional need... They either have a need to be looked after, or a desire to look after someone else, and I think that is why many gay male relationships do have an age-gap in them... If you go back between senior and junior school, it's like younger brother - older brother type of thing and I think that is a strong attraction.

MADIS 9X: Sometimes there's an overwhelming urge of protectiveness...[]...Felt protective towards people and wanted to help them - mentor them.

MADIS 6Y: I've never found it difficult to meet younger people and the fact that some bars are stratified into ones that appeal to different age-groups actually helps.

MADIS 6X: I think it's more common in gay people because from the beginning, you ask the question, why am I different from everyone else?...And that's why its very common for younger people to be interested in older guys and what an older guy thinks...[]... I ask why all the time and I analyse everything...I think its partly being gay and partly being young.

Appendix sixty: Attitude of family and friends

Respondents on the whole indicate a generally positive response from family and friends to their relationship. However, some indicate encountering certain problems.

ONE3: All my friends have been great, very very supportive.

ONE1: Reaction of friends now everyone's fine.

MADIS 6Y: With my own friends...they've been really delighted that I've met someone who's so nice and centred.

MADIS 6X: Yeah, you do get reactions... When I'm at the bar, they'll start touching. It's like they don't believe it and I would say no!

MADIS 8Y: Once when my mum in the first eleven months cried solidly and at one point her sister rang us and was trying to be consolatory and said, you've got to realise it's not just you being gay, but if you lived with a women who was twenty years older with two grown up kids and was divorced, your mum would have just as much problem with that. And that kind of struck me because I didn't consider it.

MADIS 1Y: I've had quite a good group of friends...At work it's like I'm married to work because they knew I was gay from day one.

MADIS 1X: Oh yeah, I had to be approved by his work colleagues.

MADIS 10Y: They don't know I'm gay...All my family know him. They like him very much.

MADIS 10X: Gay friend's reaction has been positive-

MADIS 2Y: Reaction entirely favourable. All think its long overdue.

MADIS 9X: The only reactions have been very positive... We're always both invited everywhere.

MADIS 4Y: Not really mentioned by parents...Friends are generally alright about it.

IND2: Mother was okay about it, father was a little bit hesitant about the whole thing...because he was much older than myself but after he met him he was perfectly okay.

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