

**BOYS ON THEIR CONTACTS WITH MEN:
A STUDY OF SEXUALLY EXPRESSED FRIENDSHIPS**

Theo Sandfort

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FOREWARD TO THE DUTCH EDITION

In this book boys themselves tell about their friendships with men, friendships within which sexual contacts occur.

Our society's perception of sex between children and adults is changing. While the late 1970s saw quite a bit of positive discussion about pedophilia, now all sex between children and grown-ups seems to be associated with "abuse".

We will touch on the history and manifestations of this shift in public opinion in the course of our introduction. At the same time we will define a few concepts which are necessary to the understanding of our work, and finally we will give a short description of how our investigation was carried out.

The second, and major, part of the book is devoted to the research itself and what emerged from it. Here we will describe the many different aspects of the man-boy friendships and the sexual contacts which occurred within them.

In the final section we will point out some of the limitations of this project, the most important being that the experiences of these particular 25 boys cannot be considered representative of all sexual relations which occur between men and boys. Sexual abuse lies quite outside the area of this investigation. Finally we will comment on the significance of what these boys have reported for Dutch penal legislation, and we will preface this discussion with a summary of what recently has been written and said about those sections of our Penal Code bearing on the ages of sexual consent.

INTRODUCTION

John Money, Ph.D.

For those born and educated after the year 2000, we will be their history, and they will be mystified by our self-imposed, moralistic ignorance of the principles of sexual and erotic development in childhood. We who are today presiding over the demise of the twentieth century are defiantly proud of our ability to deny that sexual health has a developmental history that, like every other aspect of healthy functioning in adolescence and maturity, begins in childhood. We safeguard ourselves against evidence to the contrary by failing to fund basic pediatric sexological research, and by repudiating the findings of those who fund themselves.

In all of Europe and America, as well as everywhere else in the world, there exists no specialty division, clinic, or service dedicated to pediatric sexological health and pathology. Nor does there exist an ephebiatric (adolescent) clinic for teenaged sexual health and its maintenance; and there is also no completely comprehensive Department or Institute of Sexual Medicine and Research in any medical school.

The importance of the juvenile years in laying the developmental foundations of sexual health in maturity has been demonstrated in experimental studies of subhuman primates. If rhesus monkeys are reared in social isolation, they are deprived of normal age-mate play, which in the critical years of their early childhood, includes sexual rehearsal play. The outcome of this early deprivation is that they are permanently sexually impaired. When they reach adulthood they are unable to position themselves in mating, even with a gentle and cooperative partner, and they do not reproduce their kind.

To the extent that one can conjecture from one species to another, this finding would appear to have profound implications for the significance of juvenile sexual rehearsal play in the development of sexual health in our own children. It might very well be that deprivation of playful sexual rehearsal is the origin of a high proportion of the sexual syndromes of human adolescence and adulthood. It surely should be self-evident that we need a basic science of pediatric sexology, so as to have the actual data on which to base a sound policy of rearing children to be sexually healthy. There is, for example, a need for more data on the effects of age matching and age discrepancy in sexual rehearsal play. Most adults enjoy cuddling and caressing children, and children respond, reciprocally. Most adults however, do not respond to this type of intimacy by getting sexually and erotically aroused. Indeed, they may be quite incapable of arousal by someone too young. For them there is no overlap between parental love and sexual love.

Exactly the opposite is true in the case of adolescents and adults, male or female, heterosexual, bisexual or homosexual, who have the sexological syndrome of pedophilia. In the adulthood of the true pedophile, parental love is hybridized, so to speak, with sexual love. The adult pedophile continues to have the erotosexual status of a juvenile and is attracted toward, and attractive to juveniles. Likewise, the true ephebophile has an adolescent erotosexual status and is attracted toward, and attractive to teenagers. Conversely, juveniles and teenagers are attracted to the way their older lovers treat them as equals.

Pedophilia and ephebophilia are no more a matter of voluntary choice than are left-handedness or color blindness. There is no known method of treatment by which they may be effectively and permanently altered, suppressed, or replaced. Punishment is useless. There is no satisfactory hypothesis, evolutionary or otherwise, as to why they exist in nature's overall scheme of things. One must simply accept the fact that they do exist, and then, with optimum enlightenment, formulate a policy of what to do about it.

Herein lies the significance of Theo Sandfort's book. The most important thing about it, first and foremost, is that it exists as a source of information relevant to a vexacious and disputed issue in pediatric and ephebiatric sexological ethics. No matter that it may constitute only one wall of an unfinished edifice: its great scientific merit is that it does constitute that one wall on and around

which more may be built. It is a very important book, and a very positive one.

The timeliness of Dr. Sandfort's book is that its findings predate the appearance of a new variable, one that will influence all of human sexological research henceforth, namely the epidemic spread of AIDS. It is a book that catches a moment in history which will never be repeated, certainly not until a method of prevention is found. It provides sexological science and policy with information of great pertinence in helping to shape the future wisely. The way this information will be used in public policy regarding the sexual rights of children will be subject to widespread dispute. There is no arguing, however, that the information does exist, and that it is factually and accurately recorded. It makes *Boys on their Contacts with Men: a Study of Sexually Expressed Friendships* a very valuable book. It is must reading for all those interested in the development of sexuality in childhood.

Dr. John Money is director of the Psychohormonal Research Unit of the Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine at the Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore where he is Professor of Medical Psychology and Professor of Pediatrics, Emeritus. He is author of a great many professional papers and several books intended for the general reader, including the recent "Lovemaps."

PUBLISHER'S INTRODUCTION

Global Academic Publishers

In 1979 the Netherlands Institute for Socio-Sexological Research published a 260 page report called *Pedosexual Contacts and Pedophile Relationships* by a young doctoral candidate at the Catholic University of Nijmegen named Theo Sandfort. Two-thirds of the book was devoted to a very thorough examination of such professional literature as then existed on man-child sex. The last 100 pages, however, recorded the responses of a number of contemporary Dutch pedophiles to such questions as what they did sexually with boys, the relational aspects of their friendships with boys, how their contacts with boys came about. It was the first of a series of book-length professional papers Sandfort wrote about his research into intergenerational sex and it established him at once in Holland as a man to watch.

Two years later the State University, Utrecht published his best-known report, *The Sexual Aspects of Pedophile Relations*. Sandfort had in the meantime studied the "experiential world" of 25 boys who were currently involved in sexual relationships with men, relationships which, unlike most man-boy contacts discussed in the literature, had not suffered any serious disruption from angry parents, police, etc. The research was carefully structured to determine as accurately as possible how the friendships and the sex fitted into the overall day-to-day life of the boys. The "research question" which Sandfort posed before designing the investigation was whether *some* boys in *some* pedosexual relationships could positively experience their sexual contacts. The answer in the case of all but one of these 25 boys was a very emphatic Yes. The report was full of tables and statistics, but also quotes from taped interviews. A few months later an English-language edition came out that had a limited circulation in England and America.

The response of the American psychological and psychiatric professions to Sandfort's work was interesting. At first it was largely ignored; later a few negative reviews appeared. David Mrazek, a Denver pediatric psychiatrist, elected not to discuss the research itself with any seriousness but in *Contemporary Psychology* (Vol.30, No.1, 1985), the book review journal of the American Psychological Association, restricted himself to moral condemnation: Sandfort should never have investigated this phenomenon because in doing so he was "rationalizing" a "criminal activity" (an extraordinary position for a scientist to take about sexological research); Sandfort did not discuss the possibility that these "illegal sexual contacts might result in the boys developing a sexual deviation"; the report was tainted because, among other things, it "militantly avoided" the "usual, labels of victims and perpetrators" and substituted the "offensive" terms younger and older partners; finally the whole investigation was suspect because it was "in part being sponsored by an organized group of pedophiles", a statement which must have greatly surprised the Dutch government which had provided all but a miniscule part of the funding! In short, one expected Sandfort's 25 boys to perish in a rain of fire along with their adult partners--and Sandfort himself be turned into a pillar of salt for watching.

Like Mrazek, David Finkelhor has built his public reputation around the burgeoning "child sex-abuse" issue; two years before the Sandfort study was translated into English, Finkelhor had published his book *Sexually Victimized Children*. Nucleus of it was a study, by questionnaire, of 630 female and 266 male college students who had had sexual experiences during childhood. In his questionnaire Finkelhor avoided the "usual labels" (whether militantly or not we are not told) but since they pepper virtually every page of the book itself (together, strangely enough, with the "offensive" labels younger and older partners) he obviously judged such emotionally loaded terminology compatible with objective reporting. Also, curiously, he deliberately skewed his sample so that, after the age of 12, only non-consensual (i.e. forced or coerced) sex contacts were included, thus from the outset ensuring that a negative picture of these activities would emerge.

In the October 1984 issue of *Forum Magazine* Finkelhor wrote that Sandfort's study deserved its obscurity because the sample of 25 boys was non-representative; the boys were not being honest

with the researcher; his own research showed that "most kids react negatively" to sexual encounters with adults (actually Finkelhor's own research, despite its near-fatal skew, showed that less than 40% of his males who, as boys, had had encounters with older males thought of them as traumatic experiences!); finally no boy can really give consent to having sex with an adult because of the inherent asymmetry of power, an assertion which American commentators are fond of making and which lands them deep in semantic and politico-philosophical quicksand.

Masters, Johnson & Kolodny (the first two wrote the sexological best-seller *Human Sexual Response*) didn't seem to have been very well acquainted with Sandfort's work, yet felt free to criticize it in the second edition of their 1985 college textbook *Human Sexuality* after only reading a short popular article by Sandfort in *Alternative Lifestyles*. Starting with the premise that adult-child sexual relations are "inherently abusive, exploitative", the authors then went on to say that Dr. Sandfort interviewed his boys in the presence of the pedophile "without any apparent regard for the fact that the adult's presence would have almost assuredly prevented the boy from voicing complaints about the way he was treated because of fear of punishment." As Sandfort makes abundantly clear in all of his professional reports, none of the boys were interviewed in the presence of the pedophile. Masters, Johnson & Kolodny also suspected that the boys "were so intimidated by the pedophile that they were afraid to say anything against him." Nothing could be further from the truth, as the reader will soon see when he turns to the text of this book itself.

Sandfort's work, then, seemed to have touched a sensitive nerve in America. It challenged some rather basic premises upon which a number of well publicized careers had been built. If his work could not be totally ignored, it least it could be misrepresented and morally condemned in professional circles.

One psychologist of note who recognized the importance of Sandfort's research and was brave enough to support it was Dr. John Money of the Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore. He called Sandfort's book "one of the most valuable works of research scholarship on the topic of pedophilia that has ever appeared in print." Another positive mention of Sandfort's work was in *Deviant Behavior*, where Charles H. McCaghy (1983) of Bowling Green State University found in it evidence that "today's boldest sex research is occurring outside the United States," and "we are fortunate that we can rely on Sandfort, and others I hope, to capably explore this new frontier..."

In his introduction to this volume, Dr. Money observes that Sandfort's study was conducted before AIDS had become recognized as a serious medical problem. It is a curious fact that even now seven or eight years later, despite the tragic number of adult AIDS victims, children and young adolescents seem to have been largely unaffected, except through transfusions of contaminated blood, sharing of hypodermic needles or by being born of an infected mother. A few adolescent male prostitutes in the West have developed the sickness, and there was one newspaper report in England last year of a boy who was allegedly repeatedly raped by an infected step-father supposedly coming down with the disease.

A number of explanations for this have been offered: it might be that not many boys in this age group are having sex with infected persons; or many boys really are infected but, due to the long incubation period of the disease and the natural resilience of youth, this is not yet apparent. Neither of these suggestions is very convincing: every North American and European study shows that a large percentage of boys between 11 and 16 are very sexually active. And, considering the widespread nature of the disease and the fact that symptoms can develop fairly soon after infection, one would expect to see a statistically significant number of boys in this age group who had clearly caught AIDS by having sex with another male. Yet we don't.

Perhaps Sandfort's study suggests a better reason. We do know that the virus is best transmitted through anal intercourse. Blood and sperm (and perhaps anal mucus) are the most effective carriers. Although the virus has also been found in saliva and tear, the concentrations are reported to be very low: the disease does not seem to be spread through a sneeze, for example, as is the common cold.

When we look at the sexual acts in which Sandfort's 25 boys participated, the most frequent was mutual masturbation (now making a kind of moral come-back in gay circles as "safe sex"); the second most common act was the man performing fellatio on the boy, followed by the boy performing fellatio on the man (but in no case taking the man's sperm in his mouth); anal intercourse was very rare and when it did occur it was often done on a kind of experimental basis.

Sandfort warns his readers against generalizing too much from his study, but if this kind of "limited" sexual behavior characterizes most pedosexual contacts (and other independent research suggests it does), then it might well be that the absence of sexually acquired AIDS cases in the very young really does mean that the chance of a boy catching the disease through the kind of sexual activities he is likely to engage in with men is small.

Even so, as Dr. Money points out, the virus does exist and as with every sexually active person it must be faced by men and boys in their sexual relations. It would be interesting to know whether man-boy couples today like the 25 which Dr. Sandfort studied have altered their sexual behavior in response to this threat. One notes that at the November 1986 North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) conference in Los Angeles one of the important speakers was the local AIDS task force coordinator who advised participants on safe sex practices.

In 1982 the "second half" of the Sandfort study appeared in The Netherlands in report form, co-authored by Marianne Hoogma, devoted in large part to the actual experiences of the boys as revealed in their interview tapes. Last year (1986), with the Dutch legislature actively considering a revision of age of consent laws, Dr. Sandfort summarized both of these reports and, with a strong emphasis upon the words of the boys themselves rather than scientific methodology, published a paperback book aimed at the general reader. It is this book, translated and with a few supplementary interviews and tables, which appears here.

Lately Sandfort has been busy researching and publishing on different but related matters: how teachers deal with erotic attraction between themselves and their pupils; how older adolescents who before their 16th birthday had had sexual contacts with adults now view these contacts. He is a frequent guest on the various radio talk shows and is co-editor of the monthly magazine of the Netherlands Society for Sexual Reform.

It might be helpful now, in order to understand better the social and political background against which this investigation was undertaken, to discuss a few characteristics of Dutch society which set it apart from that of its neighbors, and especially the English-speaking world.

Holland is a small country; few foreigners ever learn to speak Nederlands, the language of both The Netherlands and half of Belgium, yet a short afternoon's drive from virtually anywhere in the country will take a Dutchman into either French or German speaking territory, and an 8-hour ferry crossing will bring him to England. His television set receives two commercial English, one French-Belgian and three German channels, and if he lives in any of the larger cities, his cable-TV brings him two BBC channels as well. All foreign programs on Dutch TV are transmitted in their original languages with subtitles in Nederlands (a practice followed in the movie houses, too). Thus every Dutch child grows up with the sounds of English, French and German in his ears, and schools are dedicated to making him proficient in the major European languages.

The reverse, however, is not true. The Nederlands linguistic boundary acts as a kind of one-way filter: people in Holland know a great deal about their neighbors from firsthand sources, but their neighbors know very much less about them and especially their public life. Thus Dr. Sandfort's book will give the English and American reader a rare opportunity to see how this highly intelligent and educated society has gone about dealing with a well-publicized and socially problematic phenomenon. Crucial here is the famed Dutch tolerance.

From earliest times, and until World War Two, Holland was racially fairly homogeneous. It was not,

however, at all homogeneous socially or in religion. Catholic and the various protestant groups lived largely independent existences, as did the small but lively Jewish enclaves in the cities. Each had its own buildings of worship, customs, political parties, societies-even, later in Dutch history, its own labor unions.

Yet the exploitation of a land lying largely below sea level and whose only natural resources were its soil and the mouth of Europe's most important river required a great deal of cooperation: swamps and lakes had to be drained, canals built, rainwater lifted to the sea. For this work the kind of individualistic initiative which went into the settlement of North America would have been inappropriate. With the large-scale cooperative ventures of the pre-industrial era came the realization that for the common good it was better to work with people you differed from than to try to destroy them. While in Germany and France Catholics and Protestants butchered each other for decades with unbridled enthusiasm (and both, in times of hunger and plague, turned upon the Jews), their Dutch brothers managed to live peaceably side by side and work together effectively enough to turn what must originally have been one of the most unpromising pieces of European real estate into an agricultural cornucopia studded with populous and prosperous cities. Overseas, the Dutch became formidable traders. Tolerance, a tendency to be fair, to examine as many facets of an issue as possible, not to give in to hysteria, stereotype the Dutch character, along with a kind of stubborn streak and an intense dislike of being forced to do something which one is not convinced is right.

Dutch politics are markedly different from English or American politics. Campaigning is comparatively low-key and is carried out mainly in the press and by means of informal TV interviews. There is no such thing as a politician "running for office"--one votes in Holland for a political party (which may even in itself be a coalition of smaller political parties). Each party has a "slate" of legislators listed in an order of preference determined by the party itself, and as many of these candidates take parliamentary seats in The Hague as the party is successful in winning votes. The kind of cut-throat, personal mud-throwing campaigns which characterize the English and American political scene are unknown in The Netherlands. The result is that the political parties can put into the legislature more able (as opposed to charismatic) people who simply get on with their work without expending their energies on campaign rhetoric and looking over their shoulders to see who is trying to ignite a scandal around their personal lives. Party leaders and cabinet members do most of the campaigning and bear most of the burden of interacting with the media; legislators spend most of their time on legislative tasks.

Tolerance and fairness, too, have had their effect upon the media. In the English-speaking world the much abused principle of "freedom of the press" frustrates efforts to limit reportorial irresponsibility and the senseless destruction of personal reputations and private lives. In Holland the media, while it can, and does, report criminal procedures, feels that it is neither socially necessary nor desirable to publish the names, addresses or photos of the people involved--or, for that matter, of any private citizen in any connection without his specific written permission. Thus the Dutch press is mercifully free of the kind of police-blotter reporting and incitement of neighbors against accused persons which make the American and especially the English newspapers so unpleasant. This same lower level of sensational reporting means that potentially emotive issues like man-boy sexual contacts are treated with a fairness rare in most other Western lands.

That Holland largely lacks a "scandal press" is probably in large part due to the fact that the Dutch population tends to be rather matter-of-fact about all the natural functions. This has its unattractive sides: dog feces, for example, are allowed to accumulate on the sidewalks of Dutch cities without anyone thinking it much of a problem; intensive animal husbandry has resulted in large-scale use of natural fertilizers on the fields and everyone is accustomed to their persistent and penetrating smells. On the other hand, Holland has the lowest rate of (undesired) teenage pregnancies in the west; masturbation is pretty much a guilt-free activity among the young; boys and girls in late adolescence not uncommonly live together without opposition of parents and community. In late winter 1987 a Dutch television program designed for and produced by children had two little boys announcing they were going to talk about penises, whereupon they exposed their organs to the TV-

cameras and played with them, describing the various genital parts and discussing what they obviously considered very important possessions. The show was aired without causing a ripple of reaction, or even comment.

There is, of course, crime, and since sex involving children under the age of 16 is illegal, statutory sex offenses come regularly into the Dutch courts. They are not, however, tried before an elected judge and jury drawn from the community as in the English-speaking "common law" countries, but before three appointed judges. The public prosecutor (attorney for the State or District Attorney) is also appointed and perceives his duty not as getting convictions at any cost but as serving the best interests of everybody--the state and the accused. Dutch criminal trials tend to be short and undramatic and relatively untraumatizing to the defendant.

A large number of Dutch people in public life have been in prison. Unlike America and England and the other English-speaking nations, The Netherlands suffered occupation during World War Two and many future Dutch leaders were locked up by the Germans for one reason or another. It is easier for a body of legislators and jurists who have never been incarcerated to prescribe long prison sentences and remain indifferent to inhumane conditions in institutions than for people who know about prisons from first-hand experience and can identify with the inmates. In Holland sentences are short (a rule of thumb is that a Dutch sentence will be in months what an English or American sentence will be in years) and prisons reasonably humane. Raping and sexual coercion of the young, the good-looking, the timid, the "child-abuser" and the homosexual by the more powerful inmates is an established (but seldom admitted) fact of US prison life; even murders and suicides in American penal institutions rarely come into public consciousness through the media. In The Netherlands physical and sexual

1. CHANGING ATTENTION TO AND EVALUATION OF SEXUALITY

Introduction

Our society's vision of sex and sexuality is rather unstable. For a decade or so it can be rather supple, generally approving, and then, only a little later, everything sexual is seen as troublesome or problematic. This is especially true of sexual contacts between adults and minors.

Toward the end of the 1970s many Dutch newspapers, news and family magazines carried relatively positive articles about "pedophilia"--positive in the sense that an attempt was made in them to understand how both partners involved in pedophile relationships felt. At the same time, however, they invariably stressed the adverse judgement of society at large. During those years even incest received attention which was not altogether critical: in 1969 the magazine of the national homophile organization COC¹ carried an article entitled *Why not go to bed with your son?* (Andriess 1969).

Thus far, the 1980s have been quite different. Now it is incest which first springs to people's minds when they think of sex between adults and children--and only its negative side, for that is all that is reported in the media: incest always equals abuse. The more horror stories told by "victims" the better, it seems. Child pornography, incest, sexual abuse, daughter raping--these have become the key media buzzwords.

A good example can be seen in how the media have handled the subject of child pornography. In November 1984 a complaint emanating from The United States reached us that The Netherlands was one of the largest producers and distributors of "kiddie porn". The accusation was made by Defense for Children International at a US Senate committee hearing, and it stated, among other things, that there were public auctions in Amsterdam where children were sold for the production of child pornography. Also the *Spartacus Gay Guide*, an 800-plus page annual publication printed in The Netherlands and full of information for homosexuals on where they can find other gay people throughout the world, was called "the leading magazine in this field". The real villains were the pedophiles. According to United States Customs, 85% of child pornography imported into America came from Holland and Denmark.

All of this made front-page news in our papers. The accusations were reported as if they were fact. For one whole month the leading newspapers carried stories on this almost every day. It soon appeared that part at least of the charges were nothing more than rumor and speculation. But was Amsterdam or was Amsterdam not the center of kiddie porn production? Yertrouwensarts² Koers was sure it was. He reproached the Justice Department for being lax in its battle against child pornography: "Justice is deaf and blind," he said. The Minister of Justice said that there was no indication that much child pornography was produced in The Netherlands. Koers was unable to come up with any convincing evidence to the contrary.

Even though the accusations soon became less strident, they had already had their influence upon public opinion. People thought the wild stories must have had some basis in fact: where there is smoke there will likely be fire.

One tangible result of all the excitement was the legal prohibition of the production and distribution of child pornography. In the emotional atmosphere that prevailed at this time, it was easy to rush a repressive bill through the legislature. As Slagter (1985) commented, the new law really ought to have been given more thoughtful consideration.

The American accusation was not an isolated phenomenon. It was born out of a religious/ethical revival movement in North America which has attracted a great deal of attention. It holds that the traditional family must be restored to its dominating position of honor and young people should be protected through censorship of books and pictures from everything that might corrupt them. Abortion is unacceptable and homosexuality can only be viewed as a sickness which is not without many social dangers. The actual "victims" of child pornography, then, were not the only concerns of

United States religious fundamentalists and social workers. Perhaps the American accusations would have received less attention from the Dutch press if it had understood their origins.

That realization came later. In *Vrij Nederland*³ (22 December, 1984) Frits Abrahams criticized our acceptance of these charges and the alarm they elicited: "In feminist circles it was quickly realized how one could use 'kiddie porn' as a means of sneaking discussion of adult pornography in by the back door. 'Shameful the way (Minister of Justice) Korthals Altes treated Koers!' I heard Hanneke Groenteman say on her radio women's forum. In the same program she called upon an indignant professor to act as witness for the prosecution describing Sodom and Gomorrah unfolding before his eyes. To the careful listener the man a little later discredited his own account when, leading into another subject, he admitted he was a Catholic 'with a strong feeling that traditional moral standards must be maintained.' And so children continue to be abused--not so much by the pornographer from whom only 10-year-old material can be discovered, as by the *vertrouwensartsen* wanting to save their jobs, the feminists who wish to get rid of pornography and the Catholics who are still harassed by their compulsion 'to maintain traditional moral standards'."

As for the truth behind the American accusations, an ad hoc committee formed by the Ministry of Justice to study them reported a year and a half later that there was simply no evidence whatever that children were being abused in our country for the commercial production of child pornography (Report of the ad hoc committee on child pornography, 1986).

When the American charges were made, child pornography was already a common topic of conversation here, stimulated by an Amsterdam vice squad raid on the city's porno shops. The police confiscated, among other things, postcards of naked children. After the American accusations were made society took all of this a great deal more seriously. The rapt attention this received is probably symptomatic of a new spirit of the times.

Changed Spirit of the Times

The so-called sexual revolution was a phenomenon of the late 1960s. Influenced by the democratization process, a great deal of stress was then placed upon human self-fulfillment, and the positive view of pedophilia at the end of the 1970s can be seen as a by-product. Why, it was then asked, should pedophiles, just as other humans with deviant sexual preferences, not have the right to express their sexual desires? The real culprit was the social system which stood in the way of sexual fulfillment. Children, too, had to suffer under social repression. Marcuse the philosopher was an important source of such ideas.

During the last ten years people have come to perceive sexuality otherwise. It has been a time, as we all know, of worsening world economy, and when this happens the moral climate of the West tends to become conservative. Then, too, ideas about sexuality have been strongly altered by the feminist movement. Women came to realize that the sexual revolution had a predominately male outlook, one which had brought them precious little. Issues such as assault, rape, sexual harassment at work, sexual abuse and incest, where for the most part women and girls were the victims, seemed to be swept under the carpet. Pornography, which could be obtained ever more freely and in greater abundance after the 'revolution', was seen as the great male fantasy, the acting out of which was rape.

Another Enemy

Along with the exposure of these misconceptions came another view of just where the guilt lay. It was no longer just society, capitalism or "the system", as it used to be called, but also the man which stood in the way of true sexual liberation. It wasn't the relationship between individual and state, rather it was the man/woman relationship which was important. Interpersonal relations were increasingly viewed from the perspective of power.

According to this theory, it was not a particular group of men who abused women and girls. The supposed suppression of sexuality was actually the result of the way all men had learned to practice

sex. Self-interest and a collective unconscious humiliation of women were basic (Vennix 1981). Thus, as a result of his sex role, every man was a potential rapist, "a potential committer of incest, a potential child hater, a porno-addict and a latent sadistic homosexual". (Van Naerssen 1986, page 5) These weren't just ideas, they were presented as scientific fact. What the promulgators of this theory have in common with respect to their view of male consciousness was, according to Van Naerssen (1986, 5): "total contempt for every form of empiricism but the uncritical application of such global methodological criteria as might establish they are always right. Their premise that the power positions of men and women are different, that men often abuse their position of advantage, especially in sex and often unpleasantly, is, it seems to me, irrefutable."

A good example of this attack upon male sexuality is the title (but not so much the contents) of a book which appeared at the end of 1985: *Sex with a Man: Is it Possible?* (De Bruijn, 1985). Written by a woman, it was not intended for male homosexual readers but for that majority of women who seek intimacies with men (Is this not in itself a bit contemptuous, too?). But the altered perception of sexuality, especially male sexuality, affected men as well. Perhaps this was an important force behind the so-called "men's movement" which sprang up modelling itself upon the feminist impulse. But feminist ideas have influenced the way in which men think about themselves. The most extreme example I have seen is in Bruinsma (1984, page 114), who wrote about the "existential guilt feelings of being a man."

Pedophilia Condemned

Pedophilia also came to be viewed differently, in part, at least, because it is almost exclusively the male pedophile who is visible. Pedophilia is generally thought of as a male phenomenon. Even more important, pedophile contacts are perceived to involve partners of unequal power positions.

Power, then, is the most important dimension in which relations now seem to be measured. There is great concern over the person of least power. Thus attention is drawn to power *imbalance*, which is equated with *misuse* of power, and that, of course, is seen with especial clarity to characterize pedophile relations. The Melai Commission⁴ which made proposals for changes in the Penal Code relating to morality matters, accepted this reasoning without further comment. The beneficial aspects which might attach to inequality, such as the possibility of identifying with another person, were denied. One of the unfortunate consequences of our contemporary preoccupation with power imbalance is that it tends to give birth to suspicions which blight spontaneous social intercourse between children and adults--and this affects more than just pedophiles (Sandfort 1984).

It is incorrect, of course, to speak about "the" women's movement because there are many divisions within it. Recently there have developed currents of more positive thought about the lust element of sexuality, currents which seek to cherish rather than distrust it (Rubin 1984). But the movement as a whole remains hostile to pedophilia (Schillemans 1983; Pedofilie 1980).

These developments have also influenced people's thinking about the desirability of "decriminalization" in the law. In the early 70s a great majority of rather influential people were in favor of it. Then the question was whether the law might be standing in the way of personal fulfillment; now the matter is approached strictly from the point of view of whether or not our laws give potential "victims" adequate protection from abuse.

Sex is No Longer Fun

We have seen that new spirit of the times expresses itself among other ways in the manner in which sex is viewed. At the end of the '60s it was sometimes difficult to find a judge who would hand down a prison sentence for crimes of incest, according to a telephone conversation I had with a family social worker. The bench was afraid of being charged with moral bias. In the middle of the '80s, however, newspapers came to recognize the news value of rape, incest and such matters. People now show a lively interest in the length of the sentence which the accused receives. Only the negative aspects of sex come into the news. It sometimes appears that the "experts" who are able to come up with the greatest number of "victims" can count on receiving the most attention from the

media.

No more does sex seem to have the promise for us it did at the end of the 1960s. Perhaps that promise was too extravagant. In any case, sex is no longer associated with adventure, pleasurable excitement and ecstasy; rather with anxiety, disturbance, pain and danger. Sexuality in general has become an alarming force. The "discovery" of AIDS has only aggravated the situation.

The change in thinking is also visible in our government. Among other things, it has fostered a program of combatting sexual violence against women and girls to which it was easy to give a kind of automatic, unthinking support. One of the people who didn't was Labor Party congressman Roethof. On one day set aside for the study of moral legislation (1 February 1985), he commented that in this policy sex is viewed as a threat. According to him the State was reverting to its old role of moral dictator--and a feminist one at that. Looking for authority to the women's emancipation movement, the vision of one small section of society is allowed to be our moral determinant. "I can see that if we follow along this path much farther we will find ourselves enforcing through the law the 'behavior standards' of Bishop Gijssen⁵," he added.

Vulnerable Victims?

So sex is now associated more with danger than with adventure. Has this influenced the way people think about themselves and relate to others?

If man is a potential rapist, then there is really only one role for the woman to play: the (potential) victim. That is not necessarily without its pleasures. However serious sexual abuse and its consequences may be, the victim knows exactly where he/she stands: it is a "safe" role. The domain of sex, with all its pitfalls and pains, does not have to be entered. There is no alternative within it which might show the woman how she could come to grips with her sexual life. Thus the above mentioned book by De Bruijn (1985) was an exception: it told women what they might gain from sex and how they could go about gaining it.

This one-sided emphasis upon danger makes sex an ambivalent area for young people as well. Should you really start doing it, when you consider all the terrible things that might happen to you? Sex education texts have come more and more to emphasize protection. Children are perceived as vulnerable. And so the old ideals of the early 70s are being submerged. Then the emphasis was upon fulfillment, exploration and adventure. Anti-authoritarian upbringing, in which freedom for the child was an essential element, was perhaps not often rigorously practiced, but it stood as an ideal nevertheless. In those days people were more involved in the bringing up of their children than now because they thought that through their offspring they could build a new and better society. Sexual education, too, was influenced more by the ideals of freedom (De Bruijn & Fabery de Jonge 1971).

Undeniably, children have the right to protection from sexual abuse. But the question is how can they best be protected? The supposed vulnerability of children can act in their upbringing as a self-fulfilling prophecy. In order to protect children more, they come less in contact with all the problems inherent in life. Thus they tend not to find solutions for themselves, which in turn makes them all the more vulnerable. Block (1984) demonstrated how this operates in an inquiry into of differences between how boys and girls are raised. Because girls are more strongly protected and controlled they are more dependent and less able to take decisive action.

Effective protection would seem to lie in an open sexual upbringing in which children, without being left entirely to their own resources, can come into contact with sex. If we want children to regard sex as something in which they ought to find a great deal of pleasure it cannot always be presented as a threat from the outside world.

Children Themselves Talk About It

As so often happens in matters which concern children, the children themselves are seldom allowed to comment. This book is an exception; the boys tell in it what they think and feel about the friendships they enjoy with men. Within these friendships they have sexual contacts which they find

pleasurable. It is by no means our intent to deny the existence of real sexual abuse, or to minimize it; it is the purpose of this book to show that sexual relations with adults can be also experienced by boys in a different way.

1. The COC was founded during the 1930s and went underground during the Nazi occupation (when it was responsible for saving many homosexuals from the German death camps). The COC emerged after the war to become the most important force in the Dutch gay liberation movement. Except for a brief period during the early 1970s, it has been sympathetic to intergenerational contacts. (See Sandfort 1987 in press.)
2. In Holland a "vertrouwensarts" is a confidential doctor employed by the government to whom a child can go if he wishes to complain about any kind of abuse.
3. A weekly Dutch national newspaper of wide circulation which carries thoughtful articles on international but mainly domestic news. It has a somewhat left, non-religious, humanistic slant.
4. An expert commission composed of psychiatrists, jurists and social workers appointed during the 1970s by the Minister of Justice to make recommendations for reform of those sections of the Penal Code dealing with sexual acts. It's report was delayed for fifteen years and finally appeared in 1983--see discussions in the last section of this book.
5. Bishop Gijssen of Roermond is an extremely conservative Catholic who has become one of the most controversial ecclesiastical figures in The Netherlands. Strongly backed by the Pope, he would seem to have only slight support in the Catholic south of the Netherlands. Three years ago there was an open rebellion against him by the priests of the area.

2. THE FRIENDSHIP AND SEX: WHAT THE BOYS SAID

The Beginning of the Friendship

PEOPLE COME TO KNOW one another in different ways, just as there are different kinds of friendships, and that is also true of the pedophile relationships described in this book.

There is, however, one important difference between friendships among adults and friendships between adults and children. Adults are pretty much free to choose what other adults they wish to have as friends. This is not true of friendships between adults and children. There is really only one socially acceptable form for association between children and adults: the pedagogic relationship (Maasen 1983). Adults, then, are parents or teachers of children; seldom are they simply friends. Except within the pedagogic context, children, just as adults, are expected to associate only with others in their own age bracket. Our society recognizes no form for a pure friendship, free of pedagogic intent, between adult and child. Non-pedagogic friendships, then, are socially unacceptable.

Nevertheless the boys and men described here were able to carry on their friendships. Clearly the disapproving attitude of society influenced the quality of their relationships and the manner in which they proceeded.

But how do children and adults get in contact with each other outside of the pedagogic context? A number of stereotypic notions exist, held even by researchers. Often people cannot imagine what adults would be looking for in associating with children, especially if a sexual element is present. It is thought that adults are only after the satisfaction of their own lusts. Supposedly the only way an adult can make contact with a child is by bribing him with money, candy or gifts (Burgess & Holmstrom 1975; Peters 1976; Weeks 1976). Virkkunen (1975, page 177) wrote that "usually this bribery was carried out so that the offender enticed the victim, by giving candy or money, to his abode or some remote place. In many cases this bribery had been carried on already for a long time before the situation had started to gain sexual color. Often, the offenders gave the victims presents, too, so that they would not mention the matter to their parents."

How did it actually happen in the case of these 25 boys? Some met their older partners through a brother or one of their age-mates who also visited the older partner. Sometimes the introduction came through another pedophile who was a friend of the man or lived in the same home. In some cases the contact was made through the parents. In others the men and boys met on the street or at swimming pools. The boys' stories show that reality is more complex than the stereotypic notions people have about the "child-abuser". It seems, too, that the boys themselves often took some initiative toward establishing the relationships.

It was not explicitly asked who had taken the initiative for the first meeting, but some information did emerge from the interviews. Often the first contact came about more or less accidentally. Subsequently meetings could come about on the initiative of the adult, for example by inviting the boy to drop by at his home. Other boys seem to have sought further contact with the men on their own initiative, in some cases only after a fair amount of difficulty.

The friendships sometimes started with the first meeting. In most cases it took a little longer and really began only after a subsequent encounter, or the friendship developed slowly as its nature changed. In one case there was a period during which the two partners did not see one another for a rather long time.

The boys themselves told about how they came to know their older partners as follows:

René (12): I got to know Robert (42) one real cold Sunday morning when I went to his home to meet a man I'd known for six years, also a pedophile, who'd just got out of prison: When I got there the man wasn't at home but was supposed to be back in a half hour, and Robert said, "Come on inside. You look like you're freezing." So I started coming more and more often, and then one day Robert said, "Wouldn't it be nice to start something together?"

And what did you say then?

Sure, I'll see. If they think it's okay at home, then it would be fine.

Hans (13), too, met Frank (66) through another pedophile:

Wim (also a pedophile - T.S.) who already knew Frank invited him to his home one time. I got to know Frank through Wim.

Can you tell me how it happened?

Well, he asked me if I could make a birdhouse for him and... I don't remember exactly how I was able to start living with him, but that's when the special bond between us began.

Theo and Simon also got to know their older partners through another pedophile; they found their new acquaintances more pleasant than the old.

Theo (13): When I was over visiting Richard (another pedophile-- T.S.) I met Bert (35) and liked him.

And then you started yourself to go to Bert?

No, Richard had told me, "You can visit Bert now and then too, if you want." And then I slept once with Bert and liked it a whole lot, and so I stuck with Bert; it's a lot nicer than with Richard.

Simon (12): I got to know Ed (32) at a community center through Ton.

Who is Ton?

Uh, Ton is also a pedophile that I first used to go to. He was a sort of Dracula--he sucked everyone in, and after he'd once done it he turned you loose a little later.

Did he do that to you?

Yes, he sure did!

How did you get to know Ed?

I went one day with Ton to a community center and there I saw Ed. It was all over with Ton by then so I started coming more and more to Ed at the center. So, it just got better and better, and that's how I got to know him.

Other boys met the older partner through their age-mates, brothers or a sister. The mother of Lex (13) quickly discovered that the so-called school friend Bennie was in reality Richard (31):

I had two friends and they came here a lot: Rutger and Gertje. One time Gertje invited me to go with them. And then Richard explained everything, I mean all about pedophilia. The next time I asked my mother, "Mom, can I go over to Bennie's to eat?" My mother said, "Who's that?" I said, "A school friend." And so I was able to go over and eat. Then during vacation I asked, "May I go to Bennie's to sleep?" But my mother had already caught on. I think Rutger had let it slip out, but that didn't matter. She just started explaining things, because she'd read an article on pedophilia in *Panorama* [Panorama is a weekly national Dutch magazine with many color pictures and somewhat simplistic text. There are usually articles about various aspects of sexuality, which is generally viewed in all its manifestations rather positively. Although obviously written for the less well-educated public, it is not to be compared with the so-called "gutter" journals of England.] or something. So she told me, "Get Richard on the telephone." And I did, over at the Chinese restaurant because our telephone wasn't yet connected. And so I was able to spend the weekend with him.

Was that soon after you got to know him?

It was two weeks later, I think.

Harrie (16): I met Pieter (39) through Gerrit who was in the same class with me. He said, "I'll show you a really beautiful bike." Well, he got on behind me on my bike and we started off toward where Pieter lived. Then Gerrit said, "That's where it is, by the bridge." I got to the bridge but there was no bike. He said, "No, two hundred meters further," and so we drew even closer to Pieter. Suddenly Gerrit said, "It's in front of the door of a man I know." But it wasn't there either, because it was the midday break, and that's how I ended up coming inside here (in Pieter's home - T.S.). So that's how I got to know him. After school was out in the afternoon we returned to Pieter's. We could go get some French fries, he said. Then we started to play poker, and Gerrit suggested we make it strip-poker--you know, every time you lost you had to take off one piece of clothing. After a while I was completely naked. I was embarrassed all to hell. Not Gerrit, though--he'd known Pieter by then a year or two. So that's the way it began.

Jos (13): I met Bas (35) at the swimming pool. My brother already knew him, and so did my sister, who used to go there and play tag. So one day I went with my sister to swim and I saw Bas. And he invited us home and we just said sure. So after I'd come by the pool a few times he said, "Drop by some time." But I didn't know exactly where he lived, so I didn't see him for a while. Then it was winter and we went skating and I saw him, and he said, "Drop by some time." I said, "Where do you live?" And so I started coming here a lot.

Rob (12): Yeah, it's a long story. My brother used to go to Chris (38) and one day they came together to our home. I thought Chris was a good looking guy, a nice guy, with that crazy beard of his. So I went to Chris's a couple of times and liked it. I came back a second time, and a third time, and I kept on coming. Of course there was a big fight between me and my brother, over who got to stay here and who had to go. Because I didn't want my brother around when I was here--I didn't want that at all. I told Chris over and over again: "I don't want him around; I want you all to myself sometimes."

After you saw Chris that first time at your home, did you decide yourself to go to him or did Chris ask you to come visit?

No, I came here absolutely on my own accord.

Two contacts came about because the mothers of the boys were active in the Dutch Society for Sexual Reform NVSH. Jan (11) knew Sander (41) from the age of six:

Can you still remember when you got to know Sander?

Jan (11): On the couch at home. He asked me to sit on his lap, and then I felt him start to rub my back, and that felt so nice, and still does!

Erik (10) met Edward (57) through a course his mother was giving to NVSH members:

They gave part of the course in a youth hostel, I think. Uh, I don't know, but they must have been talking about pedophilia or something. And I was there. And so, of course, were a whole lot of pedophiles, and so was Edward. He was very nice, and he had brought a car race game with him.

After Bart (14) and Albert (41) met at a family gathering they had a great deal of difficulty getting into contact with each other again:

On my birthday my real father told me that Albert had called up to congratulate me. After that he sent one letter to my mother. Of course I had thought a lot about him, but, well, I knew nothing much about him, only his first name. So I got hold of his letter. My mother had let it lie around thinking, yes, well have to call him up sometime. But you know how that goes. So one day I thought, 'I'm not going to put up with this any longer,' and I sneaked the letter out of the desk and got the address and telephone number off it and put it back. Then I bought a stamp and wrote a couple of pages. When I was riding back home I thought, 'This is the first step.' I wanted to have that contact. I wanted it so badly, but from his side I

heard nothing more, and he expected we'd keep in contact, and, well, delays can be dangerous. So I thought, 'Okay, III do itV Then he sent a letter back and telephoned. The first time he came to our home and talked with my parents for an hour and a half, and I was there too. My parents of course wanted to know who I was going to go to stay with.

Kees (15) got to know Max (47) when the latter visited their home as a social worker. Further contacts came about through his younger brother and sister:

It was at our home. My mother brought him back because he did something in the social service. That's where she got to know him. Then my youngest brother and sister visited him and told me about it. Max dropped by again and asked if I could come to his home, too.

Ton (14) met Fred (33) at a school camp:

Yes, about four years ago, when our school went on a camp and Fred was one of the leaders. He did all the organizing for our group. And of course everyone had to tell where he lived. So he said, "Oh, I live right near there," and I said, "Then you'll have to come and visit." And that's how it started. After that I dropped by every day and we'd go to the movies or something.

Gerrit (16) had a great deal of trouble finding Barend (39) after their first meeting:

My brother and I had been swimming in the pond. My brother was nine and was already smoking, and so was I, and then Barend arrived driving a red Citroen 'ugly duckling' and stopped in the parking lot. So I told my brother, "Ask that man for a cigarette, because he's smoking." My brother went up to him and said, "Can you tell me what time it is?" "Five-thirty." "Could you also give me a cigarette?" Barend said, "How old are you?" "I'm fourteen," said my brother. Well, after a lot of wheedling my brother got a cigarette, and I, too, and then we started walking along with him. No... my brother didn't get a cigarette, but I did because I was older. So, we started walking with him and sat down beside the water and started talking. He said he had a boat and asked us if we'd like to go sailing with him some time. So we did go out on his boat once, together with my parents. My father liked Barend a lot, thought he was real sophisticated and so forth. And after that I didn't see Barend for half a year.

How did you come to see him again after half a year?

Well, it was vacation and I had nothing to do, so one day I said to my friend, "Let's get our bikes and take a ride I know about this boat we can go out on." When we finally got to the dock, Barend's boat was there but he wasn't. Then I asked the barkeeper in the cafe that was there if he knew Barend's address. Well he didn't know it, nor his telephone number. So we looked in the telephone book but that was no good. A few days later I went with another friend, also on our bikes, and then we did run into Barend. He'd just started cleaning up his boat, so we pitched in and helped him. Then my friend had to go home, but he got a flat tire on the way. So Barend put the bike in the back of his car and we rode with him to his house. Well, after that I went more and more often to his boat, and a few times after our first meeting he came to my house to pick me up. After that he began dropping by fairly often, sometimes even to eat. So from then on I really started going with him.

John (13) met Marcel (45) on a vacation.

It was at a vacation park. I was there with my parents. Well, it was pretty boring, but then I met Marcel--he was there with a young boyfriend. We ended up hitting it off. Because, at first I thought, what's going on? I don't even know him. The first night I slept over at Marcel's. It was a lot nicer there. I saw how they got along with each other. My brother was also with me. After that we were able to~ sleep with Marcel for the rest of the week. And then everything went so well that Marcel looked us up after we got home.

Finally, Thijs (10) met Joop (26) on the street:

I was going to play football with my friends. I was riding a bike and the chain came off, and then Joop said, "Here, I'll put it on." I could have done that myself, but Joop wanted to do it so I let him. Then he asked, "Would you like to come inside?" So I went in, and after that I played football with him more and more often.

The men and boys met each other in different situations and in many different ways. Often it was the man who, after the first meeting, took the initiative toward the next contact, as in inviting the boy to come and visit him. With a number of boys it is clear that they themselves tried to meet the man again in order to start a relationship. In this sense we can say that the boys did take an initiative in their friendships with the adults. It was not necessarily a sexual initiative, however. To what extent was it sex they wanted? Why did these boys establish friendships with men?

Pedophile friendships

WHY DO BOYS seek contact with adults and why do they keep on going around with them? In some of the interviews with the boys the reasons came out spontaneously, for example in response to the questions, "Who do you get along with well?", "What do you do a lot?" and "What do you enjoy a lot?" In other cases the interviewer broached the subject.

What the boys said in this connection tells us a great deal about the importance of the relationship to them and their motives for going on with it. The boys found sex a pleasurable aspect of their friendship, but it certainly does not seem to have been their most important reason for maintaining it-this is sharp contrast to the assumption of many people that pedophile relationships are exclusively sexual.

The following material will illustrate the range of motives boys can have. A motive given by one boy can also be present in other boys who don't mention it. Above all different motives in varying degrees of importance can be simultaneously present. The sequence in which motives are listed below has no bearing upon their relative importance in the lives of the boys.

Doing things together...

ONE OF THE REASONS the boys maintained their relationship with their adult friends was so they could do things together (Bernard 1975; Brongersma 1975). Some had the same hobbies, others enjoyed playing sports, such as football and swimming. They played games, went to the movies or on vacation together.

Peter (14): Yes, I'm always playing games, especially evenings and mornings. Monopoly, dice, checkers, we play them a lot. Otherwise we'd have to go to bed real early, and we don't want to do that at all. I'm now in junior high technical school, so I have a lot of days off. And then I go right over to him and stay, mostly, to and through the evening.

Is Karel (30) free all the time, too?

Yes, and that's why everything goes so good with us.

Simon (12): Well, Maarten (32) is a good friend of mine. I go to the movies with him a lot; in any case we do a lot of nice things together. Sometimes if I'm alone at home I'll think I'll just call Maarten--maybe he's home and he can come over. Every so often somebody's dropped in when I was calling him, so it wasn't necessary anymore, but he still comes.

Thijs (10): Mostly I go to Joop (26) and play with him. Sometimes a lot of boys and girls come by. Every Saturday with french fries and stuff. And I come every Saturday, too. But I come all the time when nobody else is there. If nobody else is allowed to come, I can still come. That's natural, because I've known him so long.

Martin (12): I think dancing at Frits' (26) is nice. I enjoy that a whole lot.

Jan (11): If I'm bored I often go to Sander (41). Play pinball machines, look at videos, play football. I go skating with him a lot; Sander and I have many hobbies together.

The things which they do with the older partner were apparently easier for the boys to single out and verbalize than deeper motives. The shared activities for a few boys were a kind of play and relaxation. They could also be a way to get attention from the adult. Lex discussed the advantages of a pedophile relationship over the situation at home. At home he had to share parental attention with his brothers. He answered the question about whom he got along well with as follows:

We go out a lot, we also go swimming a lot. We just do everything together. (...) I also often do the cooking here, make macaroni or french fries. Sometimes we go to the movies, or to a nature park. When Richard says, "Tomorrow we'll go to the movies," I'm real glad. I think about it all the time. Or when we go to the amusement park or to Slagharen Stables.

You're pretty lucky, eh?

Yeah, that only happens if you go around with a pedophile, or you're the only child at home, of course.

The boys took great pleasure in the activities they shared with their partners. It is no wonder, then, that trust, loyalty and friendship existed between them. The atmosphere in the older partner's home also attracted the boys. They described it as friendly and relaxed, "different" and fun. This atmosphere was mentioned by some of the boys as the reason why they liked to be with the older partner. They felt at ease at the older partner's home. They were also attracted by the greater freedom they had there to make their own decisions. They were given more responsibility in what they did and allowed to be done. Some of the boys said they felt much freer with the older partner than they did at home:

Willem (13): At home you can't do as much as you can here at Roel's (29). Like smoking- they don't let me smoke at home. Here I can do just about everything.

Harrie (16): At Peter's (39) it is nice and relaxed, a completely different atmosphere than at home. At Peter's you can at least do what you want. You try that at home and you get your mother on your back. Like tuning up your motor scooter. Peter doesn't know what tuning up is. And sometimes when I'm at Peter's we go out and bring back some french fries; you can never do that at home. There are seven of us in the family, so you just can't do that sort of thing.

René (12): Robert (42) likes a lot more things. I've a lot more freedom here than at home.

For some boys a pedophile relationship can be a means of getting free of the restrictive climate at home (Plummer 1981; Straver 1973).

To be able to really talk...

THE BOYS' MOTIVES, of course, were tied to the personality of the older partner. They appraised him in different ways. For many he was someone with whom they could talk everything over. For Paul (14) that was the most important reason why he got along so well with Ruud (27). When Theo and John were asked why they got along so well with their older partners they answered:

Theo (13): Well, he understands kids better, boys bet- er. My mother does too, and my father. But I think he does even more.

John (13): We trust each other completely. We tell each other everything. If one of us has a problem he comes out with it and we talk it over. He says, "I'm not the kind of guy that holds everything in and worries about it; I have to say what's on my mind." So I always tell him my worries too.

Rob (12) likewise said he talked over all of his problems with Chris (39). He went on:

I think it's great that I can always come back here to Chris. If I get mad I can go out and slam the door. But then I can always return five minutes later. Chris forgets bad things quicker than my mother.

Kees (15) said about Max (57):

Well, I've known him for five years. I come by fairly often, on Mondays and Wednesdays. I can really talk with him. Not long ago something happened in my boarding school that got me upset. I ran away. That night around eleven o'clock I talked with Max. I called up the group leader, so they wouldn't think I was just wandering around all night. Max finally persuaded me to go back the next day.

A few other answers to the question of why the boys got on so well with their older partners:

Wouter (12): I feel at home at Gerard's (42). I can hide from my dad. I get a lot of support. And if I'm unhappy he understands why I'm unhappy. He is a wonderful guy, and you can do anything with him if (*Laughs*) you don't go too far. He is considerate of me, and I'm considerate of him.

Ben (10): I think it's wonderful to sleep together. Then I don't have to lie in bed alone. Sometimes I'm a little bit scared to go to sleep if I've seen a movie.

In these answers, which are typical of many others, the older partner emerged as someone with whom the boys could talk freely and with whom they could discuss their problems. He was someone who they felt understood them, whom they trusted and in whom they recognized themselves. Some of the boys got help from their older partners to find solutions to their problems at home and elsewhere.

Learning about things...

THE OLDER PARTNER can also be someone from whom the boys learned things. Rob (12), for example, said that Chris (38) filled him in about sex. His mother never could have told him about that, he said. Chris also explained his parents having sexual relations and the problems they had been experiencing.

Walter (15): Steven (35) is a very fine guy. It's nice to go to Steven's. Just hanging around the neighborhood is not so nice. I come here for good company. Steven talks about important things, something that never happens at home. Get some experience, learn to get along with people, that's what's important to me. When you really like one another sex is very nice.

Gerrit (16): When I'm with Barend (39) I very often get the chance to develop myself. Like with drawing-I get a lot of pleasure out of that. Barend helps me when I've made a sketch. He tells me what isn't right in it. (...) I think it's really wonderful to come to Barend. He thinks somewhat along the same lines as me. I've learned a whole lot from him, but it's not like, "You must do this, you can't do that." He's explained a great deal about how society works, and if I don't agree with some point of his I can just come out and say so. So he hasn't influenced me, but he has helped me to start thinking along these lines. When you realize there are two sides to something then you have to start thinking about it. Eventually you will figure out what's right and what's wrong.

Erik (10): Edward (57) is very nice and he has good ideas. He also helps me a lot with these ideas.

Attention...

WHAT THE DIFFERENT aspects thus far examined all have in common is that they are ways in which attention is shown. Not every boy is able to make that distinction and verbalize it. Attention from the older partner emerges as an important motive for the boys to maintain their relationships. That can also be seen in the Self-examination procedure when the behavior of the older toward the younger partner is examined. *Giving attention* was what, according to the boys, most typified the older partner's behavior.

The attention to the boys was often physically expressed. Peter (14), for example, said he liked it that Karel (30) cuddled with him so much. This is especially important because in our culture boys

in the age bracket of these 25 youngsters are usually not cuddled by their parents. Rossman (1976) said in this connection that it is understandable that boys, then, seek out others for attention and affection. The need for affection and attention has been cited by a number of writers as a motive for children to seek pedosexual contacts (Bender & Blau 1937; Brand & Tisza 1977; Burton 1968; Ingram 1979; Weeks 1976). This motive has been linked by them to a problematic family background and emotional neglect. It is questionable whether the neglect discovered by clinical and juridical investigations can be generalized to all pedosexual contacts (O'Carroll 1980). In so far as it does not concern single sexual contacts but rather children in pedophile relationships, it would seem that this supposition, on the basis of the work of Landis (1956) and Virkkunen (1973), is in part true.

In the present investigation, we did not explicitly ask about the home environment. Nor was the group chosen to be representative. Still, there is more to be said about this matter. Most of the boys felt that their home situation was good. But along with the boys who had good relationships with their parents there were also boys who had overall negative feelings about their homes.

The parents of Rob (12) had been quarrelling a great deal and had just decided at the time of the investigation to seek divorce. Rob reproached his father for being irresponsible and for never having cared for him and his brother:

Probably they're going to get divorced; well, it's up to them, it's their business. It doesn't bother me. I just want my father out, but my mother will take care of that. Okay, I know he can't get along in society, but he's had time--18 years--and I think that should be enough. In 18 years he's refused to learn Dutch. He could do it all right, but he won't. So, okay, you might say he's never been a father to me. Once he asked me, "How late do you go to bed?" and I answered, "You know real good when I'm supposed to go to bed." The next time I'm looking at TV and then I start off to bed and he says, "Stay here and watch the film." I can't really dislike him a whole lot, but I do a little.

René (12) also disliked his father:

That dislike is just getting bigger. He always says, "If you don't do that, you know what you're going to get." I think that's because he's getting busier and busier. And he snaps at us if he's got nothing else to do. He says really hateful things. Sometimes then I think about running away.

Do you say that sometimes you want to run away?

No, then I'd get sent to my room for a month. Maybe it can be arranged so I go live with another family. If necessary without Robert (42), but it's getting unbearable at home.

Do you expect it would be better if you went to stay with another family?

Yes, it would be a little better. There can't be any families worse than ours.

Kees (15): I don't like my mother, because every day I have a run-in with her. Since my father's death she's had a boyfriend, and I dislike him, too. But now that I'm in a boarding school it's a little better, partly because I don't see her every day. But since she worked to get me into boarding school she tries to boss me around, and I won't put up with that. The fights got so bad that my mother's boyfriend hit me on the head with a breadboard. My mother did nothing to stop it, only said, "You had it coming." I went with a bloody head to the telephone to call up my guardian, and he took me to the doctor. At the hospital I had to have seven stitches in my head. The next day I went myself to the police station and lodged a complaint against that man.

The majority of the boys, however, had pleasant relations with their parents. Their homes were positive factors in their experiential worlds. That emerged, among other places, in the "value areas" formulated by the boys in their interviews. Many of the boys named their fathers and mothers as people with whom they could get along well with: "My parents who are very nice and have a lot of

nice ideas;" "Parents, because you can always tell them your problems;" "My mother when she is in a good mood;" "My foster father who I can really talk to;" or "My family when everyone's in a good mood".

In an earlier research project (Sandfort 1980) it was discovered that a pedophile relationship can have a beneficial influence on a formerly negative appreciation of the home environment. In any case it is incorrect to suppose that all children who enter into pedophile relationships are from problem families. Likewise, when children find the affectionate elements in the friendship are important, it does not necessarily indicate affective neglect and problems with the parents.

From the statements of the boys one can conclude that the pedophile relationship sometimes serves a number of material and mental needs which are not fully, or only intermittently, fulfilled by the boys' families without the boys actually feeling that they do not like their homes. In such relationships the dependence of the younger partner is greater. As a result a strong interpersonal bond can develop between the two.

Sometimes this is used as a criticism of pedophile relationships. It is assumed that children ought to be able to find within the family and from their own mothers and fathers everything that they need. Quite aside from whether such a situation is desirable or not, one has to recognize that divorced parents and unwed mothers, too, have children. Other parents appear not to be able, or willing, to satisfy this requirement. It can be expected that as the bonds of the nuclear family are weakened, children will be quicker to form emotional ties with other adults. For such children a pedophile relationship can be a welcome supplement.

We were unable to discern significant negative factors in the home environments of a number of the boys, and where this was true a higher percentage of the parents were aware of the sexual aspect of their son's relationship, which thus became more integrated into the boy's home life. For these children the pedophile relationship apparently did not serve such an important function; it rather had a kind of "surplus" significance. The younger partner came into contact with things which he didn't at home and which made the friendship valuable for him. The employment level of the men who were interviewed was on the whole higher than that of the boy's parents. For those children, then, the relationship offered an opportunity to step out of the bounds of their own social class.

Friendship

ATTRACTION, FRIENDSHIP and love, finally, made up another group of motives toward maintaining the relationships. In almost every interview there were indications that the boys personally felt attracted to their older friends. Friendship was repeatedly mentioned; it also arose in the formulation of certain value areas, such as, "My friendship with Fred," "Frank, with whom I have a special tie." A few boys used the word "love" to describe their feelings for the older partner. Bart (14) said:

My contact with Albert (46), thus my relationship that I find extremely important. We send each other letters, cards, packages and so on. I think that if you go to bed with someone, if you love someone, then you naturally do things together. I can't understand how boys can just see someone and jump into bed with him and then go away. I come for the pleasure of his company, too. If somehow I got in an accident and got castrated, to give a crazy example, I'd still come because it's so nice to be with him. I feel just wonderful with Albert: here is someone who really cares about me; he knows me and I know him; we have no secrets from each other. I really wouldn't want to be without it.

Feelings of attraction and intimacy were also mentioned by the boys when they talked about the pleasurable sides of the sexual contact they had with the older partner. Although most of the boys felt emotionally attracted to their older partners, and although they all had sex with them, it wasn't so much a matter of feeling physical attraction. Sexual attraction, in the sense that the older partner was for them an object of lust feelings, appears not to have been the basis upon which they maintained the sexual contact. This is in conformity with the heterosexual orientation which most of

the boys at some point in the interview revealed.

Status, prestige, material motives...

THIS SURVEY OF motives makes it clear that a pedophile relationship is not simply a matter of sex. In their relationships with their older partners the boys got affection, love, attention, friendship, freedom and support. They shared all sorts of activities, such as playing games or going to the movies. A number of the boys testified to the fact that they learned a great deal from their older friends. The motives of the boys, in fact, seem very much like those which Foa and Foa (1974) listed for all human beings who seek personal relations with each other: love, affection, (mutual) performing of services, exchange of information. Two motives in the classification of Foa and Foa did not come up in what the boys told: materialistic advantage, and status and prestige. The fact that these motives were not mentioned does not necessarily mean they were completely absent. In the first place, the study was not constructed systematically to lay bare the boys' motives. In the second place, not every motive which influences one's behavior is conscious or can be articulated by one.

Material motivation is often, in the literature, attributed to children who "allow" adults to have sex with them. According to Weeks (1976), sex is performed in exchange for money or other goods. Rasmussen (1937, cited by Burton 1968), also said that many children are enticed by money, candy or little gifts. While this sort of thing undoubtedly occurs in some cases, the question arises as to how often it does in many other pedosexual contacts. Rossman (1976) looks at this material motive from another angle. He says that boys of 12 to 16 may well claim they only do it for gifts or money, but that they might well be kidding themselves and others--into thinking they aren't really after affection and enjoyment of sex.

Likewise, one hears nothing about status and prestige from the boys. A number of authors see this as an important reason for children to have pedophile relationships. Bender & Blau (1937) suggested that the children they studied had an abnormal interest in and need for adult attention. According to them, the child gets a certain satisfaction from taking part in the adult world. Possibly, too, it gives him a feeling of importance. Lafon (cited by Burton 1968) thinks that the contact makes it possible for the child to assume an adult personality and take part in adult activities. And Finch (1973) adds that when a child discovers that sex with adults gives him a new kind of status and a sense of being loved, he will happily respond to contact opportunities or even initiate them himself.

The motives listed by Foa & Foa (1974) were applied to relations between adults, but they appear again with the boys in this investigation. The possibility cannot be dismissed that motives for maintaining a relationship change during the course of personal development. That appears, for example, in some research carried out by La Gaipa (1980) wherein children had to say what they thought was important in the ideal friendship or association. For children up to the age of 12, being thought nice, doing things together, sincerity, being helped, admired and accepted scored very high. As the child grew older there was a shift from egocentric to non-egocentric reasons for carrying on a friendship, and from concrete to abstract ways of expressing it.

Thus a 9-year-old described to them the ideal friend: "Someone to play with and have fun with, someone who likes you and you can share things with. No fighting or rough games. And respect for each other." A 13-year-old said, "They must like you and be nice to you, tell you their problems and play games with you. Someone you can really talk to and be with all the time. If you don't have good friends life is boring." 15- and 16-year-olds have a more realistic view of friendship: "Good friends are essential, because you have to have someone who knows you better than you do yourself. When you need a friend he doesn't have to be always at your beck and call, because that isn't always possible." (page 37)

The Importance of the Relationship

THE MANY REASONS the boys had for maintaining their pedophile relations suggest that the older partner and their mutual friendships were of great importance to the boys. But was that really

true of all the relationships? The data assembled through the Self Confrontation method shed some light on this question. The older partner was, for all of the boys, one person for whom they had many positive and few negative feelings. For each of them there were people in their surroundings for whom they had less pleasant and more unpleasant feelings, people with whom they could not get along with as well or whom they disliked. About half of the boys judged their older partners to be the most pleasant person they knew; with eleven boys, however, their parents were the most important.

As well as the qualitative importance of the older partners, one can also examine how the boys evaluated them relative to others they knew. For ten boys their older friends were the most important persons in their surroundings. The remaining fifteen boys found others more important: in some cases friends of their own age but more often their mothers and fathers. The boys who rated their parents emotionally more important saw their older partners relatively infrequently while at the same time they had a daily (and positively experienced) relationship with their parents. Even for these boys, however, the older partner was far from being unimportant.

Five of the boys were very much involved with the older partner, and at the same time the older partner was extremely important in determining their boys' sense of well-being (a high G-Index; see appendix 1). Thus the older partner and the pedophile relationship formed an important structural element in their experiential world. If the relationship for one reason or another were to be terminated it would have rather far-reaching negative consequences for these five boys (Sandfort 1980). With the other twenty boys the relationship with the man was of distinctly less importance. What the older partner meant to the younger in their friendship was very different.

Sex in Pedophile Relationships

SEX IS NOT THE most important reason boys have pedophile relationships with men, but it may very well be the chief reason problems over them arise. The tendency of sex to bedazzle is sometimes so great that it is difficult to see that there are many other aspects of such friendships. Some of the older partners in this investigation said that for them sex was not the most important element in their relationships. They pointed to the importance to them of simply being with children. Of course that can be dismissed as simple self-justification or a sales pitch. But the same theme emerged from the interviews with the boys: pedophile relationships have many other facets than just sex.

Yet in this book we will concentrate upon this sexual aspect. It is not our purpose to be voyeuristic or provide sensual thrills for our readers. Divergent and sometimes strange ideas persist about sexual relations between children and adults. The statements of these 25 boys give a somewhat subtler and more realistic picture of pedophile relations. But, as we have many times emphasized, what these boys said is not to be construed as typifying all pedophile contacts.

The First Sexual Contact

THE FRIENDSHIPS HERE studied were sexually expressed, although this is not always the case with pedophile relationships in general. Sex can be introduced at different times in a relationship. What these men and boys separately told the interviewer are in almost complete agreement. In about one-third of the cases sex took place at the first meeting. In nine cases that happened in a subsequent meeting shortly after the first; in the remaining eight sex first took place after a month or more, when the boys had been coming more often or their contacts with the older partner became more frequent.

The way the boys described the first sexual contact might suggest that sex was abruptly introduced into the relationship. That is not necessarily the case, neither as the boys experienced it nor in reality. Pedophiles say that first there is a kind of physical contact which could not really be called "sexual" yet (Sandfort 1979). Sex then can simply come about by taking one step further. Also adults often draw a firm line between non-sexual and sexual behavior. Such a boundary is often not recognized by, especially younger, children. For them sex is not a separate behavioral domain.

Sometimes it is said that pedophile relationships are characterized by the gradual introduction of sex. While Bernard (1975) spoke about a gradual development of intimacy, Schuijer (1978), for example, referred to "the physical intimacy which flowed from out of the relationship". This concept hardly holds for the eight boys studied here who had sex with their older partners the first time they met. On the basis of this investigation one cannot say how often this occurs in other pedophile relationships; there can be little doubt, however, that similar cases do exist. Perhaps this concept of the gradual introduction of sex has been nourished by the desire to make pedophilia understandable and acceptable. Sex is generally approved of only in an affectionate relationship; thus it shouldn't take place the moment two people meet. It might, however, be better not to keep insisting upon this idea because however nicely it paints the pedophile relationship, it gives a distorted picture of its sexual aspect.

As for who took the initiative toward the first sexual contact, the men and boys didn't always give the same answer. Now, initiative is not always a one-sided affair; often a sexual contact comes about by "exchanging signals back and forth". In almost half of the cases, according to the boys, it was the man who took the initiative. Five of the boys no longer remembered. In four cases the boys said they themselves took the initiative; according to two boys the initiative was mutual, and three said it came from a third party. The following illustrate how these contacts came about:

The first contact between Chris (38) and Rob (12) occurred when Chris took photos of Rob. Chris said he thought Rob was nice looking and asked him if he could make "half-naked" shots of him, at which point Rob spontaneously got undressed. After that they started to make love: Chris began caressing Rob who, according to Rob himself, responded sexually. Rob was an "explosively sexual" boy, according to Chris. Rob's version:

Can you recall when you and Chris had sex for the first time?

Uh, a week or so after I met him. Then we had contact with each other--I mean sexual--uh, well not really, because I didn't know anything about it then, so...

What do you mean?

I'd had no education about it or anything.

Oh, you knew nothing about sex?

Nothing at all at first. Then I slowly got the hang of it, got to know how my own feelings worked, and I liked that a lot.

Can you still remember what happened that first time?

Yeah, I think so. We'd been making photos. Now, let's see, I think I went and lay down on the bed--that's how it began, I think. And then he started to explain things to me.

What things?

Uh, how can I say it... how you really got to jerk off and other things like that.

And those were things you didn't know about?

No, not yet.

And then you immediately got into a sort of demonstration?

You could put it that way.

Can you say now who started the sex?

Uh, I think he did, because I knew nothing about it. So it was him. Not because I didn't want it but just because I didn't have the faintest idea about any of that.

So you'd never had any sex with anybody else?

No.

Not even with yourself?

No. Okay, every so often I saw I had a hard-on, but I didn't know anything more than that. That was all I knew.

In the case of Nico (32) and André (14), both reported that it was André who took the initiative. According to Nico it happened very quickly. André grabbed Nico's crotch and pressed matters toward a sexual contact. André said:

It happened the first evening. Nico attacked me. Well, he didn't really attack me (Laughing). He just came and sat down beside me, and, to tell the truth, I attacked him. So I kept on coming back, because I found it so nice here.

Can you say who took the initiative, who made the first move?

Well, it was really me. Yes.

You started it off?

Yes.

You attacked him?

Yes, you could say that. But Nico wanted it, too.

The initiative toward the first sexual contact between Richard (31) and Lex (13) came from a third party. Lex was brought by some of his age-mates to Richard who immediately started telling him about pedophilia. Lex was asked if he wanted to participate. Within an hour they had sex which, according to Richard, was "really wonderful, abandoned". The other boys, according to Richard, helped Lex break through his inhibitions. Lex answered the question about how it happened the first time:

Yeah, I don't know-it's quite a while ago. I didn't expect he'd do it, although I'd already heard all about him.

So first he explained everything to you, and then you immediately made love?

No, first he showed some films. Sex films.

What did you think of that?

Well... (Hesitating.) The first time I saw them. Just... they seemed like normal films.

You said you'd known each other only one hour. Who really started the sex?

Um... it was Gertje.

You and Richard weren't alone?

There were four of us looking at the film, and then they started pulling my pants down--Gertje and Rutger. So that's how it happened.

And Richard also had sex with you then?

Uh, they had my pants all the way down--and I hadn't really resisted at all--and so Richard said, "Now, will you let me...?"

And did you like it?

Yeah, I got used to it.

Of course as time went on you got used to it, but that first evening, what did you think about it then?

Well, he'd explained everything to me, how it didn't have to be dirty. So that first time I enjoyed it, too.

Roel (29) and Willem (13) disagreed about who had made the first move. According to Roel, Willem was already experienced, was seeking an older friend and had already tried to have contact with another pedophile. When he visited Roel, Willem let him know he wanted sex, started to make out with him and pulled him into the bedroom. Willem had another version, however:

Can you tell me how it went the first time, or do you find it difficult to talk about it?

No, absolutely not. It was nice and short. Yes, it was wonderful. Just great.

Can you still remember who started it that first time?

Roel.

Do you recall how he went about it?

No, I don't. I'm not so good at remembering things.

Jan (11) could not remember his first sexual contact with Sander (41):

Who started it, then?

Uh, I don't remember. No, I don't remember who was the first. I've no idea.

Of course it's a long time ago, isn't it? I can understand that you no longer recall who it was.

No, in the meantime I've had so much fun. I just don't know any more.

Sander said that it was really he who had taken the initiative, and that he had been very careful how he began: "You get a response to something you do, and that determines whether you go any further or not. The whole process lasted three months."

One regularly comes across in the literature the assertion that children themselves often take the initiative toward first sex (Bender & Blau 1937; Brongersma 1975; Rossman 1976; Lievens 1978; De Groot 1979). Pedophiles make the same claim, too. What these 25 boys said does not really support this thesis. Often it was the adult who introduced sex into the relationship. The boys who did take the initiative toward first sex appear to have already had sexual experience with other pedophiles, have had an example to follow in a pedophile contact of another boy they knew, or had known about the pedophile feelings of the older partner. In other words these boys in one way or another were informed about pedosexuality; the sexual initiative they showed didn't come out of thin air. Although it is important to realize that in these latter situations young people can take the sexual initiative, it is still unclear whether boys with no experience would do so. In this connection, a number of the boys themselves pointed to their own inexperience and lack of sexual knowledge when they said that "of course" the older partner had taken the initiative the first time.

Whenever older people say that youngsters take the initiative toward first sexual contact it must be kept in mind that it is the older person who is interpreting the behavior of the younger. While an adult has a clear idea of what constitutes sexual contact, that is certainly less true of an inexperienced young person. The child may not even know what he is looking for, and if he does know, curiosity may be an important factor. Provocative actions a child might make do not have to have conscious sexual intent; they may only be sexual in the mind of the adult who so interprets them (Van Meurs 1963).

The Initiative Toward Subsequent Contacts

THE INITIATIVE TO THE first sexual contact was often taken by the adult partner. What happened at the sexual episodes that followed? From what both partners said, it seems that the majority of the boys were more active in bringing about subsequent contacts. Initiative usually came from both sides, or alternated, rather than always from one partner alone. Sometimes a sort of pattern emerged from which it was not altogether clear who was taking the initiative. There were also a few relationships where the initiative was definitely and habitually taken by the older partner.

Bert (35) said the initiative was mutual. It followed a kind of set routine. "One day he will start it, the next time I will. Real sex is built into a broader physical contact." According to his partner, Theo (13):

When you have sex with each other, what happens?

Well, like it always does.

And who starts it?

Bert. Or me.

Can you say any more about it?

Well... I think it's nice, so I just go and make love with him.

Pieter (39) said that the initiative changed between them. Harrie (16) sometimes came to him all wound up and would tell him, "Let's jerk off; 'cause anything else is boring." According to Pieter, Harrie then thoroughly enjoyed having sex. According to Harrie himself:

When you have sex with each other, who starts it off?

Pieter. Yes, he always sort of begins to warm me up a little, and then I'll say, "Come on, let's go lie down; it's no good standing up," and then we lie down.

And then it just goes on from there?

Yeah, and so everything just progresses further and further.

While Gerard (42) said that the initiative changed, Wouter (12) answered the question about who began:

Mostly I do.

You start it?

I decide if we're going to have sex or not.

You decide that?

Yes. And every day I come here it happens. I don't keep Gerard waiting around.

Is that a kind of rule, that it happens every time?

No. I like it. When I feel like it we just start. Then we first take a bath and then go to bed. Sometimes we do that the other way round.

But if you have to say who starts it, on average, who would that be?

Well, sometimes one of us, sometimes the other. Yes, and sometimes he wants it and I don't, so then we don't do it. Mostly I'm the first one to begin.

Edward (57) said that he always started it with the boy. He would see if Erik (10) was in the mood. Sometimes Erik was aroused and wanted it. According to Edward, Erik was not so fond of sex; he was not a cuddly boy. To the question about how it went when they had sex, Erik answered:

Well, uh, that depends on the time we have. If we've only a little time we talk a little bit at first, but at the same time we start making sure he can come. But, for example, when we have a long time, then we begin by fooling around and stuff, caressing, and at the last minute he comes. I think that's the best of all-and so does he.

Can you say who begins, when you make love?

Well, Edward suggests it, and then we usually talk over what we are going to do. Usually we go lie down in bed, and then he starts stroking me and that's how it begins.

It goes without saying that the more often sex takes place the better the boy knows what to expect.

He also learns how he can take the initiative toward sexual contact, and whenever he does he knows how to go about it.

These findings are rather different from those to be found in the clinical literature (Sandfort 1979). According to Peters (1976) it is not the child who initiates the contact. Previous research has been based on the premise that boys never take the initiative. While boys' reactions to sexual approaches have been investigated, it has never been asked whether they themselves had played a role in bringing about the sexual experiences (Landis 1956). The picture emerging from our present research, however, agrees well with what pedophiles themselves have had to say on this matter (Sandfort 1979).

Kinds of Sexual Contacts

SEXUAL CONTACT is here used in a broader sense than simply "genital intercourse" or "fucking". But what do men and boys do with each other sexually in a pedophile relationship? The men in this study were asked what sexual acts they practiced within their relationships and what they thought might happen in the future. Below are described sexual acts which take place regularly as well as those which have occurred only once. In any particular relationship, of course, a number of different acts can take place.

One kind of sexual contact which occurred in every relationship was *masturbation*. It happened in different ways. In every case the man masturbated the boy, and in most cases the boy also masturbated the man. Sometimes, too, the men and the boys masturbated themselves in each other's company. Also sometimes each "warmed the other up" but then took care of his own climax.

Oral-genital contact (fellatio, "sucking off" or giving or getting a "blow-job") took place in almost all of the relationships: in each case the man sucked the penis of the boy; in 14 of these cases the boy reciprocated.

Oral-anal contact (anilingus (Borneman 1970) or "ass licking") happened in 7 of the relationships. The man always did this to the boy; the reverse never took place.

Anal Contact (anal coitus, *pedicatio* (Borneman 1970) or "ass fucking") took place in 6 relationships. In five of these cases it was the boy who penetrated the man; in two of them the man also penetrated the boy. In none did this happen very often. When it did, according to the men involved, it was as a kind of experiment. One of the men said he would rather not do it and it only occurred on an experimental basis when the boy wanted it. Such "experimentation" sometimes turned out to be unpleasant. Marcel (45) said that he had anal contact one time with Johan (13), who found it painful. Johan, however, had not admitted it had hurt and said that he wanted to do something nice for Marcel.

The different sexual acts were apparently experienced by the boys on the basis of how intimate or advanced they were. Thus it was more advanced to masturbate a man than to be masturbated by him. Ejaculating in the mouth of the man was apparently less intimate than having the man ejaculate in the boy's mouth. Penetrating the man anally was less advanced than being penetrated by the man.

With this order in mind, a clear pattern emerges when we look at the various sexual acts practiced within these 25 relationships and the frequency with which they occurred.

In the first place, the sexual acts which boys considered more intimate and took place in relatively few relationships.

Secondly, it seemed that wherever there was a lack of reciprocity in the sexual contact, the man always did more for the boy than what he himself really wanted. Whenever the boy masturbated the man to orgasm, the man always did the same to the boy. In oral-genital contacts, the man always took into his mouth the penis of the boy, although the other way around occurred less often. Of the 21 boys who had oral-genital experiences, 13 of them ejaculated in the mouths of the men. None of the men ejaculated in the mouths of the boys; some even said they didn't want to.

This pattern indicates that in these relationships the boys themselves determined how far they wished to go in their sexual contacts and that the men left the boys free to do so. It also suggests a certain restraint on the part of the men in confronting the boys with their own adult sexuality.

This tendency of pedophiles to leave the boy free to make such determinations has been suggested in other investigations (Straver 1976; Sandfort 1979). Therein we can read that it is the boy who decides what is going to happen in a sexual contact, that his wishes are important and respected and it is he who decides how far he and his partner are going to go. When Brongersma (1975) writes that an important element of the man's sexual enjoyment is the lust which the boy experiences, this restraint on the part of the older partner is more understandable.

Sometimes in the literature pedosexual contacts are described as innocent games. Thus Zeegers (1968) compared pedosexual contacts with "the fooling around of immature adolescents". Such an image may perform a kind of tranquilizing function in sex-education literature, but at the same time it has a condescending, minimizing tone (Kuijer 1980). Writing on child sexuality Wolters (in Dik 1980) refers to the "half-hard little willie" which the boy fumbles around in the girl's little slit. And so, in general, pedosexual contacts are neatly segregated from contacts between adults, and are considered much less valuable. But is that really true? Masturbation and fellatio, the sex acts which occurred most frequently in these 25 relationships, are also the most common homosexual sex acts among men (Bell & Weinberg 1979). It is quite possible that such low evaluation of the under-age male's sexual experiences results from the common idea that heterosexual coitus is "real sex" while other acts are somehow inferior or to be disparaged.

The sexual acts in the relationships studied here were on the whole physically more intimate and more advanced than those described in the literature on pedosexual contacts (for example, Landis 1956; Jaffe, Dynneson & Ten Bensel 1975; Peters 1976. For a summary, see Pieterse 1978 and Sandfort 1979). But all of these other investigations were of pedosexual contacts in general and not just those which occurred within pedophile relationships. What was mostly described was exhibitionism and caressing or fondling of the boys. The acts in which these 25 boys participated were more intimate partly because they all occurred within pedophile relationships and partly because the study group was assembled only from the boys who were currently having sex (in the true sense of the word) with the older partner. Undoubtedly there are also pedophile relationships in which physical contact is limited to caressing and cuddling.

Active and Passive

IT APPEARS THAT at least some of the boys were active in the sexual contact; the older partners were all questioned about the extent of the boys' active participation. According to the men, more than half of the boys participated actively. Six men said the boys were mostly passive, and five said they were both active and passive.

According to one of the men, his younger partner's passivity was due to the boy's age (10 years): the youngster's feelings were still very much directed upon himself. Another man said the sexual contact was "a one-way street"; again he cited the young age of the younger partner and the fact that the boy was not yet genitally mature. Sex for these boys, then, was not yet so very interesting. Two other men linked the passivity of their younger partners to the boys' heterosexual orientation, and one of them said he could thus well understand why the activity so often came from only one side. In other relationships, however, where the boys were likewise unaware of real homosexual longings and were predominantly heterosexual, this seemed to be no hinderance to their actively participating in the sexual contact.

A boy might participate actively in a sexual contact mostly to arouse himself, or he might do it to arouse his older partner. From what a few of the boys said, their active behavior towards the older partner was their side of a sort of exchange: if you do something nice for me, I'll do something nice for you. Thus the chief aim was not to arouse themselves. Perhaps one has to learn that arousing a partner sexually can be sexually arousing in itself (Sandfort 1979). In this connection it would have

been interesting to know the masturbation fantasies of the boys-especially whether the older partner, or adults in general, played a roll in them. In any case, it appeared from what the boys said that they didn't always behave passively in the pedosexual contacts.

Pleasure in sex

BOTH THE MEN and the boys were asked whether the boys had orgasms. The men were questioned about how the boys acted during orgasm and what they thought the boys wanted out of the sexual contact. As part of the self-investigation procedure the boys were questioned about the feelings they experienced in connection with the sexual contact, and what for them were its pleasurable and the unpleasurable sides.

According to their older friends, most of the boys were seeking more than one thing in their sexual contacts: several motives operated simultaneously and were of greater or lesser importance.

Often the *pleasure* of sex itself was mentioned. The older partners put it in different ways. Some of them said that the boy was only interested in the sex and was simply after its enjoyment. Others mentioned "coming" or "the desire to have an orgasm". Still others said that the boy was "naturally horny", found sex wonderful and was looking for ways to get aroused. One man, in this connection, said the sexual contact provided the boy with possibilities to *experiment*. Another said his younger partner was oriented toward girls but that the boy didn't yet dare try anything; the sexual contact acted as a kind of training school for him, and the older partner was getting the boy ready for later on. A few men also said that the *excitement*, the *sensation* and *adventure* surrounding the sexual contact all played their roles. Possibly sexual *gratification* was a motive in all of the boys, although we cannot be sure because the men were not systematically asked about this.

Five men, however, said that they thought their young friends were not simply seeking sex but wanted other things which were more important to them. Eight men put the emphasis on the physical rather than the sexual aspect; they thought the boys were seeking pleasure more in general body contact: caressing, physical cuddling, being held, treated tenderly and so forth.

After the physical and sexual pleasures, some of the men drew attention to the *psychological* aspects of the sexual contact. Eight of the boys, according to their older friends, were also seeking in their sex security, warmth and positive attention. One of the men said that the sex allowed the boy to appreciate his own worth. Three others said the boy experienced a kind of recognition, an affirmation of his sense of self.

The men also mentioned relational motives. Two of the older partners said the boys liked to demonstrate through sex their attachment to them. Another said the boy used sex to exercise his power over him, and used it to grant him favors. Three men said the boys enjoyed the sex because of the friendship or love they experienced through it.

The boys sought the sex for more reasons than simply to satisfy their own appetites. Two of the men thought the boys also enjoyed doing it to please their older partners, to give them *pleasure*; one of the men said his boy was "socially motivated." Another said he thought that in his particular situation the most important thing for the younger partner was that the boy was doing him a favor; he questioned how much pleasure the boy himself felt during their sex. The boy never started the sex himself and, according to the man, he got little out of it. The man said the boy was not yet sexually mature and attained no climax during the contact.

The motives the men ascribed to the boys for participating in the sexual contacts agree in general with what pedophiles said in a previous investigation (Sandfort 1979). These different motives can operate simultaneously. Sometimes one can be more important than any of the others. They are, however, certainly not restricted to pedophile contacts but can be found in other kinds of contacts as well (Frenken 1976, page 26).

When the men were asked to what extent the boys experienced *orgasm* in the sexual contact, they answered in several different ways.

There were boys who had both orgasms and obvious ejaculations. All of these boys were older than twelve-and-a-half years.

There was another group of six boys all of whom had orgasms but no ejaculations during the sexual contacts. According to the older partners a "a clear liquid" or a "slippery, watery substance" came out of the boys' penises. Probably these boys, who were all around 13 years old, were in a phase of biological transition to sexual maturity.

Finally there were five boys, on average slightly younger than the former group, who had neither an ejaculation nor anything resembling it. They did, however, achieve sexual climax, according to their older partners. A number of boys who had become sexually mature during the relationship also seem to have experienced the same thing.

Attaining orgasm and having an ejaculation are not necessarily the same thing. One of the men, talking about the "dry orgasms" of his younger partner, said that at those moments the boy was far, far away, "experiencing eternity." The boy then was completely out of contact, and time for him slowed up. Some of the boys told their older partners that they were coming or that their penis "itched." Most of the men said that they could clearly see in the body of the boy that he was having an orgasm. His body then looked as though it was under tension; the older partner often felt it jerk and tremble. One of the men described a certain spasming and tensing of the features of the boy. Another told how the boy strained and stretched his legs and toes. A boy's sighing and panting were taken as indicative of his orgasm. According to most of the men there was also a clear termination to the climax. The boy indicated that he didn't want to do it any longer or pushed the head of the man away. Another boy couldn't stand it if the man continued to touch his penis after orgasm. One of the men said it was as though "a bomb had collapsed into itself" and the boy's penis immediately went soft. Another of the older partners described the relaxation which the boy experienced right after his climax. Some of the men said boys in this third group were able to achieve multiple orgasms, one right after the other.

The description of these "dry orgasms" by the older partners closely resembles that of the other boys who were able to ejaculate. One of the men even said that it was just as though the boy had really had an emission. Kinsey (1948, page 177) also noted orgasm in immature boys. The phenomenon he described reappears in the statements of these adult partners.

There was a fourth group of boys who had neither orgasm nor ejaculation during the sexual contact. Three of them were between 10 and 13 years of age and were not yet sexually mature. The fourth boy, fifteen-and-a-half, was definitely mature but, according to his older friend, suffered from "impotence" during their sexual contacts; in other sexual situations he had had ejaculations.

There appears to have been a connection between sexual maturity and the ability to have ejaculations on the one hand and the involvement of the boy in the sexual contact on the other. Although not true in all cases, the boys who could have a sexual emission tended to be more active in the sexual contact (see also Bernard 1975). The experiencing of sexual relations is, of course, more than just having an ejaculation. Still it seems that both the interest and the participation of the boy in the sex was increased when he could find in it greater, and perhaps more concrete, satisfaction.

Experiencing Sexuality

THE WAY IN WHICH the boys experienced their sexual contacts with their older partners was investigated by means of the Self Confrontation Method and the extent of both positive and negative feelings associated with each of the so-called value areas determined. In order to obtain the broadest possible picture of the boys' emotional responses, they were not asked which feelings were *caused* by the sexual contact but which feelings they *associated* with it. Thus a boy might find the sexual contact in itself pleasurable but at the same time have feelings of anger, because, for example, he knew his parents wouldn't approve of it.

First we will examine the feelings linked to the sexual contact itself. Then we will look into the causes of these various pleasant and unpleasant feelings.

The feelings the boys had with respect to the sexual contact seem to have been mostly pleasurable ones, such as *nice* and *happy*, feelings elicited directly by the contact itself. Another feeling strongly associated by the boys with the sexual contact was *free*, as were, generally, *safe* and *satisfied*. The pleasurable feelings of *proud* and *strong* which do not have such an obvious inherent connection with sexuality were less common.

The unpleasurable feelings were decidedly less common. For the most part the boys said they never felt *naughty*, *angry*, *sad* or *lonely* in connection with the sexual contact, yet these are feelings one might well expect because the boys were, among other things, aware that they were breaking the rules of their social environment or their parents. It is possible that the boys were unconsciously denying or suppressing such feelings, but the subsequent interviews gave no indications that this was so.

When one compares how the boys experienced the sexual contact with how they experienced other value areas in their lives, the sexual contact seems to belong with those other value areas in which mostly positive and relatively few negative feelings are associated. Consequently positive feelings markedly overshadow the negative ones. For one boy that was not the case: he had as many negative as positive feelings associated with the sexual contact. It is remarkable, then, that this boy, Ben (10) mentioned sex when asked what he enjoyed a lot. The negative feelings which he gave in connection with the sexual contact were *angry*, *shy*, *naughty* and *dislike*. In the second interview more information was obtained on this matter. It then emerged that the boy had interpreted sexual contact with his older partner rather broadly: "Sex with Herman (55) is, uh, love for children and, uh, doing nice things for children, that sex is not bad." It appeared that he liked the physical contact, which he called "cuddling" but he found the sexual activity itself less enjoyable. He said he got an unpleasant tickling from it, which would make the older partner a bit angry. "Then he says, 'I want to do something nice but you don't want to do it.' So then I think he's mad at me." With respect to *angry* feelings, he said he had them when they made love and he didn't want to. *Shy* he associated with 'bad' which is connected with *naughty*, about which he said, "I think it's a little naughty, so I am naughty. My mother wouldn't let me." Opposed to these negative feelings, however, there were just as many positive feelings: *nice*, *free*, *safe* and *happy*.

The emotional involvement of the boys in the sexual contact varied. For several boys it was among the more important elements in their lives. There were also boys for whom it played a decidedly less important role. No boys, however, thought it was of virtually no importance.

Using the Self Confrontation Method it is also possible to determine why somebody, in his general experience, feels either good or bad (the G-index: see Appendix 1). This index was used to see whether the sexual contact with the adult partner had a negative influence on the boy's general sense of well-being. That appeared not to have been the case with any of these 25 boys. Where any influence was detected, it was positive. This conclusion is valid, however, only for the time when the investigation was carried out. The possibility cannot be excluded that the sexual contact for one reason or another (such as the intervention of parents or police, or being abandoned by the older partner) would at some later time exert a negative influence on his sense of well-being.

Nice and Naughty

IN ORDER TO get as broad as possible a picture of the significance of the sexual contact in the lives of the boys, both the positive and the negative sides of it were examined.

Most of the boys found it difficult to say exactly what they found pleasurable in the sex; for them it was *self-evidently* pleasurable. For almost all the boys the pleasurable element derived from the pleasant feelings it gave them: "Having sex with Bert is nice," "I think it's nice and cozy", "It's wonderful", and "Expressing your love physically and emotionally".

The last quote shows that in addition to pure sexual pleasure, feelings of friendship, intimacy and love could play a role. With other boys, too, elements of the relationship were mixed with sexual enjoyment. "Sex with the right person gives you very fine feelings", "Because I think it's wonderful and I really like Barend". Still other boys emphasized the relational aspect. They said: "You show love for one another through sex", "For me sex is a way of expressing my feelings for Marcel", and "It happens in a good relationship". There was one boy who was exclusively concerned with the sexual feelings and for whom the relational element was unimportant: "Because it feels good, not because I love him".

Five boys cited other pleasurable sides of the sexual contact. One of them, Marco (12) said, "Pedophiles ought to be able to enjoy themselves"; he had almost no negative feelings about it. Erik (10) found the sexual contact nice and cosy for himself but also liked the fact that his older friend enjoyed it too, and this latter point seemed to be very important to him. When he was asked whether he liked doing nice things for people he answered, "Uh, that depends on what it is. If it's some boring chore then I'm happy to get it over with, because then he always thanks me. But with this, for example: well, I like it a lot, too, so it doesn't bother me whether I do it or not. So I do it-no problem-because there are two things that are nice about it: he likes it and I like it myself." A third boy also liked the sexual contact "because Max (57) lets me choose what we will do and not do". Two boys mentioned learning from their sexual relations as a positive aspect. Bart (14) discovered through the sexual contact how his body responded and worked. Rob (12) said: "Through sex with Chris (38) I learned how my parents relate to one another." He explained as follows:

The first time (the first sex-T. S.) was a big surprise. It was also very important. My mother hadn't told me anything about that. So I was real happy to know at last, because I enjoy it a lot. The things he taught me I'd never have learned from my mother, even if I was 20 years old.

What sort of things do you mean?

Mostly sexual, I think. And if she had told me I don't think I'd have understood. She always makes things so hard to understand.

How do you mean?

Well, I think there are enough problems at home... How should I say it? Chris explained what was really going on at home, because sometimes I just don't understand what they are talking about.

But what does that have to do with your sexual relations with Chris?

Well, my father sometimes sort of teases my mother, flatters her and stuff. I didn't used to have the faintest idea why he did that, and now I know.

Each boy was systematically asked about the unpleasant or negative sides of the sexual contact. They were also asked the cause of the unpleasant feelings connected with them. Ten of the 25 boys could not answer the first question even after they were extensively questioned. For example: John (13) said:

What for you are the unpleasant aspects of your sexual relations with Marcel (45)?

There's nothing unpleasant about it.

Nothing unpleasant at all?

What could there be?

I don't know. Is there maybe something you'd rather not do? You like it very much, but maybe there is still something that makes you think, well, I have a little trouble with that, or there's for me something annoying about it?

No. Marcel has always told me if you're doing something you don't like you always have to say so.

But I haven't any trouble with it. I like it and he likes it, so I think why should we make problems about it?

When the matter was pursued in this manner some of the boys simply reiterated the pleasurable sides of their sexual relations.

The negative sides given by the other boys related to the sexual contact itself, the behavior of the older partner and the social environment in which the boys lived. Subsequent discussions with each boy revealed why some of them arose in the context of his sexual relations. This matter was gone into rather deeply, although that should not suggest that these negative feelings were important in the boy's experiential world. What follows are examples of their (rather rare) occurrence:

Eric (10) listed as a negative side of the sexual contact that sometimes circumstances made it impossible for it to happen more often. He said that sometimes he wasn't in the mood, "but once, twice a day is real good". In this connection, two boys said they thought it was too bad "that others can't have the same experience".

Martin (12) answered the question as to why during their sexual relations he sometimes felt lonely by saying he realized at such times that he "really couldn't do without" Frits (26).

The sexual relations also sometimes led to feelings of doubt. Thus Rob (12) said:

Why do I feel naughty? Sometimes I think, Goddamnit, am I homosexual or what am I?

So you have doubts about yourself?

Yes. Not often, but occasionally. Then you start to think, this is really a stupid thing to be doing--are you gay or straight, you ask yourself. Well, later you think what difference does it make?

Bart (14) named as a negative aspect of his sexual relations with Albert (46) that some things were painful:

Well, I don't see many negative aspects. Every so often something hurts.

What things hurt?

Well, if you roll the foreskin all the way down, when you're jerking yourself off, or if Albert's doing it, and if you do it very fast, it suddenly hurts. Or--well, I've never been anally taken, so when we sometimes try it, with a vibrator or something, suddenly it hurts a lot and you tense all up. You want it but you sort of back off, because of the pain.

Can you say what happens after that, what you and Albert do?

Well, I tell him. I tighten up and pull back. I don't know if you know what I mean, but if you're like this when someone's lying on top of you, then you're not offering yourself. But if you stretch completely out, you raise your arms: "Here I am. I trust you. Come on." But if... then I pull my legs up, and that's like I'm saying, "Stop! No, I don't want to!"

And Albert notices?

Yes, right away, and I tell him right away, too. So then he does it differently, I usually say, "Wait, hold it lower down", or "Look out!"

Six boys named negative aspects which were more connected with the conduct of the older partner. Some of the negative feelings about their sexual relations also pointed in this direction. Theo (13) answered the question about the negative aspects:

Well, he's so prickly.

Prickly?

Yes, here. He's got stubble all over, because he shaves and he prickles so bad.

Shall we write that down?

Yes. Old porcupine!

René (12) gave a similar answer: "Often in the morning he's unshaven and his tongue stinks all day long." René every once in a while felt angry in connection with their sexual relations: "Every so often he's in a bad mood, and then he's just not paying attention." Maurits (10) named as an unpleasant side "when Maarten (32) does something stupid when we make love". When asked what that might be, Maurits answered:

Well, that hardly happens at all. I mean, I ask him not to do something, I say I don't like it, and then he doesn't stop. But that doesn't happen so much.

But what do you mean by something stupid? That he wants to do something you don't want to do?

Yeah, and he goes ahead and does it anyhow. But that happens very rarely.

When you clearly have said, "I don't want you to do that"?

Yeah, and then he says, "I won't do it" and he goes ahead and does it anyhow. But that's very unusual.

With a few other boys it sometimes happened that the older partner did something in their sexual relations which the younger partner didn't like. With Ben (10) it seemed that whenever his older partner caressed him it tickled. Ben didn't like that, which made Herman (55) angry.

Jos (13) said he felt angry a few times in connection with their sexual relations:

When he does something I don't like.

That happens sometimes when you have sex? Can you say more about it?

Well, I don't know... When he does something I don't enjoy I get a little mad.

And what kind of thing does Bas (35) do then?

He tells stupid jokes.

What kind of stupid jokes?

Oh, different kinds.

Can you give an example?

No. But I do feel that way once in a while.

Other boys also said that some things happened which they didn't like. Hans (13) listed as a negative side the fact that he found it difficult to say "no" whenever his older friend wanted to do something he himself didn't want to do:

Well, for example, if I'm doing something and, uh, something he likes but I, well, don't like so much. Sometimes every so often you can say no, but other times you really shouldn't. I mean, taking each other into consideration, and so on.

And when does that happen?

Well, say, he asks you, and then he asks you again, so you know he really wants it. Then you're not so quick to say no.

Why not?

Uh, I just don't think you can.

Why can't you? If you don't want to you don't want to.

Yeah, but you must be considerate of the other guy.

And he of you?

Yes, uh, yes, of course. If I say no once in a while hell think, well, I can ask him another time.

But sometimes it's difficult to say no?

Yes. Like when you tell him no and he gets mad. Then I think I really shouldn't have said no.

You think that later?

Yeah, you think that right afterwards. If you say no you're letting the other guy down. Sometimes it's about things he really likes and I don't. So... you got to find a solution, and that's not easy.

Hans said that as a result he sometimes, but very rarely, felt angry and sad in connection with their sexual relations.

A few boys listed as negative aspects that it sometimes happened when they weren't in the mood. Rather rarely René had the feeling of dislike in connection with their sexual contact:

That's because then it's not really making love; it's more like just doing him a favor.

How often does that happen?

One time out of twenty.

Jos (13): "When I don't want to do it and Bas (45) keeps pestering me."

Eric (10) sometimes felt *lonely* in the sexual contact. He said:

Well, sometimes when he's lying on me I feel--this almost never happens, but sometimes I'm not really much in the mood--I feel a little lonely.

That happens occasionally, you say?

Just occasionally.

Then you feel a little lonely?

Not very often.

No, but sometimes.

Yes.

Most of the other negative feelings associated with the sexual contact refer to the *environment* which, as we will soon see, the majority of the boys well knew disapproved of sexual relations between children and adults. A number of the boys found that unpleasant. Some of the negative aspects and feelings associated with the boys' sexual relations reveal this too.

Gerrit (16) named as a negative side: "Other people giving me a hard time about my relationship with Barend", and Ton (14) said, "My parents probably think it's bad." A few boys claimed to feel *angry* sometimes about their sexual relations because other people thought they shouldn't be having them.

With some of the boys the anger they felt was not restricted to their social environment; it also influenced how they experienced their sexual relations. Simon named as a negative side, "I'd be embarrassed if they (parents and other people-T.S.) heard about it." This also emerged in his explanation of certain negative feelings. Kees (15) occasionally felt embarrassed in connection with the sexual contact. This occurred with people whom he didn't know very well but who were aware of the pedosexual relationship. Ben (10) also had feelings of embarrassment in connection with the sexual contact:

Uh, embarrassed, yes, if you're just a little boy and you go to bed with a great big man;

really that's bad, yeah, naughty; while your mother doesn't know anything about it; and then you do crazy things you aren't supposed to do at all.

For the same reason he also often felt *naughty*, a feeling which Theo (13) sometimes had too:

Sometimes I do feel naughty. Because I do this and, uh, nobody really knows about it, my mother and so on.

But why do you feel naughty? I sometimes do things which I don't let anybody know about?

Well, because you're doing something that, uh, normal kids just don't do--that's what you think.

The feeling of naughtiness doesn't necessarily have to weigh heavily in the mind of the boy. Bart (14) said he sometimes felt naughty in connection with the sexual contact:

Yes, uh, naughty... Well, I agree there are people who don't approve and so on, but I like it. Take my mother: now if she knew she'd probably not like it, and my father too, most likely--and lots of others besides would think it was bad. But I just feel nice and naughty--and go ahead and do it anyhow.

The fact that the sexual contact with the older partner is usually disapproved of in the social surroundings means that the boy must keep it secret. This can also give rise to negative feelings in connection with his sexual relations with the older partner.

Walter (15) said he occasionally felt *angry* because his parents didn't know about it. Willem (13) sometimes felt *naughty* about the sexual contact:

Well, because you have to keep it hidden, from your father, then.

And that makes you feel naughty?

Yes.

You really think you ought to be able to tell him?

Yes, but I'm afraid to do that--maybe I wouldn't be allowed to come here then. So I prefer not to say anything about it.

Hans (13) sometimes had the feeling of dislike in connection with the sexual contact:

Look, for example, if my father started to talk about it. We've agreed we'd tell him we did nothing. Well, I'd just like it a lot better if we could talk about it openly.

Thus because of your father you sometimes feel you're a bit naughty?

Yes, not just because of my father but because of other people too. You see what they think about it. And you can't just tell everyone, Hey, I have a pedophile relationship. Having to lie, I don't like that, but I can't do anything else.

You feel a bit naughty because sometimes you have to lie about it?

Uh, well, naughty--that's really too strong a word.

Having to keep the sexual relations secret can give rise to worry over a possible betrayal. Thus John (13) felt fear in connection with the sexual contact that his brother, with whom the older partner also had sex, would let something slip out:

I'm not really scared, but every so often I think, "Keep your mouth shut, Jantje!"--that's his name. Sometimes we talk about never, never saying anything. Still every so often I get scared Jantje will let it out.

Fear of discovery, in fact, is inherent in having to hide the sex. Peter (14) cited as a negative aspect of the sexual contact being afraid "that the neighbors would hear about it". As a result he often felt *afraid* in connection with their sex:

I think the neighbors wouldn't like it. And so many boys are coming up the stairs all the time. If they hear something they might start thinking. Then maybe they'll call the police.

Jan (11) named as a negative side, "Being interrupted in sex". He said:

Well, uh, in the middle of making love a lot of kids come in.

You find that unpleasant?

Yes. Suddenly the bell rings and we're in the middle of doing nice things, kissing and him rubbing my back, and the kids are ringing the bell and making a big racket. Then we have to quickly pull everything up--well, not put on all our clothes, just get our pants up. I don't like that; I think it's awful. Being suddenly disturbed.

Fear of discovery was explicitly mentioned by five of the boys as the reason they were sometimes afraid in the context of the sexual contact. That happened to René (12) almost never, but still he said, "If someone comes in and you're in the middle of making out, then something could go wrong."

Theo (13) felt *afraid* fairly often:

Well, say if I'm thinking about it and I let something slip out--that's what I'm afraid of.

What do you mean?

Like it's on my mind, and sometimes I want to tell somebody about it. So I do, and he tells somebody else. I'm really scared of that.

Afraid that people will find out?

Yes, that they'll learn about it. And then you get a reputation and so on.

Paul (14) was also often afraid:

Yes, I'm scared someone'll find out, the neighbors will see or something like that. And then they'll talk to the police and so on.

Police and the law were brought up by other boys. Hans (13) saw "danger from the law" as a negative side to the sexual contact, and Paul (14) didn't like the fact that sex with minors was forbidden. Rob (12) also sometimes experienced fear in connection with the sexual contact, and it was mostly for the safety of his older partner:

What really frightens me is what Chris has already gone through, and that, thanks to me, he might have to go through it all over again.

What all over again?

That he would have problems with the police and such. And also my mother.

In other words, the danger connected with the sex?

Yes.

Other boys realized that the older partner could go to prison; they considered this a "fault" in the penal code or a "stupid law".

Walter (15): We're not hurting each other, are we? If you murder somebody you only sit in jail a few months; but if you go to bed with somebody you get punished more severely--that's what Steven (35) says.

For Hans (13) the illegality of the sexual contact was no reason not to go to bed with somebody:

Yes, there's some danger, but that shouldn't stop you. What danger? Well, the law, that they might find out.

Two boys cited negative aspects connected with their environments but which didn't arise from its

disapproval. Paul (14) said his step-father didn't like his having sex with Ruud (27) because he was jealous: he, too, had a sexual relationship with Paul.

André named as a negative aspect: "Gossip over my affair". That was also the reason why he sometimes felt *naughty* and *sad*. André was the boy who emphasized that he enjoyed the sexual contact but didn't love the older partner. His girl-friend knew about it but did not really approve. Thus André had decided to have no more sex with his older friend. He said:

Now I have this affair with her, so I don't need it (i.e., sex with the older partner--Ed.) anymore. Well, I don't know, I think it's something you have to find love in. That's what I guess, but I really haven't thought it through. And I'm getting enough of that now, so, well, I'd better stop with the other.

We have now examined many of the negative sides of the sexual contact as far as the boys were concerned, and the negative feelings associated with it, but how important were they? It appears that in relation to the positive feelings they played a relatively minor role in the way the sexual contacts were experienced. Furthermore it also seems that they had hardly any influence upon the overall way the boys experienced their sexual relations with the older partner. The positive aspects, which arose out of feelings of sexual pleasure and certain elements of the boy's relationship with the man, clearly predominated. To the extent that the negative aspects had any influence at all, it was only to slightly minimize the effect of the positive ones.

Data obtained through the Self-Confrontation procedure also showed what a small influence these negative aspects had upon the sexual contact experience as a whole. Compared with other things which were important in the boys' lives, the negative aspects elicited a relatively low emotional response. It also appeared from the aforementioned "G-Index" that the negative aspects had hardly any effect at all upon the boys' general sense of well-being, a finding supported by the fact that most were formulated by the boys only after repeated questioning.

There is a good chance, then, that some of these negative aspects are given too much emphasis here and were really rather unimportant in the lives of the boys. This is not to deny, however, that they actually were perceived by the boys themselves as being associated with the sexual contact.

Power Difference and Abuse of Power

ONE OF THE OBJECTIONS raised against pedophile relationships and sexual contacts between adults and minors is that there is always supposed to be (some say by definition) abuse of power. This belief is shared by many scientists investigating this phenomenon. Burgess and Holmstrom (1975), for example, say that the adult always has a dominant position in relation to the child and exploits the child's "ambivalence". The older person wields two weapons of power: the giving of gifts and the inculcation of distorted values and norms; he does the latter, for example, when he assures the child that what they are doing is normal and permissible. Peters (1976, page 425) distinguishes two kinds of power abuse inherent in pedophile contacts: seduction "which goes far beyond the stereotypic gifts of candy" and force. Force consists of physical violence and verbal coercion.

From some feminist quarters, too (Schwarzer 1980), one hears that a pedophile relationship is an unequal one in which the power positions are very different and the interests of the child are subordinated to the needs and desires of the adult. Thus Richard (1975) said that adults have developed complex power techniques to use against children: subtle manipulation, seduction, playing upon feelings of guilt or open aggression. According to Richard, children see adults, and especially men, as enormously authoritarian. Children know that they must respect the wishes of adults because if they don't they will be punished.

It cannot, of course, be denied that power and inequality exist in pedophile relations. In every kind of human interaction power and inequality play a role. This is true of adult interaction, and it is also true in relationships between adults and children, where power differences are hardly restricted to

pedophile situations but are to be found in relationships between parents and children, children and teachers, etc. Wherever an adult and child interact, one of them is bigger and stronger than the other, knows more and is cleverer, has a higher status in society and has more money at his disposal. Where the younger person is dependent upon the adult for his emotional and material care, as for example in the family, the difference in power positions will be relatively large. That is one of the reasons incest is quite a different phenomenon from pedophilia. In the case of unwilling incest the child in his dependence often doesn't know how he can refuse the sexual activities. In pedophile relationships the power differential is less: the child, if he does not wish to continue with the contact, can simply stay away.

It is important to realize that power is seldom absolute. According to Hinde (1979, page 256), power is limited by the capacity of both individuals. In many relationships one partner has more power with respect to some things and the other partner more power over others. This division of power is usually arrived at by "negotiations": "Power is a property of the relationship and not of one or the other individual."

Plummer (1979, page 540), in examining pedophile relationships, said that what really mattered was who profited from them and by how much. He thus compared them with the parent/child relationship: "Parents dominate their children, but the child receives a great deal in return. Recent studies of pedophilia (Eglinton 1971; Rossman 1976) give examples of situations where a child can gain a great deal from a pedophile relationship."

O'Carroll (1980, page 167) also took a more moderate view of the power aspect in pedophile relationships and felt, despite the sexual element, that they are better compared with the parent/child than with any adult relationship. In all families there is power imbalance, but it is mostly used for the benefit of the child. "The fact that repressive elements can be detected in motherhood does not mean that motherhood must be eliminated. The fact that the relationship between mother and child is not equal does not mean per se that the relationship is undesirable." O'Carroll disagrees with Richard's (1976) claim that children do not see through the power games adults play: children from a very early age, according to O'Carroll, are trained in power politics, especially in the relationship between their parents.

Kuijter (1980, pages 69-73) also took a more nuanced view of the power imbalance issue. "If equality is made a precondition to a loving relationship it would be impossible to love a child, because however much one insists upon the equal worth of child and adult it is obvious that equality of power simply does not exist. (...) Children for the most part have no problems over inequality. They easily admire their mothers, fathers, sisters, brothers and especially their teachers. (..) One can consider another person better than oneself without necessarily feeling humiliated, at least children can. Putting someone on a higher plane than oneself, far from being degrading, can actually work to enhance one's self-evaluation."

Many authors, in fact, have put into perspective power differences in relationships in general and between children and adults in particular.

While adults usually have power on their side, the junior partner in a pedophile relationship still has some trump cards of his own: he can stay away from the older partner and so deprive him of a contact which is difficult to replace. The fact that the sex is legally forbidden and must be kept secret makes the adult somewhat dependent, thus bestowing a degree of power on the younger partner. It shouldn't be thought that children are not in a position to make use of this. There are pedophile relationships in which the power balance has actually tipped in favor of the child, in which the adult indulges the child. Often this "extorted" indulgence is rationalized away by reference to idealistic principles. Such self-justification should not be confused with sincere child and youth emancipation ideals to which some pedophiles adhere: the granting of greater freedom and wider responsibilities to the child.

How a power advantage is used is central to the discussion of power and inequality. There is a great

deal of difference between the existence of power, the use of power and the misuse of power. If the older partner only considers his own sexual feelings and does not respect the feelings of the child, misuse of power obviously exists. Of course there are also misuses of power which are less obvious, for example where the older partner gives the younger a gift as reward for a desired sexual contact. Here it is more difficult for the child to refuse even though he himself doesn't really want to have sex with the man. The same holds where the adult acts so disappointed that the child feels guilty in continuing to refuse. Despite the presence of power imbalance, it is possible, in theory at any rate, for the older partner not to misuse his advantage. The mere existence of power difference is a poor reason to make a blanket condemnation of all such relationships. If an adult wishes to build up a really pleasant friendship with a child he cannot afford to neglect the wishes and interests of the child. With respect to power imbalance, Straver (1976) and Constantine (1981) stress the condition that the child must be free at any moment to withdraw from the situation and the relationship. The pedophile must also prevent the child from becoming dependent. Lievens (1978) and Van der Kwast (1975), however, question whether it is possible for a pedophile relationship to rest upon freedom, mutuality and camaraderie.

How did power difference act in the pedophile relationships here studied? The boys were asked about this during the selfinvestigation, especially with respect to their the sexual contacts (See Appendix 2).

In most cases the boys said the men behaved in a pleasant way in the sexual contact. Four boys said that a few times they had experienced very slightly negative behaviour from their older friends during sex. These boys sometimes felt left in the lurch, made fun of or coerced; they also said sometimes the man bossed them around. But with each of the boys positive behavior on the part of the man predominated. Above all they felt that their older friend paid attention to them during their sex, was considerate of them and worked together with them. The nature of the positive aspects of the adults' behavior during sex seemed to drown out its negative aspects.

The boys felt that the men behaved toward them during sex the same way as they behaved toward them in general. For example, if the man was usually considerate of the boy, the boy found him also considerate when they had sex. Likewise, if the man seldom behaved in a certain way in their relationship, he also seldom acted that way in the sexual contact. The boys did not sense a change in the men's behavior when they had sex; they felt a continuity in it both in and out of bed.

These findings do not support the common assumption of Power abuse in pedophile relations. Either this assumption is wrong or there must be some other explanation for our findings. The idea that the boys were unable to recognize Power abuse, for example, is quite untenable, for they were obviously able to spot it in other adults with whom they interacted. Some recognized it in the behavior of their parents: "playing the boss", "coercing", etc. Elsewhere (Sandfort 1981a) other possible explanations have been examined and rejected.

From what the boys said, it was apparent that crude abuse of power simply did not occur. However, later in the conversations with the boys, it became apparent that there could be situations in which a kind of subtle misuse of power could arise. Jos (13), for example, said he became-annoyed when Bas (35) kept on insisting:

Sometimes if I'm not in the mood he keeps on asking for it. Then I say, "No, I don't feel like it," and so on, and then he says, "Oh, come on," and keeps harping on it. That's only once in a while, but it is a lousy side to making out.

What finally happens, then?

Well, uh, we don't do it.

Lex (13), too, said he sometimes found it difficult to say no when he didn't really want to have sex with Richard (31), because he felt you had to be considerate of each other's feelings:

Well, you ought to have sex, because he does so much for me. He takes me out a lot. So I

should pay him back somehow; that's what he thinks, but I think so, too, so I'm not against it.

But is it sort of, "Okay, I'm doing this for Richard because he does so much for me, "or is it, "I like doing it"?"

Well, if you don't feel like it you don't do it, of course. Richard never really forces you or says, "Now you got to, because I did what you wanted." He'd never say that. And, well, if you like it yourself you like doing it.

When I asked you how often you had the feeling of "dislike" when you thought about going to bed with Richard you said "sometimes." What were you thinking about?

Like, if you get back late at night and you're tired then you're not always in the mood--but of course Richard has a giant horn on. Well, only if we get home awful late--otherwise not.

Other boys told similar stories about the unpleasant side of their sexual relations. However, still others made it clear that they were perfectly willing to say no and make sure their wishes were respected. Kees (15) said that very occasionally he would coerce Max (57) when they had sex:

Well, sometimes if I think something would be nicer to do I tell him so.

But that's not coercion?

No, it's not coercion, but, well, every so often I ask him to do it so often it amounts to about the same thing.

You ask him in a sort of coercing manner, then?

Yes.

Kees went on to say about his sexual contact with Max:

What's important to me is that Max never insists that we have to do something: he always lets me decide. If he has some special desire he asks me if I want to do it too, and if I don't for some reason, he says, "okay", that's fine by him. And if I do want to do it we go ahead.

When asked how often he bossed Karel (30) around in their sexual relations, Peter (14) said:

Never. I never play the boss. We're both bosses: bosses of our own bodies.

Theo (13) said that he sometimes "fibbed" to Bert (35) and "coerced" him when they had sexual relations:

When do you fib to Bert when you are making love?

Well, he wants to suck me off and I tell him it hurts, and so I'm telling a fib.

Because it really doesn't hurt?

No.

You say you sometimes coerce him in your love-making?

Yeah, he'll say, "Let's go to bed," and I'll go look at TV and then he'll turn the TV off and I'll say, "If the TV stays off I'm going to sleep alone", and then I get to watch the TV a little longer.

From this answer it can be seen that the boy realized he could withhold sex from his partner and so use it as a power tool. If this subject had been taken up with the older partners other examples might have emerged. In general, however, the boys thought they acted in an agreeable way toward their older partners. Finally let us cite an example from the interview with Ben (10) of how he often cheered on his partner Herman (55) when they had sex:

Oh, when he wants to come I say, "Come! Come!"

(Bursting out laughing.)

Does it make you laugh, or is it also serious?

Yes, I always start laughing *(Again laughs.)*

But you mean it seriously, you're encouraging him?

Yeah, I laugh my head off.

You laugh your head off. Why do you find it so funny?

(Still laughing.) All of a sudden, pssst! Up to the ceiling!

Do you also think that's sort of strange?

Uh, no.

You don't think it's strange?

Later I'll be able to do it, too.

Do you think it's too bad that you can't yet?

Yes, but when I'm eleven or twelve I will.

The Opinions of Others

IN GENERAL, SEX contacts between children and adults are forbidden (Nijhoff 1978). How clearly did these 25 boys realize this and what did it mean to them? Social disapproval meant that the sexual activities, as well as, in some cases, the relationship itself, had to be kept hidden. This could be a heavy burden. Also the fact that these were "deviant" contacts tended to make the boys unsure of themselves. Thus it was important to these boys to be able to talk about the sex openly. Knowing that some other person was aware of the sex and approved of their friendships was probably pleasant.

Parents

THE MOST IMPORTANT people in the boys' social environment were their parents. How aware were they of the relationship and its sexual aspect? What was their position with respect to the relationship in which their son was involved? What did they think about the sex, or what would they have thought about it if they knew? And what did this mean for the boys?

Often the parents were aware of the relationship but did not realize that sex with a man occurred within it. In some cases the friendship was carried on quite independently of the parents. That was true of Kees (15) who was living in a boarding home. He was not so concerned about the reaction of his mother but was clearly afraid that they would find out about it at the Home:

My mother has no idea I come here. She knows that in the past there was something between Max and me. She's forbidden me to come here again. I told her, "Why not?" and she said I knew damn well why. Well, that doesn't mean much; I don't really care. I just hope she doesn't go and tell my group leader.

Jos, Ton and Martin suspected that their parents, who did not know about the friendships, would not approve of the relationships. Jos (13) imagined that his father would be furious:

No, my parents don't know, but I'd guess they would think it was really bad if they did find out. Just after my first visit to Bas (35) I told my father about it and he said, "You don't go there anymore or I'll break both your legs!" Maybe because Bas is a man.

If it was a woman he wouldn't think it was so terrible?

Oh yes he would--it's crazy, isn't it? On the one hand I think they're right, on the other hand I don't. If you know a man and your father doesn't, then you never know what can happen, do you?

Ton (14): I don't think they'd like it. Maybe my father, but not my mother. Perhaps they think you can't do those things, or you shouldn't. They would certainly have a lot of trouble with it.

What do you think about your mother possibly disapproving?

If my mother said you shouldn't do it, then I'd have to agree with her.

Do you really agree you shouldn't be doing it?

Uh, well, personally I don't. But my mother, well, I don't think she'd like it. But for me, well I think it's fine.

So you don't agree with your mother's feelings?

Well, a little, half and half. I don't know what I'd do if my mother found out. If she did, then I'd be able to tell you.

Martin (12): No, they don't know, but they certainly wouldn't like it. Stupid, isn't it? Just plain asinine.

Although most of the parents knew about the friendship, the majority didn't know about the sex. Some might have suspected, however. They accepted the friendships, according to the older partners, although in one case they were indifferent or disapproving. But how would they feel if they were certain sex was taking place? Most of them, according to the boys, would find it "not good", "not nice", "dirty" or really bad". Some of the boys thought their fathers would beat up the older partner. But there were also boys who suspected their parents wouldn't find it too bad, or just a little bad, while one boy was unsure of what his parents' attitude would be. In the case of Wouter (12), only the mother knew about the relationship; he was happy she didn't discuss it with his father:

Well, my father can never be told, never, because if he does it'll have to stop. And I can imagine him beating the hell out of Gerard (42), because he'd rather do it than bring the police.

What do you think of that?

Well, it's rotten... someone who just does nice things being treated like a dog.

And your mother?

I suspect my mother really knows... and doesn't think it's so bad. And she won't say a word to my father... that's the main thing as far as I'm concerned.

Walter and John thought their parents would consider the sex "dirty".

Walter (15): Yes, sometimes I'm afraid my parents will find out that I have sex with Steven (35). I'd guess they'd think it was dirty and call Steven a filthy pervert. They'd think it was abnormal, I suppose.

John (13): No, my parents know absolutely nothing about it, but they would certainly be strong against it. One good thing, though, is they'd never turn Marcel (43) in. My mother is on disability but she works black. Marcel said, "If she turns me in, the next day I'll turn her in."

Why do you think your parents are against it?

A man going to bed with a boy--they think that's dirty, they always do. I think it's lousy that they feel that way about it; I'd much rather be able to be open with my parents.

René (12) thought his mother wouldn't be too upset:

My mother wouldn't make so much of a fuss about it. She wouldn't like it, but she wouldn't have any really strong objections.

André (14) suspected his parents would think he would be turned into a homosexual by having sex with Nico (32):

No, my parents don't know about it, but I don't think they'd like it. I know how parents are. I think they'd also be afraid of my future, that I would become homosexual, don't you know?

And what do you think about that?

I wouldn't know; it could very well be but I just don't know.

Harrie and Rob also thought their parents wouldn't approve of the sexual contact. Both boys thought that was rather old-fashioned:

Harrie (16): I don't think they'd like it-that's the kind of people they are. They are pretty free about sex, but if they knew what I do with Pieter (39) then I don't think they'd approve. They'd think it was strange. You didn't used to be able to do that; nowadays you can, and I think that's normal.

Rob (12): I think they wouldn't like me doing it with Chris (38). Yeah, if I had my own child, then of course I'd be jealous, but I'd still allow it. Why not? I think it's stupid; it's the old way of thinking, you might say. They just won't keep up with the times. Well, okay, this is sort of super-modern, isn't it?

Some of the boys wished to respect the disapproving attitudes of their parents but thought they should have the right to decide themselves what they were going to do. Thus Bart (14) said:

Well, that's their opinion. If they want to think that way about it, it's their absolute right. I can't agree, in general. But I'll give them the right to express their opinion, even though I don't have that right myself.

It is understandable that the boys were unable to be open with their parents when they suspected they would disapprove. Two boys said they would run the risk of having the relationship broken off.

Willem (13): I can't tell what they'd think about it. They could be really mad, or they could think it was okay.

But you don't tell them?

No, because if they were mad then I'd lose out. Then I wouldn't be able to come here any more.

Johan (13) regretted his parents' attitude:

I don't like it, because I'd rather be open with my parents.

A few of the parents, the boys or their older partners suspected or knew about the sex as well as the friendship. Thus one mother, according to the older partner, said she didn't have to find out what the two of them did together: "I'm not going to ask; I don't want to know." Other parents realized the older partner was pedophile: nothing was said explicitly but the parents did indicate they knew sex was taking place.

According to Thijs (10), his mother remembered that in the past sex had occurred. When asked whether he wasn't now telling lies to his mother, he answered: "Of course: I don't want to be kept away from him." According to Thijs, his mother thinking it was dirty was "crazy stupid" even though he wouldn't tell her so. When asked why he thought it was "crazy stupid", he said, "Well, just because I know what it's all about. I decide myself what I do."

The parents of Jan and Gerrit also suspected that sex occurred in the relationship.

Jan (11): Sometimes my mother asks me, "Does Sander sometimes play with your P-P? Then I prefer to say no because if I didn't maybe I wouldn't be able to come here any more. We've been doing it for such a long time already.

Gerrit (16): I don't care if my father and mother know; it's my own life. They don't know, but they do have their suspicions. My mother keeps bringing it up, and I just say, "I like Barend (39) a whole lot and Barend likes me," and then they leave it alone.

About one-third of the parents were aware of the sex as well as the relationship, and, according to the older partners, almost all of them fully accepted both. In one case the parental attitude was less positive. In general these boys thought their parents found it all "good", "normal" or "wonderful".

Simon (12) thought his sex is none of their business:

My father and mother know maybe half. I think I'd be ashamed if they got to know everything. Sometimes my father mentions it, but not really having sex and such. I think it's nice myself, but if my father started in on me I don't know how I'd feel.

Willem (13): Sometimes I'm scared my parents would trap us when we're having sex.

Erik, Hans, Theo and Lex liked it that their parents were positive about the relationship and the sex:

Erik (10): Well, they think it's just fine, because they've been with the NVSH, and the NVSH feels it's not bad at all, thinks there's nothing wrong with it. And I'm glad my mother and father feel that way, otherwise I'd have to do it secretly, and I wouldn't like that.

Hans (13): Yes, my parents know. I really think they approve, at least they've never said they didn't.

How do you feel about their attitude?

It's great!

Theo (13): My father and mother know about it. They think it's completely normal.

How do you feel about that?

I think it's great, because there are some people who would like to murder all the homosexuals and pedophiles because they don't think they're normal. My father and mother don't feel that way, and I think they're right.

Lex (13): Oh, they think it's okay, as far as I know. At first my dad had a little trouble with it but now it's going well. I suppose every father would. My mother had read about it in Panorama or something and she showed the article to my dad.

They're not opposed to it?

No, they do that kind of thing themselves, so...

On the one hand these findings are surprising: did the parents who knew about the sex which occurred in these relationships really approve? They were never actually interviewed during the course of this research. On the other hand, whenever parental permission for the interviews was asked it was always granted. How the parents reacted when they learned their sons had an affair was not investigated. This is an important aspect of pedophile relations which, especially in helping avoid problems, deserves more attention.

Another question revolves around those boys whose parents did not know about the sex. What did it mean to them to do things their parents wouldn't approve of and about which they couldn't tell their parents?

Some of the boys talked about this. In one case it caused the boy to doubt himself. In another case the boy didn't wish to risk a rupture in his friendship.

In this connection it is important to keep in mind that young people in general seldom say much to their parents about their affairs and sexual experiences. Straver (1980, page 60) said, "We know from our investigation that young people--if they do talk about their relationships and lovemaking--will much sooner do it with their friends than with their parents or a wider circle of acquaintances."

In the literature, other reasons are given why young people do not tell their parents about their pedosexual contacts. Burgess and Holmstrom (1975) proposed that children are forced into secrecy out of fear of being punished by adults (parents as well as the older partner) or of being abandoned. Peters (1976) discovered in his research that of the children he investigated who had had pedosexual contacts 32% had never told anyone about the sex. He attributed this to the fear the child had of the reactions of his parents. According to Peters it is possible that the child does not feel guilty about the sex itself but over the fact that he has to hide it from his parents. In the case of the boys he interviewed, feelings of guilt and anxiety did not play a large role in how they experienced the sexual contact. Rossman (1976) suggested a more obvious explanation: a child is much more likely to inform his parents or the police if he is genuinely abused or forced to participate in the sex against his will. This was investigated by Landis (1956). He discovered that those children who found the contact to a greater or larger degree unpleasant told their parents more often than those who had responded with interest. In this latter case, however, the possibility cannot be eliminated that they then felt more responsible for the sex that occurred and thus had more guilt feelings about it.

Regardless of whether it is a pedophile relationship or a pedosexual contact, most parents react with horror when they learn that their child has been involved in this sort of thing.

According to Gagnon (1965) one of the causes of such a reaction is a feeling that they have somehow failed in their upbringing and protection. They also find it difficult to have to talk about sex with their child and they are afraid that he will become "tainted" by means of a pleasant sexual experience.

Anthony (1975) and Weeks (1976) are of the opinion that the reactions parents have when they discover their child has had a sexual experience are closely related to their own attitudes about sex. Parents who repress their own sexuality are shocked when they observe their offspring having erotic feelings.

Van Ussel (1976, page 36) said that when parents discover their child in a pedophile relationship they feel they have failed in their parental love: "As far as it is possible, however, they will place the blame upon the child (who is now considered 'not completely normal') and especially upon the adult seducer."

These parental reactions are understandable when one realizes how little in general people know about pedosexual contacts and pedophile relationships. If you mention the word "pedophile", many people immediately think of dirty old men abusing children to satisfy their own lusts. This image is largely based upon the broadly embellished and sensational news articles which appear every time a child is sexually abused or murdered.

Peers

ALL OF THE BOYS were asked whether there were any of their peers who knew they were having sex with an adult man. Eight boys said there were; five said they were other boys who visited the older partner occasionally and "did it too". In a number of cases there were boys in their schools or their neighborhoods who also knew they were carrying on a pedophile relationship.

Gerrit (16) was occasionally called "queer", but he solved the problem:

Oh, in the neighborhood they yelled "queer" at me and such. That didn't bother me; I knew they were doing the same thing themselves-with others. I just let them keep on bad-mouthing. But, well, that finally got a little annoying--I mean every day walking by your house yelling "Queer, queer, queer, queer!" So, one by one, I cornered each of the boys and told them, "You just try that one more time!"--because they were mostly little kids about ten years old. Well, they kept on doing it, so I roughed them all up, and after that they stopped.

Thijs (10) suspected that the kids were talking behind his back. He decided, for tactical reasons, to ignore it:

No, I don't let on I know they're talking about me. And I'm not going to say anything either-- I'm not that stupid--'cause then they'd start yelling it at me out loud.

Martin (12) thought his friends were wrong when they said it was dirty and stupid:

Yes, one kid told another kid and that kid told another and so on.

What did they think about it, those friends of yours?

Dirty, dumb. They don't think it's nice, but I do.

Jos (13) thought people shouldn't interfere with what was none of their business:

Well, once I had problems with it in the lower school, because of other boys--the same ones who always came here to Bas (35). My sister overheard them, and then passed it on. So... big problems.

She told your parents?

No, our class teacher and other kids. Then the headmaster came here to Bas. My mother still doesn't know about it, thank heavens.

Are there others who know you have sex with Bas?

Yes, my brother and his friends--they caught on one time when I gave Bas a kiss... in the hall. My brother said, "Hey, what are you doing?" That's how he found out. And then he told everybody, the other boys.

How did you feel about that?

Well, not nice. No, I kept on having problems at school, with teachers and other kids.

How do you feel about others making problems about it?

I think that's not normal. It all happens out of school, in the first place... and what business is it of theirs? It's my life!

The friends of Jan (11) thought it was dirty. He stood up for Sander (41) when they called him names:

Some children shout "Sander the piemelaar" [Untranslatable. "Piemel" is a child-slang word for penis and the Dutch suffix "-aar" is roughly equivalent to the English "-er" as in "worker". Thus "peniser" is suggested, although that is perhaps more explicitly sexual than is implied.] and so on, or they say he's raped someone. And then I tell them, "That's the last time, okay, or I'm going to beat you up." Bam! and he's flat on the floor. They always want to go play video games or watch video tapes with him--that's what really makes me mad. The next day you'll see them at Sander's again--but with a black eye!

What do you think your friends feel about your having sex with Sander?

Dirty, of course--playing with your prick. Somebody else doing it to you, they think that's dirty, that's what they say at school. And then they sit around bull-shitting over vibrators and so on and they haven't the faintest idea what they're talking about.

How do you feel about those boys thinking it's dirty?

Stupid. It's completely normal--anyone can become a pedophile.

In most cases their peers did not know that the boys were carrying on a pedophile relationship. The boys were then asked how their friends would react if they did learn that they were having sex with an adult.

John, Lex, Theo and Simon suspected that they would be called "gay".

John (13): Oh, gay, they'd immediately think you were gay!

They'd call you gay?

Yes, absolutely.

And that's one thing you cannot be: gay?

No, you know how kids are at school. Gay, they think that's a bit abnormal. You know how it would go: they'd say, "You're gay", and they'd mean it as a sort of insult.

How do you feel about their thinking that way?

I don't like it. But I know what goes on--those boys don't. If they did, then I'd say it was their right to feel that way. If they were still against it, I'd say, "Okay, you're against it," but they haven't the faintest idea what it's really like. But if you tried to tell them that they'd laugh in your face. That's the way the world is.

Kees (15): Yes, I can understand how they'd find it strange. They know nothing about things like that.

Harrie, Bert and Peter didn't really know what their age-mates would think about sex with a grown-up.

Harrie (16): Well, I just don't know. They all jerk off themselves, of course. But if it came out that I was having sex with Pieter (39), then I'd be up against the wall at school. Yeah, it would go all through the school.

How do you feel about their thinking so badly about it?

They can kiss my ass!

Bart (14): I haven't the faintest idea whether they'd think it was okay or not. But that's the way it always is; one quarter of all boys do it, thus in my class of 16 there are four, including me, who have relations with a pedophile.

That seems to me a bit too many.

Well, it just goes on an awful lot, but you'll have to ask Albert (46) about that--he knows the figures a lot better.

Peter (14) thought his age-mates wouldn't find it normal, but added, "Just let them think what they want to." René, Paul, Walter and Willem thought their friends would find it less strange if they had some experience themselves. René assumed his friends would think it was stupid, but, he thought, this was "not a real opinion, just jealousy." According to Walter and Willem, the boys didn't have real contact with anybody involved in such relationships; if they had they might find they were doing it themselves.

Willem (13): Yes, it's completely normal. But, well, the first time I thought it was sort of dirty, too.

At first you, too, found it dirty?

Yeah, at first it seemed awful strange. But now I don't find it strange at all.

But what do you think about their finding it strange?

I think it's stupid, that they think it's dirty. If they'd just do it once themselves they'd talk a whole lot different about it, I think.

What would they say about it if they did experience it themselves?

They'd say it's great! Yes, I really think they would.

It appeared from the answers the boys gave that it was easier for them to be independent of their friends' ideas than it was of their parents'. Some of the boys, however, regretted not being able to be open with the people who surrounded them.

Rob, Ben, Erik and Wouter thought that if their agemates found out they simply would not understand.

Rob (12): They would have expected something different from me.

How do you mean, something different?

Well, that I'd go for girls and stuff, something like that. At least that's the way you think. Yeah, not just the guys but the girls, too. Chasing one girl after another. I'm really not that type. I'd like to, but, well, you don't get much.

What don't you get much of?

You don't get much from girls. With us the girls won't do practically anything. They do so little you get almost nothing out of it.

What do they do so little of?

About all they'll give you is a kiss, and nothing more, seems to me.

Wouter (12): Well, I know one boy who is making out with girls. I don't think he'd have any problems about it if I told him. But the others would, especially if they just heard about it. But I'm not telling anybody: they're going to have to find out about it for themselves if they want to know what it's like.

Erik (10): Well, they'd think it was strange, I guess. They're always saying they (i.e. pedophiles-Ed.) are child molesters, and they think they're rapists. They don't know anything. They'd find it sort of weird. Yes, they'd be bound to think it was crazy. What do you feel about your friends thinking that way about it?

Well, it's a shame. If it wasn't so we'd be able to do it more often. As it is now we can't make out if a friend drops by because he'd think it was strange.

Ton, Hans and Kees could understand the disapproval of their friends.

Ton (14): I think they'd think it was stupid. Now, when I look at it myself I don't feel it's so weird. But if, for example, I'd never become a friend of Fred (33) and then I met someone like that, well maybe I'd think it was stupid, too.

Hans (13): Well, I suppose they'd think it was awful stupid. It's something they just don't know anything about, I think. It could be that one of the others has a pedophile relationship, too, but if so he isn't telling. It's a shame everybody thinks it's so strange; otherwise we'd be able to talk about it a whole lot more openly.

Do you agree with them it's strange?

Yeah, what else can they do? There are a lot of Catholics around here and in the church they are always telling you it's bad so a lot of them believe it is bad.

The Opinion of the Boys

THE BOYS WERE ALSO asked what they themselves felt about the sexual contact they had with the adults. Often this emerged in their answers to other questions. André (14) had decided between the two interviews not to have sex any longer with his older partner. When asked what he thought about the sexual contact, he said:

Well, I don't really know. It felt nice, but everything else about it wasn't so good.

Are you sorry now you did it?

No, I don't regret it, not at all. But I don't want to do it any more.

André also said this was in part because in the meantime he had begun an affair with a girl, but added:

Even if I no longer had an affair I wouldn't do it, no.

But you just said you really stopped because of your affair?

Yes, that's true. Now I know what it's like with girls, and for me that's much better. There's quite a big difference. Love's involved. I think I have that more with girls. With guys it's all sex, but that's not true with a girl: this is more what I want. But I have no real regrets. It was nice, back then, but I don't need that any more.

One can see from what André said that boys can change in the way they think about the sexual contact. It should be kept in mind that André, in contrast to the other boys, experienced with it no feelings of love or intimacy.

None of the other boys stopped having sex with their older partners during the course of the investigation. How did they feel about the sex? The majority of them simply said it was "nice" or "just plain good". Some of the answers were a little more detailed:

Wouter (12): Well, I think it's great.

Didn't you ever think, 'You can't do this! Is what I'm doing really good?'

What I'm doing is very good.

But haven't you ever asked yourself that sort of question?

Well, I just feel it really is good--it's how you're brought up and so on.

It depends on how you're brought up?

Yes, of course. You can bring up a child that way. And you don't have to be pedophile especially to do it either; because I'm a completely normal boy, but I prefer to make love with men, with Chris (38), and with boys. I'd rather do that than with girls.

He added that he would never try it with any of the 'dirty old men':

I don't want to make up to any of them, the people who try to grab all the boys, make nude photos and so on. I just can't understand that sort of thing; it's stupid. Sex-photos, no! The real thing is a lot nicer.

Thijs (10): Just plain nice.

It's no problem for you?

I think it's exactly like a woman going to bed with a man--it's nice. And I feel the same things they feel.

John (13): I have nothing against it. I think it's fine, as I've already said. And love.

Gerrit (16): Yes, I think it's really wonderful that I have this with Pieter (39). Okay, earlier when I was not really going around with Pieter yet, I thought it would be dirty. My parents used to say that all the time: it's unhealthy; it's sick; you have to look out for people like that. But none of those things are true. No, I just think it's really great to be doing this with Pieter. That's my feeling about it.

Kees (15): Well, I think it's quite normal... because there are other wierd things that go on every day: an older girl of 25 going with a boy of 18, for example--that can happen. Or, shall we say, a 14-year-old girl who goes with a boy of 18--that's exactly the same; that can happen, too.

René, Rob and Simon thought the sex was nice and emphasized that other people shouldn't make such a problem out of it.

René (12): What difference does it make to anyone else if I have sex with someone, that's what I want to know. It's not up to them to decide what I want and what I don't want.

Rob (12): I think it's very nice.

Other people make problems about it?

Yes. I don't know why they do that, because it seems to me I'm the one involved. I have to decide whether I think it's nice or whether I don't. Still they make problems about it.

So for you it isn't a problem?

No, I don't feel it's any problem for me, absolutely not. Otherwise I would have put a stop to it long ago, of course. If I didn't need it.

Simon (12): If they don't like it that's their business. I think it's real nice. I got no problems with it.

3. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BOYS' STATEMENTS FOR THE LAW

The Importance of What the Boys Told

WHAT IS THE SIGNIFICANCE of what the boys said? First of all we might ask how truthful it was. Then, if it was honest, what weight should we attach to the fact that they found their friendships and sexual contacts so pleasurable? Are there other, possibly long-term, consequences of the contacts? Secondly, how representative of the experiences of other children who have sexual contacts are those of these 25 boys?

Opinions will differ about the "degree of truth" in the boys' stories. It is often said that in research carried out through interviews people as a rule don't do what they say or say what they do. To a certain extent this applies to the 25 boys. But all research techniques have their limitations. Structuring the interviews by means of the Self-Confrontation Method largely disposed of this objection (Sandfort 1981 a).

It is also easy to dismiss what these boys said as "children's talk": children don't know what they are talking about; they just repeat what others have said. It is true that occasionally one heard echos of the older partner's ideas. But in general one's impression of the stories of these 25 boys was that they were spontaneous and genuine. They were internally consistent and the boys didn't seem to be hiding anything. They had negative things to say about adults and they also expressed their doubts. Mostly due to the influence of Freud's psychoanalysis, little credence used to be given to children when they said they had been sexually abused. Such tales were regarded as fantasy. Now they are taken more seriously. And that can only be for the best, because knowing you will not be believed is often for the victim of real child sex-abuse reason enough not to speak about what happened, with the result that the abuse continues. Disbelief also hinders one's coming to terms with the events.

On the other hand it is also prejudicing the situation to take seriously what young people say about being sexually abused but to dismiss as "just kids'talk" anything they tell us which does not conform to current concepts of childhood and its sexuality. It is necessary, however, to keep in mind that some boys, later in life, can change their minds and come to view their experiences differently.

Are the experiences of these 25 boys comparable to those of other children who have sexual contacts with adults? It has never been our aim to make this sort of generalization from our investigation. Still, we should pause here for a moment and examine this question more deeply.

The sexual relations described in this book were exclusively between boys and men outside the family context. Furthermore the boys were between certain set age limits. It is quite possible that younger children, in an earlier stage of sexual development, would experience sexual contact with an adult differently. Other forms of pedosexual contact, such as between boys and women, girls and women and girls and men, were not dealt with here. Obviously they would be differently structured and differently experienced.

Although no selection was made of the boys asked to participate in this investigation, they are probably still a rather select group. Obviously we would not have had such easy access to boys who were involved in relationships where there was a clear abuse of power. However, almost all previous research on sex between children and adults has been grounded on the reports of "victims" seeking help or of people who, because of their sexual behavior, have come into contact with the police. The biased picture emerging from such research is to some extent counter-balanced by this investigation.

It would be absurd to conclude from this study that every child likes having sex with adults: we know too much about the frequency of real sexual abuse. And it is not just girls who are sexually abused: boys are, too. This investigation does, however, permit us to say that there are children who, without having many problems, enjoy friendships with adults and the sex which takes place within them.

Sex, Alcohol and Driving

THE FACT THAT THESE 25 boys had mainly pleasant experiences does not mean that pedosexual experiences are necessarily good for them or that adults should approve of them. What is good for the child cannot be determined quite so easily. That is dependent upon, among other things, the norms and values to which people adhere.

When in 1985 the government released its proposal to lower the "age of consent" (below which all sexual contacts with children are forbidden) from 16 to 12, objections flooded the newspapers. From *De Telegraaf*⁹: "No alcohol, no driving, but sex is okay under 16!" wrote one of the readers. Comparisons with drug use were also made: you don't let children use drugs either. Now, we know from experience that drugs are harmful; obviously children have a right to be protected from drugs, and this protection can be achieved to a very high degree by teaching them how to deal with such dangerous substances. But we simply do not know the consequences of a child's sexual experiences, at least those which are consensual, for later in his life.

What is known is that a restrictive sexual upbringing and a throttling of sexuality can lead to problems in adulthood. Money (1980) suggested that sexual experience in early life was important for a "healthy" sexual development. (One can also question whether it is right to make the privilege of driving an auto dependent upon reaching a certain age rather than having acquired satisfactory skills (Farson 1978).)

Significance for the Future

THERE WILL BE boys who will later recall with pleasure and appreciation the older partner and the friendship they shared. Sometimes this is evident in the human bond which remains after the erotic relationship has come to an end. However it is also possible that there will be boys who change their minds about what they had done, or possibly even come to regret it. At some point in his life each has to amalgamate this experience into his own personal history. And that is not always easy to do, not just because these experiences are so unusual, but because they concern something which society at large abhors. Possibly the once-pleasant experience will, in being recalled later, take on a negative shading, or the individual will prefer to forget about it because it does not conform with the image he wishes to have of himself. It is also possible that shortly after the sexual events some young people might realize that their dependent position had been abused, although that seems unlikely in the case of these 25 boys.

Great stress is placed in the literature upon the reaction of the child's environment if it comes to light that he has had sex with an adult. According to Weeks (1976) parental response is the single most important factor in determining what effect this will all have upon the child (See also Zeegers 1968, Van der Kwast 1975). Also if the discovery results in a court case this can turn the sexual contact into a negative experience.

We did not investigate the effect of the sexual relationship upon the child's later life. A great many people assume that sex with an adult is, per se, damaging; this is an important reason why they oppose it.

It is not easy to dispose of this question. What really are the damaging or negative consequences? Some would cite being "turned into a homosexual". But when a boy who has had sex with men later appears to be homosexual it is unclear whether or to what degree the early sexual contacts have played a role in his becoming so. One of the problems of investigating the effects of early experiences is that it is always difficult to tell what is cause and what is effect. This problem is intensified by the fact that such research usually relies upon retrospection whereby it is not always clear how far the memories coincide with what really happened. Forgetting and recoloring are all too common.

Can you really be made homosexual by having sex with men? O'Carroll (1980, p. 61) answered this question: "The radical response is not to cite research which proves this isn't so-which is actually the case-but to answer, 'Well, what is wrong with being a homosexual?'" Tolsma (1959, p. 37), who did a follow-up study of 133 minor "victims", came to the rather reassuring conclusion that "the

seduced person, after going through the seduction experience, finally gains a normal heterosexual preference."

There might be less extreme consequences. From the investigations discussed above, with all their limitations, no concrete conclusions can be reached. But Landis (1956) concluded on the basis of his own research that the great majority of his "victims" seemed to recover (wherever that was necessary) rather quickly. Burton (1968) used a control group so that children who had had these experiences could be compared with children who had not. She could discover no negative effects upon the child's personality development. Corstjens (1980) found neither a positive nor a negative influence of pedosexual experience on the person's sex life later. It would be easy to cite other investigations (Brongersma 1980). That pedosexual contacts have no adverse effects upon children can also be seen in summaries of previous research (as, for example, in Powell & Chalkey 1981), and on this basis Van der Kwast (1975) felt it was not stretching matters to say that sex with adults, in itself, does no harm.

One could just as easily cite researchers who concluded that sex with adults does harm children (see, for a summary, Steele & Alexander 1981). Constantine (1981) examined both sorts of research. He discovered there was a great diversity of reported consequences to the child, running all the way from positive to negative. He found no evidence for any inevitable long-term or short-term consequences. According to him the most important factor in a pedosexual contact is whether the child participates willingly in it or is forced; in the latter case the chance of it harming him is greater, but with children who themselves take the initiative the chance is correspondingly smaller. Most important, he felt, is how the child himself thinks about the occurrence.

The Law

THE KIND OF SEXUAL contacts described in this book between man and boy are illegal under our penal code. The articles in it which deal with sexual matters have been under discussion for some time. What might be the importance of these 25 boys' experiences for this discussion?

Before we can answer this question we must examine the law and especially some recent developments around it. Between 1970 and 1980 the so-called "Advisory Commission on Moral Legislation" worked on recommendations for legal reform. Other people and organizations prepared studies, proposals and commentary. The Commission's final recommendations, handed in to the government in 1984, attracted some rather negative responses. At the end of 1984 the government came up with proposed legislation which was largely based upon these recommendations; a year later the legislation, in slightly more finished form, was submitted to the Raad van State¹⁰.

The words "criminalization" and "decriminalization" are important in moral legislation discussions. Decriminalization means changing the law so that formerly illegal acts are made legal. Thus decriminalization would occur if the age of consent of 16 were lowered or abolished.

Criminalization occurs when an act which was formerly legal is made illegal.

The Articles of Law

SEX BETWEEN MEN and boys falls under Article 247 of the Penal Code. It reads that anyone "who is guilty of indecent behavior toward someone under the age of 16 or who tolerates or gives a third person opportunity to have indecent behavior with the latter" can be punished by a maximum of 6 years in prison.

There are four other articles dealing with sex with minors, the most important of which is Article 249 which makes illegal sex with one's own minor children, step-children, foster-children, one's students or any other minors who are entrusted to one's care in education, up-bringing or guardianship. Incest between parents and their children falls under this article. Article 244 punishes intercourse with a girl under 12. It makes no difference under these provisions whether the sex is consensual or forced. There is also no minimum age set for the "perpetrator", thus, in theory, sex between children themselves is also an offense. In this latter case, however, the law seldom

prosecutes. Nevertheless Wolters et al (1982) reported that in their research on sexual abuse 6.5% of the perpetrators were younger than 16.

A Law with a Long History

TODAY'S MORAL LEGISLATION, like much of our Penal Code, goes back to 1881. In the last 100 years there have been a number of revisions. In 1911 the law was strengthened so that, among other things, homosexual acts between adults and minors (i.e., persons under 21) were made illegal (Article 248 bis; Salden 1980). During the 1970s a number of articles, including 248 bis, were abolished (Brongersma 1984). Before the Penal Code became effective in 1886, The Netherlands used the French Penal Code in which no ages of consent were given for mutually consensual sexual acts. In other words, before 1886 there was no prohibition against sexual contact with children such as now exists.

In the drawing up of the new Code the former lack of an age of consent was considered an unfortunate omission. That sex harmed children was thought self-evident by 1881. This change in thinking was in part brought about by the general concern at the time over sexual and hygiene problems of certain large groups in the society, such as venereal disease amongst prostitutes. Under the influence of the newborn women's movement and the sexual reformers, people were activated into trying to solve these problems. The rise of medical science made that possible. It wasn't, however, simply a matter of practical concern. The rapidly growing Christian parties joined the fray and took up arms against supposed moral corruption. This preoccupation was not totally senseless: industrial development called for a healthy work force. The imposition of an age of consent was also influenced by a trend which had already begun in the 17th Century. A separation was growing between the child's world and the world of adults (Van Ussel 1976). The child was increasingly considered innocent and pure, a being who ought not to come into contact with sex. The Final Report of the Advisory Commission on Moral Legislation (1980) traces the origin of the ages of consent for each of the articles.

When the Penal Code was written the legislator did not see himself as a controller of people's morals. "Protecting people against voluntary moral corruption is not the job of the Penal Code." That was also the view of the majority of the Lower House at the time, and the principle is still adhered to, although, according to Brongersma (1984, p. 32), not always successfully. "The confusion and mingling of law and morality are hardly exceptional both in judicial decisions and in legislation. The legislature immediately got off on the wrong foot when it wrote into the new Penal Code such terms as "indecency" and "indecent conduct".

A New Moral Law?

BY THE END OF THE 1960s people had started to think differently about sex. Many aspects of it were being frankly discussed. This liberalizing trend cannot be separated from other social developments, such as the waning influence of the churches. With student and other protest movements, a new way of looking at authority arose, and parallel to this, new value was attached to the development of human potential. Moral legislation was perceived as rather old-fashioned; criticisms of the law were brought to the legislature. At first they were directed against Article 248 bis (homosexual contacts with young people under 21). Later people asked themselves whether the whole body of our moral legislation didn't need revision. In the meantime, police and Justice were showing more tolerance of exhibitionism and sex with minors. Convictions for sexual contact with children under 16 (except for those within dependent relationships) per 100,000 residents declined from 10.7 in 1950 to 3 in 1970 and to 0.7 in 1982 (Frenken 1984). Increasingly prosecuting attorneys decided not to prosecute. Prison sentences were shorter and more often suspended.

Activities of the Advisory Commission and Others

ONE OF THE FIRST actions of the Advisory Commission was to make an inquiry among a number of institutions, and one question put to them concerned ages of consent. The responses varied. Among other proposals was that sexual contact under 14 be illegal (The Society of Secretaries of

Child Protection Agencies), an age also supported by the Netherlands Psychoanalytic Society and the Psychoanalytic Association, which noted in addition that the rapid changes in society might soon make a further lowering in the age of consent necessary. The Catholic Youth Council for The Netherlands proposed two ages of consent: 14 for boys and 13 for girls, but said that punishment should not take place if the child, even though younger, was already sexually mature. The Netherlands Youth Association proposed an age of consent of 12.

Finally there were institutions which wished to see ages of consent abandoned altogether (among others, the Protestant Alliance for Child Protection, the Association for Medical Sexology, the Coornhertliga, The Socrates Humanistic Foundation and the Netherlands Institute for Social Sexological Research). The most important reason they gave was that children were already adequately protected by other articles in the Penal Code.

In the final analysis the Advisory Commission ignored this advice. Neither the inquiry nor its results appear in the Commission's Final Report. The above information is taken from "Ages of Consent in Moral Legislation" published in 1978 by the NVSH. One of the conclusions of this NVSH report was that in cases of abuse there were already other articles in the Penal Code which did not cite ages which could be used in prosecutions. It also stated that scientific study had not found sexual contact in itself harmful to children, harm being an erroneous premise of the 1886 law. The report gave four criteria for punishing people who had sexual contact with minors:

- Punish only where the contact harmed someone;
- No punishment where there were better ways to deal with the situation;
- No punishment which causes more harm than the illegal act;
- No vague, general penal provisions which only in a limited number of cases are used to prosecute.

In the NVSH report there was a general plea for the abandonment of ages of consent.

The same conclusion was reached by an expert committee appointed by the National Center for Public Mental Health and chaired by Dr. W. Sengers. In its report *Pedophilia and Society* the committee came out against continuing legal prohibitions against sexual contacts between children and adults. There was no sound basis for doing so, according to the committee, since no one had yet demonstrated that voluntary sex contacts ever resulted in either psychological or physical harm. Further, they found these prohibitions an unjust invasion of an individual's right to sexual self-determination, in this case that of the child. The maintenance of criminal sanctions prevented a more rational and subtle consideration of child sexuality and pedophilia and made assistance to those who were having problems in this area infinitely more difficult. Another argument they put forth cut to a much more gruesome consideration: making these contacts illegal actually increases the chance of a child involved in them being killed. That happens in The Netherlands on average once a year. The committee also felt that the legal impotence of minors ought to be ended.

In August 1979 the Advisory Commission on Moral Legislation received a petition to liberalize the Penal Code as much as possible (Eindrapport 1980). The petitioners claimed that the criminal statutes could be a hinderence to young persons' freedom to engage in such mutually consensual sexual activities as they chose. The petition was drawn up by the Coornhertliga, the Humanistic Union, the NVSH and the late radio minister A. Klamer. It received broad social support; leaders of the following political parties signed it: Labor, PSP, D'66, PPR and JOVD¹¹. It was also signed by the Man/Woman society, the Netherlands Women's Movement, the COC, the Netherlands Youth Work, the General "Reclassering" Society¹², the General Society of Educators, the Netherlands Society for SocioSexological Research, and lots of other organizations, as well as many influential individuals including scholars in philosophy, criminology, penal and child law, psychiatry and psychology.

Early in 1980, not long after this petition to the Advisory Commission, came a letter from the Child and Youth Psychiatry Section of the Netherlands Psychiatric Society (Eindrapport 1980). It claimed

that the petition was not drawn up in the interest of the child, as it claimed, but "in the interest of the pedophile (...) regardless of whether the child initiates such contacts, wants them, dislikes them or is compelled to participate in them". The Child and Youth Psychiatry Section was of the opinion that the child (and his parents) should be protected from *desired* sexual approaches as well. It found it "an absolutely wrong assumption that adults and children are psychologically equal partners in the sexual area. Children under 12, even adolescents, have neither emotionally nor cognitively reached such a level of equality that one could approve of them having erotic or sexual relations with an adult who so wishes. In our opinion they cannot have acquired enough knowledge and insight to be able to foresee the consequences which might ensue from having such relations." Because the psychiatrists thought that an abandonment of legal prohibitions would be an invasion of parental authority, they pled for the maintenance of the ages of consent.

The Final Report of the Advisory Commission

IN 1980 THE ADVISORY Commission published its final report. It dealt with rape and assault, sexual contacts with minors and sexual contacts with dependent persons. Its starting point was the protection of personal integrity from its violation by others. With respect to sex, this meant that the citizen's freedom to accept or reject sexual relations must be protected. The legislator, according to the Commission, "must set up norms to protect people whose capacity for sexual self-determination has not yet been attained" (Eindrapport, page 10).

The Advisory Commission felt that the State must not control morals. The expression "indecent conduct" no longer appears in the Commission's proposals.

Both criminalization and (limited) decriminalization are proposed. Article 244 would no longer apply just to sexual intercourse with girls under 12 but to all similar behavior: every kind of genital, oral and anal contacts irrespective of who did what to whom. Article 244 would also apply to boys. In all these measures there is a criminalizing tendency.

Decriminalization can be seen in the proposed new Article 249 (sexual contact with dependent persons): age of consent would be reduced from 21 to 16. With respect to sexual contacts with other minors between the ages of 12 and 16, the adult would only be punished if he "induced the young person to tolerate or participate in sexual activities." if the child himself took the initiative, such sexual contact would fall outside the jurisdiction of the law. The Commission made this change because it was "less evident" that such contacts per se were physically or psychologically damaging. In its justification it placed the emphasis upon protecting the personal integrity of the child. The difficult-to-determine matter of whether consensual sex with adults is or is not harmful for children was thus ingenuously avoided.

It follows, then, that the Commission supposed that where the older partner takes the initiative he is always making use of a power advantage inherent in their psychological inequality. "The way in which the perpetrator induces the younger partner to tolerate or participate in the sexual activity is of no concern to the law because an abstract evaluation of the events is irrelevant. The objections lie in the psychological and situational inequality between the perpetrator and the victim; how use is made of this is another matter." (Eindrapport, page 31)

Apart from this, the Commission made no other "age provisions for the perpetrator"; in other words, if anyone under 16 induces another person of its own age to have sex with him, he would still be subject to punishment.

Commentary on the Final Report

THE REPORT WAS widely discussed (for example, see Den Brouwmeester 1980, Zeegers 1980, Brongersma & Van Naerssen 1981, Maasen 1981, Sandfort 1981). Criticism was mostly leveled at the term "inducing", and the proposed ages of consent were thought to be too high, especially considering what is scientifically known about the sexual behavior of young people. The Advisory Commission appealed to "data" but did not cite their source, which was something the critics did

do.

The makeup of the Commission was also criticized: most of the members were jurists and criminologists. They were competent to deal with assault and rape but not, really, with child sexuality and pedophilia.

The criminalizing tendency of the Final Report also came in for some criticism. Zeegers (1980) quoted with approval Mrs. Davelaar (1980): "Feminist pressures must not result in so many new details being introduced into the law that its protection function is lost." Soetenhorst-de Savornin Lohman (1984) claimed that ever since 1965 the government has been going full ahead criminalizing all sorts of behavior and warned that the law would become ineffective and an empty symbol.

It was expected that the government would draw up a proposed law in the spring of 1982. The National Council for Social Welfare organized a symposium "What limits?" in June of that year which was to contribute to current political discussions. There were both supporters and opponents of decriminalization. The psychiatrist Cohen-Matthijssen questioned "whether children between 12 and 16 were sufficiently developed to be allowed complete freedom with respect to erotic and sexual relations when they were not, or should not be, in other matters" (Symposiumverslag, page 44). Zeegers, also a psychiatrist, said that having sexual contacts which did not involve force, coercion or violence punishable under law was more harmful to children than it was protecting. At the end of the Forum, a high functionary in the Ministry of Justice which was supposedly involved in the preparation of the new law proposal said that the limits to be set by the legislator would be where misuse of circumstance began: "limits which can be supported both by the campaigner against child sexual abuse and the advocate of good sexual relations between adults and children" (Symposiumverslag, page 57). It is questionable, however, whether the participants who had such divergent points of view actually came any closer together.

The Children's Police also responded: they testified that the norms reflected in the law no longer conformed to reality (Soetenhorst-de Savornin Lohman & Jansz 1986).

Alternatives to the Advisory Commission's Final Report were also suggested. Zeegers (1980), who characterized the proposals of the Commission as "a conservative revamping of the morality laws", suggested lowering the age of consent from 16 to 12 and punishing only those who induced children below that age to have sex. Children above 12 can and must "decide for themselves if they want to be persuaded to have sex by means of gifts, nice talk and other means." He wished to see the maximum prison sentence reduced from 6 years (as proposed by the Commission) to 3.

Like many other organizations, the NVSH and the COC disapproved of the Final Report; they now suggested alternatives. With respect to ages of consent, they observed that the principal involved in coerced sex was no different for children than for adults. Thus necessary protection of children should not lie in laws governing sexual morality but in that part of the Penal Code which dealt with "crimes against individual freedom". One of the proposed articles should provide for the punishment of someone who "illegally compels a child under 12 to do something, not do something or tolerate something done to him" (Zeden en straffen 1984, page 48). A forum was called to study the proposal, especially its impact upon women.

The First Legislative Proposal

IN SEPTEMBER 1984 the government finally released its proposed law. It largely followed the recommendations and arguments of the Final Report. It recognized that a wide variety of acts fall under the present laws in which ages of consent are specified; "they vary from instances of shocking sexual abuse of defenseless children to relations which one could only find objectionable because they are considered offensive" (Voorstel van Wet, p. 26).

The article containing the objectionable term "induce to" was reworded in the government proposal. Now the means were listed by which the "inducement" must be accomplished: "gifts, promise of

payment or material benefit, abuse of power or through deception." The Minister stated in his explanatory memo that it is not desirable to forbid people under the age of consent to have sexual contacts just in order to uphold community standards. It would be better to clarify the concept "inducing to" because it then becomes evident what the key factor for penalization really is: not respecting the personal integrity of the young person. There was thus no denial that young people do have sexual contacts. The legislator could now take a neutral position with respect to sex which minors engage in.

Another important departure from the Advisory Commission's Final Report was the amendment to Article 245 in which 12 years was given as the age of consent. Sexual activity would now be punished if it included "sexual intercourse or other similar acts of physical penetration" (Voorstel van Wet, page 3). Thus penetration would become the criterium. In other words, as far as sexual contacts involving persons under 12 were concerned, less sexual activity would be forbidden under this article than under the Advisory Commission's Final Report -- clear decriminalization, then.

Finally, it should be noted that in this proposal sexual contact which the child himself had not initiated would suddenly be added to the category of "serious moral offenses", at least according to the explanatory memo.

This first legislative proposal was sent on the 19th of September to the Emancipation Council¹³, which responded in December 1984. The Emancipation Council subscribed to the premise of sexual self-determination on which the proposal was grounded. The Council supported the idea that sexual contacts with young people should no longer be punished if it can not be determined that they were compelled in the manner stated. It thought that the right of young people to have their own sexual experiences should be recognized and, as far as possible, be assured.

Unlike the Advisory Commission, the Emancipation Council thought that an initiative coming not from the child but from another person was an unacceptable reason for making the contact punishable. If the right of the child to have sexual experiences was recognized, legal intervention was only appropriate where the young person could not freely decide whether or not to engage in the sexual activities. "We reject the premise upon which the Advisory Commission on Moral Legislation based this proposal, that young people under 16 can do without this freedom." Here the Emancipation Council departed strongly from the traditional point of view of the feminist movement.

The absolute prohibition of sexual intercourse as well as other penetrative sexual activities was supported by the Emancipation Council, as was the sex-neutral tone of the article.

The Council also agreed with the government proposal that young people in dependent positions (as in relationships with parents, teachers, group leaders) were almost never able to make a really free choice about sexual contacts within such relationships; in such a situation it approved of continuing the punishment provisions.

A final recommendation of the Council was that the articles concerned no longer be placed under the heading "Offenses Against Morality"; the heading should be changed to reflect the fact that these were crimes which violated sexual self-determination. Here, too, the Council differed sharply from the Advisory Commission.

The Second Legislative Proposal

ABOUT A YEAR LATER the government was ready with a new proposal. On November 5th, 1985 it was sent to the Raad van State for advice. In this second proposal the age of consent remained at 16 and the term "inducing to" was maintained. Now, however, all sexual activities involving children under 12, not just penetration, would be punished, and regardless of the way in which they came about -- a criminalizing alteration of the original proposal. No explanation was given of why this change was made.

The proposal was released both in political circles and to the public. The Christian Democrats were

the first to make clear that they were not in favor of lowering the age of consent as was stipulated in the proposal: because it was difficult to make a distinction between forced and voluntary contacts, this proposal would not provide adequate protection for children. At first the Liberal Party supported the proposal. Mrs. Rempt, Liberal Party member of the Lower House, called it "a very sensible proposal which is in agreement with social reality" (NRC, 4 November 1985). The Labor-Socialist Lower House member Kosto said in the same newspaper that he saw no reason for maintaining the penal provision: young people are becoming sexually mature at an earlier and earlier age so we cannot assume in advance that force was used.

The *Telegraaf* asked for reader reactions. The letters it received were mostly negative: "The legal freeing of 12-yearold children from sexual restraint is going altogether too far"; "a distasteful affair"; "Let the child remain a child in these matters"; and "If a child himself wants to do such things, then he deserves to be protected from himself".

Mrs. Rempt defended the proposal on television against child psychologist Wolters and psychiatrist De Levita. The latter maintained that the proposal would remove all legal protection of children and Wolters was afraid that if the age of consent was lowered from 16 to 12 it would soon descend even further. Moderator Koos Posterna supported both men by saying that they were not old-fashioned worry-warts. (This same Koos Posterna seven years ago when a different climate prevailed presented a much sounder program on the subject of pedophilia.)

The cabinet must take into consideration these very critical public reactions, said former Liberal Party leader Nijpels, but the party itself had already changed its position. In light of the then-looming elections, it was important to take account of voter reactions.

The Labor party, too, was amazed at the uproar the legislative proposal elicited. Without coming out directly against the proposal, it let it be known it thought there were many important principles which were in conflict with one another and would be difficult to resolve. The reserve of the Labor-Socialist party on the basis of party politics is understandable, but it leaves a rather bad taste in one's mouth that in the contemporaneous political discussions about euthanasia it said that the right to euthanasia should not be restricted to adults. Exactly what went on within the various political parties was colorfully described by Ben Heinrichs and Max van Weezel (1985).

With the evaporation of legislative support Minister of Justice Korthals Altes could only withdraw his proposal. This was no death sentence, however; he said the cabinet would reconsider it when it came back from the Raad van State.

The vehement public reaction was attributed by some, including the Minister of Justice himself, to its clumsy presentation (Soetenhorst-de Savornin Lohman & Jansz 1986). The press releases made it appear that decriminalization was being carried farther than it was in fact; it gave the impression that all children would be granted unlimited sexual freedom.

Soetenhorst-de Savornin Lohman and Jansz concluded from the whole sequence of events that a sensible proposal carefully prepared by experts to change a law which no longer conformed with reality came into collision with highly emotional reactions: "It was mainly political emotions which have determined what is going to appear in the law.

" At the present time it is unclear what will happen in the future with respect to moral legislation. The Raad van State will tender its advice, and it is impossible to predict what this advice will be. In fact it may already have been given, since recommendations from the Raad van State are always secret. It is also impossible to predict how such advice will be received. In its memo concerning homosexuality (Overheidsbeleid 1986), the government announced that it would reconsider its proposal in light of the Raad van State's advice.

The matter would best be considered soon: in the absence of looming elections, there is a better chance that decisions will be made more on the basis of reason than on party politics expediency. The argument that the articles of moral legislation are a product of Victorian morality which

prevailed when they were drawn up is insufficient reason for their abandonment. It would leave unaddressed the problem, which must never be underestimated, of real sexual abuse of children, for it is the job of the government to prevent such abuse as much as is possible.

Whether the Penal Code can help solve this problem depends largely upon how people perceive the possibilities it offers. Some think the criminal laws are inhuman and should be abandoned—the so-called "abolitionists" (As, for example, Hulsman 1983). Others would like to see stiffer punishments for, among other crimes, rape; it is unclear whether they think this will really solve the problem or whether they are more interested in retribution. The ability of the criminal law to prevent crime is often overestimated. Above all one might ask whether sexual abuse isn't more adequately combated by other means; the harmful side-effects of criminal prosecution must be kept in mind, and it is not insignificant that even from the police itself there have been pleas for more restraint in the application of the law. Sometimes the cure seems worse than the complaint, said Mrs. Visser (1984), Chief of Police of The Hague. She considered use of the criminal law the last resort.

It would also be possible that the known will be chosen over the unknown and absolute prohibition will be maintained; Beyaert (1984) made his plea along that line: the police, the Public Ministry¹⁴ and the judge all have a great deal of leeway in applying the law. But Minister of Justice Korthals Altes has not chosen for this easy solution and all the judicial uncertainty and inequality it entails.

The legislator can decide that children, in comparison to adults, have the right, reinforced by the criminal law, to extra protection from real abuse; good arguments for this exist. It would be a matter of choosing some formula whereby, just as with adults, it would not be the sex itself that would be criminalized. Children who engage in such activities out of their own free choice deserve to be protected rather than threatened.

Summary and Conclusions

THE PROBLEM OF criminalizing sexual contacts with children is complex. Taking into consideration the limitations of this research, the data presented here can play only a restricted role in the discussions about moral legislation. That doesn't mean, however, that their significance should be ignored. While the discussions will most probably revolve around the question of the appropriate age of consent for different kinds of sexual acts, one might well ask whether the multi-faceted experiences of the boys described in this book do not also have a place in them.

The boys and their older partners met in a variety of ways whereby the first contact was often more or less accidental. Subsequent meetings took place at the initiative of both. Sometimes sex occurred at the first meeting; in other instances sex was gradually introduced into the relationship. With inexperienced boys the older partner often took the sexual initiative. As the contacts became more frequent, however, the initiative often shifted from the one to both. The most frequent sexual acts were mutual masturbation and fellatio. The boys overwhelmingly experienced their sexual contact with the older partner as pleasant; such negative feelings as occurred had mainly to do with their social surroundings which they knew disapproved of such contacts. Bad behavior on the part of the older partner, such as misuse of his power advantage, almost never occurred, according to the boys: there seemed to be not so much a question of power abuse but of how the older partner used his power. The friendships and the sex which occurred within them had no negative influence upon the boys' general sense of well-being. The pedophile friendships were not based upon sex alone. The boys felt they received affection, love, attention, companionship, a sense of freedom and support from their older partners; they shared many activities. The importance of the older partner and the friendship varied from boy to boy; sometimes the man was just one of the boy's friends; in other instances the man occupied a central place in the boy's life. Most of the boys' parents knew their son had a relationship with an adult; some of them even knew that their son and the man were having sex with each other. Most of the boys whose parents did not know about the sex suspected their parents would not approve. Where the parents did know the boys thought they had accepted it; in these cases the boys were often very happy that they could be open with their parents about it. The

boys expected that their friends would disapprove of their sexual relationships, even though they knew some of their friends were having sex themselves with adults. The boys themselves, however, thought their friendships and the sex was nice. A number of them emphasized that outsiders shouldn't make problems about it and that they themselves ought to have the right to decide what they wanted to do and what they would do.

Except on the basis of violation of moral standards, there was nothing in what these boys said that would justify punishment. If a separate moral offenses section of the Penal Code is allowed to stand in which ages of consent are specified, then the articles should be so drawn up that the kind of sexual contacts which these 25 boys experienced would fall outside of their application. At the same time the law should make it possible, wherever there is clear abuse of power and if there is no other available option, for justice to intervene. The present laws form more of a threat to boys who enjoy friendships and sexual relations such as are described in this book than a protection, and some of these boys were quite aware of this. Any new or revised legislation must provide protection for young people against sexual abuse. At the same time it must not obstruct their right to sexual self-determination.

Footnotes:

9 The largest Dutch daily newspaper, written in a rather popular style. Its editorial outlook is quite conservative, and this is especially true with respect to sexual matters.

10 The Raad van State is the highest judiciary body in The Netherlands. Among other functions, it examines legislative proposals made by the government before they are submitted in their final form to the legislature for discussion and voting. The advice is made to the government directly (usually confidentially) but is not binding.

11 The Labor (Socialist) Party is the largest party in the Dutch Legislature; D66 is the fourth largest.

12 "Reclassering" is a government organization set up to help people convicted in the courts with their reintegration into society upon release from prison or termination of probationary periods.

13 A governmental council set up to advise the government on matters concerning women. It has also been successfully appealed to by, among others, the homosexual liberation movement.

14 The governmental body to which the public prosecutors (district attorneys) belong. It sets guidelines for sentences asked by the public prosecutors.

Appendix 1.

The Research Method

MOST OF THE MATERIAL presented in this book was obtained by using the so-called "Self-Confrontation Method" which is based on the valuation theory of Hermans (1974, 1978, 1981). In valuation theory the experiential world of a person is conceived of as being organized around a system of value areas. A value area is something which a person at a particular time in his or her life considers important.

Using the Self-Confrontation Method an attempt is made through sets of questions to describe a person's experiential world (his or her systems of value areas) as comprehensively as possible. This is done by letting the person determine what he considers important in his present situation, and he has the opportunity to link the various aspects together and give his own interpretations.

We adapted the original version of the Self-Confrontation Method (Hermans 1974) and the investigation itself to the developmental level of the boys we would be studying.

To establish each boy's value areas, the first seven questions which Bonke (1977) formulated were used:

1. *Activity*: "What do you do a lot?"
2. *Enjoyment*: "What do you enjoy a lot?"
3. *Dislike*: "What do you dislike a lot?"
4. *Thinking about*: "What do you think about a lot?"
5. *Positive relations*: "Who do you get on well with?"
6. *Negative relations*: "Who do you not get on well with?"
7. *Supplement*: "When you have read all the things we have put down, is there still something that is very important to you."

Each question doesn't always yield a value area; on the other hand it might lead to the formulation of multiple value areas. The questions are designed to encompass as broadly as possible the boy's experiential world. In order to assure that in every "self-investigation" a number of corresponding aspects could be examined, additional questions were added. These questions were asked after the "spontaneous" value areas had already been set up, and only then if the boy had not already himself formulated such value areas. These questions related to the older partner, the sexual contact with the older partner and the positive and negative sides to that contact. Finally, as is part of the Self-Confrontation Method, the boys were asked how they had recently been feeling in general (the General experience) and how they would really like to feel (the Ideal experience.) These questions were:

8. *Older partner*: "What is your friend's name?"
9. *Making love*: "You also make love with Some people call that sex or sexual contact. What do you call it?"
10. *Making love-positive*: "If you now think about the sexual contact with what do you find pleasurable about it? Why would you not want to go without it?"
11. *Making love-negative*: "If you think about the sexual contact with, what do you find

unpleasant about it? Why would you perhaps rather not do it any more?"

Sets 10 and I I were introduced with the remark that many things, such as going to school, have both pleasant and unpleasant sides to them. Since this mode of questioning presupposes that there are unpleasant aspects of the sexual contact, the boys, whenever this was really the case, would have had more difficulty denying it. All of the value areas were written down on cards.

After the value areas had been formulated, they were scored with respect to 14 feelings. Use was made of Bonke's list (1977), except that the feeling of "anxiety" was replaced by "naughty" because it would seem to have a central place in the phenomenon being examined. The list was as follows:

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Nice | 8. Strong |
| 2. Safe | 9. Sad |
| 3. Angry | 10. Afraid |
| 4. Lonely | 11. Contented (satisfied) |
| 5. Happy | 12. Free |
| 6. Shy (embarassed) | 13. Dislike |
| 7. Naughty | 14. Proud |

After it was determined that the boy understood the feelings on the list, he was asked to concentrate on the value areas he had formulated and then to say how often he had each of those feelings in connection with each of his value areas. He could chose "never" (0), "almost never" (1), "sometimes" (2), "fairly often" (3), "often" (4) and "very often" (5). The researcher recorded the numbers in a so-called "affect matrix". The matrices for all 25 of the boys are given in Sandfort 1981 a & b.

Some of the value areas were also scored with respect to different kinds of behavior, and this was analogous to the scoring with respect to feelings. Because it was necessary to limit the time involved in each self-investigation, not all of the value areas were so scored, only some of those in which one or more persons were involved. The following list of behavioral types was used:

- | | |
|---------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Consulting | 8. Making allowances for |
| 2. Helping | 9. Scaring |

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 3. Deceiving | 10. Misleading |
| 4. Making fun of | 11. Cooperating |
| 5. Encouraging | 12. Playing attention to |
| 6. Leaving in the lurch | 13. Coercing |
| 7. Domineering | 14. Giving a chance to |

Just as in the list of emotions, there were seven positive and seven negative forms of behavior. Once it was clear that the boy understood the words, his perception of the way in which he and the man behaved to one another within the context of the particular value area was depicted.

Both qualitative and quantitative analyses were made of the data assembled through the Self-Confrontation Method. Insights so gained into the boy's experiential world were discussed in a second interview with the boy. The following indices were calculated from the scores recorded in the affect matrix:

P Index: The extent to which a person has positive feelings within a value area (the sum of the positive feeling scores).

N Index: The extent to which a person has *negative* feelings within a value area (the sum of the negative feeling scores).

C Index: The extent to which a person is emotionally *concerned* with a value area ($P + N$).

Q Index: The *quality* of a value area, that is, the degree a person has more positive than negative feelings in that area ($P/(P + N)$).

G Index: The extent to which the specific pattern of emotions within a particular value area correlates with the general experience of the boy, the *generalization tendency* of that area (product moment correlation).

I Index. The extent to which the specific pattern of emotions within a particular value area correlates with the idealized experience of the boy, the *idealization tendency* (product moment correlation).

From the behavior scores, similar P, N, C and Q indices were calculated for the selected value areas described above. The significance of these indices in the value areas where they occur are more or less analogous to those of the emotions; thus there are indices for how the boy perceives the behavior of the older partner toward him, and vice versa.

Appendix 2.

Interviews with Three Boys

ALL THE INTERVIEWS of the 25 boys were tape recorded and the tapes preserved. The following three were selected for transcription and inclusion in Sandfort & Hoogma's *Ervaringen van jongens in pedofiele relaties* (Experiences of boys in pedophile relationships), 1982 to reflect the spread of ages of the boys and to give the reader an idea of how the interviews were conducted. They were slightly edited to remove extraneous material.

Interview with Thijs (10 years and 11 months)

What do you do a lot?

Well, first I was in a swim club, but I didn't like that very much. I don't have a lot of hobbies. Sometimes I play a little football. And handball and so on. Mostly I just do different things. I play outside quite a bit, sometimes with friends, sometimes alone.

What do you do then?

Play football, wander around town on the tram. And I also always go swimming with Joop (the older partner) on naked swim days. Usually with Joop, or Loek, who's another man. Ya, he knows a lot of those guys (i.e. pedophiles-T.S.).

Is it important to you that it's naked swimming?

Well, just put down naked swimming-nobody will find out it's me saying this. But I don't like it if there's someone else with us I don't know.

Is that every weekend?

Yes, but sometimes he goes somewhere else.

What do you enjoy a lot?

Playing outside.

But we've already put that down.

Well I usually go over to Joop's. I play games there, and have a good time.

What games do you play with each other?

Sometimes we just sit around inside and a lot of boys and girls drop in to visit Joop- usually not so many girls as boys. Every Saturday, with french fries and so on-I always come, too. But I also always come if nobody else is there. So when nobody else can come I get to, and that's because I've know him for such a long time. Well, that's what I do a lot. And sometimes I just make love [15] with him.

[15] The Dutch word is "vrijen"-literally to be or make free. Its first meaning is to court, but it can have a range of other meanings from having complete sex with someone to "necking" to being non-sexually but physically intimate with someone, as mothers might be with their small children. Thus, in these interviews, the care which is taken to be sure just what the boy is thinking of when he uses the word.

What do you mean when you say "make love"?

Sometimes sex, sometimes making love, just about everything.

You mean sex is the same as making love?

Sort of.

What shall we put down here, "sex with Joop", or would you rather use "make love"?

Makes no differenceto me. That is just between the two of us.

What do you really dislike?

Having to go to school.

Why?

Uh, because I can't play outside. Just about every day we get something difficult--but also something nice. Well, I don't really know... it is mostly having to go to school.

Is there something you think about a lot, for example when you're lying in bed at night?

Yes, sometimes I think that I used to be able to sleep with Joop all the time, but now I can't.

You think about that?

And that in the morning I'll have to go to school.

That school's always there, isn't it?

Sometimes I sleep with my mother, but I have my own room, too, but then my mother is all alone and she is already so old.

Is it that your mother doesn't like to sleep alone?

No...

Then why do you sleep with your mother?

Just because she's so alone. My sister also comes fairly often to sleep with her. But usually she sleeps alone.

You used to be allowed to sleep with Joop?

Yes, but I can't any more. She told me, "Not with him any more." She told me she didn't like it, I mean that I couldn't sleep with him any more. So it's better not to do it, because she doesn't want me to, that's what I figured out.

How do you feel about that?

I don't like it, of course. And so I still think about it.

Who do you get along well with?

With Joop and Loek.

Who is Loek?

He always goes with us to the swimming pool.

Are there other people you get along really well with?

A whole lot: Loek's friends, and people I know real well, of course.

Have you any idea why you get along with Joop so well?

It's because I've known him for such a long time.

How long have you known him?

I'm not sure exactly, two and a half years or so. I've never had a fight with him.

Who don't you get along so well with?

Oh, my brother. My brother is always bad-mouthing me; he calls me a "mini-queer" every time I go over to Joop's. I'm always having fights with him. And my sister who's always bossing me around.

What's your brother's name?

Guus.

And he calls you mini-queer?

Yes, he says it in a very nasty way. It's kind of a cuss word.

You don't like that?

No, not being called that name. But even if they just say "You're going to Joop" I don't like it.

And what is your sister's name?

Trees.

So you can't get along very well with Guus and Trees?

And with a guy named Dick. He's always saying behind Joop's back, "Don't go anywhere near that faggot." But he goes to bed with him himself.

So he bad-mouths Joop behind his back?

Yes. Once or twice I've told Joop about it but he doesn't listen to me.

Do you think he doesn't care?

I don't know.

Most things have pleasant and unpleasant sides. Going to school, for example, is pleasant because you learn things. But it can also be unpleasant, perhaps, because you get punished a lot. When you think about sex with Joop, what are the nice things about it?

Well, we like to be with each other. And I'm used to it, I think it's nice and stuff.

You think it's nice?

Yes, I think it's just plain nice with him, the sex and so on.

What do you find the unpleasant aspects of sex with Joop?

There aren't any. I don't know of any, at least.

Not even if you think about it real hard?

No.

Isn't there something you'd rather not do?

No. Because if there was I'd say so.

Now I want to talk about something you have written down here--that you can no longer sleep with Joop. At first your mother let you, didn't she?

She used to, a couple of times, a few days or so.

At first you could, then why can't you any more?

My mother found out a bit about Joop, sort of the way Joop is.

Did she find out about it or not?

Yes.

How did she find out?

He started talking about nude swimming and so on, and then Joop's friends said I went swimming too, nude swimming. Then my mother thought that wasn't such a good idea.

Then she told you you couldn't?

Yes, then she already knew a whole lot.

Was that a long time ago that you slept with Joop?

A couple of years, maybe a year and a half.

The Second Interview

I first want to ask you how long you have known Joop.

Uh, I don't know--two and a half years, two years, something like that. I don't remember so good any more.

You're almost eleven, aren't you, thus you were around 8 or 9 then, weren't you?

Yes.

Can you remember how you first got to know him, how it went?

Yes. We were going to play football. I was on my bike and the chain came off and Joop said, "Here, let me put it back on." Well, I could do that myself, but he wanted to do it so I let him. Then he asked, "Would you like to come in?" So I went in and then I started playing football with him more often. And so one day we started doing sex. It happened very quickly. I didn't know anything about sex, but I learned in a hurry. One night I went to the toilet and he started playing with my cock. So we began making out, I mean having sex.

What did you think about that atfirst?

I was sort of shy, but later, when I'd been coming there a week or so, I got used to it.

The first time you had sex, that was right at the beginning, you said, you hadn't known him so very long?

Two or three days only. That was when I was still in the children's home. I came to his place every weekend, and sometimes during the week, too. I'd tell them in the Home that I was going to go outside and play, and then to my mother.

So it was right at the beginning, you said. Can you tell me what happened that first time?

You mean the sex? Well, first he asked me. He said, "If you don't like it you must tell me." And so he started doing it a little with his hand... He did that for a while, for a few days. Because I live close to him-I come over a lot. And finally-I think about a month later--I did it to him, too. And two weeks after that we had complete sex with each other... just about every day. Every day I came. Now I come every day, because I'm back home. Just about every day, but sometimes not.

If you had to say who started the sex that first time, who would it be?

Who started sex the first time? He did, of course. I didn't even know what sex was. Okay, I knew what it *was* but not that.

Even though you'd done it yourself little?

No.

How do you like knowing all about it now?

I knew all about it when I was ten.

What happens now when you have sex with each other?

We just have a little sex, jerk each other off a little, and then we just go to sleep, take a little nap.

Can you say who starts it, when you have sex?

Either of us. Sometimes me, yeah, mostly me. But he, too, real often.

Can you tell me how you do it if you want to start?

I come up close to him and say, "I want to tell you something." Well, if anyone knew what that meant... that's what he always thinks. But I don't think anyone's figured that out.

And then you go to the bedroom?

Yes, but a lot of the kids know, so they say, "Oh, no, not that again! Just hurry up and cum!"

Is it different now from that first time you had sex with Joop?

A whole lot. We didn't used to do it together. I didn't know much about him, and now I know just about everything. I didn't used to have much contact with him, but now I do. And that first time wasn't really true sex.

Does anybody know that you have sex with Joop?

Yes, people who come here to the house.

What do those people think about it?

They never mention it.

And your mother?

I can't let her know anything about it. She does know, but I just say it's not true. But I just keep on coming to Joop.

So really you're lying a little to your mother?

Of course. I'm not going to be kept away from Joop.

Why not?

Just because, uh...

What do you think your mother would feel about your having sex with Joop?

I guess she'd think it was dirty. She'd think a man doing that with a child was not normal, that you just shouldn't do it. That's what she'd say.

And how do you feel about her thinking that way?

Rotten stupid! Although I wouldn't tell her it was rotten stupid. I mean, what business is it of hers? It's my business what I do.

Do some of your friends know about it, too?

Yes, friends from school, they know, because they're always ragging me about it a little. Maybe half the school knows. They talk about "queers" and so on.

They call you queer?

No, I don't let on I know they're gossiping about me. I'm not that stupid, because then I'd really get bad-mouthed.

Those boys probably also find it dirty?

Well, I don't know. Could be, because they wouldn't say it was dirty if they really didn't think it was.

How do you feel about your having sex with Joop?

It's just really nice.

It's no problem for you?

It's just like a man going to bed with a woman--I think it's exactly the same: nice. And the feelings and so on they have, I have too.

Interview with Theo (13 years, 9 months)

What do you do a great deal?

Play football.

Are you in a club?

Yes. I like it a lot.

Can you tell me why you like football so much?

Yeah, playing together, working as a team. If you're in a good eleven you stick with it. Otherwise you just stop, because everyone tells you you're lousy. I think it's great I'm part of a good eleven.

Are there other things that you do a lot?

Uh, yes... I don't know.

What do you really enjoy?

Playing tricks on people. Tying up bike wheels, that's a lot of fun. Then they can't ride away. Then they do such dumb things to try to get it loose. Or tie up a cat's tail--we did that once--but then I got scratched up good.

What, by the cat? I don't blame him. Why do you enjoy playing tricks on people so much?

I don't know. They act so funny if something's wrong. And just tinkering around with stuff. I doubled the size of a toy car with cardboard. I like fooling around that way.

Do you do other things with cardboard?

Yes, I used to make all sorts of stuff out of it for the Christmas tree.

Are there other important things you enjoy a great deal?

No.

What do you really dislike?

Doing the dishes! Or hauling back shopping--I don't like that very much.

Do you do that a lot?

Sure, every night. Me and my brother have that chore. One of us washes and the other dries. Mother and Dad work late every evening, to around six o'clock, so we eat late. So we have to do the dishes at the same time the TV programs are on.

So you don't get to watch television?

No, we miss the best shows. But the guy who washes has the advantage that he's through first.

And shopping?

I have to do that myself because my little brother always drops the bottles when he takes them out of the cooler. So I'm the one who shops.

Your father and mother both work so that's why they cannot shop themselves?

Yes, but Mother gets Fridays off.

Are there other things you seriously dislike?

No, at school everything's pretty good.

What do you think about a great deal?

I think a lot about school, about math and so on.

What grade are you in?

First form at the technical school.

And you think a lot about school, you say--or do you mean you think a lot when you're at school?

Yes, I think a lot about it. That's different.

Is there anything else you think about a great deal?

Yes, nuclear war and such. I think that's so terrible. Like Harrisburg when that accident occurred, what could then happen. If that really took place on a big scale. That really upset me and I think about that a lot. What would happen in a nuclear war. One of those bombs over The Netherlands and everyone would be dead.

Are there other things you think about a great deal?

No.

Who do you get along well with?

Bert. (The older partner-T.S.)

How long have you known Bert?

Three months. And I get along real good with Mother and Dad.

Why do you think it is that you get along so well with Bert?

He understands children--boys--better. My mother does too, and so does my father, but Bert knows more about them, I think.

You get along well with your mother and father, you say?

Yes, because if something happens, if you've got yourself into some kind of trouble or something, then you can always tell them about it and they'll help you.

Because they're not so strict?

Strict? Well, they can be strict enough, because I'm always getting into fights with my little brother, and then my father asks who started it and whoever did gets punished. Dad can tell by looking at our faces.

And your mother?

Yeah, she always knows what's going on. One time my little brother told her we needed money, two guilders for I. D. photos. She gave him the two guilders but he spent it on candy. But she found out about it and now she's got to see a letter. She won't fall into that trap any more, or we have to forge a letter then next time.

Shall we put your parents down here, too?

Yes, parents, because you can always bring your problems to them.

Are there other people you don't get along well with?

Yes, my little brother.

Why is that?

Oh, he's always pestering me, so I hit him, and then I'm in the wrong. I'm the one that gets punished.

And that's why you dislike him?

Well... not really dislike--but sometimes, yes. One day he's nice enough, helps you and so on, then the next thing you know he's pestering you again.

So you do dislike him?

Yes.

And what's the main reason?

If he wins at football, which he usually does, then he teases me all the time if we've lost. And he's for Ajax and I'm for Feijenoord [16]. But if Ajax loses to Feijenoord, then I tease him.

[16] Two of the top professional football (soccer in America) teams in The Netherlands.

So, should we put down your little brother?

Yes, my bratty little brother, my pest of a brother.

And he's younger than you?

Yes. I'm 13; he's 10.

Are there other people you can't get along with well?

No.

You make love with Bert, don't you?

Yes.

Some people call that sex or sexual contact. How do the two of you, or you yourself, call it?

Making love.

We have to be sure what is meant, because there's making love and making love, isn't there? For example, if you sit on someone's lap that can be considered making love, but making love in bed, of course, is something altogether different and that's what you mean, isn't it?

Yes.

Most things have pleasant and unpleasant sides. For example, going to school is pleasant because you learn things. But it can also be unpleasant, for example, if you get punished a lot. If you think about making love with Bert, what are its pleasant sides?

Uh... I don't really know.

Let's put it another way: why do you do it?

Well, because it's nice.

Then that is a pleasant side?

Yes.

You think it's nice?

Yes, I think it's very nice.

And unpleasant sides? What are the unpleasant sides, for you, to making love with Bert?

Well... he's prickly.

He's prickly?

Yes, here... He's all stubbly, because he shaves. The stubble pricks!

Shall we put that down?

Yes. Old porcupine.

Are there other unpleasant sides to making love with Bert? You think it's very nice, but perhaps for one reason or another there are things you'd rather not do?

Yes, when I grow up later I'd rather not do it. I'll have a girl then, and so on.

But now it doesn't bother you?

No.

Nothing that makes you think you'd really rather not do it?

No. Nothing at all.

I also wanted to ask you if sometimes you have sex with other people, with boys or girls or older people.

No. Yes, with Richard (another pedophile-T.S.) sometimes.

You had sex with him?

Yes. It was through him I got to know Bert.

You were here with Richard once?

Yes.

But you don't do that any more?

No.

The Second Interview

You said that you felt "afraid" fairly often when you thought about having sex with Bert. Can you tell me more about that?

Maybe one time I'll want to get it off my chest and I'll want to tell someone about it, and I do and that person tells somebody else... that scares me.

Why are you scared of that?

Because people will find out about it and I'll get a reputation.

You say that quite often you feel embarrassed.

Yes. In the beginning I was real embarrassed--I wasn't used to it then.

Are you still?

Yes, but not so much as at first.

You said you also felt naughty sometimes. Can you say more about that?

Yes, sometimes I do feel a little naughty, because nobody knows about it. My mother and so on.

But why do you feel naughty then, because I sometimes do things nobody else knows about?

Well, normal kids really don't do such things... that's sort of the way you think.

You also said you "almost never" felt angry. So you do every so often?

Yes.

Can you say something more about that, when it happens?

Yes, then I'm ashamed of it.

And thus you feel a little angry?

Yes, that I could be ashamed of it if somebody found out about it.

Do you think you yourself should be ashamed of it, or not?

Yes, if somebody else found out about it.

But if nobody else knew about it do you think you yourself should be ashamed of it?

No, I don't think so. No.

So just if other people found out about it?

Yes.

You said you sometimes did unpleasant things to Bert. Can you say more about that?

Okay, if he wants to suck me off I'll tell him it hurts, just to tease him.

Because it doesn't hurt?

No.

And with "coercing", you say you sometimes "coerce" him in connection with sex?

Yes. He'll say, "Come on, we're going to bed," and then I go watch television. And then he says, "The TV's going off," and I say, "If the TV goes off I sleep alone," and then I get to watch TV a little longer.

How long have you know Bert?

Since summer vacation.

So about four months?

Yes.

Do you still remember how you met Bert?

Yes. One time I went with Richard to the movies and the swimming pool and I met Bert then. It clicked, so I started going with him. Because Rene, who was with Richard, was

acting stupid--he put a whole lot of sugar in his tea so there was none left for anyone else. He was only thinking about himself. So I started coming to Bert--it was a lot nicer with him.

Did you go to Bert all by yourself then?

No, Richard had told me, "You can also go to Bert's if you want." Then I slept over with Bert one night and thought it was really nice. So I stuck with Bert--it was a lot better than with Richard.

So you really got to know Bert through Richard?

Yes.

Can you still remember the first time you had sex with Bert?

No. I was asleep then.

That was the first time you slept here?

Yes, and that was the first time he fooled around with me.

Were you awake then?

Yes, but I didn't mind. I thought it was nice.

Had you already had some sex with Richard?

Yes.

So you knew the ropes a bit. Is it difficult for you to talk about it?

I suppose a little.

It doesn't make any difference to me what you say. I don't think it's at all dirty or anything, and certainly not strange. When you have sex with each other now, how does it go?

Uh... just as it always does.

Who starts it?

Bert or me.

Can you tell me more about it?

Well, I just think it's nice so I just go and make love with him.

Do some people know that you have sex with Bert?

My father and mother know about it.

What do they think about it?

Well, that it's normal. If you had a girl that would be normal. Because one person can't do without a girl, another can't do without a boy and a third person can't do without a man. Yeah, they just think it's normal.

They think they're all about the same?

Yes.

How do you feel about their thinking that way?

I think it's fine. Because some people would like to murder all pedophiles and homophiles just because they aren't normal human beings. My father and mother aren't that way.

Do you agree with them?

Yes, I think they're right.

Do your school friends know you have sex with Bert?

No.

How do you think they'd feel about it if they knew?

They'd all think I was queer or something, and that's not so. Yes, they'd call you that.

It's an insult?

Yes.

Why would your friends have so much trouble with it?

I wouldn't really know--maybe because they're jealous.

That they'd like to have themselves what you have?

Yes, it could be.

What do you think about their attitude? Do you agree with them?

No, they don't know anything about how it is.

In other words, if they did know something about it they might feel differently?

Yes, maybe. If they knew a little more about it. Now they just talk rubbish.

How do you yourself feel about having sex with Bert?

I think it's real nice, but I would also like to have a girl.

Would that make a difference in your life, or would you have to say you didn't really know exactly?

I don't know. I've never done it with a girl.

But you would certainly like to?

You bet.

But you don't have to right away?

No. It'll happen in due time.

And in the meantime this is nice.

Yes.

Interview with Gerrit (16 years, 1 month)

What do you do a lot?

Well, I do a lot of things by myself, developing myself and so on. Right now I'm really busy with my school work, because I'm studying to be a waiter and I really want to pass. I also do sketches about repression and so on--I spend a lot of time at that.

You first said you were busy developing yourself, can you say more about it?

Okay, finding my own way in our society; not just how everybody else does but my own particular way. I'm still trying. For example, my parents have completely different opinions than I do, so I'm trying to get untangled from them and develop my own thoughts. Not what people repeat over and over again but what comes out of the real me.

Why do you want to do that?

Because I'm completely in disagreement with my parents at the moment, the things they say. And often with most people, so I want to develop my own thoughts. I think that's very important for myself. At home I often have totally different opinions from my parents. For example if they tell me I ought to go out and try to get a girl, then I tell them I have absolutely no desire to do that because a girlfriend would get all involved in my life and I'd no longer be free. They'd like that, but I wouldn't. So I go completely my own way.

The second thing you were very much involved in was school?

Yes. I'm in the restaurant training program. It's the first time I've enjoyed going to school: I had to repeat two grades in junior high and two grades in technical school.

Did you choose this school yourself?

Yes, I chose it myself. I always wanted to be a waiter; I always thought it a nice profession. Being with people: that's the nice part of being a waiter. My parents made me go to junior high, and there I had to take the first grade over again; then I went to technical school and I had to waste two years in the second grade; finally I got to go to this school. And that's working out real well for me.

Have you already had to work as a waiter?

They try to find work for me. I have to get some practical experience.

Those are the two most important preoccupations of yours?

Yes, of course. And I work at painting and sketching and I'm also now trying to write a poem.

What do you enjoy a lot?

Write down "living my own life". You don't get the chance to do it at home, but here with Barend I really do get the opportunity to develop myself. And also sketching-I get a lot of pleasure out of that-it's a real nice hobby, I think. Barend helps me quite often, for example if I've made a sketch he'll tell me what's wrong in it. But Barend can draw real well himself. And then I make it better, so you learn how to get the best results in sketching. And in my spare time I sometimes go into the country, to look at nature. I often do that alone. I'd planned soon to buy a camera so I could take nature photos and try to develop them. I'm getting darkroom lessons at school. I live in the city and all there is around you is houses, so recently I've been going a lot out in the country because I think it's beautiful there. Maybe later I'd like to have a little house somewhere in the country. Try to live completely free of this society.

What do you mean by free?

Well, you can never be really free in our society, because you have to work in order to live. But I mean that you don't just have to bend all the time with society. That you can express your own feelings and not just buy things, like everyone else does. Live very simply. Yes, a waiter, that is a simple life, isn't it? It's not like you can afford to go out and buy everything you see.

What do you really dislike?

Okay, I really hate these dolled-up girls you always see walking around on the street showing off. I dislike that so much. At the restaurant school there are 13 girls and 2 boys in my class, and they look just like mannequins; they're horrible to look at. Thick make-up-I

don't think they have to do that. And then they come into the class all stuck-up and if you say anything about it they talk back--they always know better.

Are there other things you dislike a great deal?

Sure, when grown men talk to each other and I disagree with what they're saying. Then I have to keep still, because I'm not equal to grownups, I'm still small. That really upsets me, that I can't say what I think. They're always right, these grownups. I want to be able to express my opinions. It doesn't matter to me that I can't talk with adults, but for example if they start saying that boys have to get married later and work so that later they can found a family, and I say, "Come on, that's not necessary, because who says we're going to get married," but I have to keep still because they know better than I do. "You'll have to get married, otherwise you're not healthy," they'd then say. And that really annoys me. You can almost never say what you think. Adults go and vote in elections, but we can't do that. We have to wait until we're eighteen, and then they think you're adult enough. You're allowed to express your own opinion, but only if it's to their advantage.

What do you think about a lot?

Well, that's difficult. I think a lot about what is going to happen--in the future.

Does that worry you, or not?

No, it doesn't worry me, but I think a lot about how things are going to be later, how I'm going to be living.

Who do you get along with well?

That's an easy question! With Barend--I get along real well with him. Otherwise with almost nobody. I don't get on very well with my parents, because they always have to be right. It's really wonderful that I can come here to Barend and that I can get along with him so beautifully. Because he has sort of the same thoughts as I do. If I'd never met Barend my life would have been a whole lot different; I think I'd have been working in a factory or something. I've learned a lot from Barend, but never, "You've got to accept this from me." He's never done that. He's told me how society operates, and if I don't agree with him I can always say so. But most of the things he says about it I agree with. So he hasn't influenced me; he's just helped me to think along these lines. As a child you cannot develop your own opinions if your parents say this or that is good, just accept it. If you hear things from both sides, then you can go on to think about which is right. Finally you figure out yourself which side is right and which is wrong.

Are there other people you get along well with?

Yes. A lady friend of Barend's whom I see every so often; I get along well with her. And also friends in the neighborhood I go around with once in a while.

Who don't you get along very well with?

Well, there are a whole lot. My parents--I don't get along so very well with them--and the kids at school, I got on with them really badly, they always knew better. But at this new school it is completely different, there you're considered independent. So I can just independently decide things at school and, for example if I'm sick, I don't need a letter from my parents. I think that's really good because if you want to play hookey one day you just write your own letter. But you come up against it yourself in the end, like with exams. Yes, with my parents I don't get on so good, but every so often I do. They just have completely different ideas from me. I get on okay with my younger brother, except with

my older brother I can't get on at all. He is so hard-headed, he always knows best--yes a real show-off. If he has to take care of the house when my parents are away he always tells my youngest brother, "Get me a beer out of the shed, roll me a cigarette, put my shoes away," that sort of thing. He used to go with Barend and that was absolutely hopeless. Yeah, and every time he comes home with a friend or with his girlfriend, I always get a lot of static from him: he walks around the house as though he owns it. He does that a lot, but it doesn't really matter to me very much. But one time I got so mad I slugged him; I didn't really know what I was doing. He had a bloody nose and a torn lip, and that really shocked me.

Are there other things I've forgotten about which you think would be important to write down?

Yes, that laws will come for children, that everything gets changed, that children will be able to say what they think about our society. I think that's very important. That kids aren't just things owned by other people who can tell them, "Do this chore, wash up, and if you don't do your best at school you'll be punished, and if you don't do this or that you're going to get hit." That that's all over with. That laws are passed so kids themselves can decide about themselves.

The next question is what is the name of your friend--that's Barend, we already have that. So the following question is, you make love with Barend, too?

Yes.

Some people call it sex or sexual contact. What do you call it?

Well, mostly sex, but it's also letting yourself feel that you're really fond of someone--it doesn't necessarily have to be sex alone.

Many things have both good and annoying sides. Going to school, for example, is annoying because you get homework and sometimes get punished, but it is also nice because you learn a lot. So there could also be good and annoying aspects of your sex with Barend. What, for you, are the good sides? Why would you not want to go without it?

I think it's wonderful to do these things with Barend because I'm fond of him, and because I like doing them, too. The bad sides don't really matter very much. I myself think it's very nice to do.

You said the bad sides didn't matter to you very much?

No. But my parents are always worrying me with, "What are you doing all the time with Barend?" And that gripes me. When I was in the Junior High Technical School some of the boys saw me with Barend and they called, "Look, there go two queers!" Well, that annoyed me, but in the long run it didn't matter to me at all.

And that your father and mother worry about it?

Yes, they've worried about it a lot: "What you're doing with Barend, is that really responsible?" Usually I just give short answers, like I enjoy going over there. And when I come back in the evening it is again, "What were you doing over there with Barend?" So I'll say I was sketching. That is the annoying side of my relationship with Barend, the constant concern of all these people, but the sex is not unpleasant. But all that worrying by all these people, at school, by aunts and uncles: "What's that boy doing there again?" It runs through the whole family. But it doesn't bother me. I used to pay too much attention to it; one time I even thought to myself, "It stop my friendship with Barend," but then I chose for Barend.

Are there other people you have sex with--other boys, girls or adults?

No.

The Second Interview

How long have you known Barend?

From last summer, four years.

Do you still remember how you got to know him?

My little brother and I had been swimming in the ponds. My brother was nine then and he smoked and I did, too. Then Barend came along in his Ugly Duckling [17] and stopped in the parking lot. So I told my brother, "Go ask that man for a cigarette, 'cause he smokes, too." So my brother went up to him and said, "What time is it?" "Five-thirty." "Could you give me a cigarette?" Barend said, "How old are you?" "I'm fourteen," said my brother. Well, after a lot of haggling my brother got a cigarette, and I did, too, and then we started walking with him. No, wait, my brother didn't get a cigarette but I did, because I was older. So after we'd walked a while with him we went and sat by the water and talked. He said he had a boat and we asked him if we might be able to go sailing with him sometime. And we did go out with him, together with my parents. My father found Barend very nice, distinguished and so on. And after that I didn't see Barend for half a year.

[17] The Citroen CV-2 basic passenger car, sometimes called the "Deux chevaux".

How did it happen that you saw him again after half a year?

Well, it was summer vacation and I had nothing to do, and I said to my friend, "Hey, let's take a bike ride; I know about a boat and we can go out on it." We finally got there but Barend wasn't around. His boat was, though. Then I asked the man behind the bar at the caf6 nearby if he knew his address. Well, he didn't know it, nor his telephone number. We tried looking in the telephone book and finally had to give up. A few days later I went there with another friend, again on the bike, and this time we met Barend. He was busy fixing up his boat, and we went and helped him. But my friend had to go home and eat but he got a flat tire on the way. So Barend put his bike in the back of the car and we went with him to his house. Well, after that I went more and more often to the boat and after I'd met him there a couple of times Barend came to my house to pick me up. After that he came fairly often to our house, ate with us once in a while. So then I started really going with him.

Can you still remember when you and Barend had sex with each other the first time?

Yes, that first time I wasn't alone here. I think my brother was here, too.

Your younger brother?

No, my older brother. My younger brother can't come with me. Well, the three of us were lying here on the bed and Barend had a sex book on the table. So my brother and I began to read it and I began to sort of jerk off and so on. From then on we had sex with each other.

How long had you known each other then?

About a month or two, maybe three, after I'd met him again after that half year.

You said you'd started to read a sex book, you and your brother, and then?

Well, I think Barend started to jerk off a little, and my brother, too.

Barend did it to himself?

Yes. At first I didn't dare, but later it just went automatically, and from then on we did it to each other. That first time Barend did it a little bit to my brother, but not to me. Because I was a bit embarrassed--my brother not: he went around with Barend for two years.

When you have sex with each other now, who begins it?

Well, usually I visit him in the evenings and then we come up here and lie down on the bed and we start to sort of make love--it happens all of itself, so, who starts it? Both of us a little.

If you compare the first time with now, is there a difference?

Yes, a big difference. Now I do it a lot easier and it feels a lot finer than at first. Because at first I didn't really dare, I felt embarrassed and my parents always said it was real bad and so on. So I was always thinking, "What would my parents say?" Now I am comfortable with it. Even if my parents did know I'd still be comfortable with it.

It's also nicer when you compare it with before?

Yes, much nicer, because before you did it more for thrills than for yourself, so you were always worried about what they would think about it at home.

How did that worry go away?

Slowly, as time went on. Barend visited me a lot at home, he was very fond of me, and slowly the worry just disappeared. A year or so ago I still had it a little, but now not at all. I don't care if my father and mother know.

They don't really know, do they?

They don't know but they suspect. My mother brings it up often, and then I just say, "I'm very fond of Barend and Barend is very fond of me," and then she doesn't care to go into it any further.

How do you think your father and mother would feel if they knew you were having sex with Barend?

Well, my father and mother think it is fine that I'm at home at Barend's and that I also come here to Barend a lot--that my parents think is really great, thus I think that if they found out they wouldn't consider it so terrible. Yes, because they think it is very fortunate that I have this relationship with Barend.

But you have no need to tell them?

No, it would just add tension to the home atmosphere. If I told them they'd go right to Barend.

So they would find it a little bit bad?

Well, there'd be worry in the house over, "You have to think about your future, marriage, having children." That's the way my parents think, still really old-fashioned. I don't want to get married, I'm not going to work all my life for children, I want to live a free life later, alone.

Are there people who do know that you have sex with Barend?

Sure, a lot, all Barend's friends and acquaintances at his work. They all know about it.

And your friends don't know?

No, except those that come here sometimes.

What do you think your friends would say if they did know that you were having sex with Barend?

Oh, they'd call me a queer and so on. But that doesn't bother me, because I know they do it themselves, with other men. I'd just let them gossip. If I'd go to the nudist beach and some of my friends came along it would go all through the neighborhood. Fortunately my father is a supporter of that sort of thing, naturist beaches and so on. But my mother doesn't like going there, otherwise my father would naturally go himself. So he would thoroughly approve of my going to a nudist beach.

Have you sometimes been called a queer because you're seen with Barend?

Yes, in the neighborhood, especially in the beginning. You go around with a queer, thus you're queer yourself. But it got a little annoying when they came to the door yelling, "Queer, queer, queer!" So I caught those boys one by one and told them, "You just try doing that again!"--because they were mostly little boys of ten or so--I'm pretty much the oldest in the neighborhood, except for the really big boys: they are 21 or so and not yet married and they still hang around in the area. Well, they kept on at it and then I roughed them up a bit and after that they quit.

It's a good thing those older boys didn't go after you.

That's the motorcycle crowd, around twenty of them. They're always hanging around the square with their heavy bikes. I don't do anything to them and they've never done anything to me. If I ever got into a fight in the neighborhood I'd just have to call on them and I'd get help. But I don't belong at all to that crowd. I don't mix with them; I give them a light, just walk by. I never talk with them. I think it's a terrible crowd, tearing around all the roads with their bald heads--that's absolutely nothing for me.

How do you yourself feel about having sex with Barend?

I think it's really great that I have it. I used to think, when I hadn't yet started going with Barend, that it would be dirty, that's what my parents always said, you weren't healthy, you were sick and you had to look out for such people. But none of that's true. No, I think it's just plain great that I can do these things with Barend. That's my opinion.

Appendix 3.

Average frequencies with which the boys experienced each emotion in connection with the sexual contacts.

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