



# **PEDOPHILES <sup>ON</sup> PARADE**

**VOLUME 1:  
THE MONSTER IN THE MEDIA**

**DAVID SONENSCHN**

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# **PEDOPHILES ON PARADE**

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THE MONSTER IN THE MEDIA**

**DAVID SONENSCHIN**

Also by David Sonenschein  
*Some Homosexual Men: Interviews from 1967*  
*Pedophiles on Parade, Vol. 2: The Popular Imagery of Moral*  
*Hysteria*

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# CONTENTS

## **I. Introduction -- 1**

## **II. Part One: Popular Fiction**

Chapter 1: The Pedophile in Fiction -- 5

Chapter 2: The Social Pedophile -- 23

Chapter 3: The Fictional Victim -- 37

Chapter 4: The Fictional Hero -- 58

## **III. Part Two: Popular Fact**

Chapter 5: The Factual Pedophile -- 75

Chapter 6: The Factual Victim -- 101

Chapter 7: The Factual Hero -- 126

Chapter 8: The Hero in Society -- 148

## **IV. Afterword -- 182**

**Notes -- 183**

**References -- 220**

**Filmography -- 238**

**Index -- 240**



**There's a big parade marching by...**

**—Paula Hawkins 1986:107**

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# INTRODUCTION

It has been known for quite some time that there is a considerable variety of sexual relationships and events that occur between adults and non-adults. The consequences of those contacts and affairs are also known to cover a wide range, and the specific cultural and historical points at which they occur are of significant influence. But the associations commonly have been looked down upon, and despite clear evidence of variance, actual descriptive research has been quite rare. Professional views, at least initially, usually encode popular ethnocentric superstitions; consequently, the relationships and the individuals involved in them have long been defined and governed by agents whose intents have more to do with discipline and dominance than with empirical investigation and open access to information.

Beginning roughly in the mid-1970s, with seeming suddenness youth-adult sex became vehemently condemned, its varieties homogenized into a single image of horrendous abuse and exploitation. Participants became subjected to increasingly savage punishment, supporters were stigmatized, and those interested in critical research were ignored or censured.

The apparent explosion of condemnation actually had firm historical precursors coming from three cultural domains. One was the professional culture, a historically specific interrelated system of values, meanings, and socioeconomic relations that formed career paths for journalists, mental health and social workers, researchers, and legal and medical personnel. Drawing upon templates already in place, construction and punishment of "The Pedophile" followed all the same steps that had been used on other deliberately stigmatized sexual interests and behaviors in the past. The tools, methods, and assumptions of investigation, the styles of representation, the intentions of rehabilitation and elimination—all contained elements that predetermined the characterization of pedophiles and children. Theory and method were linear, causal, and object obsessed. The drive theory of sexuality, after a brief replacement by more complex and realistic explanations, reemerged to dominate with a new vehemence.

Another source was the political culture. The long present tension in America between reaction and liberalism became intensified by a fervid resurgence of religious and political fundamentalism in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Some old antagonisms (such as feminism and patriarchal interests) found effective commonalities with an ease and rapidity surprising to those unaware of historical

precedents. Classic liberalism continued its collapse begun several decades before the 1980s, leftist radicalism continued to splinter, and military wings of the right continued to gain members and armaments. Major segments of gay and lesbian movements were co-opted by mainstream and conservative mentalities. Feminism became professionalized and trivialized by academics, but more significantly, the movement fractured, attracting and encouraging totalitarian personalities who insisted on essentialist dogmas of belief and behavior. The children's liberation movement was suffocated by legal discourse and failed to replace itself over time. Old and new hostilities escalated into literal combat. War was explicitly declared, and rhetoric and imagery were major weapons.

The third domain helping construct the phenomenon was the popular culture, the subject of this study. It was here that traditional images and genre were drawn upon to characterize youth-adult sexual relationships. Adult-youth sex is overlaid by a number of themes, motifs, and narrative devices clustering around three essential elements of what constitutes a singular conception of "child molesting." The three foci—the pedophile as villain, the juvenile as victim, and an adult as hero—require interdependent descriptions, settings, and plottings. These relatively stable connections have maintained historical consistency and ensured the popularity of the images for both the general public and professionals.

The emphasis of 1980s mainstream popular culture was on the highly emotional and aggressive presentation of villainy, victimage, and heroism. Assisted by professional and political cultures, the popular culture machine mass produced and marketed the three character types for universal consumption via familiar theatrical genre. Each was paraded before the society as an actor in a drama of cosmic proportions. Apocalyptic imagery was routed by moral hierarchies into sensational expositions from nearly all of the culture's information institutions. This made for good, often excellent and exciting entertainment, so much so that the high human and social costs were nicely hidden.

The approach used here to study this period is what has been called "culture history." Its primary obligation is documentation. This data-oriented survey is on its most basic level a descriptive one, and I spend some time citing exemplary texts. These present the exact language used during the period—shrill and garbled language and contradictory imagery that both reflected and contributed to the era's reaction to youth-adult sex. When I began in 1984, no critical record was available of events constituting the abuse hysteria. Some have now begun to appear on selected events or issues, such as the McMartin case, Satanism, or "recovered memories;" these studies provide more detail and I am pleased to refer to the critical work of other researchers for additional data, though errors or misunderstandings are corrected in the present study.

Central to the language of the period are the labels "pedophile" and "pedophilia." Like the words "homosexual," "heterosexual," or "pornography," these are not empirical terms that describe stable, eternal, inherent, and universal forms or contents. They are the names of culturally grounded Western 19th century

anxieties and aspirations for power, disturbances that still distort thinking and behavior well past the point of buffoonery. Rather than continually place these terms within quotation marks as they ought to be, it should be remembered that their use here refers to the limited and varied meanings of the time. Despite all of the near-fanatical efforts to instill an idea of "The Pedophile," the concept remains specious. Since the objectivist or categorical approach has proven to be as embarrassing as it is destructive (it is ludicrous to try to speak of "The Heterosexual" or of any of the other old homogeneous simplicities as a unified and distinct configuration of motives and behaviors), the continued forced use of such language is based in other concerns, usually psychological, economic, or political.

Because they are symbolic rather than empirical, the use of such terms and ideas is also due to an uncritical acceptance of cultural inertia. The terms make references beyond themselves across cultural horizons and link themselves to historical traditions. Moreover, their importance is added to by their use, that is, their *performance*. Youth-adult sex was presented to the culture as theater, and actors, often backed by suitable soundtracks, enacted villainy, victimage, or heroism for (briefly) enthralled audiences, often on interactive bases: villains were booed or killed, victims were given a shoulder to cry on or were jailed, and heroes were cheered and allowed to escape prosecution for their abuses and crimes.

To add more depth to the documentation, when possible I try to trace certain images back as far as they may be recognizable to the contemporary reader, showing what meanings were intended or were found to be useful. Where I have enough data, I have tried to specify time spans and contexts a little more exactly. For some time I used to rail against facile expressions like "The Sixties," but I now enjoy the simple-mindedness of it all, and the phrase is certainly fitting for the period's conception and treatment of history and individuals. "The period" as used here refers mostly to the 1980s, but covers a range from the mid-1970s through the mid-1990s.

I have avoided disciplinary theoretical discussions because the emphasis is upon description, and for other reasons. Although I make reference to such concerns when it seems appropriate, there is little citation of the professional literature. Such work should be done in the context of a separate study of the professional cultures that helped generate the panic. Almost all of the research on adult-non-adult sex is so badly flawed that little can be done to salvage what remains of the lives of its subjects, an expensive characteristic of sexology over a variety of topics since its inception.

The first four chapters of this volume are devoted to themes of adult-youth sex in popular genre fiction, in either textual or visual media. Most appeared in crime novels and film, though they were also seen in horror, science fiction, and domestic drama. The image of the child molester has long been a negative one, though the intensity has varied from bemusement to homicidal hatred. I am after the more generally accepted view as it developed and maintained itself in the popular culture—how it was used, from whence it came, its relation to other symbolic sets, and how it related to historical events and actions. Tied to the image of the molester

are the images of victims and heroes and these are examined along the same lines. I have generally omitted works, usually with more artistic non-genre pretensions, that try for a balanced, understanding, or positive view of sex between adults and non-adults. I have also avoided the very rare novels about sexual children and the many coming-of-age narratives, and I have not included the growing number of novels about adults and youth who have sexual interests in each other, such as those found in the rich and rapidly developing boy-love subculture.

In Part II, the focus for non-fiction is on print and broadcast journalism. It is here that the professional and the political cultures have important and explicit links. While sometimes present in fiction, it is in non-fiction that the expert, via the journalist, is automatically and repeatedly brought to the fore to authorize the images and assertions of fact for mass markets. Further, many of these experts aligned themselves with particular political or religious interests because such commitments purported to solve what were presented as individual and social problems. As in Part I, where possible I try to indicate some of the historical movement of images within the period. Immediately noticeable will be the reappearance of several of the same images and devices that were seen in fiction. It is precisely that repetition that I want to strike the reader. The period was characterized by cultural separation and fragmentation; for the images to be effective in that structural context, pervasiveness and mere duplication had to substitute for unity. The message of the monstrous pedophile and the ravaged victim was generally consistent despite coming from a variety of sources, though each had its special emphasis and justification. No matter where one turned during that time, images of the threatening molester and the threatened child saturated the cultural environment.

In volume 2, the second part of this study moves to a more interpretive level first by providing historical data on the persistence of key images and themes and by noting events in the 1980s that supported the particular conception of the pedophile and the social behaviors that derived from that image. Secondly, the analysis comments upon the consequences of America's use of these images as it relates to what have been basic social and political meanings of a relatively young democracy.

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## THE FICTIONAL PEDOPHILE

### I

Periods of morally intense fiction have come and gone in American culture. When in ascendance, they tend to refresh whatever genre they use, and because of the author's commitment, the entertainment provided is often quite good. The frantic concern over youth-adult sex from about the mid-1970s into the 1990s was one such period. A great deal of energy was put into structuring a trinity of characters essential to the drama and into describing the contexts in which it was thought such relationships took place. Some authors constructed their dramas from their own indignation and hatreds, while others simply used the idea of a young person and an adult having sex to add to their steady output. All drew upon standard, traditional character forms, making them explicit presentations. However, when used in the service of genre, not all that much could be done to tamper with the images of the child molester, his victim, and the hero if the narrative was to have meaning for the reader (who was expecting certain conventions), and if the product was to have profitable sales.

The earliest American characterization of a molester I know of is in Anderson's (1919) *Winesburg, Ohio*. In "Hands," Adolph Meyers has been accused of having sex with boys in another town. He is highly nervous, with restless, flighty hands; he is "forever frightened," reclusive, and uncommunicative. His voice wavers from "low and trembling" to "shrill and loud." His hands are revealing of his fundamental violent character; unable to control them, they "alarmed their owner."

In 1984, the height of the panic over youth-adult sex, Millar's 1964 novel *The Fiend* was reprinted, not only because she remains a respected author but also because its description of a child molester still corresponded to popular beliefs. Charlie is overweight with the mentality of a nine year old, the same level as the girls he finds attractive. He is defensive, flustered by the world; naive, he takes everything literally, lacking a sense of humor. With high levels of guilt and self-hatred, feelings that psychiatric treatment did not "cure," he hates women and is socially inept with both genders. He pouts and is easily frightened; he is infantile to the point of retardation.

Much of the moral heat in the 1980s was generated through such value-laden depictions. The physical description of the pedophile was a high point of the entertainment, and some effort was spent detailing the appearance of the villain's

face and eyes. When Mary Higgins Clark's *Where are the Children?* first appeared in 1975 it featured a "sadistic pedophile."<sup>1</sup> He was evil personified, his face "thick and white, the features bloated and broadened" (1988:277). The private investigator in Campbell (1986:224) describes a boy lover: "all the tone had left the flesh. His muscles sagged. There were little pouches everywhere. He looked like a powdered corpse...or a man in terrible pain." A director of sex movies has "sagging facial muscles bespeaking a lifestyle of too much pleasure and not enough morals, and a pronounced ferret squint around the eyes" (Mertz 1986:52). Another kidnapper-killer has eyes "deep inside a prominent brow ridge," that go from a blank stare to glowing "like heated coals," and a smile that pulled "his mouth away from his stained teeth until the pointed canines were fully exposed. ...like a grinning demon in a Renaissance painting of hell."<sup>2</sup> A novel for young readers, *The Creep*, combines similar elements. With "crafty-crazy eyes," the molester "coos" to people or has a "high pitched whine." His smile is a "toothy car-salesman smile;" he wears an after-shave lotion that is "enough to gag a maggot" (Dodson 1980:211-215). Speight details a molesting murderer with "pock-marked skin...oily hair...[a] wild look in the eyes [and a] strangely excited expression" (1987:16). When found by the police, he is in a stupor: "His piercing eyes had a glazed expression" (p. 33)—a clumsy image that tries to combine the dullard with the demon, one of the many conflicting stereotypical conceptualizations found throughout the period.

Barton, an overweight kidnapper-killer, has a face that was "pale and soft, with cheeks that were too smooth. He looked like he was made of silly putty" (Strieber 1990:108). He has kidnapped 12 year old Billy, and his flabby features cover a harder interior; his smile "was the kind of smile somebody [makes] who hates kids... Those fat hands concealed iron bones, and they wanted to grab him around the throat and choke him..." (p. 144). With breath like "an exhalation from the grave," Barton begins kissing Billy: "...there was something else, a wet, squeezing something. When Billy realized that it was Barton's tongue, he quite involuntarily cried out and pulled back" (pp. 212, 226). The repulsiveness of the villain's face and eyes spreads to the rest of the body as descriptions widen.

The pedophile in *The Little Girl Who Lives Down The Lane* is balding, giggles and whines, and has soft pink hands and a "puffy red face." He is moist; he wheezes, and his frequent use of a lip gloss is an excellent device to define a repulsive sexual threat: he rubs "glistening balm over his large, red lips. Like the trail of slime left by a snail..." But more than merely messy or dirty, he is polluting. Here is his first appearance:

He slipped the ointment back into his raincoat pocket, the edges of which were filthy with grease. The same black bordered the sleeves and the bottom of the coat. His grey flannel trousers below, hung unpressed over the wet brown-suede shoes that had tracked the floor. The pink hand continued to smooth strings of brown hair across his scalp that shone under the hair's inadequate cover. Everything about this man seemed soiled, shiny, or red.<sup>3</sup>

The 13 year old heroine is enraged at his presumptuous touches and nauseated by his odor. With each appearance, he grows more disgusting, his clothes more wrinkled,

shoes muddier, his character more sinister and predatory. The final scene fades with him beginning his sexual overtures, stroking her hair as she sits motionless under his hand, waiting for the poison she has given him to take effect.

McDonald's rapist-killer (1986:106f) is repulsive with "his toadlike fat little body, his thick wet lips, his hooded eyes, his greasy hair, his fat stubby fingers, and his blotched and puffy complexion..." In one of McBain's "87th Precinct" novels, a minor character ("Fats") has a "penchant" for 10 and 11 year old females.

...an obese hulk who sat in a faded blue bathrobe, his complexion as pale as the January sky outside, his fat hairless legs resting on a hassock, one obscenely plump hand plucking dates from a basket on the end table beside his easy chair, the hand moving to his mouth, his thick lips sucking the meat off the pit. ... A piece of date clung to his front upper teeth, making it look as if one of them was missing. (1989:52)

Fatness has long been a sign of villainy, and was often drafted to construct the pedophile. Along with baldness, fatness can indicate middle age, helping to emphasize the gap between adulthood and youth. Fatness is greater bulk, an essential contrast needed between adults and children. It also signifies a power difference, the mass a physical expression of brute strength and authority. This discrepancy is heightened by associating fatness with decadent wealth and indolence in which the flesh rules. In the 1980s, obesity denoted a mutation, an "unnatural" largeness of appearance and behavior, a sign of ill health. Generally non- or even anti-erotic in a slim-body oriented culture, obesity means to evoke revulsion at the thought of such people having sex. Because fatness signals excess, it displays uncontrolled physical appetite. Horror is escalated when the sexual partner is a child. Against norms of slimness, fatness is a sign of nature gone wrong or corrupted. The movie producer who molested preteens in *The Godfather* had a "heavy paunch."<sup>4</sup> The mentally deficient molester in McGivern (1979) is huge, lumbering about unaware of his mass;<sup>5</sup> a thug attracted to 10 year old girls in Ray (1988) is a former football player carrying the appropriate bulk; and Faye Kellerman's child pornographer is fat, bald, and beady-eyed (1988).

Obesity in men with its softness and flabbiness has frequently been equated with effeminacy. A boy-lover (O'Rourke 1987:288) communicates gender confusion; the hero notices his breasts, "two soft triangular flaps of flesh, hung down, overlapping the rising moon of his belly." The molester-killer in *Billy* is effeminate in clumsy, graceless ways, but effeminacy here represents a kind of gender uncertainty that reasserts itself as incompleteness and incompetence, major attributes of the pedophile. Even Barton's voice is uncertain: "One sentence he sounded like a man, the next a sort of half-man. It was like there was a boy in him who had never grown up, and if you listened a woman, too" (Strieber 1990:144, 225). Meyers/Biddlebaum in "Hands" is timid and has "slender expressive fingers" with "wriggling" movements. Humbert Humbert in *Lolita* is foppish, and others in Kellerman are described as "wimpy."<sup>6</sup> Vachss (1987:201-207) describes a pedophile combining characteristics of a fop, the rich, the intellectual and pretentious, the weak-willed, and the ugly. His character is thin, balding, has bushy eyebrows, a sharp face, thin lips, and has delicate fingers topped with clear nail polish. He has



“an English accent making him sound like a teacher.” Many pedophiles in the novels are subject to fits of weeping (Vachss 1990, Crumley 1981), further associating them with effeminacy, cowardice, and instability.

A wonderful device calling for extensive physical characterization was hardly exploited: the encounter of the younger partner with the adult after the youth has grown. Despite the flood of “survivor” tales late in the decade and the possibilities for striking imagery and drama, this was neglected by almost all authors of the period. In Grice (1990), the narrator has an encounter with her junior high teacher when she is 12, then sees him again when she is 36. The teacher at the time of the affair was in his early 30s and handsome (the girls had crushes on him), but now in his 50s he is fat, bearded, his hair grey and falling out, his complexion damaged by weather, and he has throat cancer. Weeping at the confrontation, he begins to fall apart emotionally as well as physically.

As descriptions of the pedophile cultivate the pathetic, the aesthetic movement approaches the comical and ludicrous. In Anderson’s “Hands,” Meyers reveals his real name, Wing Biddlebaum, a ridiculous name with Germanic or Jewish overtones adding to the sinister nature of the figure. In Dodson (1980:219) the heroine looks at the molester after his capture and feels “he was no longer the monster, just a disheveled, pathetic creep;” to complete the transition, it’s noted that the man’s name is Biggle, a combination of “big” and “giggle.” Nabokov’s Humbert Humbert is as famous for his redundant name as he is for being an overblown bumblebutt.

## II

With physical descriptions in place, other behaviors and attitudes are used to further define the pedophile. One is a complex of disguise, secrecy, and flight. This is double-edged: there is on the one hand an escape from past crimes and guilt, yet there is also an advancement toward new uncontaminated territories, toward more crimes, an expansion and spread. Several novels assert that pedophiles move frequently and mysteriously emerge in youth-oriented jobs giving them access to and power over children. In Weesner’s (1987) deeply conservative and homophobic novel the college youth who kidnaps a 12 year old drives aimlessly around, half seeking authorities so as to be caught, yet he is obsessed with secrecy, continually asking the boy if he will tell if released.<sup>7</sup>

Secrecy is fundamental in constructions of sin, heresy, and conspiracy. The cover blurb about the evil cult in Masterson’s novel (1988) promotes a primary image of the period’s cultural landscape. Pedophilia was often represented through devices of the horror genre, and the blurb could serve as a lead-in to any popular discussion of pedophilia in the 1980s. The setting is a small town, one with a secret.

A terrible, unimaginable secret. A secret that only the children knew. It fed on their youth, ate away at their innocence, consumed their very souls with a twisted hunger that could never be revealed—nor ever sated...  
[ellipsis in original]

The words “fed,” “ate,” “consumed,” “hunger,” and so on are often applied in Western societies to sexual desire but in this case the blurb is literal, describing a

Christian cannibal cult. While the cult delights in “innocent children” when it can have them, it takes whomever wants to join; the advertising emphasis on youth resonated more with the times than with the plot itself.<sup>8</sup>

In Anderson’s story, Meyers/Biddlebaum fled a town, changing his name to protect his secret. Humbert is famous for his flight across America, his guilt adding to his fear that she may tell. The mystery by Carkeet has a killer who has a record of molesting, confirming for readers that “people like that dedicate their lives to hiding things” (1980:241). Disney makes the point several times that her pedophile cleverly hides himself under many guises and “angelic” looks (1990:57ff, 107, 164, 203). Vachss says molesters “lead lives of monumental duplicity,” and that “True evil is invisible until it feeds.” Pedophiles under treatment “laugh behind their masks at a therapist,” and are able to circumvent any polygraph test (1991:242). Strieber’s killer uses several disguises when hunting boys, and the narrative makes much of his precautions to remain invisible and untraceable. He dons female clothes when he is torturing and killing his boys in a secret room, and in general he likes dark hidden places.<sup>9</sup>

The description of a high school drama coach who has sex with his students (Crumley 1981) emphasizes his grotesqueness. He is short, bald, and is overloaded with cologne and jewelry. He has a deep theatrical voice, but its presence merely points to his confusing appearance and underlines pretense, disguise, and sham in his character. Though heterosexual, he uses his dress and manner to encourage a perception of himself as homosexual to cover his sexual relations. *The Enchanter* is Nabokov’s earlier (1987) construction of characters and desires that were to be seen in *Lolita*. A constant theme in that first work is that the narrator is only half listening, or pretending to listen to others while he covertly indulges in fantasies; his real feelings, purposes, and allegiances remain covered and misrepresented. An amusing variation of the disguised molester was the appearance from mid- through late 1985 of a story of child sexual abuse in Stan Lee’s comic, *Spider-man*.<sup>10</sup> A young girl is abused at a day care center by someone wearing a Spider-man costume, and, as usual, poor Spider-man is falsely accused of the crime.

A more interesting expression of costumed disguise were the wide-spread stories that pedophiles used clown costumes to seduce and abduct children. The child-killer in Wolman (1982) worked as clown at McDonald’s; the villain in Vachss (1987) uses a clown suit and a puppy to get a boy to undress and fellate him; the serial child-killer in Strieber plays a clown-like figure who entertains children at a bookstore. The imagery was not limited to fiction. John Wayne Gacy, convicted of murdering over thirty teens and young men, was known as Pogo The Clown in the mid-1970s,<sup>11</sup> and some children in so-called “ritual abuse” cases said their abusers dressed in clown costumes. In Holland a whole community panicked with rumors of clowns abducting children (Hicks 1991a:342, citing Benjamin Rossen).

In 1981, Robert Tarte and William Holm (1982) were struck by what seemed to be a series of terrifying associations involving clowns. Their quest led them to contact Loren Coleman (1982), who at that time had been collecting reports of clowns in vans trying to lure children, exposing themselves, or threatening them with knives, but his research was based only on a number of news stories from mid-

1981 (the time of the Atlanta child-murders). Later, after the motifs of child sexual abuse had become more defined and with the panic still at high levels, an anonymous author in the publication of the International Fortean Organization felt clowns were part of the national network responsible for kidnapping and selling a large portion of the one million missing children each year.<sup>12</sup> The late 1980s also saw some news reports of clowns active in anti-sexual abuse programs who were nabbed for having sex with younger people.<sup>13</sup> Others used the image to lend credibility to reports of Satanists abusing children. Citing a case of a man in a clown suit molesting in a "magic room," Lyons reasoned that "If a fetishist will don a clown suit, why not a cowled robe or a set of horns?"<sup>14</sup>

The extensive appearance of clowns in the panic is not surprising. Like their relatives, folk tricksters and classical deities such as Hermes, clowns are fundamental figures of mythology. When cosmic issues arise, as they did in the 1970s and 1980s, one should in fact expect their presence. Clowns are by definition bizarre in appearance and behavior, and often believed to have extraordinary powers (sometimes based in conditions of "insanity" or "moral depravity" [Bouissac 1990]). They have "permission" within systems of cultural meanings to violate boundaries of behavior, especially those of ethics and aesthetics; in this sense they are "obscene." Clowns are deliberate exaggerations and distortions signaling the imminence of a dangerous chaos threatening ideas of innocence, propriety, and sanctity. Not only may boundaries be transgressed, they may be totally removed, and the domains that were kept separate are threatened with volatile mixing; the values that enforced the boundaries are likewise denied, and their contraries may even be promoted and celebrated. This is risky, even under permission, and must be negated by other devices that "prove" the foolishness and ultimate destructiveness of the clown's values.

As a theatrical device, the clown is wonderfully suited for use in strategies of horror and humor based on shock and incongruity. The clown disguise not only masks the identity of the individual but shrouds his purposes by projecting fun and harmlessness to conceal the insidiousness of insanity, trauma, and the threat of death. The uncertainty of identity and experience is fundamental to effective cultural clowning. But this too is risky. The evil clown is on the one hand a relatively positive inversion and refutation of a vacuous sentimentality that entertains while infantilizing; on the other hand, and more negatively, the figure is a simple-minded and equally as reactionary collapse into melodrama which denies the possibilities of reconstitutive anarchic subversion. The evil clown, now a stock figure, was clearly part if not a product of the broader concerns with masking, secrecy, authenticity, and conspiracy that permeated the entire panic over youth-adult sex and other areas of 1980s culture. The psychotic clown made several significant appearance in period television comedies, such as *Married...With Children*, *In Living Color*, and *The Simpsons*, and the wonderful 1991 film, *Shakes the Clown*.

Pedophiles are supposed to hate both themselves and others, a characterization with a long history as another generic element of villainy which involves

fundamental character flaws. In the mid-19th century novel, *The Possessed* (Dostoevsky 1959), Stavrogin has nothing but contempt for others. While he is not represented as a “pedophile” (the term was yet to be invented), he is depicted as the kind of character who would, if anyone, have sex with children. Stavrogin is cynical, a nihilist (an epithet then much in vogue), and he manipulates the emotions and lives of others simply as a “silly joke” because he is “bored.” The ner’-do-well in Brown (1983) is “a heartless, pleasure-seeking parasite” whose scorn for others is well known; he tries to get a young girl to fondle him merely for the sport of it even though he is not attracted to children. A villain in Flagg’s 1988 novel rapes and batters women, including a two year old, though he is not identified as a pedophile.

Loathing of society is often asserted to be a driving force of pedophilia. Dorner’s kidnapper is full of “smoldering hatred,” made especially dangerous because his contempt for others implies that he can not be stopped or held accountable. A serial child-killer through the experience of sadomasochistic sex finds himself “Free of the petty restraints of you sheep. I am different, better...” (Schutz 1985:191; ellipsis in original). Disney’s work from the mid-1960s keeps the tradition stable from older forms to the characterizations of the 1980s. In her book, pedophiles may look and act like others, “but underneath they don’t seem to feel things the same way;” they think social rules do not apply to them (1990:88, 122, 132).

The most significant object of hatred is women. This is present in Nin’s “Little birds,” showing itself as impotence (Nin 1980). Humbert is explicit about his distaste for women and his bad experiences with them.<sup>15</sup> The child killer in Crane is suspected of having been emotionally damaged by a female. A man who kidnaps preteen boys tells them that women are “Nasty, smelly, evil things. Down there” (Vachss 1990:77). Based on an incident in his childhood, the molester in Marric’s 1959 novel is fixated on girls with a certain kind of hair and has hated them for years (1986:149). The stalking pedophile in Grice is repulsed by women, feeling they have too much hair, “their shapes disgustingly full, their breasts sagging bags of flesh.” A psychiatrist in Kelman (1989:14) claims pedophiles are likely to kill adult women simply out of “rage and frustration.” Millar’s Charlie begins to suspect the preteen girl he is entranced with is actually trying to deceive him, and his rage builds, transforming the girl in his mind into an adult, “devious, scheming, provocative” (1984:113).

Because the sex was believed to be abusive, it was easy to assume that pedophiles hated their younger lovers. The pedophile in Ray (1989) says kids need discipline and subjugation. Strieber’s killer speaks of his boys with love and admiration but often ends up cursing them (1990:14, 17, 23). Strieber uses a narrative device in which he has his character begin speaking or thinking in a rational and calm manner, but then quickly becomes vehement and obscene, shouting and cursing statements that are directly opposed to what he had just been saying. It underlines quite well the belief that the molester’s true character is violent and unstable, barely and temporarily hidden by a thin veneer. Strieber overuses this, however, and after a while, like all representations of villainy, it becomes

melodramatic and cartoonish. As happened in the child sexual abuse hysteria itself, swings from tragedy to unintentional comedy became common.

Much of the pedophile's ill-will was believed to be based in his hatred of himself. A junior high school counsellor says that some reveal their alienation or hatred by failing to relate to adults and becoming "suspicious loners;" they then turn to children for sex when overwhelmed by a crisis (Dorner 1988:71). In Maupin, the bumbling character of Norman, a producer of child pornography, feels awkward around women (1978), and—the clincher—he has such low self-esteem and contempt for social decorum that he wears clip-on ties. The molester in *Violated* has a tie that is wider and gaudier than the other bad guys.

This self-hatred often results, as it did for lesbians and gay men in older novels, in tragic and gruesome deaths, or at least a wish for one. The molester in Maupassant (1955) and the girl-lover hero in Burke (1917) commit suicide; Weesner's young gay villain attempts suicide. Nabokov's early narrator (1987) is run over by a truck while fleeing his screaming victim; the mass murderer of children in Schutz is devoured by sharks; Clark's (1988) villain, with a phobia of water, dies with a fall into the sea; "The Lolita Man" kills himself just before being captured (James 1991); and Brandon's molester is killed by the police (1993). Others are killed by victims and avengers, as we shall see later.

The combination of guilt and hatred serves to intensify the self-focus of the pedophile. He becomes obsessed with serving his own needs, and the status of desire for the pedophile is such that all else is subservient to its necessities. Schutz's hard-boiled investigator makes the interesting observation that "the world did not lack for men who would embellish [youth's sexuality] with rococo designs of their own" (1985:144). He's speaking of child molesters of course, but this predisposition to embellish is culturally encouraged in novelists and journalists and helps generate the imagery of the molester as exploitative and manipulative, using any means necessary to get what he supposedly so desperately needs.

In Anderson's "Hands," the main character has "hungered" for a boy. Several thematic elements and theoretical assumptions are operating here in the presentation of villainous lust. One is that desire is a demand, that arousal is necessity. Much has been said, accurately, of this by feminists, though it also has been used to form reductionist views of male sexualities. A related theme is that the object of one's interest is only a vehicle for ego-centered selfish wishes and needs, be they sexual or emotional. This too sees expressed ideals of love and devotion as masks for baser, ignoble, and parasitic motives. One molester wants not sex but "*absolute control*" over all aspects of the child's life, says an expert. Pedophiles see "the entire world of children as a nation ripe for conquest" (Brandon 1993:93 emphasis in original; 200).

Nabokov is quite explicit and extensive in his characterization of Humbert as one who uses "diabolical cunning" (1977:7). Humbert describes himself as a predator with "awkward, aching timid claws," mild enough on the outside but with "a cesspoolful of rotting monsters behind his slow boyish smile" (pp. 41-53). In a scene where Humbert rubs against the sleeping Lolita (pp. 54-59), he says it is "masked lust" against "guileless limbs," performed by a "maniac," "the hidden

tumor of an unspeakable passion," with himself as a "gagged, bursting beast" transformed from "Humbert the Hound, the sad-eyed degenerate cur" into a "Turk...enjoying the youngest and frailest of his slaves." He then recalls a song describing the killing of a woman to complete the connection between deceit and violence. The narrator in the earlier version (Nabokov 1987) is even more calculating and premeditated.

The child-murderer in Strieber's novel threatens to kill the kidnapped boy's family if he doesn't behave, saying it would be Billy's own fault. Varley's (1981) story has the threat of repressed rage recalling Anderson's imagery of over a half century before: "His hands were strong too. He kept them clasped in his lap." The image of barely contained violence is common and absolutely necessary to villainy.

The theme of carefully concealed calculation is also common, a support for the idea of deceit. Barton is highly methodical in his hunt for boys; Strieber's text speaks of his "targets" as he "works" certain geographical areas for "acquisitions," culminating in a "capture" (1990:14ff). In Varley (1981), a mysterious figure sitting "in the shadows" at a playground (he even has a bag of candy) is extremely calculating and premeditating, judging risks and techniques based on long experience. The pedophile is "clever, wily, shrewd" (Ray 1989). An expert gravely says that pedophiles use an entire "toolbox" of tactics to gain access to and maintain victims: "fear, isolation, promises, threats, illusions, chemical control, torture" (Kelman 1989). A prosecutor believes a molester has to "reseduce" a boy every time they meet. "Maybe that was one of the attractions of child molesting. Once the child grew jaded and accepting, it was time to move on. By the time there was no more need for conquest, no fear to overcome..." (Brandon 1993:240).

The mass murderer in Schutz sees his exercise of will over others as his personal truth. A sharper characterization of domination and exploitation appears in a science fiction story by Ing. Alien "users" prefer children because they are more suitable to their diabolical purposes. The creatures

had learned to delight in the consumption of innocents; [the user] wondered which of the tiny creatures beyond the next hummock might be next to feed his ravening desires. Even ravishment of a human child by a fellow user brought him a secret satisfaction. In the next few days they would begin to recruit new children. It might take a week. Unnoticed, a runnel of saliva found its way to his chin. (1979:108)

Kidnappers tortured in order "to brainwash their victims, literally to intimidate them into obedience. They did it out of fear, out of anger. Mostly, though, they did it for fun," says one cop hero (Strieber 1990:155).

The idea of the almost supernatural power of pedophiles appears frequently. They are supposed to have special abilities that turn even careful youngsters into zombies. One of the standard villainous roles in American fiction has been that of the "mysterious hypnotist," appearing as early as the late 18th century in novels by Charles Brockten Brown, becoming more common in the 19th century's fascination with "mesmerism." There is some of this motif present in a story by E. M. Forster (1972) in which a man's young son is taken from him by the seductive and occult

forces that animate ancient museum statues. Through vivid, genre-based language, there is asserted an equation of sexuality with colonization, a necessary relation between desire (as drooling lust) and destruction. Girls' faces in a sex videotape look vacant and their eyes "glazed" (Grice 1990:58f). Another selects a child according to tested criteria and establishes eye contact with her. A sheer force of will draws her to him. He tells her a story "tailored to her reactions." Very soon "the child was sleepy. Sooner or later she would surrender. He needed her in a trance state..." (Varley 1981).

This superior power caused renewed worries over "brainwashing." The suspicion of this is confirmed while Carlo's hero is trying to rescue a victim and shield her from an attack by the bad guys; she follows his orders "too obediently" (1986:108, 115). In a Joyce Carol Oates story, a 30-something male pretending to be 18 sweet-talks a 15 year old; his smooth talk assumes hypnotic and demonic force, drawing the young woman against her will toward a vague but certain destruction.<sup>16</sup> A "diabolically clever" molester hypnotized his victims, causing them to forget their rapes and his presence; he also convinced victims that people in black robes and uniforms were agents of his so that the victims would be afraid to testify in court (Kelman 1989).

Other themes related to this have included the manipulation of youth through cults,<sup>17</sup> and the exploitation of troubled youth for child prostitution rings.<sup>18</sup> A central character who abducts children in custody disputes is also a pedophile. He had worked as a cult "deprogrammer" and it is implied that he still used his mind manipulation techniques to facilitate his sex with children (Martin 1990).

A pervasive assumption was that pedophiles always photograph their victims for personal use or commercial circulation. Far less often expressed in fiction is the idea that photos of youth-adult sex are used to manipulate youth's sensibilities and lower their resistance (Vachss 1989:160). This idea of manipulation, more common in popular "fact" (see Part II), was not used in fiction for scene or character development, not because there was any reticence about describing sexually explicit materials but because this concept would have called for the emergence of a sexual child, an entity, even if artificially motivated, that was disallowed during the period.

The idea that the presence of one perversion indicates others in a personality has been held for a long time; a related notion conflates all so-called perversions into one polymorphous complex. Further, the excessive self-focus of the pedophile means that in addition to self-serving manipulations, the pedophile will seek a variety of stimuli. Dostoevsky's Stavrogin is "dissipated," a pre-psychiatric, late 19th century label for sensual decadence and degeneracy. For those who see bisexuality as a perversion, McDonald's molester likes both males and females.<sup>19</sup> The man in Nin's story who is attracted to girls is also a voyeur and exhibitionist. Strieber's villain dresses in women's clothes when he is torturing and killing his kidnapped boys. When Grice's heroine sees a child sex videotape with "every sexual act [she] had ever read about," she is astounded at the indiscriminate and totalizing appetite.

The child-killer in Welles (1980) is implied to be a necrophiliac. In another novel a kidnapper gets so excited killing young girls that he has frenzied sex with a corpse (Dorner 1987:80). The villain in Schutz who had killed forty-one children began the spree when he found his key to power in sadomasochistic relations. Vachss' hero (1988:46) says a "genuine freak" likes "discipline, golden showers, and snuff." A video catalog for a child pornography ring (the logo is a black star pierced by a blood-dripping dagger) featured kids in SM, bestiality, occult sacrifices, and "worse" (Kelman 1989). Less common is the association with non-sexual appetites, as with the photographer in Grant-Adamson's novel (1988); he takes photos of "underage girls" for a soft-core magazine, but what arouses him is watching illegal dog fights in all their blood and gore. The idea of totalized perversion decreased slightly in the 1990s, though there was continued association of pedophilia with other amusements, such as drug use and sex pictures.

The most common conflation of pedophilia, until very recently, was with homosexuality. From one of the earliest stories (Anderson's "Hands"), through a later suspense novel (Strieber 1990), the association has been used to purvey perceptions of perversion, threat, and immorality that surround youth-adult sexual relations.<sup>20</sup> The killer's pedophilia in McGivern's novel is said to be based in "latent homosexuality," but is in fact not so "latent;" his homosexual behavior is granted the status of "normal and innocent," but one can't help feel it is a product of the character's mental retardation (1979). Aellen describes the past of a Communist assassin, implying that traumatic events made him what he is. As a child in Berlin in 1945, he was used by the woman raising him as a sex partner for herself and for "furtive, heavy-lidded men" (1988:32). Residual cultural repulsion over homosexuality is put to use in defining the latest threat to youth, the pedophile. But homosexuality becomes merely a vehicle through which to accomplish the infamy of child molestation; the characters still retain the grotesqueness that used to be attached to images of gays and lesbians, but it is now because of their interest in young people (e.g., Straub 1988), a restructuring of villainy and deviance in the novels of the 1980s. The gay cop in Kellerman's novel has listened to the pedophile judge tell him that the two of them were similar, fellow perverts; "he's putting us [gays] in the same boat," he complains (1985:350).

Vachss aids in the redistribution of blame by separating pedophiles from homosexuals, the latter "grown men who had sex with other grown men; some of them were standup guys, some of them were scumbags. Like the rest of us. This freak wasn't like the rest of us" (1987:203). Vachss' (1988:211) hero takes pains to explain that "most gays hate them too." In a later novel Vachss has a fat effeminate gay man comment, "Those...creatures... they have sex with children and they say such sweet things about it. Fucking a little boy isn't homosexual" (Vachss 1990:22, ellipses in original; 66).

On the other hand, the young molester-kidnapper in Weesner (1987) represents both homosexuality and pedophilia as inseparable products of spoiled development. Vernon has had magazines of preteen boys having sex since he was a child himself. Lonely, isolated, and only used to public restroom sex, Weesner presents several scenes of the young man's search for sex and affection, but they are all negative and



humiliating. The description of gay sex throughout the novel is well-engineered by Weesner to convey repulsiveness and desolation and its ability to prefigure destructive behavior.

While pedophiles have been generally depicted as prone to violence and homicide, it was not until late in the 1980s that there began to appear a more specific association of pedophilia with the sexual interests, costumes, artifacts, and activities of what is popularly conceived of as "sado-masochism."<sup>21</sup> For some time the interest was recognized, with some hesitancy, in gay male circles and restricted heterosexual corners, but as the 1980s began it became more open and positively valued in both gay male and lesbian contexts, then later recognized as a more common heterosexual interest or possibility. By and large, popular and professional images of sadomasochism are still built on imperfect understandings of the desires, of the relation of the self to others, on confusions of "fetishisms" and play with costumes and devices, and on neglect of subcultural contexts. As the empirical bases of representations of pedophilia were challenged, much of the imagery of pedophilia (as with homosexuality before that) was transferred to sadomasochism, such as secret underground death-and-torture sex rings whose only authentic interpreters and authorized regulators are psychiatrists, academics, and the FBI.<sup>22</sup>

The equation of insanity and emotional instability has also long been associated with the pedophile, as it has with other stigmatized sexualities. The image is in many of the works cited so far, going back to the 19th century American disease of "nervousness" exhibited by Meyers in Anderson's "Hands." Most pedophiles were seen as underdeveloped emotionally, unable to have "mature" social or sexual relationships. Some have neurotic compulsions and obsessions such as enacting "complex, superstitious rituals" that relate to their sexualities (Kelman 1989:14). It was this assumption that made for an easy connection in the late 1980s to what were supposed to be the practices of ritual abuse.

In *The Creep*, the molester is either sickeningly sweet, or is violent and ruthless in his attacks. When captured by the police, he becomes "a ranting, raving maniac" (Dodson 1980:225). The molesters in Millar, McGivern, and McDonald are not only retarded but so lack control over themselves that they become murderers. The psychic interior of the pedophile in Kelman is "a shifting, heaving mass of raw nerve and uncontrollable impulse" (1989:153). Disney's homicidal pedophile bursts into jealous rage when a boy dates his 14 year old niece. In one scene, the killer's wife catches him struggling with a 15 year old young woman, his face resembling "a mad frustrated animal, ready to beat, rape, kill; a thing out of control beyond the reach of reason" (1990:215). Later versions of the type continued to indicate some emotional incapacity but despite operating on the margins of acceptability, the characters are not as much out of control, as with the Christian fundamentalist pedophile abductor in Martin.

Child killer Barton has to continually tell himself that he is "stable" and "normal," and that he isn't "crazy," "insane," a "predator," or an "exploiter." He remembers only two of the 14 boys he has killed, and at the end of the book he is astounded by all the bodies in his basement. He tells himself that he hadn't done

any of that because he believes himself to always be rational and controlled. However, the killer in *The Lolita Man* finally begins to doubt his own sanity after long avoiding the issue (James 1991).

The narrator in Nabokov's *The Enchanter* is so caught up in his pretensions and concealed fantasies that the inner visions distort his perception and performance; indeed, Nabokov's son and translator, Dmitri, calls *The Enchanter* a "study of madness seen through the madman's mind," because pedophilia is an "aberration" and "evil."<sup>23</sup> Kelman describes mug shots of molesters as "Harsh snapshots of men with menacing expressions, men tight with desperation, men so clearly deranged that their faces seemed to warp and wobble out of focus" (1989:4).

Kidnapper Vernon progressively loses his mind, going out of control, having wild fluctuations in mood, liking and hating his boy hostage. To account for this, Weesner offers an exposition of views on the emotional deficits and bases for pedophilia through the character of a pretentious psychiatrist who says pedophiles are "predisposed" to seek sex with children because of neglect or abuse in their own childhood, and they will seek to deprive, through abduction, the pleasure of parents in their children.

A variation on the insanity theme is in *Damon*, a book in the same genre as *The Exorcist* or the *Omen* series. Eight year old Damon appears to be possessed by a sexual demon. When Damon laughed, "the tinkling falsetto suddenly [drops] to a coarse bass, the room vibrating with the sound. It had a dirty tinge to it, like the snicker of boys behind their hands when the town's naughty girl passes on the street" (Cline 1975:51). The boy has violent, murderous sex with his adult nurse, his mother, and a young girl in the course of the novel, but the twist of the tale is that the treating psychologist has secret fantasies of raping preteens. Damon was a figment of the imagination, only a projection of the doctor's brutishness and disturbed sexuality. He has a breakdown and is committed to his own clinic.

An exception is in Steve Allen's mystery, *The Talk Show Murders* (1982). At a time when the pedophile was heavily promoted as demonic, a minor character (one of several killed in the mystery) is not depicted as offensive or even as unordinary. A former tennis star trying for a new career as a singer is attracted to young teen girls, "jailbait" or "San Quentin quail" as his agent calls them. He is referred to as "amoral" or "sexually immoral," but the terms do not match the brief and relatively sympathetic sketch of the figure.

In a move away from the idea of mental illness, sexual desires were occasionally seen, especially in the late 1980s, as a "personal choice." A psychiatrist in Vachss (1987:229) says, "The more intelligent the pedophile, the more skillfully he may rationalize his behavior, but the truth is really simple—he knows what he does is wrong and he does it anyway. ... They can stop—they choose not to." The view in the late 1980s was aligned with conservative and religious condemnations of homosexuality, and increased along with, and as a part of, dissatisfaction with what were seen as "permissive" professional explanations and defenses of "insanity" used to avoid criminal punishments.

Directly related to this, indeed the primary expression of psychological disturbance and instability, is the presence of uncontrollable and insatiable desires. Classical Western figures like the unicorn-satyr in Halpern (1979) use this imagery of sexual excess. The physically grotesque pedophile can be depicted with unusually large genitalia, a traditional figuration indicating unnatural or overactive sexual interests. In Grice's book, the man raping girls in a video has an "enormous penis, thick and blue-veined. It looked unreal, like a big dildo, huge in size, especially in relation to the girl." (1990:59; 53, 283).

The pedophile in Clark's book has a history of incestuous molestation, and he is aroused by the heroine's children, especially the three year old girl he is attempting to kidnap and kill. There is a "frantic desire" he feels "deep in his loins" (1988:145). This desire is referred to as "insistent licentiousness" in Garland's (1982) story of a woman's revenge on the local elite who sexually use young teenage girls in an orphanage. For Mertz's "Executioner" (1986:238), those who enjoy visuals of child sex are "slavering in the dark with their sick fantasies." For Kelman, pedophiles are "slimy creatures under the neighborhood rocks," each with "an epic history of sick sexual appetites," governed by "violent, sadistic impulses" (1989:75, 15, 30). The pedophile in Brandon is ruled by desires which "won't let him live a normal life, [and] compels him to trap a boy" (1993:185, 332) whom he rapes.

Vachss' hero explains that every pedophile "is a bottomless pit...these freaks, they can never get enough" (1988:272; 1990:67f). Whether devouring sex partners or sex pictures, molesters are insatiable. A friend of the heroine in Grice says, "They don't quit. A pervert is a pervert for life;" a school principal says, "they never quit...they move from city to city, they might get put in jail but then they move on again, they don't stop. They can be seventy-five years old and they don't stop" (1990:128, 187f).

Once the idea that sexual desire is insatiable is configured, control is out of the question; all that is needed is a "trigger." The central figure in Maupassant's late 19th century story is stirred by "carnal images." In trying to escape them, he goes to a stream but finds there a 12 year old bathing in the nude. He is "overcome" and as she emerges from the water, "he felt himself pushed toward her by an irresistible force, by a bestial transport of passion, which stirred up all his carnality, stupefied his soul and made him tremble from head to foot." He assaults then kills her. The rape and murder are attributed to an overpowering "gust of passion," a "sensual tempest," a "bestial love" (1955:1293f). Dostoevsky's Stavrogin, seeing a 12 year old female in the next apartment, feels as if "a certain desire pierced me like a blade" (1959:598). These "base feelings" take hold of him and he allows himself a "frenzy." In *Violated*, a psychologist speculates that once one becomes "unhinged," all sorts of "queer happenings" result. One becomes "a slave of passion, a tool of a driving force he can neither understand nor control." The molester in *Never Take Candy From A Stranger* trembles while watching two girls on a swing. The girls come to him for candy, and he has them undress and dance for him; he sits and watches, making only animal noises. The character in fact has hardly any lines in the film, mostly various sounds indicative of mad uncontrolled desire; the unspeakable here is literally unable to speak. McDonald's molester has so little

control that he assaults a woman in public because he is aroused by her child-like appearance.



Figure 1.1: Ad mat for *Never Take Candy From A Stranger* (1960).

Arthur, a cunning malevolent gay lawyer, is overpowered by his desires, “itching for something new.” It becomes cancerous, “eating away at him” to the point where everything else in life is disregarded. He is driven to masturbate to pictures of child sex, and unable to achieve an orgasm, he feels “a terrible violence, a rage creeping through his body. He was suffused with rage. And hate. It was then he craved a child” (Welles 1980:26ff). In this novel a ten year old female is abducted by Billy-boy, an infantile, compulsive, closeted gay. As Billy-boy is watching her sleep, he pulls up her nightgown and touches her undeveloped breasts.

He didn’t realize he was crying, the tears springing from his dark, puzzled eyes and falling on the sleeping child. He thrust his hand inside his unzipped trousers, feeling a sick disgust as his erection disappeared. (p. 46)

Fantasies form the locus for a number of genre elements such as secrecy, perversion, violence, self-hatred, guilt, and hypersexuality. A detective says pervers’ “fantasies would make us sick. Don’t leave your daughter alone. Not even for a minute.” The heroine thinks, “Disturbed people led strange inner lives” (Grice 1990:243, 356, 128).

In Weesner’s novel, Vernon grabs the boy he has kidnapped and as they both begin to weep, Vernon cries, in italics, “*I’m not going to hurt you. I love you. Don’t you understand? This is love. This is love.*” As if this exposition was not enough, for ideological emphasis this scene is immediately contrasted with an episode in which the boy’s 15 year old brother, Matt, and the black girl he has been attracted to, embrace in a car outside her house. The scene is passive, quiet,

restrained, silent; neither moves. Matt says, "I just opened my eyes, but I can't see anything" (they're in the dark)—she, silently, agrees by "a faint breath in her throat [that] tells him that she heard what he said, that she knows what he means" (1987:73f). Presented in contrast to gay sex, heterosexual activity is depicted as gentle, passive, innocent, and even non-sexual; it is a mutual agreement, a permissible revelation. Signified by the first-time youthful peers, heterosexuality (even between races) is given as a natural coming together. Differences of race and gender are allowed, but not of age.

One of the best representations in the period for uncontrolled desire was drug addiction imagery. Mario, an international terrorist attracted to young teen females, "considered himself a junkie who periodically needed this sensation;" while having sex with a 13 year old, he is shaken with uncontrolled "emotions so intense they made him tremble...they washed over him now, filled his senses, like a junkie's dream" (Smoke 1989:100, 101). Another pedophile is "addicted" to the excitement and danger of sex with preteen girls (Grice 1990:2, 355).

Combined with psychological instability, the presence of uncontrolled desires can only lead to the ultimate expression of pedophilia: death. One view was that while pedophiles accomplished and maintained their relations by force, they would kill only if discovered, as does the molester in the Spider-man strip (December 13, 14, 1985). But others kill regardless. The man in *Never Take Candy...* surprises two girls on a path in the woods and, making throaty noises, extends a bag of sweets toward them. They flee and the molester totters after them, lumbering through the woods like Frankenstein's monster.<sup>24</sup> He finally corners the girls in a cabin, and later is found with a girl's twisted body. The man, his clothes torn, goes mad.

The child stalker in Hastings "has a thing about punishing young children" (1985:23). A killer in Marris's story only wants "to be alone with [the girls], to hold and caress them, to make them still and silent." (1986:126). The natural extension of sadomasochism is supposed to be murder, doubly vicious when the "pedophile" is a "sadist" (or when the "sadist" is a "pedophile"). Speight briefly describes the demonic violence in which a molester kidnaps, rapes, and murders his victim, a twelve year old literally grabbed after school by the lurking pervert, a man who "had the crazed look of a wild beast as his eyes crawled up and down her body." Once he gets her in his car,

his hands gripped her throat, then slid down the front of her blouse, pausing for a moment at her tiny breasts. He jerked up her skirt, pulling it above her waist, ran his hands along her thighs, then up under the thin cotton of her underpants. ... She wanted to vomit. (1987:12)

While mentally deficient, the man who kidnaps, rapes, tortures, and kills children in McGivern is caught up in images and urges over which he has no consciousness or control. When the drive begins to kick in, the beast is let loose:

There were no words to describe...the great white void inside his head and the clamorous shapes of terror and excitement that filled the caverns of his mind with almost physically unbearable hungers and compulsions. ... With those images coiling hotly through his body, he stood so

abruptly that his chair tipped over with a crash, but he was unaware of this, unaware of anything but his savage, growing needs. (1979:101)

The narrator of *The Enchanter* is depicted as more volatile, more guilt-ridden, more bestial and demonic than the later Humbert; he is closer to losing control, closer to violence, and more strenuously engaged in self-deception. When he sees a leaf in the 12 year old's hair he is attracted to he fantasizes about it in predatory forms: "he kept yanking off the ghost of that leaf, grasping and yanking, with two fingers, with three, then with all five" (Nabokov 1987:33). Becoming even more bestial and diabolical, he dreams he soon will

entwine his smiling victim with eight hands, which turned into eight tentacles affixed to every detail of her nudity, and at last he would dissolve in a black mist and lose her in the blackness, and the blackness spread everywhere and was the blackness of the night in his solitary bedroom. (p. 62)

Strieber's texts construct for us the association between these desires and their inherent corruption. In one scene after beating Billy, Barton collapses on the bathroom floor: "he gagged, he felt something awful and black within him slither to the surface. A snake was flipping on the floor, slick and wet as if it had been coiled in his gut" (p. 241).

One of the more problematic figures is the female pedophile, a rare and very recent role. Authors are uncertain as how to define the character. In Cline, a nurse caring for the demon-boy has sex with him but, consistent with her generally sex-positive characterization, a view of sexuality significantly more common in the 1960s and 1970s, she feels the experience in a semi-objective and constructive manner; she is not depicted as a molester or abuser. In a similar novel appearing some years later, Randall (1981) has an aunt (aged 40) engage in sex with a demonic boy but she is less certain of her position and motivation, defensively denying her act as abuse. Confusion is added by the point of the story, abnormally precocious sexual development; though he is small the boy looks and acts more like 25 than his chronological age of 10.

Later depictions simply transfer generic characteristics and motivations of male pedophiles to women. The police depict women who help men have sex with youngsters (even though they themselves may not do so) as deficient or abnormal: they "found sex and physical intimacy abhorrent" (J. Kellerman 1985:16). Percy (1987) indicates women may be involved sexually with youth but does not elaborate, and Jennings (1987) features one member of a lesbian couple as a pedophile.<sup>25</sup> The woman in Sangster (1987:206ff) tortures a 14 year old boy and a 12 year old girl, photographing them bound and terrified. She is not so much assigned to pedophilia (as is her husband, initially accused of the crime) as to sadism. In Block a man and wife team are into sadomasochistic sex and murdering young teen males. The head of a Mexican-American Mafia turns out to be a lesbian in Lochte's novel and she is attracted to the hero's 14 year old female partner. The woman makes advances to her, but she declines, saying "That old dyke gives me the hives" (1985:219ff). Depictions in the early 1990s varied somewhat. In Martin's

novel, an incidental female character has a lover in her mid-teens, but there is no comment in the text, and the hero is totally unconcerned about the homosexuality of the woman. By and large, for lack of information and imagination, women pedophiles found in popular literature are undifferentiated in their feelings, motivations, expressions, and relationships from males characterized as abusers. There is some difference in European presentations where the image is more benign, accepted as erotic, romantic and playful. In the film, *Verguhrung: Die Grausame Frau*, a woman shopkeeper fantasizes an SM scene involving a ten year old who is transformed in the dream from a "typical kid" into a costumed dominatrix.<sup>26</sup>

These characteristics of the individual pedophile are bad enough, but when this evil moves from individual isolation to social force, it gets worse.

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## THE SOCIAL PEDOPHILE

### I

In the early 1980s, the first way the pedophile was depicted as a social threat was through an equivalence with the “serial killer.” The pedophile is still essentially an individual threat, but social dangers were added because he was said to kill many young victims, and, more frighteningly, they were random in selection. The role was further intensified by an association with the “psychokiller.” This figure emerged in Gothics of the 18th century but was first significantly established for the modern world in the late 1880s with the theatrical institutionalization by the mass media and the police of Jack the Ripper. The fictional use of the homicidal manic was somewhat sporadic until the *noir* sensibility of “hard boiled” crime writers in the 1930s and film makers of the 1940s. Since World War II the image has become more pervasive. The 1980s development was a focus on two varieties: the serial killer and the mass murderer, both immortalized in “true crime” books and fiction.<sup>1</sup> The essential elements applied to the pedophile are that he kills many, will keep on killing, that there is a sexual element in the motivation, and that he enjoys torturing and mutilating his victims.

Welles’ novel was marketed with blurbs emphasizing the thrills of a psychokiller. His characteristics were that he was on the loose, had no discernable or rational motive, and struck without warning—all common elements of traditional horror tales. The insane killer in Schutz had killed 41 children with no sign of stopping. The villain in Strieber murdered 14 boys and is hunting again. Others include the international terrorist in Smoke seeking 12 to 15 year old females, a demented individual who kidnaps, rapes, tortures, and kills 13 and 14 year old females (McGivern 1979), the crazy murderer in James who kills young teen females, a man and wife who kill young boys (Block 1991), and the killer in Thorp (1986) who is attracted to 14 and 15 year old young women. The killer of young girls in Crane (1981) binds, tortures, kills, and butchers his victims, and the heroine assumes a sexual motivation. Even if they kill only one young person in the story, the implication is that the pedophile will kill many more unless stopped. With a penchant for body counts, the popular imagination had little trouble accepting claims that molesters all have multiple murder victims.



Closely allied with this psychopath-on-the-loose image are the beliefs that they are everywhere, that they can be anyone, that anyone could be a victim, and that violation could happen at anytime. Individual secrecy and disguise take on social dimensions when everyone becomes a potential villain or victim, and the feeling that surroundings are rife with threats increases, fracturing the sense of social cohesiveness and the meanings that derive from that. Hurrying to rescue a traumatized child from attack, the psychologist hero of Kellerman's novel sees an analogy between the sea and contemporary life, a equation of biology and behavior.

I wondered how much carnage was hidden by the glossy black outer skin of the water; and how many of the night-hunters lurked on dry land, hiding in alleys, behind trash bins, concealed among the leaves and twigs of suburban shrubbery, wild-eyed, breathing hard. (1985:76)

In Maupassant's story, a doctor investigating the youth's murder says, "Everyone is capable of that! Everyone in particular and nobody in general" (1955:1284). A character in McGivern (1979:183) wonders how anyone could enjoy hurting a youngster: "appearances told you nothing. ... Any of them could have a devil inside him where you couldn't see it."

A prosecutor-heroine at one point recalls a "vicious" pornography ring she prosecuted, specializing in girls under age 6. They were distinguished and ultrarich, meeting in private clubs, "but trading in skinflicks featuring toddlers and hairy, drooling apes broke none of their rarified rules of etiquette" (Kelman 1989:244; 231f). Guides for spotting offenders become necessary. Dodson's heroine reads "profiles" depicting molesters as

nice and quiet, wouldn't-hurt-a-fly types. I began to get a little paranoid then, thinking of all the nice quiet types I had ever met, including teachers, ministers, and neighbors. It shook me up a little to think of them. (1980:102)

A cop friend tells her that "the creep has repressed all his feelings and uses a facade." He advises her, "For the rest of your life...be wary of the overly polite people." Disney's book from the mid-1960s also believes anyone could be a "sex maniac." Suspicion is set against the seemingly normal; they could outwardly "charming," and to emphasize the difference even more, they could be "well-educated, witty, intelligent, even brilliant" (1990:67f). Authorities say the killer in Crane's novel could be an "ordinary member of the community," and "could be anybody...anybody...anybody," the repetition becoming insistence (Crane 1981:100; 82, 85, 98). Spider-man thinks the molester of his friend's daughter "could be anyone," but he wonders if he is just paranoid, or "did I have reason to be?!!" (June 16, 19, 1985, emphasis in original).

When first confronted with an assault on a friend, the heroine of Dodson's novel believes "it could happen to anyone, anywhere" and that the molester was

omnipotent. All young people are threatened, and their damage or loss means a threat to adults as well. A character in Welles thinks "women were eternally unprotected, his wife, his mother, his beautiful niece. He felt sick. There was nothing he could do about it. Nothing" (1980:120).

Some connected it with the spread of deviance into everyday vision, prompted especially by an increased visibility of lesbians and gays in the early 1970s. The hero in Welles sees only "undetected creeps," "perverts," or "freakos" making up the world. The pedophile is thus connected to broader social, cultural, or biological issues. The "Executioner" concludes that "the evil of the Mafia, of child-molesting scum...was no different from that of nations like Iran or the Soviet Union, who sought to wreak havoc upon civilized people...with their barbaric deeds." It is, to the hero, "the dark side of the collective human psyche, the self-destructive impulse inherent in the species..." (Mertz 1986:57).

## II

Because pedophilia represents unnaturalness, it necessarily is located in demonic underworlds. Pedophilia becomes social in the sense that pedophiles are parts of criminal populations, merging, moving threats to innocence, justice, order, holiness, and good taste.

Jacket blurbs for Carlo's novel advertised it to be about "the murderous world of international criminals who kidnap and sell children for pornography and prostitution." The blurb said Amsterdam was "the kinky capital of the world" and there the hero "penetrates to the depths of the sinister underworld of the heartless pedophile traffic." The promoters exclaimed that the novel was "a timely exposé of a cold-blooded sexual underworld that is all too real today...and that threatens innocent children everywhere" [ellipsis in original]. The pedophile in McBain (1989) is depicted as a natural and integral part of the criminal underworld, and in the novel's central plot murders—the killing of an infant and a 16 year old female—he automatically becomes a suspect.

Drug use has been an intense, highly visible, and greatly exploited social concern for well over a century in American society, generating its own pantheon of child threatening villains. The capacity of many drugs to enhance or alter consciousness and their productions of pleasure have proven to be fearful challenges to authorities regulating official means of consciousness and enjoyment (such as religion or alcohol). The villain in Richardson's *Clarissa* (1748) drugs a young victim before he rapes her. In *The Monk*, by Matthew Gregory Lewis, a clergyman drugs, abducts, rapes, and kills a 15 year old female; imprisoned, he escapes and sells his soul to the Devil and becomes a Satanist. These are familiar elements of 1980s fiction, though this American novel was written two centuries before in 1796. Nabokov in the early 1950s mentions drugs when Humbert uses them on Lolita, but

he did not make broader social connections that were made in the 1980s wherein the molester was often a drug user, drug dealer, part of drug subcultures, and/or tied to organized crime.

In Welles, one youngster is killed by being overdosed, and Arthur, the homosexual lawyer, does cocaine; Johanna, the young girl kidnapped by Arthur and his psychotic side-kick is kept drugged during her abduction. Gutcheon's heroine describes child sex pictures as being full of "groggy little boys with drugged smiles." The social world of drugs expands in scope and deepens in depravity in Parker's *Ceremony*. Drugs, sex, and rock 'n roll constitute supports for an orgy scene in which 15 to 16 year olds take part (1982:157).

By the mid-1980s, the association of drugs as an antisocial force with youth-adult sex was more explicit and more frequent, helped considerably by a politically and aesthetically compatible "War On Drugs." Schutz makes connections between crime and the deterioration of youth into drugs and sex; Thorp's villain gained the hatred of the government because he was living with 14 and 15 year old females whom he kept "doped up." Men who run a sex film operation using 15 and 16 year old young women are also drug smugglers, dealers, and users; they use cocaine to help entice them (McDonald 1986). In the late 1980s, the idea was broadened historically by Jennings (1987) who connects the seduction of youth in the 19th century to absinthe, administered by a suitably unconventional rebel in a fictional version of poet Paul Verlaine. Percy adds a rather silly elaboration by tying child sexual abuse to efforts to administer heavy sodium in municipal water supplies to regulate anti-social behavior. O'Rourke presents a slovenly obese character whose house seems filled with 10 and 11 year old males and marijuana; he likes to have his boys rub cocaine on his anus, a common enough mode of doing coke, though usually without such interesting help. Busby's (1989) novel of hard-drinking agents fighting evil cocaine has a central character with an international drug network who is apprehended while he is having sex with two runaway "underage schoolgirls."

More directly connected to concerns over child sexual abuse are the supposed associations of pedophilia with child sex pictures and youth prostitution. In an incidental mention, a later love of Lolita's tries to get her to act in films which Lo nicely describes as "weird, filthy, fancy things."<sup>2</sup> Political reaction to depictions of child sex appeared in the early 1970s, and by the late part of the decade the topic was showing up in genre fiction. The association between pedophilia and sexual representations is fairly consistent from the late 1970s on throughout the next decade.<sup>3</sup>

Welles connects uncontrollable lust with child sex pictures wherein erotic images become both a necessity for sex and automatically lead their users to crave harder material. This "harder stuff" meant filming a murder in what became known

by the 1970s as “snuff films.”<sup>4</sup> Wolman is one of the earlier links to killers and the photography of death, while Campbell, Vachss, and Block (1991) continue this association. Young teen prostitutes supply the victims for snuff films (and for Satanist sacrifices) in F. Kellerman’s novel. A select group of rich men have formed a club to view these specially ordered films, then “go out trawling for young meat...and act out the fantasy,” according to an informant (1988:190). The heroine’s daughter in Grice’s novel says after seeing a child sex video, “those men didn’t just let them go home, did they? I mean, after...after those terrible things they did” (1990:108, ellipsis in original). Dorner refers to a killer’s photographing of his victims as “S&M kiddie porn.” The links try to reinforce common ideas of the period that youth in sex visuals were brutalized in every way possible, and that viewing the representations would only lead to more violence.<sup>5</sup>

Vernon, the kidnapper in Weesner’s novel, goes to a sex store and finds a magazine with two males about 15-16, but he is unsatisfied with the “lost” expressions on their faces. He asks the clerk for “younger materials” but is brusquely refused. In final desperation and depression, he goes in to see the feature film in the store’s theater, *Children In Bondage*. The male and female in the film appear about 12 or 13, and Weesner gives a graphic description of the plot in which they are peeping on adults having sex, then are caught and punished. Weesner’s narrative places the viewing in a causal stream of factors that lead to the abduction, rape, and death of a 12 year old boy.

Parker, Campbell (1986), O’Rourke, and Vachss connect “kiddie porn” to a broader subculture of illegal erotica involving organized crime. In a novel by Jackie Collins (1985), a classic sleazy gangster-type forces a kidnapped 14 year old to pose for pictures. He is so aroused that after the photo session he intends “to commit an act so vile...so indecent...” on a 4 year old boy that the reader is sure of the direct connection (p. 584; ellipsis in the original). Noting that most of organized crime is run as a business, Schutz points out the virtues of a business-like attitude in sexual commerce, adding that child sex is more profitable if filmed because, echoing a supposed part of the pedophile-pornography mystique, “the kids never get older.”<sup>6</sup> Organized crime provides the links to broader areas of illicit culture and commerce, as in McDonald and Vachss when child sex media, youth prostitution, and drugs are linked: “Dope money moves into a pipeline, and at the other end you get loan-shark cash on the streets and kiddie porn operations in the basements” (1985a; 1988:272f).

A concern with child prostitution was another major focus of the late 1970s and 1980s, re-emerging after over a thirty year dormancy from World War II. Typical was the film, *Little Ladies of the Night*. Prefaced with righteous intent (“This film is a warning to teenagers and their parents”), it features a 14 year old runaway (Linda Purl) left only with prostitution as a way to live, but she is rescued by hip, child-saving cops. Films of the late 1970s such as this gave attention to broader socioeconomic causes of runaways and teen prostitution as well as to unlivable

family conditions. In contrast, films of the 1980s escalated stereotypes of the villains, victims, and heroes, narrowed their focus away from social issues (though still indicting the fragmenting family, especially working mothers, e.g., *Daughter of the Streets*) to place more blame on the individual pathology of the villain, and inflated the trauma and suffering of the victim. Most famous of the 1980s teen hooker films was *Angel* ("Honor Student by Day, Hooker by Night!"); there were two sequels, and in the last one, *Angel*, now an adult, thematically circles back to rescue her young sister in a return to the corruption of teens theme from the first film, paired with the then popular avenging female image. *Streets*, starring Christina Applegate, is about the lives of teen hookers (one character who is murdered by the villain cop is preteen); and *Street Love* is a story of a 16 year old with a feminist emphasis.

From the beginning there are also associations of youth prostitution with organized crime (Lochte 1985:219ff), "pedophile rings" (Kellerman 1985; Dorner 1987:195, Vachss 1988:272f), and other international or local conspiracies (Thorp 1986:294f). Parker (1984) has a gay "baby raper" who supplies drugs and high school girls as prostitutes as part of his job in a ring. In a spy thriller, the hero defines a pedophile (in this case, a gay "chickenhawk") as "a man who finds young boys to sell into prostitution" (Davis 1984:95). The underworld the Executioner enters depicts child pornography, child prostitution, and drugs as under the administration of organized crime (Newton 1985).

The social expansion of pedophilia also included the association of pedophiles with other destructive forces. One minor theme was a linkage to terrorism, a major object of popular anxiety as well as of police and journalistic promotion.<sup>7</sup> There was also an interesting association of pedophilia with Nazism meant to increase the villainy of the molester and increase the liberal image of the narrator or author. Vachss makes the tie in his works, and Allbeury (1988) includes aging Nazis in South America who use Indian children as sex partners and in sex pictures.<sup>8</sup> The Klan was similarly used as a foil. The man who lusts after young girls in Johnstone's 1986 novel is big, stupid, vicious, and a member of "the Brotherhood, a racist Klan-like conspiracy. Parker's hero compares a cowardly Klan member to a child molester (1987:110), while Vachss compares pedophiles to Klan members (1987:236).

Two plot elements more fully explored the pedophile's social threat. One deals with the abuse of children in day-care centers. The killer in Carkeet has a record of molestation and is head of a combined research institute and day care center, though the novel written before the pre-school scandals appeared on the national scene. Vachss (1985a), Kellerman (1985), the Spider-man comic strip, Frey, and Kelman use this locale for the exploitation of children and the commission of horrible deeds;

some used children's homes as a source for pedophile rings. Though the subject of many news articles, Scout troops or church groups as exploited pools of youth did not appear in any of the novels. But the day care setting was not common, somewhat surprising given the high level of anxiety and fantasy being generated at the time. Part of this is due to doubts about the validity of these cases that appeared very soon after the 1984 height of their sensational promotion by the news industry. Martin's hero says he is a cynic when it comes to news reports of mass molestations in preschools.

The other issue was that of kidnapped youngsters and this appears in novels and film much more often. The idea is a major thematic element in ancient folklore, and abducted virgins have long been a staple of sensation novels, romances, and thrillers, gaining popularity for moderns from the 18th century on. Tying folktales to modern fantasy, it is not surprising that Walt Disney helped keep the fear alive in *Pinocchio*, where Honest John and Gideon procure lost boys to sell to a demonic coachman who takes them to the wonderfully named Pleasure Island. The most immediate precursor to the period's special association of abduction with pedophilia was Nabokov's *Lolita*.

In Carlo's novel, the hero says a *Newsweek* article proves "dozens of children were being abducted every day, from cities and towns everywhere in the United States..." The hero discovers an international ring of gypsies who drug and steal children (with the help of a few Ethiopians with long pointed noses and yellow eyes). The young woman he has been hired to find has been sold to an Arab; the hero learns that Arabs buy a lot of juveniles, "blond children especially." Gypsies take youngsters to an island off Spain, ship them to Algeria, then spread the kids throughout Africa. Similarly, in Damascus the hero of Shagan's novel is offered, for fifty dollars, "two very young, very clean boys" and/or a blond 15 year old German schoolgirl, "soft, round, full-breasted, lightly used but gifted. This child will satisfy any request" (1984:271). In Grice, a pedophile ring kidnaps Mexican girls, uses them in sex videos, then smuggles the films into the United States. The group expands by kidnapping young American females, keeping them chained and handcuffed until needed.

Parker's 1974 *God Save The Child* formed a bridge between the abduction fears of the 1970s and mid-1980s; its themes enabled it to be comfortably reprinted a decade later, from 1983 on. The case revolves around the search for a 15 year old believed to have been kidnapped but who turns out to be a runaway. He has formed a voluntary relationship with an older gay man, and the association is depicted as honorable; the two are mutually and sincerely involved. The older gay, however, is a sordid type and described as a "baby-raper." Even with this ambivalence in the novel, the character lacks the categorical and dogmatic hatred found in fiction of the 1980s.

Clark's 1975 *Where are the Children?* made explicit ties between abducted youth and pedophilia. The narrator's ex-husband killed her two children by that marriage, and returns to try to abduct and murder her two new children. In her later book (1979), there is no mention of pedophilia, but the story draws on elements used in later characterizations of pedophiles. By the early 1980s the genre was both familiar and popular enough so that Wolman's *Little Boy Lost* featuring a crazed child snatcher and killer was advertised by its publisher as related to the missing children plots of Clark and Gutcheon.<sup>10</sup> Other related books that appeared during the period included Ludwig (1977), Paul (1978), and Hastings (1980), the latter promoted as "A child stalking thriller."

From the early 1980s on, pedophiles were said to kidnap children for personal sex slaves, prostitution, sex pictures, and thrill killing. One of the "Executioner" series (Mertz 1986:60f) said that missing children were "a national epidemic," the effects of which were devastating American society and families. A 1954 crime novel by Bloch about a child kidnapping and killing was reprinted in 1988 and marketed for horror readers. Bloch's name was well known and the theme of childnapping had been rejuvenated enough so that the otherwise unexceptional book would draw buyers even though there was no sexual motive in the child's abduction and murder as found in late 1970s-1980s works.

There were more generic productions on the theme of abducted children, such as the film *The Golden Child*, in which a sacred youngster is kidnapped by a demon disguised as a human; the child is said to be able to "save the world" if one can only save the child. The film also features a biker gang that kidnaps teen females to sell to Asian occultists, the latter a theme not seen since the racist pulps of the 1910s-30s.

The issue of "missing children" as the result of pedophile lusts largely fell apart after 1985, however, exposed as an ill-founded panic, if not an outright media hoax (cf. Best 1990). The theme is less often seen now or is used with less moral heat; Carlo's book was reprinted as a paperback in 1988 but was not very successful. Lochte's hero, quite out of date by the late 1980s, mentions that he had "read in a magazine" that 30,000 children are missing every year, and that a Columbian gang kidnaps blond 3 to 10 year olds to sell in South America to finance drug smuggling (1988). Vachss of course continued to make use of the runaway or abducted figure. In *Blue Belle* (1988:273), the hero explains how pedophiles get youngsters for sex pictures and prostitution: "The same way they get anything else. Some they buy, some they steal." A pedophile in *Blossom* "finds" preteen boys who get "lost" in shopping malls, even though being snatched at a mall was an idea discarded fairly early in both fiction and popular fact (see Chapter 5). However, the scenario promises to spice occasional fiction for some time; Rosen's 1993 novel of a kidnapped 10 year old boy added another to a decade's worth of abducted children.

Though mentioned less often in the 1980s, the concept of "missing children" also included runaways, and a few novels focused on their liability to exploitation

(Parker 1982, Schutz, Masterson 1988). Runaways, even though they comprised the majority of the "missing children" phenomenon, lacked the dramatic possibilities of abductees and were used in fiction primarily to point to the socially redeeming qualities of the hero and to characterize youth's general vulnerability.

Running parallel with these issues was the much more subdued concern over parental kidnapping, the abduction of one's own children as marriages broke into bitter custody disputes. Novels appeared (Fielding 1981, Olsen 1982), along with numerous magazine and newspaper articles and popular books (Gill 1981), especially in the early to mid-1980s, but the subject never generated the intense indignation and moral outrage that far less frequent stranger abduction did; anti-pedophile texts out-shouted the domestic violence of parental abduction from the mid-1980s on. A culture that glorifies and exaggerates the importance of marriage and a heterosexual nuclear family will clearly tend to subdue the import and extent of intra-family instability and escalate external threats, whether they are real, elaborated, or fabricated.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s kidnapped youth were related in a couple of other ways to the spread of pedophilia and child abuse. The Seventies view that cults brainwashed and lured "children" (individuals in their late teens or early 20s) away from their parents, home, and values found some echoes in earlier novels (Halpern, Keating). In Campbell (1981) a cult abducts mostly female youth, some being older, some preteen. A variation combining cult-fears and day care concerns is a "human potential movement leader" who runs a preschool supplying kids for sex pictures and for sex with rich men (Frey). The pedophile abductor in Martin is motivated by his Christian beliefs rather than his pedophilia (although it is implied he has sex with his abductees).

The theme of cults decreased a bit throughout the 1980s but toward the end of the decade made a comeback in a few horror and crime novels. Chase (1988) featured some rather standard child-nappers but the late 1980s garnish was her occult overtones. In Nordan (1989) a high school teacher leads a cult of young teens who also serve as his sexual partners; other young women are abducted for cult rituals. Strieber mixes older and newer themes when he has a private investigator counsel the parents of a kidnapped boy with the package of missing children options: "There are satanist cults out there stealing kids for very nasty reasons. ... There are kiddie porn rings and kiddie prostitution rings. Your son could be sold to a pederast" (1990:174). Vachss features a cult which takes in runaways but turns out to be a breeding program to produce superior children, selling babies for \$50,000 each. The young teens earn their keep by prostitution and sex pictures (1989). Satanists in Tanenbaum's book use preteens from their day care center in sex visuals and as prostitutes to finance the cult operation; the youngsters are killed and videos are sold as snuff films. Newton's 1989 "Executioner" novel has the hero



saving youngsters from a Satanic cult which seduces teens with hidden messages in rock songs, as well as traffics in drugs and child sex pictures, and, of course, engages in human sacrifice. CBS aired a made-for-TV movie in October, 1989 that was a mix of Satanist pedophile porn rings in day-care centers connected by computers.<sup>11</sup>

By the early 1990s, the Satanist idea was still viable for fiction and authors appeared unaware of criticism and lack of evidence—or they may have been simply unconcerned since the idea is a great device for horror and crime genre. A novel by Mills written at the end of the 1980s appeared as criticism was becoming more widespread, but her plot elements are uncritically typical of the 1980s.<sup>12</sup> The heroine of her novel believes there is an underground network of Satanic groups involved in drugs, “kiddie porn,” and gun-running, with members and influence in high places. One of the heroine’s 17 year old students is in the cult and into heavy metal music, believed to be the main medium of Satanic messages. The mentor of the heroine refers to the “Matamoros” [sic] cult as evidence of the truth of Satanic cults. The mentor says kids in ritual abuse get stripped “of every form of security they have: their self-image, family values, religious beliefs, [and] sexual identity” (1991:137). Vachss in *Sacrifice* features voodoo cults and a Satanist group. A character grumbles that convictions are made more difficult by critics “who talk about the ‘myth’ of ritual abuse,” but even Andrew Vachss has to acknowledge the absurdity of the scare: “‘false allegation’ freaks” may be right, it is suggested. “Real” Satanists may not do anything to children; pedophiles are still the main villains for him and they use Satanism only as a cover (1991:204, 252).

At the end of the decade two stories by Cooney could still use the idea of kidnapping cults but it was not the main emphasis. The domestic dramas focused on the emotional tribulations of reuniting an abducted young woman with her biological family. Her mother was a sect prostitute and there was a hint that children were sexually abused but the idea lacked the centrality and heat of the 1980s.<sup>13</sup>

### III

In most pulp novels the main emphasis is on aesthetics and entertainment. It is true, however, that many crime, science fiction, and horror texts contain clear ideological positions; one of the virtues of genre is that the forms can be excellent vehicles for social commentary and incitements to action. Popular crime and horror novels and films with pedophile characters in the 1980s were loaded with such pointers. Much of this was in the form of character description and development, but an added dimension was more specific arguments against sex between juveniles and adults. One way to do this was to add to the already disgusting list of the villain’s elements the arrogance of guilt-free resistance. About the only allowable defense for adult-youth sex traditionally had been that the adult was drunk. While admitting incapacity, this excuse maintained the essential “normality” of the

offender, and offered apology and possibility of “rehabilitation.” No such tolerance is allowed for other assertions, particularly more defiant ones.

Several types of resistance enraged critics more than others. One had to do with claims of “love:” the pedophile insists she or he truly loves the child and that the acts of sex are part of this. The assertion in fiction of the period of this idea is usually contextualized by insanity and/or criminal deception. The retarded molester in McDonald’s book believes the five year old he raped and killed was promiscuous and led him on; he helped her with “an act of love” (1986:250). In Grice’s novel, when the heroine and two other youngsters were 12 they had an affair with their teacher. She confronts him years later and he makes bumbling and incoherent attempts to explain, saying he really loved them, would not have hurt them for anything, that he has tried to seek help, and so on. Barton feels he would be beneficial for “the right boy.” He will give them everything they want and help realize their dreams; “The soul would bloom,” he tells himself and the boys he abducts (Strieber 1990:14, 21). James’ killer feels that what he does is love, and that he is protecting and saving the young women from horrible and disgusting fates. A pedophile killer confesses after capture but it was only a “rambling account...a pathetic, contorted plea for understanding. From his sick perspective he’d done nothing wrong.”<sup>14</sup>

The main rationale that evoked extremely strong reaction on the part of the authorities was what could be called Pedophile Pride. The psychiatrist in Kelman’s novel sees all pedophiles driven by their egos as much as by their sexuality: “All those maniacs share one deadly flaw. They want to be recognized, applauded. It’s hard to believe, but they’re actually proud of their grotesque conquests. Eventually the urge to seek outside approval becomes irresistible” (1989:15).

Andrew Vachss is noted for ideological as well as physical combat in his novels with pedophilia and he was especially irritated by this stance. In *Strega*, a character confronts the hero Burke with arrogant egotism and pretentiousness. In *Sacrifice*, Burke revisits this same pedophile, one who defended his desires as love using a “silky voice wrapping around the lying words.”<sup>15</sup> The man stresses how much he and others are “hounded [and] persecuted” by “witchhunters.” But by 1991 Burke appears to have a new attitude. He seems to separate the pedophile from child rapists, saying he knows the villain is not like rapists and would not condone harming youngsters, in essence repeating and affirming the pedophile’s defense.<sup>16</sup> Burke tells him that if he will help find the ritual abusers, Burke will fix it so he will get immunity should he ever be arrested for anything. But later, burning with his eternal flame of hatred for child molesters, Burke tells the District Attorney of his visit and says he was only kidding. He asks the DA to lie to the molester who hides behind an “intellectual cover.” Burke remains steadfastly contemptuous of talk of “the last taboo,” “the cutting edge of sexuality,” “mentors,” “archaic laws,” and the unthinkable right of youth to say yes as well as no.<sup>17</sup> The prosecutor eagerly agrees.

In another novel, Burke is confronted with the excuses of a man who raped a young girl and who explains his innocent use of erotic photographs as

...an...outlet, you understand? A release valve. Those therapists, they don't understand the need. The drive. I'm my own therapist now. I can look at the pictures, fantasize in my mind. ... And get off when I have to, when the drive pressures me. In the institution, they tried to take that away from us. Control our thoughts. Fascists. We had to look at the pictures and then they'd *shock* us. Blast us with electricity. It *hurt*. After a while, I couldn't even get a hard-on when I saw beautiful little pictures. (1990:67f; emphasis in original).

Equally intolerable is the assertion that some or all youngsters want and/or enjoy sex, a theme with several subsets. As the hero in Lochte's book breaks up a soft-porn session by a sleazy Hispanic photographer, the man justifies his taking erotic pictures of 14 year old females. The pictures are innocuous and tame compared to others, he says. Further, and more offensively, he suggests the young women either don't mind or will take their business elsewhere (1985:188).

In Thorp's novel a government official tells the hero, "I hope you can gas the bastard...I still get sick just thinking about him. He laughed at us, and *argued*. The girls [14 and 15] liked it, so that made it okay, he said" (1986:196). Another villain expresses his philosophy (the kids never resisted, he never raped anyone, they knew it was "natural" and not wrong, he loves them and they love him), then drifts into why he has sex (because children have no ulterior motives and need affection), connecting it to social issues (emotionally needy children in day care centers with absent parents). The hero feels he is "raving" and after his trial the molester seemed to assume "it was his due to live as he wanted, at anyone's expense..." (Brandon 1993:332, 353f). Any rational basis for pedophilic interest and conduct is incomprehensible; its discourses are depicted as incoherence or arrogance and are dismissed as symptoms of pathology.

While all of the forgoing constitute social dimensions of pedophilia, the individual pedophile was still the focus. But in the period's fiction pedophiles are not usually isolated or unconnected. They often belong to informal national or international "rings," and to formal public and political organizations. Pedophiles were seen as a subset of a more general level of association among decadents and hedonists that was perceived as an international conspiracy. A federal officer in Thorp's novel says, "We learned that there is a worldwide stratum of society that believes anything is permissible. They're in touch with each other, passing information around on what is available" (1986:381). It is in these "evil circles" that respectable and regulated behavior is thrown off in destructive orgies of uninhibited desire. In a novel dealing more ostensibly with the ways and wiles of the decadent rich, the varied interests of a thrill-seeking band of urbanites is detailed for the

reader's entertainment: not only heterosexuality and homosexuality, but necrophilia, sadomasochism (as popularly conceived wherein extensive and fatal physical damage is inflicted), and drug use are all videotaped, including adult sex with a twelve year old female on dope (Stewart 1988:470ff).

Carlo's hero (1986:41) says pedophiles "used child molestation the way others use guns for hunting, stamp collecting for a hobby, car racing for thrills... But I'd never realized how well organized and premeditated these people could be..." These characters, full of demonic potential, populate the world and give it its character and value. Vachss again provides us with the voice of the hero registering disbelief and rage at the very concept of organized and networked perverts.

The freaks individually don't scare me—they're usually terminal inadequates. But the idea scares the hell out me. It's unnatural... Freaks are supposed to stay by themselves—in furnished rooms, with their picture books and inflatable plastic dolls. We're in bad shape when they start forming fucking affinity groups. (1985a:57f)

Authors may make references to real organizations—Campbell (1986:223) mentions the North American Man-Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) and the Rene Guyon Society—or to fictitious ones, such as Faye Kellerman's silly "the Loving Grandpas." Searching for an elusive villain, Vachss' hero waits outside for the end of a meeting of the "Boundaries Society:"

The topic for the night's meeting was Inter-Generational Sex, the new euphemism for child molesting. I had been to one of those meetings before—all about how early sexualization prepares a child for the realities of modern living. Most of the audience had been male, some of them with their "wards." ... I sat [outside]...until the meeting disgorged its vermin into the streets. (1985a:274)

These groups, linked by secret codes and languages, and networked by computers, publish newsletters and magazines. But Vachss' hero claims insight to the real truth behind the rhetoric:

The newsletter never quite crosses the line—just some pictures of kids mixed with whining about this repressive society. One even had a column supposedly written by a kid himself—bragging about how his life was enriched by his "meaningful association" with an older man. ... Most of it reminded me of the stuff the Klan puts out...that kind of crap. Some freaks burn crosses, some burn kids. The feature story was about some priest in Louisiana doing time for sodomizing a bunch of altar boys—the newsletter said the real issue was freedom of religion.<sup>18</sup>

The journals are only a cover, the groups are referred to as "rings" responsible for "multi-million-dollar-a-year" child sex picture operations that yield "tons" of films and pictures (Chastain 1982:151f). Browne gives a glimpse of the social world of one of his villains as he pulls out a letter from a correspondent, "an associate in the

international minority organization called The Golden Triangle.” Members, depicted as “prominent men,” traded material and advice. With the letter was a photo of a

girl in a most delightful gawky stance, hand shielding her eyes from the sun, crotch barely glossed—the *golden triangle*. Not a hint of guile, unless it was her underpants around and under one foot, toes peeking out. [The villain] tried to think what in his collection he might offer in exchange. Something of quality that had used up his interest. (1978:276f, emphasis in the original)

Here are all the major child pornography themes: a subversive international political organization of pedophiles (or merely loosely organized) lurking behind claims of minority status, respectability, or progressive causes, the accumulation of collections by pedophiles, the active trade or sale which is the basis and purpose of the network, as well as the affective qualities of draining lust and expendability in which children are used then thrown away.

One of the early tales of the evils of child prostitution, runaways, and pedophilia was a story of a 12 year old female who died after a mysterious fall from a building in New York City.<sup>19</sup> Reverend Bruce Ritter, Director of Covenant House, used the story in several of his mailings and promotions, and Johnson (1979) built a crime novel around the story which places the death squarely in the context of child pornography, child prostitution, and pedophilia. The implication was that there was a network operating throughout the country through which children were merchandised or otherwise disposed of. When news of the missing child in Weesner’s novel is broadcast, there is an anonymous call to police about a “Men Who Love Boys” chapter which the caller says recruits young boys. The cop makes inquiries with other city police forces about the group, assuming (correctly) that police obtain and trade data from the surveillance of suspect groups.

Denying any political legitimacy to these organizations, authorities in the novels feel free to pursue their destruction by any means necessary. In Kelman’s book, as part of tracking down the hypnotizing killer pedophile, the heroine prosecutor sees it as “logical” to obtain lists of students of hypnotism courses, seminars, and lectures as well as membership rosters of associations and societies. Investigating those who had checked out library books on hypnotism and charged how-to books at bookstores is also accepted as a matter of course, unconstrained by legal or ethical considerations.<sup>20</sup>

The social pedophile transforms the social world of citizens. As authors detail the character of the pedophile, they simultaneously sketch the world he inhabits, and the qualities he brings with him as he invades the disintegrating domain of the “normal.” The consequence of this simultaneous collapse and attack appears as the exuberant literary and ideological construction, the 1980s child victim.

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## THE FICTIONAL VICTIM

### I

The most insistent image of the minor in fiction's adult-youth sexual relationships has been that of victim. An image that denies all other possibilities, it has varied in severity over time but its components have maintained continuity throughout a variety of historical contexts.

The theory is that adult-youth sex is "about power and domination, not sex," says a character (Lewin 1988:43), echoing early 1970's feminist analyses that dominated the 1980s. Some of this power differential is communicated by visual references, such as exaggerated angles of perspective meant to heighten the physical difference between an adult and a youngster. Grice's heroine is struck by the "largeness of the men contrasted with the dainty immaturity of the children. ... Two hundred-pound men forcing themselves on little girls of seventy and eighty pounds" (1990:283). Expanding the difference between ages is another technique, as when critics take extreme cases and assert them as modal examples, contrasting middle aged adults with very young children of two to four years or with infants. One character thinks of a molested youth as "only a little girl" (Dodson 1980:36), then later the same individual is described as "only a baby." Another narrator sees youngsters in a sex video as "*little girls...children ...babies.*"<sup>1</sup> The use of the word "only" and increasing infantilization are two rhetorical strategies of separation and opposition, as well as devices to outrage the reader.

Another persuasive technique is the use of voice quality to excite sympathy or pity, to incite rage or hatred, and to arouse any unrecognized paternal and/or erotic feelings for children. One of the most popular examples was Sharon Batts singing "Dear Mr. Jesus." Sharon was made to sing the song by adults in her Texas church without being entirely aware of its implications: "I was six and didn't understand child abuse. Now I know it's a really terrible thing" (Anonymous 1988a). The song was recorded in 1985 by the Christian Gospel Workshop for Children, headed by Sharon's mother.<sup>2</sup> First aired in Texas in 1986, by late 1987 it was one of the most requested songs on radio, drawing 500 calls a day at stations near Fort Worth/Dallas. It prompted 3000 calls in New York City when it was played there in November, 1987 on WHTZ-FM which promoted the song as a tribute to Lisa Steinberg.<sup>3</sup> In San Antonio, Texas in December, 1987, it was the number one hit. After each playing, phone numbers were given so that listeners could make donations to child abuse

causes; part of the sales were said to go "to fight child abuse," though no details were offered. The song's storyline is a young girl begins a letter to the President after seeing a television report on child abuse but then asks Jesus how she can better help the cause. At the end, Sharon plaintively sings, "please don't tell my daddy, but my mommy hits me too."<sup>4</sup>

Youth are victims because the adult is the only instigator of sex. It was asserted that children have neither sexuality nor desire for power, and youngsters have to be lured or forced into relations. The image of the molester as seducer and trickster as well as violator is one demanded by youth's image of innocence in the novels. Once established, the most common technique to maintain the relationship is by threat. Some molesters threaten to tell others or the parents, or make general threats. Consistent with genre requirements, threats of violence are more common. The molester in McDonald threatens harm and uses blackmail. A man may threaten to kill the youngster (Dodson 1980), or its parents (Vachss 1987:219; Kelman 1989:192; Strieber 1990:114).

The indirect yet horrific threat is a very popular convention. One of the best vehicles for this is the use of small animals as human stand-ins. Strieber's villain tortures a mouse just for fun, and another tortures and kills the heroine's pet rat (Koenig 1974:114). One motif used to emotionally involve the reader is having the molester cripple or kill a puppy (usually in front of the child) to express his own deformity and villainy (Garland, McGivern), to coerce youth into sex (Schutz, Vachss 1987:219), or to insure the child's silence (Kelman; Vachss 1991:197, 204).

Threats are necessary because of two major elements attributed to youth. On the one hand, the child has to be totally innocent and vulnerable to heighten the impact of violation. Carlo's (1986:21) detective imagines a kidnapped 10 year old "coming home from school, carrying books and thinking the healthy, natural thoughts of girls her age." The young woman rescued from a cult guru by Inspector Ghote (Keating 1981:182) has "a soft smudgy little nose, a countenance that was a new-born puppy's or a deer's, inquisitive, innocent, fearfully in danger from the harshness of the world.

On the other hand, the child is supposed to know instinctively that any sexual activity is "wrong," and "wrong" more so than mere misbehavior: a sense of profound danger is added to deep moral guilt. When a preteen, Spider-man was shown a sex magazine by an older boy but he knew "instinctively" that it was "wrong" for the boy to show it and for him to see it (November 6, 1985). Just at puberty, Clover Lee automatically knows she must put off the caresses of a lesbian pedophile (Jennings 1987:212). Another youngster reacts with fear when first seeing the then-unknown kid-killer.<sup>5</sup> An abducted 11 year old is unable to imagine specifics of what her kidnapper wants but, mystically, "her maturing sexual instincts warned her that it would be agonizing and obscene" (McGivern 1979:170). She is well adjusted and educated from a liberal and cohesive family and her peers are equally mature and realistic. McGivern paints a nice contrast to emphasize the point:

...there were areas of sexual maturity where Kate had no explicit experience. And this was what frightened her now. In their apartments, with Cokes and bowls of popcorn, she and her friends might talk and laugh about their awareness of one another's sexuality, making titillating jokes and naughty plays on words. But it was innocent and fun, while this was ghastly and fearful. (pp. 172f)

In a variation on the child-knows-best motif, Grice's narrator was herself an enthusiastic participant in a sexual encounter with an adult, one for which she is later ashamed and angry. As an adult, she now believes all youth-adult sex is wrong because "my body is telling me" so (1990:112).

## II

Sex transforms the body in numerous ways. One is to change the innocent body to a sexual one. In this view, innocence may represent a dangerously low level of immunity. Schutz describes a 13 year old runaway with "a child's posture, dependent, yet strangely provocative in her. She seemed to exude an aura of passivity and compliance that was intoxicating...a walking invitation to abuse" (1985:144). Another hero enters a "specialty" house of prostitution with

Girls on the verge of puberty who looked as if they'd gathered for a slumber party. They wore pinafores and little chemises and skimpy teddies and knee socks and smocks.

He saw a girl on the couch who couldn't have been more than ten. Amber-skinned and blond, she wore lacy panties and a rose silk camisole. Her slight build was a child's. Slender hips and legs, delicate shoulders and arms with barely a hint of breasts beneath the luminous folds of the camisole.

The child's body begins a movement from the innocent to the sensual, triggered by adult desire. There is a fat balding man with the youngster and she appears to struggle, signaling transformation: "...the gross discrepancy between the man's heavy flaccid body and the girl's flawless delicacy repelled him. The girl was too young; she just couldn't know what she was doing..." [ellipsis in original]. A kind of What's-Wrong-With-This-Picture, the imagery runs into conceptual trouble. The non-sexual youth moving with the sexual adult frightens and infuriates the hero as he moves with clenched fists to save the girl and destroy the adult.

Instantly the impression of innocence was shattered. The girl has a lascivious yet elfish face. Her lipstick and eye makeup were matching shades of purple, her false eyelashes were sliver. Close up, Paul could see that her hair was dyed and her skin did not have the childish purity that he imagined. (Aellen 1988:125f)

This is a nice sequence of images. Aesthetic logic demands that the transformation of the child into a sexual being be completed by the emergence of its only possibility: the sexual grotesque. The alternative is the equally grotesque damaged child. A 12 year old leaves the mansion of a movie mogul with her formerly "fresh raspberry-red mouth" now "smeared into a thick, pink mass," and



“Her sea-blue eyes were filmed over... her long legs tottered like a crippled foal’s” (Puzo 1969:61).

This distortion is not restricted to adult-youth sex. Two scenes in Halpern (1979) are good descriptions of what happens when preteen sex occurs.

The boy’s hands trailed gently all over her naked flesh. She gasped with sudden pleasure when his thumbs brushed her immature nipples... The boy suddenly stiffened. ... His eyes glowed like silver mirrors. And then his body began to writhe and twitch, elongating, broadening, patches of thick, coarse hair mottling his smooth young flesh. His tender sighs and words of love became hoarse, lustful growls, deep and throaty. His mouth stretching into a wide leering grin. Ever larger the boy grew, ever more bestial and powerful, his torso rippling with broad muscles, his arms bulging with thick knots of strength. His face became thick and bony, framed in long shaggy curls of coarse hair, while his mouth swelled and filled with broad equine teeth. ...

The boy becomes a satyr, attacking the girl:

lunging its enormous cock deep within her, staining its immensity with smears of blood. ... the girl screamed a horrible, alien scream, a scream of abject horror, a scream of orgasmic ecstasy. And then the child was silent and the beast, in the frenzy of its triumph, tore the still body into pieces, ramming its deadly horn again and again through the limp torso. (pp. 294f)

The police later survey the scene, the body of the victim the central focus:

Thick, sticky jets of blood had coagulated on everything... Her clothes had been ripped off her body and lay in shreds... She was lying sprawled on her stomach...her head was twisted grotesquely over her shoulder... Strands of intestinal organs curled out along the ground from under her body. Numerous gaping wounds covered her back and sides, laying bare the striated muscle tissue and raw bone. From between her legs a fuming mass of glistening, bloody tissue spilled onto the dirt, already swarming with ants. Her left arm was completely severed from her body and dangled from some bushes about four and a half feet away. (p. 12)

While Halpern’s text draws on “splatter” imagery popular at the time in horror, his physical explicitness was not usually found in texts of the next decade even though youth-adult sex was implied to have the same consequences.

Transformation of the body is also a metaphor for the transformation of the innocent’s mind. In the latter part of the last century, symptoms of “insanity” were used as proof of sexual experience. The female youngsters in Machen (1894) emerge as “helpless idiots” after having had mysterious contact with a symbol of sex and the Devil, Pan. Even though the girl in *Never Take Candy From A Stranger* was not touched, her mother insists the pedophile be charged with attempted rape, saying that “he attacked their innocence...of their minds.”

The following description begins the first paragraph in Kelman's book, a scene recalling 1930s *noir* crime depictions. Physical external signs speak for internal emotional trauma. Libby is one of four preteen victims:

She had the shock-vacant look of a wounded animal, the cold distance of someone wrapped in protective defenses. Her eyes were dulled with a frosted haze, like ice webbing a window pane. Horror had leeches her skin to a milky pallor and slackened her delicate features so they appeared to have melted into a thumping sun. Harsh blue pulses danced at her temples like a pair of seductive serpents. The rest of her was stone, backlit by the winter glare that poked through my filmy office window. (1989:1)

A facade is said to be put up by youngsters, a physical masking of horrendous psychological trauma, caused in part by defense mechanisms that bury "unthinkable horrors."<sup>6</sup> But the trauma is so powerful it must break through. During a trial, as a youngster is shown a picture of a smiling robed judge, an image she had been hypnotically conditioned to fear, she screams. She denies everything but when pressured, she shrieks and spasms, and when questioned yet again she goes into a fit and becomes catatonic (Kelman 1989).

In Vachss (1991:119f), a hip psychiatrist says that sex with adults "predisposes" children to "Multiple Personality Syndrome." The jacket blurb for Schutz's novel says of the heroine that "something switched off her smiles, turned her into a slouching shopping mall fixture..." She was a good student, a cheerleader, "a good athlete and she had an excellent body." However, she left sports, began "saying everything was garbage," dropped her usual friends, interests, and habits, changed her appearance, and gave away her childhood things (1985:21, 40). When she sees "normal" kids coming home from school, she breaks down into tears. This may sound like a bad case of adolescence or political consciousness, but Schutz, a clinical psychologist, grounds these behaviors and attitudes in abuse.

This individual pathology easily translates to social pathology. Youth become disconnected from society and antagonistic to the body politic, just as youth hanging out in the malls of the 1980s were perceived. Like 19th century fallen women, abuse leads to rapid personal and social decline and a deserved death. When the heroine in *Never Take Candy...* loses her treat money, a friend says, with a knowing look, that she knows where they can get some sweets. She introduces her to the town's pedophile and they undress and dance for him. Later in the film he chases the kids through the woods and rapes and kills the more forward girl. In Kelman (1989:231f) the pedophile kills a woman who at the time is 20 but who had been a runaway from age 11 and a prostitute in her mid-teens. She was frequently beaten by the pimp, got hooked on heroin, and steadily degenerated. In another Vachss novel, a social worker diagnoses a young female who had been a prostitute and in pornography with "Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder," "Borderline Syndrome," amorality, guiltlessness, and other sociopathic symptoms. The girl later kills herself (1989:173).

Schutz's victim explains her participation in pornography and prostitution by saying "it's not you doing it." She enjoyed making sex pictures though because "it was a kind of gas, you know, being bad like that" (1985:143). There is a double threat here in that she is disassociated from herself, yet she is aware and attracted to that which is, from the hero's point of view, anti-social. It is another example of one of the most frequent subtexts of abuse narratives: when there is asserted a threat *to* the child, there is at the same time a discourse of a threat *of* the child. Kids can be dangerously vulnerable, then simply dangerous. Grice's narrator worries that young females may be excited by doing the forbidden, prone to mischief, following others who do it (1990:5). It was connected to the famous "peer pressure" anxiety that received much attention, first in the 1950s as "conformity," then onward from the late 1960s.<sup>7</sup>

There was a major fear that youngsters would be so "brainwashed" they would bond to their abusers, and thus refuse to deny enjoying the relationship, refuse to leave it, refuse to confess and exhibit trauma, and refuse to testify against their lovers. "Not even their minds were safe," says a blurb on Plante's novel (1989). Straub's (1988) molested youngster is frightened, but there is another scary element: the child's own desires. Getting a young person to realize they need rescuing is "Harder than deprogramming a kid caught up in one of those cults. Gonna take a long time," complains one hero. A boy in wrote a poem for a fictional magazine called *Boys Who Love*, glorifying "little buds needing the pure sunlight of love to bring them to full flower," says a scoffing cop (Vachss 1990:29). Another cop hero grumbles that the victims too often become attached to their kidnappers with "an unholy love:" "Sometimes they kissed the hand that would, in the end, kill them" (Strieber 1990:155). At one point the boy in Brandon's novel resists prosecuting the molester: "He never hurt me. It wasn't only his fault, what happened." The prosecutor was warned that this may come up: the villain had not only had sex with him, "he'd mentored him," exclaims the frustrated hero (1993:206, 230). He tells the boy that he wasn't at fault for anything and that the molester had hurt others and will continue if allowed loose. He gives the young man a We-Are-Only-Following-Orders speech, but acknowledges to himself that it is he who determines what the crime is and who is a criminal; moreover, "I wouldn't let anyone take that decision away from me. Certainly not some damned defendant who'd managed to worm his way into his victim's heart." (p. 206). The boy agrees to be a witness.

Some later novels take a less paranoid or absolutist view. The pedophile kidnapper in Martin worked as a juvenile officer and was "careful" about those he had sex with; a former associate said half the youngsters were sexually willing and the other half saw advantages in the relationship even if they had no interest in sex. While the character is shown as adept at manipulation, the desires of the youth pay a larger role in this novel and decrease the melodramatic villainy, a shift from 1980s mass fiction.

The view that threats to children produce threatening children is based on a major theory of child sexual abuse: abused become abusers. This is echoed frequently in the novels and contributes to feelings of danger, decline, and paranoia

that the novels cultivate. Nabokov writes that Humbert is a “nympholept” because of a frustrated affair he had when he was of the age (13) at which he now centers his erotic focus. One of the horrors of youth sex for Vachss’ hero is that the children would be in their teens now, “Recruiting other kids” (Vachss 1987:151). One of the former young teen lovers of a pedophile (Sauer 1989) now recruits youth for him, though more for financial rather than emotional reasons. The abused juvenile may engage in what are seen to be antisocial activities and allegiances regardless of whether they “enjoyed” the sex or not. Non-sexual abuse may appear later as sexual violence.

A few novelists in the early 1980s traced a connection between childhood sexual experiences and homosexuality (Welles, Gutcheon), but much of this was residue from 1970s anti-homosexual campaigns which equated homosexuality with pedophilia. The mid-1980s saw a decrease in this view, but consistent with a return of homophobic and erotophobic attitudes, some authors in the late 1980s (Speight, Jennings, Lindsey) again implied sex between non-adults and adults caused homosexuality and/or pedophilia. Additionally, a new concern for that time was sadomasochism, and sex with youth was also asserted to cause this resurrected depravity. In Weesner’s book, Vernon recounts his seduction as a child by a friend of his mother. He enjoyed the man’s company and the sex, but they are caught and the friend is sent away; Vernon felt used, betrayed, and abandoned. Weesner recounts several scenes of Vernon’s early sexual experiences, all furtive, laden with guilt, and predictive of Vernon’s emergence as a kidnapper-rapist-killer. He recounts his most memorable experience when he found a “kiddie porn” magazine: “he knew, from the roots of his hair to his toes, in his center, in the unfolding of his initial sexual seizure, he knew that he was found, that life was beginning” (1987:264). When Vernon was 12, he has sex with another youth at camp: “another stepping across a forbidden line, one which set off in him another blossoming, another capability” (p. 296).

In a less explicitly causal manner, Grant-Adamson (1988) implies a link between man-boy sex and becoming a murderer. Barton’s sexual abuse by his father is partially the reason for his present homicidal pathology (Strieber 1990); McGivern’s villain is the product of emotional and physical abuse by classmates, coaches, and his parents. An unexplained exception is Spider-man who confesses that he was molested by an older male when he was younger, but is now a fighter against crime and abuse (October, November, 1985).

In the 1980s, the chain reaction theory coupled with “slippery slope” imagery in the novels. A detective spells out his theory of how molesters were abused as children: “An affectionate tap on the shoulder led some people to proceed down the ladder to touching, molesting, sexual abuse, and, finally, the murder of the victim;” another says, “a minor sexual misbehavior often is the root cause of later homicides and sadistic rapes” (Welles 1980:41, 70). Echoing Nabokov, Campbell says every pedophile

had a taste for children of the age they’d been when they’d had their innocence taken from them. Now they traded in lost innocence, passing

the children from hand to hand as they grew older, until they were so old that there was nothing left to them. (1986:30)

Most asserted this chain as an inevitable, on-going operation. Fielding's (1984) heroine says pedophiles are "destined" to become "monsters" because they were abused as children. When young, they can be spotted by their automatic and uncontrollable responses, their "syndromes." A doctor reports "unmistakable responses" and "oral advances" to medical examinations on the part of youngsters who have had sex with adults (Percy 1987:224). Later in the decade and early 1990s, when long available evidence of varying degrees of adjustment to sex with adults returned to mock abuse advocates, some granted that, with heroic help of course, some young people can "resolve the conflict" so it isn't "waiting to explode later" (Brandon 1993:91).

Women were exempted from this chain of becoming.<sup>8</sup> Generally however, fiction revitalized misogynistic 19th century beliefs that as a result of early experiences females will become hypersexual (Kellerman 1986), prostitutes (Nabokov; Ray), sexually "deviant," or, most distasteful to Humbert, end up as dumpy lower middle class housewives, the tragic fate of Dolores Haze (nee Lolita).

### III

Representations of youth sex are given as metaphors as well as accounts of what supposedly happens in relationships with pedophiles. First of all, sexual explicitness generally has negative valence in Western religious cultures and their secular derivatives, and Grice gives a contemporary exposition of this. The tapes sent to Sherry, the narrator, are "evil." Sherry then says to her daughter Kady that the tape was "dirty and bad...it was terrible stuff meant for terrible men to look at. It wasn't for girls to see...not for us..." (1990:55, ellipsis in original). Kady says she had seen such material before when she and a girlfriend were looking at some magazines her friend's father kept hidden in a drawer, and she asks if that too was "pornography," Sherry replies probably and says, "But at least the ladies were grown up and knew what they were doing when they posed for the pictures, so it's...it's a little bit different" (p. 56, ellipsis in original). The title of one video they received was *Young Meat*.

How could they have chosen a title so...so vile and crude and suggestive and cruel?

But that, of course, was the whole point of pornography. It was manufactured so that men—the likes of whom Sherry couldn't even imagine or visualize—could masturbate while they watched it. Sherry believed the real purpose of movies such as this one was to give sexual pleasure to twisted and perverted minds that couldn't respond to sex normally, but had to be stimulated in sick and unusual ways. (p. 58, ellipsis in original).

Trying to grasp the idea, young Kady ventures that looking at sex pictures "can't really hurt you. It just gives you bad thoughts..." (p. 62).

Most authors describe the subjects in the photos in ways that stand for the content and import of youth-adult sex. Gutcheon sees violence to the body and traditional gender roles in pictures of “little boys in apparent terror bound and gagged, about to be anally raped...little boys dressed as little girls...” (1981:152). Youngsters in pictures seen by the Executioner “have a haunted look in their eyes, a look of hopelessness and despair” or they look “frightened” and “terrified” (Mertz 1986:211, 219). Females in a tape Grice describes have “vacuous” expressions or “glazed” eyes (1990:58f). Kellerman offers a similar description when his hero sees photographs taken by a molester “having his way” with 2 to 5 year olds:

it wasn't the graphic starkness that got to me, though that was repulsive in its own right. It was the look in the kids' eyes—a terrified yet knowing vulnerability. It was a look that said *I know this is wrong. Why is this happening to me.* (1985:15; emphasis in original)

When Vachss' hero discovers photos taken by a husband and wife pedophile team, they appear to him as

...the worst thing on this slop basin of a planet—a little baby peacefully sleeping, a man's erect penis in his mouth as a pacifier—kids from a few days old to maybe ten or eleven, penetrated with every blunt object freakish minds could think of—smiling kids, playing with each other—a little boy, maybe six years old, his screaming face adjusted by the camera so you could see him being sodomized from behind, two strands of barbed wire drawn across his little chest to make a bloody “X.” (Vachss 1986:282)

An important dramatic accessory is adults' visceral reactions to sexual images. The Executioner tries to ignore “a little chill [that] crept up his spine,” as well as a “groundswell of disgust that welled up from his vitals” (Newton 1985:120). In a later novel, he views part of a child sex video and “almost threw up. He punched off the set, restraining an impulse to send a couple of bullets into the machine, so powerful and hot was the sudden rage that swept through him” (Mertz 1986:48f). At a viewing, he sees a man emitting “a faint, wheezing sound,” and has to “restrain himself from emptying Big Thunder [his pet name for one of his guns] into the man's head. Disgust, rage and bile rose in the soldier's throat...” (p. 219). Heroes in F. Kellerman, Campbell (1986:228), and Grice want to vomit when they hear of or see snuff films.

When Carlo's private investigator sees sex pictures, his muscles tighten, he paces back and forth, and he gets a “sudden bad taste” in his mouth (1986:8f). He shows the pictures to his secretary who pales, sighs “some deep sighs,” bites her lip, and then “her gaze shot out dark arrows with very pointed barbs” (p. 12). When he sees a sadomasochistic film with juveniles, “soft blood went chug-chug in my head.”<sup>9</sup>

Such reactions are an integral goal of the genre. Grice's novel contains several extended descriptions of sex videos the narrator received anonymously in the mail. Kady puts one on to watch and when her mother gets home she is curled into a fetal position, “with a fixed, blank, terrified expression.” The scene was of

a German shepherd, licking the girl between her spread thighs, while the pitifully young, thin body vibrated and shook with trembling spasms that couldn't possibly be sexual pleasure, but had to be fear and horror. A man stood behind the girl, totally naked, his erect penis gargantuan. He was holding the child down, his hands digging into frail arms. (1990:52f)

Kady then begins to cry with tears like "wet, huge dollops" (p. 53). For these authors, viewing sexual representations had the same effect on children as being one of their subjects.

#### IV

Against this distortion and destruction of the youth's body and mind, and the adult's corporeal rejection and disavowal, are set narratives that, while obviously nostalgic, are attempts to restore both child and adult.

Many of these accounts are especially striking because they begin with sensual descriptions of youth. They can in fact be favorably compared to the narratives of physical appreciation that are supposed to be typical only of pedophiles. Because the pedophile is stereotyped as a drooling maniac, their narratives of sensual appreciation of children are very rare; when they do appear they are usually stilted and shallow. Strieber, however, does offer one nice piece from the view of Barton as he takes inventory of the young man he's kidnapped:

There was fire in the eyes, along with a boy's natural softness. The face was the sort you could look at for hours; such beauty was a kind of food. His fair cheeks were pinked by the sun, his features at once gentle and sharp, and yet full of dignity. His nose was graceful, but there was also a sweet bluntness to it. His lips were as red as if they had been blushed. The boy's hair was strawberry blond, his skin like cream. His brown eyes were touched like the hair by subtle flame.<sup>10</sup>

One of Grice's several sensual descriptions of youngsters or adult-youth sex is when the narrator finds a notebook of the teacher who was involved with some of his students with this text:

Just peaking, she has little hard breasts that excite my fingertips, the pink nobs so beautiful, I want her always as she is, I want to see her eyes glaze with lovely excitement as I open her budding flower and taste its petals... (1990:203; ellipsis in original)

The heroine gets "sickened" and the reader is supposed to be similarly affected. Since the reader believes the pedophile is a threat, any sympathetic appreciation of pedophile aesthetics is negated. The titillating narratives disavow any intent to arouse pleasure, but if they do it must be immediately disguised as disgust and rage.

The opening scene of the book describes the meeting of several preteens and their teacher. To emphasize the sexual nature of the encounter, Grice focuses on the erotic appeal of the girls as they might appear to the pedophile, but the descriptions are open-ended enough so as to involve any erotic interest the reader might bring to the text, knowingly or not. One girl is "sensuous, with an amazingly rounded ass," another has a "shirt stretched tight over what would be, in six months or so, perky

new breasts. Her eyes shown eagerly." Another shows the "pink pucker-cotton of her panties" when she bends over (pp. 5f).

Contrasted to this is the construction of the child's body in the child's "proper" context, that is, the family via parental sensibilities. But here too there is a definite physical appreciation of the child. Not exactly new, there has been a near-erotic strain of describing parent-child relations in popular novels since the late 17th century; interestingly, the motif has functioned parallel to texts of young women who have been raped and/or forcibly taken from their homes (Staves 1980). Mass market novels of the 1970s and 1980s simply continued these mutually supporting conventions.

Grice's narrator describes the beauty of her daughter's 12 year old friend in a vocabulary of innocence, blond hair and "roses-and-milk complexion," and she hugs her daughter, holding "the slim body that smelled beguilingly of wool, pink lipstick, and peanut butter."<sup>11</sup> Most of the novels contain such small descriptions, brief because they are taken for granted, before the threat and before the transformation.

The daughter wants to be a model and without her mother's knowledge gets a series of glamor photos done to send to an agency. The narrator-mother can see in her daughter the likeness of a model (she is compared to Brooke Shields), but the idea is "an unpleasant pinprick" to her. The recognition of her daughter's beauty, and its commercial potential, begins a process of erosion in views of the world and of the self. The first viewing of the photos brings a shock to the narrator: "*eyes enhanced with makeup, languorous and full of sexuality. Her mouth, pouty and knowing. Her lanky, loose-limbed, perfect young body*" (p. 26; emphasis in original). The photos are typical of a *Vogue* layout, "almost insolent in their blatancy" (pp. 26, 40). She thinks of her "sweet, natural, tomboy, twelve-year-old" distorted by the poses: she is "just an ordinary little girl" (pp. 27, 32). Sherry holds Kady after seeing a sex video, "feeling the vulnerable wings of Kady's shoulder blades, her young-girl bones" (p. 54), a graphic effort to locate and retain an internal essence, to restrain the coming transformation of her daughter's body, a threat posed by puberty and the pedophile.

Frightened by the spread of child murders, the mother in Crane's novel looks more closely at her daughter and her friends. Her daughter is attractive, all child, innocent and asexual, but once outside the intimate family circle, the world and the daughter's friends become more problematic. The mother sees "womanhood to come" in one of her daughter's 9 year old friends, and the husband refers to the youngster as a "sexpot." A 12 year old friend has "an enchanting aura of young girl mixed with sly, teasing womanhood" (1981:11, 18, 23; 30, 37). Upon recognizing the truth of this perception, the heroine issues an immediate denigration of the young woman, dismissing her as "boy crazy," someone too young for "romance." For adult women, these references to children's beauty are anxious ones, in part because the eroticism remains unacknowledged, but also because they are recognitions that the younger women will receive the attentions of men sooner than the parent believes they will be able to deal with them—certainly before the parents may be able to handle them. Some of this may also be jealousy or envy, but perhaps most it



is sororal knowledge of the ways in which the young women will likely be treated by most men, that is, badly.

The transformation of the body achieves fuller expression with the appearance of the abused body. Organic metaphors are often used. In Gutcheon, the mother of a kidnapped child is grocery shopping; while buying bananas, she recalls her son

shuddered at the gushy parts. A bruised piece of fruit seemed to show him more than he wanted to know about nature. It took a little act of faith for him to eat the good parts even after the rot was cut away, as if, in his heart he feared the pathology was systemic, that it spread invisibly cell by cell into the firm white fruit flesh, and would go on spreading inside his tummy.<sup>12</sup>

In another association of malignant food to the life and death of the body, a mother of a kidnapped boy follows a bad smell to discover a jar full of moldy Oreo cookies; "Cleaning it reminded her of the old ritual of the washing of the body."<sup>13</sup> The unidirectional process is from health to disease, from spirit to body, from life to death. The murdered girl in Disney's novel was just recently alive, "full of dreams and schemes, curious about many things. Now she was a victim, a body, a bloated object of horror on its way to the pathologist's laboratory" (1990:76).

Activating memories of the lost child brings images of what may be happening to that body as fear constructs a dramatization of sex. Billy's mother muses on his vulnerability, including his supposed ignorance of sex:<sup>14</sup> "...the most hideous part, to imagine him being...handled. When you thought of the brute processes of a man having sex with a little boy, it just made you want to wither and die."<sup>15</sup> In one scene after discovering Billy has been kidnapped, the father begins having sex with his wife but feels guilty and begins imagining what is happening to his son:

...excited hands fumbling against his son's naked skin. Then they were parting Billy's naked legs...

His son's body lay glowing in the moonlight.

His son's body lay crumpled beneath a tree.

His son's body floated pale in the slow waters of the Pomander River, surfacing from time to time like an exhausted fish.

His son's body lay beneath the pulsating flesh of a huge human maggot, and his eyes were wrinkled shut and his hands were purple they were tied so tight. (Strieber 1990:104)

As resistance, and as compensation, loss demands reconstructive recall. Wolman presents a scene wherein a missing boy's mother remembers her son:

Her mind was like a projector running home movies of her son. She watched him frame by frame at different speeds. The camera zoomed in on a skinned elbow, panned down his slight body, then pulled back to show Kevin jumping up. The image of a shoelace untied and dangling shot out at Gail. Now Kevin was suspended in midair, his red hair glistening in the sun. A lock of his hair flew up, then flopped down on his forehead. His eyes were a wonderful green with gold specks dancing in them. His face had a soulful look. His pale pink skin was like the

inside of a seashell. His freckles looked as if someone had flicked a brush full of mauve paint at his face. His smile looked like a wave rolling out to sea; it crept across his face, dipping down as if part of him wanted to frown but more of him wanted to please. (1982:200)

One of the more interesting aspects of this is the presentation of these scenes as photographic in nature. Given the accusation that pedophiles need to capture children in photos, it is all the more striking that parents are alone allowed perceptions and photos of children that are explicitly sensual but not acknowledged as such. Further, the photographic desire to freeze time is permissible for parents but a sign of pathology if done by a pedophile. These texts are lengthy, detailed, and sensual for they are necessary to emphasize loss and violation, serving to separate parental appreciation of the physical child as devotion from the pedophile's admiration, seen only as obsession.

Gutcheon offers similar depictions as she has her heroine trying to recall her missing son—"a pleasure too complex to recover" (1981:342f)—but memories are returned with difficulty, as anguish; "All she could bring was a mental picture of his photograph on the poster. *MISSING*" (pp. 81; 44, 56).

To recall the body in the face of loss is also a means to restore a sense of the self. The reclamation of the child's body via selective and sensual remembrance reinstitutes the social and cultural context of those pleasures "too complex to recover," particularly the self as defined by the family unit. The child's sensual body may further be symbolic of guilt over neglect, a felt failure to love them enough, especially in single parent households or those where both parents work. A father of a kidnapped boy is depicted as an aging radical, and the loss makes him realize his personal ego investment in the future of his son (Strieber 1990:288). The mother of a young woman taken in by a cult leader says, "if she could only change things, make Becky young again, a child she could control, bend to her will" (Nordan 1989:63). Nostalgia prompts fantasy recall and regret, adult memory pained by a loss not only of a sensual presence, but of power as well.

## V

The reconfiguration of the child to victim and the individual and social characteristics of "the pedophile" are both anchored in specific figures for dramatic purposes, but their combination produces an ideological dimension, a view of the world that contains statements about social and cultural health in ways that predefine certain solutions. Best remarked that "Popular culture rarely presents social problems as products of a flawed social system; rather the emphasis is on individual problems..." (1990:112f). This was not true of popular genres in the 1980s, many of whose heroes, villains, and victims represented the effects, possibilities, and limitations of social and cultural systems that were critiqued in explicit political terms. It is not surprising that most of the novels' voicings of anti-pedophile attitudes take place in and through a larger and rather easily identifiable ideological context.

Pedophiles are everywhere in large part because crime generally is rising in severity and frequency. Some kind of immediate threat has been a common enough theme for many years in American fiction ("They're here already!" cries Kevin McCarthy in the original *Invasion of the Body Snatchers*). The other side of powerful threat imagery stresses the fragility and vulnerability of civilization. In the absence of activism, a thin blue line, one strained to the breaking point and crippled by liberalism, is all that protects children and the family.

The world becomes full of dangerous places and crime scenes. When Grice's heroine receives a child sex video it becomes a token of "the ugly, real, horrible, vicious world—without a warning or preparation..." (1990:54). The tape/evil world "had struck at the very heart of their lives," and the mother is nearly physically overcome, "flooded with a sense of impending loss so strong and profound that she felt herself rocked under its impact." The loss of the familiar and trustworthy overlaps with the threat to her daughter: "She would lose her. Already was losing her, to adulthood, to time and distance" (pp. 60, 157). In the novels from the late 1970s on, the sense of loss is paramount. Gutcheon's novel sets its tone by a proclamation at the very beginning, to be stressed again later: "There was something about this terrible loss of a child, lost in this terrible way, that seemed to stand for many kinds of loss" (1981:9f, 124).

In the epilogue to Weesner's book, the hero drives through the countryside imagining himself back in his rural childhood. He pulls into a truck stop which turns out to be a topless restaurant; his waitress approaches.

She wears layers of makeup, and she broadcasts a cloud of perfume, and she is beautiful and provocative in her childlike manner, although she is no more than eleven or twelve years old. False eyelashes, lipstick, rouge, a ribbon in her hair; she appears ready to be laid back on a couch, to be kissed and fondled. ...

Dulac is caught off guard, confused...

Her blouse is see-through, he notices; the small nipples on her flat chest are either painted with lipstick or covered with red pasties. She wears black pantyhose, glossy black high-heeled shoes. (1987:384)

He protests to the manager and the police, but they dismiss him with amusement, impatience, and pity at his naivete. The transformed child represents his sense of the loss of place and value. He is literally immobilized, stuck both in and out of time, "trying yet again to see, to believe in whatever it was he had believed in down the years."<sup>16</sup>

To help emphasize the insidiousness of the threat, a device often used in horror plots was put to good use. Stories by King and Disney are set in a small but prosperous and peaceful town, the tranquility and predictable social relations fractured by the disappearance of a child. Fielding's heroine describes herself as a stay-at-home mother, cocooned in the security and respectability of home and family, until her six year old daughter is kidnapped, raped, and murdered. The 12 year old who is kidnapped, raped, and murdered in Speight is from a typical family whose children go to a school that is "a warm, caring place with decent, respectable kids from decent, respectable families" (1987:8). But normality, like innocence, is

disappearing.<sup>17</sup> Welles' widower cop hero keeps looking for "normal, healthy women," but sees only "broads:" prostitutes, married cheats, alcoholics, or lesbians; his deceased wife was one who took a "backseat" to a man.

The invasion by an external aberrant contaminant is possible because entire institutions are collapsing. *Never Take Candy...* uses the device mentioned above: an idyllic setting marred by the violation of its emblem, a child. But when the mother wants the molester arrested and jailed, her indignation reveals an ugly underside to the "normal" town. The molester belongs to the town's wealthiest ruling family and no one wants to pursue the matter; even her husband and her mother are reticent. Townsfolk minimize the event and trauma and begin a gossip campaign against the girl.

Gutcheon's novel suggests that more people are kidnapping children because there are fewer babies to adopt; a character remarks that abductions have increased since the legalization of abortion in 1973. Most of the families of the victims are "broken" or under stress. Earlier novels of threatened families featured complete parental membership with solid content, whereas 1980s families are depicted as at risk through dissent or divorce, making the children even more vulnerable. Disney's early 1960s novel borrows from 1950s psychiatry when a murdered girl comes from a family with an "ineffectual" father and a mother who is ego-centric and domineering. Kellerman (1985) sees the mother of a traumatized child as lower class, incompetent, abusive, unattractive, and unfeminine; the father is "asymmetrical" and violent. Weesner depicts the mother of a kidnapper-killer as uncaring and self-centered, and the mother of the victim in his novel is nearly physically and emotionally overwhelmed as a single parent immersed in poverty. A threatened daughter doesn't tell her single working mother about being chased by the villain because she felt she was too "busy." The mother is taken aback: "Guilty, she was guilty, a mother who hadn't done her job," she says to herself (Grice 1990:214). In the early 1990s, the idea was still held as true, but again under pressure from reality, there was a slight shift in professional terminology. In Brandon's novel the pedophile is supposed to seek only children from "poorly organized families" (1993:94).

The novels imply some of this social deterioration is due to a widening callousness and cynicism, a result of deepening experiences of loss and instability. In Schutz's novel, a disillusioned Vietnam War vet, preparing a military assault to save a child, wonders what kind of ideals he would kill for these days. It seems to him nothing is left to shock and mobilize the imagination and morality of society—except child prostitution and child pornography, an accurate and perceptive observation of the time.

Two additional elements help make up a landscape of social collapse, disunity, and hostility. One appears somewhat more often in the "missing child" genre. Along with the suffering of the parents, the publicity surrounding the disappearance turns the suffering heroine into a target for crank calls, ranging from false sightings, people claiming to receive the direct word of a deity, accusations of parental

irresponsibility, to sexually suggestive calls. This feature is an interesting depiction of the lack of sympathy, support, and respect that verifies the spread of pathological personalities and the negation of familiar social values and community relations.

Secondly, most of the novels throughout the period feature anti-news media remarks by victims and heroes, especially the media's use of individual tragedy. The remarks depict reporters as exploitative, parasitic, vampiristic, abusive, demeaning, manipulative, sensationalistic, superficial, intrusive, inhumane, belligerent, incompetent, deceitful, misinforming, distorting, and insensitive. These novels attack the news media at the very time when, as we shall see in Part II, journalists postured themselves as heroes standing on the side of the child victim. A related criticism concerns the promotion or minimizing of a panic. When a reporter favorably mentions newspaper articles debunking "missing children" statistics, Masterson's hero derides the series for deceiving the public about a social emergency. Kelman's heroine describes a newspaper with a drawing of "a fanged monster with a ravenous expression holding a clawed fistful of struggling little Shirley Temple types," commenting, "Nothing this city enjoyed more than a nice epidemic of infectious hysteria."<sup>18</sup> This is in contrast to some of the earlier novels. Johnson's hero is a news photographer who uses his 12 year old daughter acting as a prostitute to trap a pimp. She gets caught in a shoot-out, and even though she appears to be "traumatized" by the experience, she insists she enjoyed it and wants to do it again (1979:178ff).

The world takes on a certain necessary character, with people divided into heroes, victims, and villains. In fiction, one of the most important elements for representing this complex is atmosphere, devices depicting a deteriorating world. Gutcheon stresses this, and it is coupled with the sense of loss and threat that pervades her novel when the heroine "came to see the world as the police saw it" (1981:121). The realization "was slow and cumulative. The more Susan learned, the more she lost. Each piece of new information surprised less, and, in a subtle way, hurt her more, or at least changed her more" (p. 134).

Basic to this view is the idea of "sleaze." There is firstly a sleaze of place where locale is the contextual representation of a broader reality. Welles describes a nice Jewish boy who is drawn to "dens of the bizarre," her phrase for an older idea of decadence. Ethnic ghettos have served as suitable locales of sleaze in older fiction in which pedophilia and child abuse, as parts of crime and lust, flourished. Cheng Huan, attracted to 12 year old Lucy, lives in London's Chinatown (Limehouse), a place of "stealthy voices," the "whisper of slippered feet, and the stuttering steps of the satyr and the sadist" (Burke 1917:9). Fielding tracks her molester to the "seedier" parts of town, an area filled with homosexuals, implying one defines the other, a variation on the use of the ethnic ghetto.

While a few see the pedophile as neurotically obsessed with the avoidance of germs and dirt, many depictions place the molester in some kind of polluted environment to match his character and motivations. Even when compulsively cleansing the world and himself, or maintaining a facade of respectability (a kind of

cleanliness), the depictions remain based on the aesthetics of sleaze. Further, this is related to the narrative necessity of secrets in crime and horror texts, those threatening things unseen and unspoken.

Speight's unclean villain lives in a run-down area in a filthy room, his car an expression of his character with its dents, loose tailpipe, and broken muffler. Barton the boy-napper also lives in squalor. He boasts of his cooking but his kitchen is full of scummy unwashed dishes. For a meal, he purees chicken nuggets, mushrooms, celery, and a can of pearl onions with some half-and-half to make "a sort of gray-green slop" that "sure did look like upchuck," says Billy.<sup>19</sup> McGivern's pedophile is huge, ugly, and foul-smelling, living where "dirt and refuse...littered the curbs and streets of this bitter and defeated city slum" (1979:101). Cartoonist Robert Armstrong's well known character, Mickey Rat, though more heroic, is no exception. He is fat, ugly, filthy, vice-ridden, poor, and good-natured. In the story "On the youth scene" (Armstrong 1982), Mickey is aroused by two preteen girls and tries to get romantic. The humor of the tale is that he fails because the kids are way beyond Mickey in their capacities for sex and intoxicants.

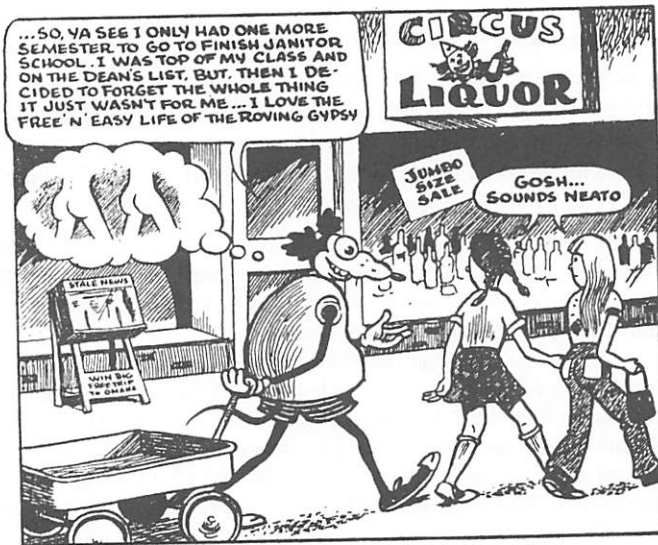


Figure 3.1: Mickey Rat "on the Youth Scene" (Armstrong 1982). Note the store sign.

When the heroine of Grice's novel locates the living quarters of her former teacher with whom she and two other girls had sex years ago, she finds a dilapidated shack in an isolated barren area, smelly and full of garbage; she is disgusted and nauseated.

Others are more traditional in their accusations, describing what are in effect “hells” to which are ascribed elements thought to be intrinsic. A private investigator and his cop friend observe that they work in “the trash pits” of society (Schutz 1985). Vachss is more eloquent and vehement in describing such realms. A reviewer of his excellent book *Flood* rightly saw that “It’s the steamy fetid world...[that] finally powers this impressive, gripping first novel” (Steinberg 1985). The urban populace is “the murk” (Vachss 1985a:101), the city is “the fog” (p. 75), the world is “a pit” (p. 137), “a running sore loaded with dangerous maggots” (p. 170). Times Square in New York City is one of Vachss’ favorite sacred vistas. A “cesspool” (1985a:46) in which, via one of his better paragraphs,

Garbage floated all around...—teenage girls working the streets with their built-up shoes and their broken-down spirits; the younger ones, the children who hadn’t had their first period yet, they worked the inside—the massage parlors and the hotels. ...gaudy pimpmobiles parked all around the Port Authority Bus Terminal, dumb iron horses that ate human flesh, waiting for the pilot fish in their zircon rings and fake-fur hats to bring them new little girls; the videogame parlors with their load of little boys were just for rent—if you wanted to buy one for keeps you had to see a man in a brownstone office and pay heavy cash. No deposit, no return. (1985a:291f)

One of the more recent atmospheric locales to be used is the sex store, taking over from the pool halls, opium dens, ice cream parlors, and saloons of the 19th century as celebrated sites for human degradation. Carlo describes the store his hero visits as a place with “a rancid, muscle-bound, dirty kind of smell,” where guys “jerk their gherkins” (1986:15). Campbell describes one such theater:

The dark grey light inside the movie house was the grey of the rainy morning outside. ... There were not many [customers]. All older men. All waiting for a miracle to come down off the screen and make them young again. Hands in their laps. Hearts elsewhere. ...

The girl [in the film] had the face of a precocious child. A spray of freckles across a snub-nose. As wholesome-looking as sweet cream. He’d known a hundred girls like her back in New York. He’d seen a thousand more come to Hollywood just as sweet. Watched them bite the poisoned apple. Shrugged his shoulders and said what the hell. World going to ruin. Who cared about a few more virgin twats turned to stone? (1986:56)

Weesner’s cop goes to the “Sex Barn.” The store is on land where an orchard used to be, a good image of the urban destruction of rural edens and the advancing decay of civilization. The cop feels engulfed in “explicitness” when viewing a film on a large screen. Under tedious probing, the operator describes the film *Children in Bondage* with adult actors playing kids who have their hands and feet tied up and are swatted with leather. The cop concludes that the depiction of sex

makes the air around it different. It creates an air in which life has a different value. Less value. Uninspired. As a policeman, it put him

between the devil and the deep blue sea. The goods do seem educational, he thinks. What are they teaching? (1987:185f)

He seeks out an academic psychiatrist, an expert in the field of "sexual aberration," sharply portrayed as a pompous fool. Dulac wants to know if the film could cause the abduction. The psychiatrist spouts some classic liberal views, but grants that it is a possibility. He views the film and feels there is "an undercurrent of satire," but Weesner's exposition indicates this is a misapprehension of the seriousness of the threat, naivete at best and dangerous ignorance at worst. Finally, the expert says the film could possibly make one desire to have sex with a child, could cause an attempt to pick up a kid, could cause a forced abduction. The cop wants to know if pedophiles are involved in other deviant sexual activities. To this, the expert merely remarks in exasperation that "aberrant behavior is not created by pornography" (pp. 240f), the liberal cliché contradicting everything he had just reluctantly acknowledged.

After sleaze of place comes the sleaze of people, an area receiving a great deal of devoted, careful writing and image construction. The police lieutenant in Welles' novel surveys "the nut cases, the banana-flips, the child molesters, the freaked out basket cases" that make up his surroundings. Contact with these people can be devastating. After interrogating a molester, he recalls, "The ordeal was horrible, fascinating and had left him feeling sick, empty, sure of only death and perversion" (1980:32). Another is world weary: "Fourteen years in this line of work, and I still find it hard to believe some of the creatures who try to pass themselves off as human" (Kelman 1989:13). When Kellerman's hero interrogates a young victim, the experience is "like surfing in a cesspool, struggling for balance while being slapped with wave after putrid wave" (1985:19).

## VI

The heart of the collapse is that the evil pedophile and the tragedy of the victim are allowed to go unchallenged and unpunished. Vachss's characters are pessimistic and cynical about the adequacy of justice when left to others. The cops in *Blossom* are angry and depressed at the thought that the pedophile could get off easily: "a few soft years in a federal rest camp, sees one of those whore-psychiatrists, comes out and gets a job in a day-care center... Maybe writes a book" (1990:30). Other characters complain that even though the police know the villain is involved in a child pornography ring and snuff films, "he cannot be touched" (Vachss 1985a:196). If he were, there most likely would arise cries of "police brutality," an accusation Schutz implies is inapplicable to mob figures and child molesters. The heroic status of the "Executioner" depends on the belief that the police are helpless to "stem the tide," frustrated by red tape and by law-makers, lawyers, and judges who seem to favor the criminal. During his pursuit of a child molester, Spider-man remarks that "rules" only get in the way of locking up felons (September 20, 1985).

Sharing this view, the police see a need "to contain the mess that overflowed from inside, a rancid, reeking spill that fanned out wider everyday, corrupting everything it touched" (Newton 1985:75). The mother of a kidnapped youngster



feels unprotected, even betrayed by the promises of traditional institutions and relationships (Dorner 1987). Vachss's hero thinks highly of the prosecutor who plays dirty, making "it too hard for the degenerates to win. But they kept coming. Tidal waves from a swamp the EPA could never clean up" (1990:30). Not only are judges and lawyers at odds with "true" justice, but juries as well become part of the larger force frustrating the punishment of wrong-doers and incorrect thinkers. The hero in *Sacrifice* sees such juries as "citizen-hypocrites" (Vachss 1991:14), and the prosecutor-heroine in Kelman feels the jury is "relieved...to have an alternative to the hideous truth...of inconceivable evil" (1989:11). Kelman has a wonderful depiction of corrupt justice. The pedophile-killer turns out to be a judge who performs purification rituals on children, including chants, spells, and the inscription of mysterious characters on their torsos. In an ingenious image of justice gone mad, literally inflicting itself on the martyred bodies of innocent victims, the mysterious runes turn out to be letters and numbers, citations of legal cases (1989:271).

Carlo's hero has quite a few harsh words about the supposed failure of the Dutch to suppress child pornography; criticisms of the police extend to slurs against the society and culture. The Dutch police are said to be apathetic and take bribes to ignore the buying and selling of youth he says goes on extensively in their country; the hero later discovers that the police are actually working with the kidnapers. In a direct aside to the reader he says, "and, by the way, the distribution of child pornography is *perfectly legal in all of Holland*. Truly."<sup>20</sup> This is, he says, because the Dutch "are a strange, cold people," and their language sounds "like chickens foraging for worms" (1986:10).

Novels from the 1980s nearly all contain some allusion to injustice. It is an old motif, common to some crime novels from the 1930s whose authors had leftist sympathies, but better known in those reflecting rightist views, as when Spillaine's Mike Hammer complained long and loud about the slowness and inefficiency of established law. In more recent voicings, the most prevalent complaint is that captured pedophiles go free on "technicalities" and plea bargaining. Percy includes an instance of a convicted molester (part of a "ring") getting a pardon from the state's governor. It is a rather silly and, certainly by the late 1980s, very unlikely event, but because pedophiles are used as markers of social and cultural corruption, authors had to scrounge for such plot devices. Lawyers are bad enough but defense attorneys are shown as even more grotesque, sharing many of the same characteristics of the pedophile; one is described as "a fat, bald-headed little mouse who was making a great living defending these types" (Izzi 1990:25). There is here an old tradition shared by many shades of American politics that sees perpetual corruption in government at all levels. Shadowy figures of power operate to impede investigation and justice, as in Bruno (1988) when a Congressional investigation on runaways is stopped because of a Congressman's penchant for orphan boys.

Mandated therapy for pedophiles is seen as just another escape. One character complains that "There was little that could be done to help [the offenders], even less to protect others from them" (Fielding), while another feels that psychology merely tries to cover up evil with pretentious and ineffective therapeutics (Dorner). Vachss'

characters comment that the Catholic Church only temporarily removes pedophile priests, then replaces them in congregations without telling the church members of the priests' past; "a new way to recycle garbage," Burke says (1991:252, 249).

A government official tells the hero that pedophile propaganda is rampant, but execution is out of the question; "our state Supreme Court spends most of its time looking for excuses to keep from sitting in judgment of people," he says (Thorp 1986:196). Speight, himself a trial lawyer, writes a scene as if disgusted that the accused (whom we know is really guilty in the novel) has any rights.

He arrogantly demanded his one phone call and demonstrated an uncanny awareness of the limits that the law placed on his interrogators, almost daring them to go too far and do too much. Thanks to the convoluted shortsightedness of the law, he had the upper hand, and he knew it. (1987:36)

Speight describes the defense as "twisting and turning the facts and manipulating the witnesses" (p. 41), implying prosecutors never do this. The plaintiffs feel like victims betrayed by the system. The parents of the molested girl in *Never Take Candy...* are warned by the police and the rich molester's family that their daughter will be attacked on the stand if they press charges. They do so, and the girl is driven to tears by a vicious defense attorney, the court shows obvious favoritism to the defendant, and the other girl that was with her fled town then changed her story so the charges have to be dropped.

Vachss again finds an opportunity to condemn liberal views when he remarks that molesters have "a soft spot for civil liberties" (1991:243), an incriminating marker and epithet that was used extensively in the mid to late 1980s to discredit liberals, their philosophies, and the consequences of their beliefs.<sup>21</sup>

Inspector Gideon feels constrained by British limitations of budget, bureaucratic concerns, and laws that prevent catching and punishing criminals (Marric 1986). Bad laws and overworked social workers, as well as recalcitrant victims, encourage one's own solution to the problem. Schutz's private investigator decides to blackmail an abusing father to support education and therapy for the daughter rather than taking the matter through the system: "I know all about Daddy's civil rights. Fuck 'em. That's why I'm not a lawyer. All sides are not equal" (1985:150).

The hero was rising to the occasion.

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## THE FICTIONAL HERO

### I

Definitions of villains and victims structurally demand a hero defined by internal qualities and external action. There was plenty of conventional heroic imagery, but there were additions to the pantheon in the 1970s and 1980s. The social worker is occasionally presented as a hero (*Mary Jane Harper Cried Last Night*), as well as the prosecutor, the latter figure an attempt to prop up heavily criticized institutions of justice (*Child's Cry*, Kelman). The prosecutor is usually an attractive, hard, aloof woman, contrasted morally and aesthetically with the (male) villains, but also with lawyers who defend pedophiles (Vachss 1991:136ff). Izzi dedicated *Invasions* (1990) to "one of the true heroes" of the "war against invasions," one who "brings justice to the abused by courageously staring the invading scum down:" prosecutor Alice Vachss, wife of novelist Andrew Vachss. Brandon features a prosecutor who claims to be acting to save all the children in the city "It was a thankless calling, being the champion of victims-yet-to-be," he sighs (1993:199, 104).

Heroic psychologists or psychiatrists also occasionally appeared. One is director of the "Institute for Behavioral Study," a professor, a recognized authority, and a popular lecturer. Beyond the academic associations, he is identified with efficient hard science itself. The IBS building is ten stories of glass and steel, funded by foundations and corporations, a "mecca" for study and research, staffed by international experts, full of high-tech laboratories and technicians with clipboards, lab assistants, volunteer subjects, monitoring equipment, computers, and experimental animals. The rooms are "stark white and immaculate" (purity and cleanliness itself), with sounds of filtered air and beeping machines heard around the clock. To validate her conduct in the case, the heroine seeks advice from a world-famous authority on clinical hypnosis. She finds him lecturing in an opulent and monumental hall of the New York Academy of Sciences, surrounded by admirers. He is critical of uses of hypnosis, remarking that "'In the wrong hands anything can be perverted. No field is immune. Not even yours.' His face went dark and defiant. 'Certainly not yours'" (Kelman 1989:120). This reference to the many abuse case scandals, is deflected by the heroine. The novel, written during the time of increasing revelations of prosecutorial and scientific incompetence and corruption,

rewrites events as they should have been had real-life actors adhered more to genre guidelines.

There are exceptions however. Some mental health professionals are presented as pompous, oblivious, even treacherous and subversive to a decent society. Scientific opinion is sharply ridiculed in Weesner's book; his satire of experts questions past opinion and data on theories of human sexualities and sexual representations, particularly those that came from the "permissive" 1960s and early 1970s. The psychiatrist eventually comes to realize the superiority of the policeman's knowledge.

Many of the novels picture parents as victims along with their molested or missing child, and the period elevated parenthood to heroic levels. Minimally, sheer strength of will in the face of adversity was admired, but the parent can become an action figure by finding their children or eliminating the villains, as does the mother of an abducted 11 year old in the television movie *Nightmare*.

The concept of pedophilia becomes an ideological field on which heroic states become defined and qualified, and the pedophile becomes the specific target of heroic adventures. Since most heroes in literature are given quests, the hero must descend into and survive the underworld of pedophilic subcultures, as does a crusading journalist who disguised himself as a "chickenhawk" (Davis 1984). Burke often descends into Pedophile Hell and it takes a superhuman effort for him to hold his temper while faced with monsters. He is self-sufficient, distant, and difficult to figure out; he is possessed of mystical powers of strength and perception, especially the ability to perceive and identify the "freaks" of the world.<sup>1</sup> He is aligned with forces and characters equally at odds with the ordinary world; he is a super-(anti)hero against super-villains, but true to his cartoon roots, he is not above getting into fights with fat greasy thugs in biker drag, as when he gallantly saves a cafe waitress.<sup>2</sup> Burke was promoted by the publishers and greeted by many reviewers in the mid and late 1980s as an admirable and traditional hero. He was a "Robin Hood" (Rovner 1987, Steinberg 1987, Pearson 1989), or the "Lone Ranger of the 90s" (Dretzka 1989). Burke was favorably placed with other heroes of crime fiction, such as Sherlock Holmes, Mike Hammer, and Rambo, and received by many as a welcome addition to hard-boiled fiction and called "a hero of our times" and "lord of the asphalt jungle."<sup>3</sup>

In opposition to the character deficits of the pedophile, the hero, though tough, is emotionally sensitive. Carlo's hero, a boxer and ex-cop who was benched for killing a rapist is worldly-wise. He gets respect, more like awe, from other toughs, although when comforting a suffering mother, he cries. And, like many mythic heroes, he has God on his side. Carlo's hero has near-mystical powers; his admirers are more like worshipers who have been praying for someone like him to come along (1986:107, 119, 215, 50, 34; Vachss 1990; Newton 1985:97, 100).

One might expect the hero to use powers of rationality, logic, or scientific discipline. Explaining to a gay man why he, a straight cop, knows more about gay life, the hero of Weesner's novel boasts, "I've been working...in the asshole of

human nature for twenty-five years, which is where a lot of the guys on your team hang out, and I know better. Reality is one thing I know" (1987:308). Being in touch with "reality" and the use of "common sense" distinguishes the hero from his opponents, attributes long a fundamental of crime fiction.

But for the 1980s with its enthusiastic emphasis on cultural symbolism, the most effective powers for crime fighting were ultimately mystical and mythical. Kellerman (1985) and Percy, authors with professional psychological backgrounds and loyalties, provide their heroes with an ability to perceive the truth, read the signs, and elicit the unspeakable from silent sufferers. Cops usually share this mystique. A police expert in "perversion" can scan a playground at a glance and tell if it is "clean" or not. His specialty was movie theaters, saving kids who didn't notice "fingertips probing toward their loins" (McGivern 1979:38). The devilish power of pedophiles is countered by the equally mystical power of the police, especially in their "hunches" and gut-feelings, making it a contest of bodies and forces on several levels.

Gut feelings could occasionally be problematic for the hero. An interesting heroic struggle that occasionally found its way into texts of the period was the hero confronting the possibility of his having sexual desires for other men, or, more challengingly, for youth. Welles' cop hero, musing on the pervasiveness and insidiousness of the pedophile personality, thinks that perhaps "he himself could be a child molester and not realize it" (1980:41). A 40-something private investigator is paired with a 14 year old as a partner, and in one scene he awakes and sees her in the doorway:

She was wearing a skimpy T-shirt and pink panties. She...flicked off the ceiling light [and] paused framed in the doorway with the light from her room behind her. She seemed larger, fuller in body. Provocative. I shivered. I was afraid of what I was thinking. I reacted in typical adult fashion. I squeezed my eyes shut and pulled the covers over my head. (Lochte 1985:151)

The hero is allowed a margin of error for his frightening thoughts because he has been drugged, beaten, and nearly murdered. He further distances himself by frequent references to his age and its physical and emotional discomforts, limitations, and absurdities.

In a mid-1970s novel, Parker's hero is faced with a 13 year old in a bikini. He is struck by her figure, but realizes he has to monitor his reaction: "There has to be a line you won't cross, and my lower limit is arbitrarily set at sixteen."<sup>4</sup> Another hero is hanging around a school, trying to spot a killer who murdered four schoolgirls. The policeman considers that

one day a gang of parents might get the wrong idea and he would be lynched. After all, some of these girls were mightily fanciable, even to him with daughters that age [12-14], and maybe the interest glinted now and then in his face. The Lolitas could be very winning, very leggy, very ripe. Of course, or there wouldn't be a charming novel about one. And think of that film producer who specialized in little girls: no good trying

to explain it away by saying he was foreign. Lust on the march collected all sorts behind its rampant banner... (James 1991:29f)

Later, he sees a friend of his daughter's in a bikini and is again aroused:

He felt suddenly ashamed. Christ, he had really started drooling over the bodies of kids. ... Perhaps he was starting to understand that Lolita Man too well. A cop could come to resemble his quarry, the relationship was so close.<sup>5</sup>

In Buchanan (1990:74), a detective's girl friend plays a game with him, coming into the bedroom dressed in baby doll lingerie, carrying a tattered blanket and a teddy bear. "Hi, Daddy," she says. She jumps into bed, giggling and sucking her thumb, alternately looking coy and pouting. She jams her teddy bear against his genitals and says in a babyish voice, "Teddy wants to kiss it." The detective thinks, "Her kinky role playing was wonderful and so exciting. Her body seemed almost like a child's. In a slightly disturbing, wonderfully guilty way, it almost made him know what it was like to be a child molester."

This self-consciousness is typical largely of earlier texts. An assistant makes advances to the prosecutor hero in Brandon's novel who is attracted by her guilelessness and her child-like skin: "I desired her the way anyone desires sweet young flesh, firm and yielding, that can be molded into any shape desire asks" (1993:167). There is no comparison of these feelings to those of the villain, however, even though the conceptualization is the same as attributed to the pedophile. Much of this is part of the emphasis on the suffering and torment of the heroic body, one which ultimately recuperates, resurrects, and triumphs, a standard motif in fiction and religion. The concern is not merely over the presence of pedophilic desires in cops but with the threat of physical and emotional transformation, of becoming "morally diseased" oneself, a concern plaguing police work since the early 19th century (Lane 1967:69). The vomiting reaction of heroes noted before is just what it signifies, a purging of any possible contamination from so close an association with evil. The best defense is to go on the offense.

## II

The first step toward the solution of the pedophile problem is name-calling. Since the term "pedophile" is pejorative, one can simply use it to name others. A variety of this is to bring someone to name themselves as a pedophile. A more powerful form of stigmatizing, it is a confession, an admittance of guilt, and an acceptance of inferiority under the dominance of power, all accomplished within the efficient economy of a single name. Burke interrogates a man accused of raping a young girl:

"Didn't they tell you what *you* were when you had all that therapy?"

His right hand squeezed his left wrist, hard. Muscles twitched along his forearm. "What I was."

"Say it."

His eyes were a soft, brooding brown, muddy around the rim where they bled into the white, hard in the tiny circles around the pupils. "A pedophile, that's what they said." (Vachss 1990:66)

Secondly, one can call the pedophile by other names. One way is the attribution of pathology; here hostility and assertions of power are masked (slightly) by veneers of science and benevolence. Another is outright name-calling using the epithet and insult. Marris's rapist is a "beast" and a "swine." Dorner's kidnapper is a "creep," a "scuzz," and is "crazy as a loon." As usual, Vachss leads the way in extensiveness and intensity. His hero refers to molesters as "freaks," "losers," "dregs," "maggots," "creeps," "dirtbags," "scumbags," "vermin," and "chumps." The Executioner is hunts "savages," looking for "the slimy Hydra's head [to] crush it underneath his heel;" "scum" is his term of choice.

For crime novels, the most immediate precursor to this is Spillaine's hero, Mike Hammer, when he speaks of bad guys as "scum" and "lice" (1951:165), or calls a cop a "crummy turd" (1950:118). The usage is part of the linguistic style of the "hard boiled" school of writers, and it has a long history in the entertainment business.

Such naming assumes a stable and fundamental internal reality, one that transcends time and individual variation. Further, tough talk is a way of asserting a defensive stability against threats to what one believes to be the only valid moral order and way of life. Whatever the intent, tough talk is quickly dated, however, and the use of argot and expletives if not regulated by several other aesthetic devices can, as it did almost immediately in Vachss' work, become comic interludes undermining character and plot. This is true especially if those named have other sources of reference and identity, and more so if the reality is not like that which the naming has tried to impose upon its subjects. This has repeatedly happened in the social and behavioral sciences, the most recent example being that which was referred to (named) as "homosexuality." This becomes an even more acute embarrassment when the naming attempts not only to describe and evaluate, but also to prophesize, to promise a predisposition that may in fact reflect nothing more than the accuser's own hopes and hatreds, as does any fear-based morality.

The tough talk used against pedophiles is a ritualistic and magical counter to the "smooth talk" the pedophile is supposed to use on his victims. As tough talk names the villain, it hopes to break the spell by revealing the beast beneath the disguise. To name is to tame, or at least domesticate, like a pet. More importantly, it is the initial form of the destruction of the monster, preparing for and justifying other methods. The connections to folklore are immediately obvious and emphasize how much popular literature uses traditional vehicles in the representations of issues and actors. Theatricality calls for a suitable rhetoric, and name calling is part of the dramatization that characterized the adult-youth sex issue.

The terms are intended to refer to an internal essence as well as to hurt or insult and to magically defeat. A hero muses about "madmen" which includes the equation of cannibalistic serial killers with pedophiles:

Somewhere inside the head of the madman there was something that was not at all the same [as other people]. It was quite different. It was something that told him it was okay to cut out the hearts of street hookers, fry them up, and eat them for lunch. Something that told him it was alright to have sex with little boys because he was helping them learn about their sexuality. (Smoke 1989:207f)

Kellerman's gay cop confronts a pedophile judge, and with his powers of perception, "all I see is dark and bad. Nothing good in there. Nothing good can come from this guy. He's a washout" (1985:350).

Believing that secrecy and facades always imply negatives, Grice's narrator wonders about the internal makeup of deviants; their thoughts are "Sick ones. Ugly ones, unspeakable," she assures herself (1990:128). A detective tells her, "Some of these sex offenders can be pretty kinky and ugly. They fantasize, only their fantasies would make us sick. Don't leave your daughter alone. Not even for a minute" (p. 243). The heroine knows that "Disturbed people led strange inner lives" (p. 356).

While everyone in Vachss' world accepts larceny of some sort, pedophiles "are over the line no matter where you draw it" (1987:179), and therefore in this logic are beyond the rules. The outsiderness of pedophilic deviance is because it is in the realm of the unnatural and unordered. Psychiatrists in Ray (1989:285) insist they "are different from you and me." A lawyer who was originally on the defense team for a child-killer explains why she now sees him as "worthless scum."

...he was a freak, a mutation, a violation of the basic principles of nature. He was a man without feeling, without remorse, without any sensitivity whatever. He was utterly without any redeeming qualities... (Speight 1987:172)

Another villain (Vachss 1985a:196) is spoken of as "not human," "a demon." True to his style, Vachss expresses the sentiments more exactly when speaking of arch villain "The Cobra," maggots who "only move in the direction of decay—they help it along... You don't need a Ph.D. in sociology to understand slime. Slime needs fresh meat to live, and if you don't bring it around, the slime goes shopping" (1985a:132). This wonderful imagery of *The Blob Goes To The Mall* represents the transmutation of difference into danger. A policeman (Dodson 1980:92) says molesters are "the worst possible criminal, very sick and very dangerous." The situation worsens.

The comparison with sickness should be expected for there is a long-standing convention of associating unauthorized sex with organic disease. Millar uses such imagery where desires are "germs." The Executioner's enemies are "malignant lesions eating at the soft flesh of a civilized society" (Newton 1985:38). Overall, however, there is actually relatively little of this equation. Disease and contagion imagery were very popular in the latter half of the 19th century primarily because of discoveries in medicine and advances in public health. Comparable Imagery since the mid 20th century relies more on secular political and military motifs, using themes of invasion, subversion, and domination.



As the basis for action in fiction, as in politics, the anti-pedophile attitude has to be deepened even more, and turned to hatred. It was best expressed by Dodson's heroine, Brina:

I reached down and picked up the piece of lint and squashed it in my hand as if it were all the bad men in the world. ... I wanted to fight him. ... Now I felt hate...and fear. I lay there and hated with all my strength. (1980:40).

Her hatred builds and surpasses the individual attacking children in the area. Brina begins a campaign "directed against creeps in general, not just my specific creep" (p. 172). She devises a plan to "fight back. ... I had a crusade!", even if it means she must "hang out in public places and sort of look to get picked up" (pp. 43, 54).

Given the limitations and injustices of the established system, it falls to the individual to resolve the issues by direct action. One is an extension of name-calling, to make sure the stigmatization takes more permanent and pervasive forms. Carrying on a 17th century American religious and literary form of public labelling, a friend of a narrator says of a man accused of having affairs with his junior high school students, "We should have tarred and feathered him that day. We should have got out a branding iron and stamped him in red right on the forehead" (Grice 1990:187f).

### III

There are several crucial roles the hero must play. Some overlap, but there is a rough scale of increasing bravery and effectiveness. The heroic denial of one's sexual attraction to youth is a part of the role of defender, though in this case one is defending children from one's self. In novels in the mid 1970s and very early 1980s, there was less of an obsessive commitment to the protection of children, especially youth who were considered to be able to either take care of themselves or were granted an ability to recover from the traumas of growing up, realities denied more and more as the decade wore on. A hero from the late 1970s sees a young high school girl approach the house he is just leaving, the house where a school drama coach seduces his students:

I wanted to tell her Gleeson wasn't home, but her greeting and smile were shy and polite with wonder, her slim tanned thighs downy with sweat. ... Instead of taking her in my arms to protect her, instead of sending her home with a lecture, I walked past her... Youth endures all things, kings and poetry and love. Everything but time. (Crumley 1981:56)

The cop in Dorner is "fiercely protective" of children and lacks such libertarian hesitation. For heroes of this sort, young people, at least an ideal of them, are a last refuge for innocence, especially for adults who can no longer find innocence in themselves or in the world about them. Defending youngsters from real or potential threat is a way of defending oneself, and defending youngsters from real or potential threat is a way of defending oneself, and defending the image of oneself as a more competent and superior being protects one from the implicit challenges youth makes against adulthood. Thorp's hero says "The law protects children precisely because they don't have the intellectual equipment to differentiate what feels good and what

is good" (1986:196, emphasis in original), something adults are assumed competent to judge. The use of the word "precisely" underlines the self-assumed acuity of adults' perceptions over those of younger people.

By killing a molester, Ray's Murdock feels he has both avenged the death of a friend and as a defender saved a girl from having to testify in court against a molester, reflecting the then wide-spread belief that youngsters are savaged by defense attorneys and it is better to forego the rights of anyone accused of such a crime in order to protect youth.

Another variation is the more expected savior and rescuer role in which the hero delivers a youngster from abusive circumstances and sexual sin. Rescue of youth prostitutes is a significant motif in several of the novels. Vachss's hero offhandedly rescues a 13 year old from her pimp, turning her over to a loveable Irish cop, with indications he does this all the time (1985a:85ff, 89, 137). This is all quite consistent with the American theme of rescuing children popularized from the 19th century on. It not only allows the expression of heroism but a kind of patriotism insofar as the rescued youth repay the good deed by becoming ideal citizens. The theme was in 19th century novels of young women rescued from "white slavery," and in a few novels where wealthy men take young charges (usually female) under their wing to raise into civilized creatures, the hero being recognized as a benefactor to society. One of Henry James' early novels (1878) is of this genre, but it contains more explicit erotic tones than most of the others. Roger, the 29 year old hero, adopts an abandoned 12 year old female hoping that when she "comes of age" she will recognize his nobility and marry him.

The rescuer can be played by the child as well, a pervasive 19th century theme. The savior child was one who, by its powerful, divinely connected innocence, brought about the reform of backslidden individuals and fragmented families. Much of the same intent was present in the 1980s child victim, although more passivity was enforced and the state and mental health professionals stepped in to assume the role of savior. By this move, the savior, as it has been in much of christianism, also works as an enforcer. The 1980s savior was much more militant, much less forgiving.

Another role is that of restorer, one with noticable gender differences. As Weesner's officer interviews a mother and son he makes a comment that allows the boy to feel more at ease, the cop able to correctly perceive the boy's true feelings. The "true detective" is a defender and restorer of personal as well as social truth, and provides the nourishing contexts for individual and collective realization. The Executioner saves a 12 year old girl and young boy, both in bondage and awaiting ravaging at the hands of a gangster. He kills the molester, inflicting as much bodily damage as possible, and frees the kids, believing he returned to them "something of their shredded dignity" (Newton 1985:123f). Mills' heroine feels society ignores and ridicules the belief in child abusing Satanist cults. She meets a woman who says she herself was subjected to ritual abuse and assures the heroine that they exist and are worse than imagined. The woman encourages the "survivor" role, and raises the

heroine's return to prayer and belief in God as a way of salvation and healing the abuse.

A variation casts the hero as a secular healer. Spider-man delivers an abused youngster to therapists (November 11, 1985), and Brandon's prosecutor heals a "disorganized" family as he saves the boy, giving him "swell advice" and boosting his self-esteem. But the best example of this is in Jonathan Kellerman's *When the Bough Breaks*. The hero of the novel (Alex) is a psychologist (as is Kellerman himself) who engulfs himself in the "putrid cesspool" of childrens' sufferings, but his perception and strength triumph when he sees a "sparkle returned to the kids' eyes" (1985:19), reaffirming his view of himself as a life-giver. In one case, he repairs the damaged psyche of a seven year old and thereby solves several murders and breaks up an international ring of pedophiles. To do this, he uses hypnosis in addition to his other powers of perceptiveness and sensitivity. "My role," he says humbly, "is simply to help your daughter do something that comes natural to her" (p. 33). In an extraordinary and explicit chapter (pp. 59-70), his relationship with the girl is developed.

To break through a near-autistic facade and to win her over, he begins by appealing to her attractiveness. He takes her to an amusement park and buys her rides and food, fixing his position of power by promising not to tell her mother if she behaves badly. They will have a secret. He allows her to go wading, and uses this opportunity to promote a physical closeness between them. He tells her to remove her shoes and to protect her dress from getting wet (by raising it up higher); he fixes her hair, and caresses her head while complimenting her. He reassures her of her inherent innocence and good behavior which makes her more comfortable in asking him about his desire to hypnotize her. He will do it to her "only if you want me to," he says. He tells her it will be helpful to herself and will be a favor to others. But she is frightened. It's her first time.

He soothes her by telling her it isn't "scary" at all; "it's really kind of fun," he says. He goes further: "Have you ever seen anyone hypnotized before?" He doesn't show her photos of hypnotized people to try to convince her it's OK, but he does refer to some Popeye cartoons as examples. He then gives her an explanation of hypnosis, and she becomes interested. In fact, she becomes forward: "Can we do it now?" she asks. He's unsettled by this sudden desire and opportunity, and glances around uneasily, furtively: "The beach was empty; there was plenty of privacy. And the moment was right." He decides to do it to her and says, "First, let's get real comfortable."

"Within moments" he has her under his spell, and he encourages her to fantasize, all the while smoothly telling her she is "so comfortable, so happy, so in control..." He then tries to get her to relive the night of the murder she has witnessed but she resists; he is disappointed because "I wasn't going to get anything from her." He withdraws, giving her unspecified "suggestions for mastery, control, and feeling refreshed and happy." She *is* happy. And she wants to do it again.

Alex becomes more uneasy. He wonders if he had "overstimulated" her, only to return her to a dreary routine. He has to justify himself and decide if he would be

“prepared to play the rescuing good guy on a regular basis.” In a following chapter, however, when the child becomes hysterical, the hero dismisses it as “night terrors,” and absolutely denies that hypnotizing her had anything to do with the outbursts. He is called to sooth her and does so by caressing and stroking her, and speaking to her in “a low, rhythmic pattern of speech, easy-going, reassuring. Hypnotic” (p. 78).

I have spent some time on Kellerman’s text, and given it a smutty spin the author did not intend. But I didn’t distort it by much, and that’s the point. The text is amazingly self-absorbed and naive, the author apparently not sensing anything curious about the scene at all. The chapter is striking and worth reading for its close and obvious parallels of act and rhetoric to the very mechanisms and rationales pedophiles are said to use in their traumatizing seductions and self-centered gratifications.<sup>6</sup>

Nor is it the only text to do so. Sarah, the prosecutor-heroine in Kelman’s book, wants to get to Libby the victim in order to get more information, but her parents have obtained a court order baring Sarah from seeing her. Sarah then conspires with Gabe, a psychiatrist, to see Libby; she wants him to take Libby out of the clinic on the sly, but he is worried that Libby will tell. Sarah, however, is sure she will won’t give away their secret because she likes and trusts them both. But all that is accomplished at the secret meeting is that the girl gets hysterical. Feeling the only way to get at what Libby knows is through the manipulation of her mind, Sarah reads up on hypnosis books. Finding her intents validated, she sneaks into the clinic where Libby is kept and hypnotizes her. She gets some information, and then instructs Libby not to remember this when she awakes so that she won’t tell. The heroine then sneaks away.

One of the most forthright expositions of manipulation is in Brandon’s heroic prosecutor. The story is quite straightforward about the way prosecutors construct their cases and stage their trials, and how they use witnesses—though the hero himself claims professional purity (1993:120ff). He wants to use this case to restore integrity to the justice system as well as win a coming election. A molester has been active in the city for some years and he has trouble finding credible witnesses. To press his case, he says he can manipulate a child witness into crying if necessary. After a crucial witness recants supposedly through parental pressure (they were paid off), he selects another to carry the case. “I wasn’t going to let the parents stand between us [him and the boy]. I would make Tommy my own...so that he’d do what I asked no matter what his parents said” (p. 139). Still tending his witness, he says later, “I have to go cultivate the victim some more” (he is trying to make the boy into an appealing victim on the stand). An assistant wants to go with him but he says, “...first I want him very dependent on me. That’s not strong enough to dilute, yet” (p. 149). He meets the boy again: “I was just fine-tuning the boy, his dependency on me. That’s what I wanted, that’s what I’d spent weeks trying to accomplish,” specifically wanting to replace the parents as an authority figure (p. 204f). He knows he is using the boy and the boy has been “seduced and...abandoned by me. I wasn’t going to spend the rest of my life being his tutor, his friend. Once the case was over he’d be on his own.” Clearly the hero is

conscious of his methods, but it is all for a higher good: "...the victim is only a necessary element of the case. I wouldn't let myself feel guilty about Tommy. He had to suffer this second victimization so there'd be no other victims" (p. 204). When he lets the boy be subjected to intensive cross examination, he says, "I needed him to look helpless; needed the jury to see him suffer" (p. 320).

Another role is that of crusader, one which moves toward more aggressive action. The onslaught of crime and perversity calls for all-out combat. For English law officer Gideon, child abductor-rapist-killers, cop-killers, and terrorist bombers call for total war. Even in a war, however, one must be seen as somehow rational in the campaigns. Weesner's cop (1987:178) remarks while asking for lists of suspects in the kidnapping that "we're not going to implicate anyone in any way—we're careful about that," a statement in direct contradiction to the historical record of the 1980s. One's personal honor is contrasted to that of the pedophile; the (anti)hero may lie, cheat, steal, and kill, but he doesn't do it to those less powerful than himself—or if she does, it is inflicted upon those obviously unworthy of any consideration.

Criminals (variously defined) have for a long time been the self-justified target of heroic wrath. One example is from Schutz's novel in which mobsters are seen as the ultimate source of pornography and prostitution. The police defend the "Racketeering Influenced and Corrupt Organizations" (RICO) statutes, the official excuse for laws allowing the state to seize property of anyone suspected of crimes defined loosely as "racketeering" or "corruption."<sup>7</sup> The policeman claims no interest in "busting hookers or burning up tons of trash." All that is wanted is "the big boys. ... That's why anything at all is done about porn" (pp. 78f). The private investigator hero agrees, saying, "nobody gives a shit about pornography," comments again in contrast to extensive and costly 1980s anti-pornography campaigns conducted by the Federal Government, the states, and private vigilance groups.

But in a crusade, heroes must respond in military fashion. McGivern's hero assembles a large police task force using helicopters, attack dogs, and squads of marksmen. It operates as a military venture, with the cop seeing the killings as part of a war. Vachss' hero goes military against the villains when he takes out a Satanist cult with grenades, shotguns, automatic weapons, and more (1991:267ff). Unlike the Vietnam war where supporters and many participants felt they were prevented from doing the job by politicians and protesters, here the crusaders can blow away universally despised villains to their hearts' content, limited only by their own competence and armaments budgets.<sup>8</sup>

Going through hell is hard on the heroes and some of them display the exhaustion that comes to any struggle that has no light at the end of the tunnel. Weesner's novel is saturated with melancholic tiredness that shows itself in the physical descriptions of many cops: rumpled suits, disheveled hair, growths of beard, poor diets, and so on. So too with the Executioner, "the eternal warrior. Ever on guard. Ever vigilant. Weary of war. But unable to stop..." (Mertz 1986:226; 253). Perseverance has to be a part of the heroic endeavor. Izzi's hero feels guilty at

taking a day off. "There were lives to save, literally. Minds on their way to being destroyed..." (1990:258). The vulnerable and finite body of the hero is meant to contrast with the infinite bodies of the villains and their tireless powers of infiltration and replication.

#### IV

Violence has been occurring from the beginning. As the cop in Weesner's novel realizes the boy has been abducted rather than run away, he grows enraged and feels "like hurting somebody." Welles' police hero (1980:41) reveals that "his first desire was to punch in their faces, humiliate them, make them feel like the shit they were." Because pedophiles feel no guilt, Ray's Murdock says they "wouldn't know remorse if it split their upper lip" (1989:285). The violence is made less consequential because in this view they cannot even feel it, so one might as well bash away. A variation on this usually masculine approach is the mousy woman turned Amazon. In Flagg's novel one of the main characters gets in touch with her anger and as the persona of "Towanda" she dreams of beating up on all manner of bad guys, including child molesters. Expanding this version of feminist justice, she designs to put to death all "porno and child exploitation film producers" (1988:238f).

As before, we can turn to Andrew Vachss for a vivid expression of this. During negotiations with a Puerto Rican nationalist group, Vachss inserts a scene of Burke beating a pedophile, one recalling the beatings of homosexuals in Spillaine's 1947 novel. The pedophile was spotted snapping a rubber band against his wrist as he's looking at kids on a playground—"aversive therapy," Burke notes. Burke approaches him and takes along a female member of the Puerto Rican group: "I held out my hand. She took it, moving smoothly against me as we crossed the street" (1988:211). This little preface to the scene affirms the hero's heterosexuality, sexual appropriateness defined as only for adults, and the "smooth" naturalness of his status and desires. Burke goes nose to nose and tells the villain to scram. He presses the argument.

I pulled him away from the fence, bringing my right hand around in a short hook to his gut. He made a gagging sound, dropped to the ground. I went down on one knee next to him. His face was against the pavement, vomiting.

"We know your face, freak," I said quietly. "Next time we see you, you're done."

I stomped my heel hard into the side of his face; it made a squishy sound. Nobody gave us a look.<sup>9</sup>

But beating is not enough, either to insure the safety of civilization and children, or to satisfy the enforcer. When Carlo's private detective sees pictures of the kidnapped 10 year old female he has been hired to find having sex with a man, the hero thinks, "I would not have had a second thought, the slightest compunction, about putting a bullet in that guy's head" (1986:9). The hero in fact enlists the enthusiastic support of Mafia members, all of whom agree that kidnapers of

youngsters were the lowest of the low and do not deserve to live. One of the gangsters thinks youth are very attractive, but he means people fifteen or sixteen years old. "But dis ting of children...little children, what a dirty shit perversion!", he exclaims indignantly (p. 198).

Brina's grandfather explains to her "how bad, how sick" the child molester is. He goes on: "we can't afford any pity for him! He's like this weed here. ... We have to get rid of it before it hurts the good plants" (Dodson 1980:50f). The prosecutor-heroine in Kelman looks with pity on the idealism of a young Legal Aid lawyer who thinks the accused in court are the products of an "underdeveloped childhood;" the heroine feels the man will soon learn that "Some people were simply bad" (1989:221).

In an episode of the television series "St. Elsewhere" (August 8, 1985), a woman is being interviewed by a psychiatrist. She had shot a man whom she said was a rapist, one "half notch above a child molester." The psychiatrist asks if she would shoot a child molester too, and she replies, "No, I wouldn't let myself be pushed that far again. But if someone wanted to hang a child molester, I wouldn't stop 'em!" After his examination the psychiatrist later says, "There's nothing wrong with her at all." For the Executioner, a pedophile senator is "too dirty" to allow to live. The kidnapper in Dorner's book should be "gassed like a cockroach," says one character (1987:170). Vachss' hero says the villain, "has to die. ... He can't be rehabilitated or reformed or even contained" (1985a:168). He elaborates for any who may doubt:

There's some things that shouldn't be on this planet, some things that are born to die, nothing else. Not *everything* fits in this life, baby, no matter what the ecology freaks say. Who needs rats? Who needs roaches. ... You don't sit around trying to figure out where dirt comes from—you just sweep it out of the way...<sup>10</sup>

Not surprisingly then, the ultimate and most effective expression of heroic status is the avenger—more specifically, the executioner. This 1980s image was built from folklore and literary traditions of horrific punishment befalling those who corrupt innocence, as well as from religious cultures ruled by avenging, wrathful deities.<sup>11</sup>

Perhaps the best example of this can be found in the "Executioner" novels, originated in 1969 by Don Pendleton and later written by a stable of writers. In one contribution, a story of youth prostitution and pornography Newton (1985) says was inspired by a newspaper feature article on runaways, Executioner Bolan targets "the porn brokers" in *Hollywood Hell*. The novel, featuring lots of blood and guts, has its violence based on the philosophy of martial heroism, a philosophy that denies not only itself as a system of values but, through a mystical predisposition, negates the very idea of rational consideration.

The warrior did not see himself in vigilante terms. He did not try to legislate morality, enforce his own beliefs and values on the populace at large. He was a soldier... You did not kill [the enemy] for philosophy or

ideology, but rather from the need to stop him dead, right now, before he did more damage to another living soul.

Bolan's enemies had condemned themselves by word and deed before the Executioner had ever crossed their twisted paths. (1985:38)

With enemies as "malignant lesions," Bolan became a "cauterizing agent carrying the cleansing flame to burn away their stain" (p. 38). In the face of a permissive society, "he had the guts to stand his ground and draw the line" against the "maggots" and "cannibals," and keeps combat "one-on-one, up close and personal" (p. 108f). As the solitary soldier, Bolan distributes his justice as he sees fit. Independent of established military and law enforcement, he was antagonistic to them for they had failed him personally and failed society as a whole. In a novel where the Executioner breaks up a child abduction and pornography ring, he is caught by the police who, with admiration, let him go despite the warrants out on him. "You may not handle it by the book, but you sure as hell handle it!" exclaims a cop (Mertz 1986:251). The renegade FBI agent in Bruno's book kills a Congressman who uses eight to ten year old orphan and runaway boys for SM sex because any investigation would be stopped at high levels and no justice would be done (1988:31). The cop hero in McDonald goes through much soul-searching about his execution of bad guys but he decides it is his "mission," and that his acts are in line with divine justice.<sup>12</sup>

Though this has also been indicated in novels by Kellerman, Fielding, and Speight, Vachss in particular has been accused of advocating or encouraging vigilantism (Dretzka, Pearson, Anshaw), so much so that by the time of his 1991 novel, *Sacrifice*, the hero has to specifically deny it. Well, sort of. Being a vigilante would mean "impersonal" executions; for Burke, like the Executioner, each case where he kills the villain has become something personal and hence is morally justifiable.<sup>13</sup>

In 1977, there was an anti-capital punishment message in Mary Higgins Clark's book (1979), even when applied to kidnappers and killers of children. A dialogue in Welles' novel shows more doubt as the decade begins. A man and a woman agree rehabilitation is impossible, he saying that "death is too good for him." She continues, "I thought I didn't believe in capital punishment, now I'm not sure. I want revenge. But there is no revenge" (1980:125f). Fielding's heroine reads of the citizenry beating or shooting criminals and responds "with a mixture of revulsion and curious satisfaction" (1984:103). By 1984, Fielding can have a crowd member say, after a debate on capital punishment, that "some people just don't deserve to live" (p. 133).

The killer in Steve Allen's novel is after those he saw as "filthy animals," those responsible for the "absolute moral disintegration" of society, and responsible for his daughter's drug addiction and abortion-related death (1982:313f). Allen's novel is an exception, however, to others appearing in the early and mid-1980s in that the killer is not a very sympathetic character nor are his cause and methods made to appear heroic. For the rest, the killing becomes fully justified. Burke does his share: he executes a molesting father, and kills a villain who heads a cult of runaways used



as prostitutes and baby breeders (1989:3-9, 225). Victims can freely and justifiably defend themselves against attack, as does the 14 year old in Collins (1985:596) when she shoots a gangster; she receives one year on probation. In R. Spenser (1989), a man snatches a six year old girl literally off her tricycle and drags her screaming into an abandoned garage; the cop-hero kills him but is lambasted by a liberal newspaper as a killer cop. The columnist however later comes to agree that the molester "had to go—sooner or later [he] would have killed a little girl." "Or a dozen," replies the hero in agreement (p. 51).

The killing is justified because therapy is ineffective, as is known by the public, the police, and even psychotherapists themselves. An early expression of this was through Crane's heroine who wanted children screened in grade school and any "nuts" that were found would be locked up. Later views were more pessimistic, and more severe. Kellerman's psychologist notes that there are some who are so inherently evil that they are "an assault upon a therapist's sensitivities" (1985:90). The mother of a kidnapped boy comes to believe in a combination of "psychosocial illness" and a medieval view of pure evil; she wants badly to kill the villain (Strieber 1990:221f). A molester is given a chance at therapy in *Strega* but he "slipped and fell" and reoffended. He was again taken into custody by the police, but Burke is puzzled.

"I thought you said the cops couldn't do anything."

"They could in this case, *compadre*. When he slipped and fell for the last time, he was on a rooftop." Pablo held his glass in a silent toast to the only rehabilitation that really works. (Vachss 1987:230)

The police in McGivern's novel are also ready to administer their justice. When they catch the killer, they will

trash him. ... And there wouldn't be any bleeding-heart psychiatric apologies... No pleas of temporary insanity, no judicial wrist slap followed by six or seven years in some cozy funny farm. ...they'd waste him as they would a mad dog... (1979:39).

Confronting the woman who has been heading the Mafia operated child pornography and kidnapping industry, the Executioner announces he is not above killing an unarmed woman. He is about to pull the trigger when his female companion grabs the machine gun from him and turns the crime boss into a "tattered corpse...gushing rivulets of spreading blood." She turns to the Executioner and proudly announces, "This is justice" (Mertz 1986:239). Referring to terrorists who have kidnapped, raped, and killed children of wealthy industrialists, Hunter's hero says "Some people in the world need killing" (1989:69). His girl friend disagrees with him at the time, but later, after she has killed one herself, she says, "I'm glad I shot him. ... Some people need to be shot" (p. 228). A pedophile judge is executed by the gay cop hero (Kellerman 1985) because of the ineffectiveness and corruption of the system. The husband and wife in Block's novel are executed by a private detective because they can not be prosecuted as pedophiles for lack of proper evidence. The police for similar reasons allow a pedophile to be murdered by a man

whose son was kidnapped and killed by a “baby lover,” a “freak” and “garbage” (Izzi 1989:144f).

The killing is justified, and is supported by an enthusiastic society.<sup>14</sup> A woman discovers her boyfriend is a pedophile and kills him, and though she is a former prostitute she is exonerated, redeemed, and her status elevated, a nice reranking of moralities done with the unique touch of film director Samuel Fuller.<sup>15</sup> In Speight’s novel the mother of the raped and murdered girl shoots the killer. The woman who defends her against a murder charge was originally on the villain’s defense team but now views the murder of the pedophile

as an act of courage, the revenge of a woman wronged, the final response of one who had simply had enough. In her heart she had admired Carol Rogers for taking action, violent though it was, against the evil represented by Frank Jordan. (1987:139)

The heroine is depicted as an underdog despite liberal outrage. The attorney says the woman is the real victim. At her emotional trial, she is convicted of manslaughter instead of premeditated murder and given probation. Mercy is made easier, and more convenient, when the benefit is the extermination of dangerous subhumans who have attitude problems and tacky taste.<sup>16</sup>

After Dorner’s heroine kills a molester, she begins to wonder if she wasn’t mistaken about the whole thing and had exaggerated him into some kind of horrific creature, “the stuff of which yellow journalism is made” (1987:275). She feels she was wrong to kill him and the bulk of the novel revolves around the suspense of her being found out. The cop hero eventually realizes that she did indeed kill him but he doesn’t take action because it is hinted he is in love with her and he is “fiercely protective” of children. He can’t let her go to prison because it would be worse than the sacrifice of his “professional integrity,” and she decides that she has to live with her “demons” by herself. The cop hero of McDonald’s novel kills a child molester and others let off by the justice system and his acts are applauded by fellow officers. After a raid to rescue the kidnapped Valerie, Carlo’s hero and his gangster comrades kill the bad guys. Valerie then says, “I’m glad they are dead.” After killing a pedophile senator, the Executioner erased his doubts that he was “going soft. He took as much satisfaction as ever in eliminating lice” (Mertz 1986:222). Fielding’s heroine shoots her daughter’s killer at his trial even though he’s been convicted. She worries about “straying from the fold” but feels absolved when a sound “filled the courtroom. The sound of applause” (1984:347, the final sentence of the book).

American popular culture in the 1980s moved film critic Jon Tuska to write,

Now more than ever the quest to understand has been replaced by the need to be violent and vengeful. The question increasingly is no longer who is a murderer but that killing, depending on who is killed and for what reason, is justifiable, indeed may even be justice itself. This is quite definitely a barbaric devolution and one that cannot but itself be morally suspect.<sup>17</sup>

Similarly, Anshaw saw in Vachss' work a "virulent hatred" and "a perfect circle of violence and loathing. The good guys want to get rid of the filth and scum whose intent it is to get rid of the filth and scum." More to the point, she remarked, "That Vachss' books are popular scares me a little. I don't like thinking I'm the only reader made morally queasy inside this airless, closed loop."<sup>18</sup>

But these were just stories, pure fiction, "only a movie," as they say. Perhaps when one turns to journalists and professionals for information about the *real* world, accurate and dispassionate accounts based on painstaking objective research would be forthcoming. Perhaps these investigations would be received and acted upon by a thoughtful and enlightened citizenry seeking rational and humane behavior and policy.

Perhaps one can be too optimistic.

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## THE FACTUAL PEDOPHILE

Fiction writers are often advised to watch the news for topics of appeal to mass readers. To further insure market viability, most popular writers will accept the values attached by reporters to any given issue. Because of this and other considerations, the line between fiction and journalism has always been slight. For many in the 1980s, the reading of fiction was an acceptance of the texts as fact.

Modleski saw *Three Men and a Baby* as a pedophilic text because to her the men in the movie are repulsed by “mature womanhood,” and because she thinks “a female baby [is] an adequate object of sexual desire for the aging bachelors.” The film ends with a freeze shot of the baby, and though Modleski admitted this is a visual cliché, she pronounced the tactic “appropriate to the pedophilic impulse to freeze the life process so that the object will not outgrow the desire.”<sup>1</sup>

Christopher Reeve preparing to star in *Bump in the Night* obtained information on adult-youth sex from psychiatrists and the police. Producers boasted the boy playing the victim knew nothing of the plot (“the abduction and defiling of young children”) or of the intents of the adults using him; “All he knew...was that he was being kidnapped,” Reeve said. Reeve hurriedly distanced himself from his role, stressing that he was only an actor, and “an actor only pretends, that it’s fun to pretend, that he doesn’t really do these things...” (Brennan 1991, ellipsis in the original). The levels become complicated, even confusing. Reeve wanted to separate his factual self from a fictional self, even though it was purportedly based on fact.

A more direct blurring between fiction and fact is *Kids Don’t Tell*. Producers wanted to present child abuse in a “realistic manner” through the story of two film makers who film a documentary on molestation “as truthful as possible.” For research, they are shown getting wisdom from police and prosecutors, and the youth they interview speak directly into the camera as a sign of truth of their fictional roles.

Truthfulness is supposed to divide fact from fiction. “Factual” texts define authenticity and reality by asserting knowledge and authority. All of the texts examined in Part II are animated by promises of true-to-life facts presented by in-touch-with-life experts.

It’s a common enough observation now, but it still needs to be repeated for it seems to be forgotten with both regularity and swiftness. Narratives of fact and

fiction are largely conditioned by conventions of the issuing institution which in turn are based on cultural traditions. For journalists, rules of the market and the theater guide their conduct from beginning to end. For the police, it is the forensic view: the world is a crime scene and its populations are graded by degrees of criminality.<sup>2</sup> Like most official institutions, the view is myopic and tied to power aspirations of the self or state. American laws regulating and punishing sexual behaviors, thoughts, and artifacts have been notoriously reactionary and sadistic. Descriptions of all adult-youth sex by distorting words such as "attack," "assault," "aggravated," "molested," and "abuse" tell us more about the speakers than about events and motivations. One can never tell from the police or the press, nor from most professionals, what actually happened in any given sexual relationship between an adult and non-adult.

For "popular fact," it is journalism that has conveyed most of the images. It has been repeatedly demonstrated empirically that the news media distort and inflate the incidence, frequency, and seriousness of crime, especially when sex is involved. Reasons for this may be theatrical or economic. The contribution of the *Chicago Tribune* to the abuse hysteria (Eliasoph 1986) was in part due to competition over circulation. The *Tribune* escalated its crime coverage in the early 1980s in order to compete with the *Chicago Sun-Times* (Green 1984; Gordon and Riger 1989:88); a series of articles by Ray Moseley in 1977 provided a basis on which to build a marketable presence on the issue of sex abuse. Consequently, they became locked into a particular viewpoint to the extent that they and others had to strenuously avoid and deny contradictory or qualifying evidence.

For its authority journalism relies on the designation and citation of selected experts. We will see how the entertainment media chose among the available pool of experts, sanctioning and promoting some, disparaging and silencing others, all according to specific aesthetic and political criteria. Remarks and images from professionals were contextualized within news story types that preconditioned what emerged as "facts."

Signorielli (1980) studied magazine coverage of child abuse from mid-1971 through mid-1978. She devised an "index of sensationalism" composed of an "emotional, tear-jerker" tone, "undue emphasis upon personal and domestic details," a dwelling on "personal cases rather than discussing broad issues," attention to and discussion of "gory details of violence," and high levels of "color" adjectives. Articles on adult-youth sex increased substantially from 1971, and while most in this early period were on physical abuse, those on sex were the most sensational of all. The trend continued from the late 1970s into the early 1980s (Nelson 1984), reaching a height during 1984-85.

One of the ways journalism justifies itself is by presenting high body counts. To set the stage, "How Many Are There?" was calculated for pedophiles and victims alike. There were speculations that there were millions of pedophiles in America: 1% of the US population, or 1.8 million;<sup>3</sup> 4% of the male population;

10% of all males and 1% of all females (Gordon 1985); four million molesters, mostly men (O'Brien 1986:ix); or 500,000.<sup>4</sup>

But in the mid-1980s psychiatrist Roland Summit remarked that "there's no such thing as a pedophile." Given the speaker (one of the most vigorous of the anti-pedophile camp) and the time (the height of the hysteria), this is a rather extraordinary statement. What could he have meant? Had it all been yet another professional mistake? Summit rapidly avoided the implications of his remark, and his interviewer took no notice of it.<sup>5</sup> A tremendous amount of effort continued to be spent by professionals and entertainers in defining the late 20th century pedophile through a massive amount of repetitive descriptions of actors, motives, and events. Accuracy or consistency were not primary considerations.

## I

The most basic representation of adult-youth sex was as a "compulsive and repetitive act of violence" (P. Smith 1985:12). Collins (1982) quoted Gene Abel as saying that half of all youth-adult sex "may involve violence." Clinical psychologist Robert Powitzky looked upon pedophiles as "loaded shotguns around children" (Hutton 1989), and Customs agent John D. "Jack" O'Malley said "these guys are cruising out of control and cruising toward our kids" (Cohn 1988). Guns and cars are fine images drawn directly from American thematic domains of erotically tinged thrills and danger, and they bring home the special violent nature of pedophilia journalists and authorities wished to reinforce in the minds of their markets.

The obvious demonstration of violence is murder. Linedecker argued that there was a subset of pedophiles, representative of the whole, that are "so corrupt and vicious that they sexually abuse children, murder, and rape simply because they enjoy it" (1981:299). A *Frontline* show ("Monsters Among Us") featured imprisoned child killers in Washington state, implying that pedophiles were a natural and logical part of this classification.<sup>6</sup>

The idea of the murderous pedophile goes well back in history. Gilles de Rais, a 15th century murderer of perhaps 800 kidnapped children, was associated with "rings" of accomplices (Wolf 1980). Even though Peter Kürten killed mostly adults, it was his child murders that made him the model for the movie *M* in which Peter Lorrie memorably performed many of the psychopathic qualities attributed to child molesters. After 18 years of torture, murder, and cannibalism, Albert Fish was executed in 1936; again, it was his child victims that were remembered (Wertham 1949:65-94; Schechter 1990). Though Wertham used the term "paraphilia" as an equivalent to "perversion" in describing Fish (several decades before John Money popularized the term), neither Kürten nor Fish were specifically named during their own times as "pedophiles." However, Schechter notes that Fish as portrayed in the news media served as the main prototype of the homicidal pedophile abductor. During the 1930's, several scenarios of his behavior were fabricated by reporters ("wild orgies of degeneration"), and they justified vigilante actions against innocent parties (1990:13, 15f, 27f, 59, 86,

168ff, 230f). Schechter equated Fish's motives with those involved in the disappearances of Etan Patz and Adam Walsh fifty years later (discussed below).

Soman (1974:189-195) saw Dean Corll's killings (discovered in 1973) as a "quite logical, practically predictable progression" of pedophilic activities; Moseley (1977b) announced (without proof) that the 27 young men killed by Corll were supplied by a national child pornography ring headquartered in Chicago. Reports of seven abducted and murdered children in Michigan further contributed to seeing the pedophile as a homicidal maniac (Anonymous 1977b). Janus used convicted mass murderer John Gacy as an example of pedophilia.<sup>7</sup> Gacy, Ted Bundy, Richard Ramirez, and other killers have been used as examples of pedophiles by Echols (1991:304) and Kenneth Wooden (see note 35).

Linedecker insisted that "sadism" was a common denominator of pedophilic relations, and said police files "are bulging with photographs of children trussed in ropes, chains, or stocks, beaten with whips, cut with knives, or with their body orifices pierced by a bewildering variety of sexual devices."<sup>8</sup> Cartwright confidently accepted a statement by a suspect in an Austin, Texas ritual abuse spectacle as "a textbook example of pedophilia" in which "terrible things" are done to children and filmed. There were no details given but Cartwright said the confession "reads like a page out of *The Story of O*."<sup>9</sup> The FBI, advancing speculations of its scientific-appearing "Behavioral Sciences Unit," soberly announced at the height of the "missing children" panic that pedophiles are the greatest category of child-stealers and that they murder or trade their victims to other killers.<sup>10</sup> Hayden said that torture and murder of animals and small children was part of Satanism and the "bleak underworld" of pedophiles, claiming they make snuff films which "are regarded as the *pièce de résistance* for many hardcore pornography viewers" (1991:302).

This emphasis on violence decreased in the later 1980s, but the pedophile as child killer was retained as a distinct possibility. Summit (1987a) began his proposals for the containment of pedophilia with an account of a child murder, and even though he admitted the "vast majority" do not kill or maim their partners, those that do will start out "with less violent patterns of sexual assault," supporting the idea of inherent and inevitable violence of all pedophiles. Police had to admit that people who kidnap, torture, and murder children are "exceptions," but they still promoted murder as a possibility of what can happen in a pedophilic relationship (Fletcher 1991:131f, 153). In a television show on the "war" against pedophiles and pornographers, Los Angeles policeman William Dworin played a tape supposedly of an Italian "millionaire industrialist" seeking to purchase a 10 year old female for "hard sex;" it would be videotaped and the man wanted to know what would happen if she died (*The Crusaders*, ABC, "Kids for sale," January 22, 1995).

There has always been a contrary view that pedophiles do not torture or kill their partners, but this was down-played even by those who felt called upon by the evidence to admit it, as well as by others who were more interested in the dramatics and usefulness of the homicidal image.

A major derivative assumption was that pedophile relationships are based on force. Soman felt that youth-adult sex “*always* contains the threat of violence” (1974:197, emphasis in original). Others qualified the context, saying there may be little force “*unless* the victim resists or wants to terminate the relationship. Then the ‘courting’ stops and the exploitation becomes blatant” (Sanford 1982:108; emphasis in original). Most emphasized coercion, threat, and pressure, usually in the form of threats to the youngster and/or their parents or even pets.<sup>11</sup> Nearly all believed that youth-adult sexual contacts universally contain “the imposition of power and exploitation” (Marriott 1984b). Along with drugs and bribes, blackmail was said to be the major way to establish and maintain the dreaded entity that came to loom over the landscape of the 1980s, The Secret.

Even when there was no direct evidence or only confused fragmentary hearsay, investigators did not hesitate to assume threats had been made. In her account of the Kelly Michaels case, Manshel announced out of the blue that Michaels had made threats to kill the children at her day care if they told about the supposed abuse (1990:50). Later she wrote that

The investigators weren’t certain what form Kelly’s threats had taken. They *could* [my emphasis] have been outright threats, as in “You did something bad and you’re gonna get punished. I’ll kill you if you tell,” or they *could* [my emphasis] have been unspoken but implied, as in “I’m the biggest, strongest person you know, and *know* [emphasis in original] I don’t want you to tell.”

Then on the same page Manshel said, “The team was certain, even without specifics [*sic*], that somehow the children had been made to keep silent and to believe that they or their parents were going to disappear or die.”<sup>12</sup> One of the more interesting charges of terrorizing children came out of the Florida Country Walk child care case. The Fusters supposedly always played one particular song while using masks to frighten the children into silence: “Thriller” by Michael Jackson.<sup>13</sup>

One of the most widespread notions in the period was that pedophiles routinely kidnap children, driven to obtain children however, whenever, and wherever they can (Rooney 1983; Anonymous 1989a, KXAN-TV [November 12, 1992]). Until the mid-1980s, nearly all of the alleged 25,000 to 500,000 “stranger” abducted children taken each year were said to be in the hands of pedophiles and forced into sex media and prostitution.<sup>14</sup> John Rabun, Deputy Director of the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (founded 1984), reinforced this view even though news articles on his traveling seminars usually had to admit that “only a small percentage” were abducted by strangers (Obregon 1986). Photos of youngsters were paraded through nearly every medium to the point that “missing children” pictures and texts have become symbolic of the whole decade—especially those on milk cartons, a placement designed for near certain viewing by children, functioning not so much as an attempt to locate children as a means of instilling fear.



If not dead already, the children were thought likely to be so soon after their abduction, Turbak (1982) claiming "Thousands are murdered annually." The theme is quite old, its greatest previous popularity occurring in the White Slavery scares of the late 19th century. Claiming that 50,000 children a year disappear, one source said "many are believed to be forced into lives of sex-slavery, while others are murdered for the sexual pleasure of their captors" (*Child Protection Alert* 1985, citing an unreferenced *New York Daily News* article, March 27, 1983). Pointing to a source identified only as "a study by mental health professionals," Raschke (1992:346) said children were passed from wealthy pedophile to wealthy pedophile, then either killed or "returned home," a rather strange dichotomy.

In the Seventies, young prostitutes were supposed to be kidnapped runaways, tortured and forced into slavery (Anonymous 1971; Anonymous 1972; Anonymous 1977c). The 1980s belief that large numbers of youngsters were being kidnapped was further prepared for by media exploitation of the Chowchilla, California, kidnapping of 26 students in mid-1976. While the event was sensational enough in itself, Baugh and Morgan make an observation that proved to be an important subtext in the following decade:

One unmeasurable consequence of the Chowchilla kidnapping was the impact it had on nameless millions of middle-class parents whose initial reaction, that the victims could have been their children, was followed by the realization that the kidnappers resembled their offspring as well.<sup>15</sup>

Another tie between mass kidnapping and the image of the homicidal pedophile was provided by the abduction, sexual abuse, mutilation, and murder of a number of youth, excitedly promoted by journalists, police, and politicians as "The Atlanta Child Murders." From about 1979, males and females, aged 7 through 16, had been murdered; from early 1981, however, the pattern shifted to victims who were almost all in their early 20s. Wayne Williams was convicted at the end of 1981, but reviews of the case pointed to considerable legal corruption and journalistic distortion. Many other Atlanta homicide victims were not placed on the list of murders, and some claimed at least half a dozen other young men were similarly murdered after Williams' arrest.<sup>16</sup>

Much of the abduction anxiety in the early 1980s was a carry over from the late 1970s cult scares where parents feared that their children were forcibly abducted and brainwashed into new religions. Most of this involved late teens and adults (still referred to as "children"), but there were also speculations that minors were being taken as well (Yanoff 1981:chapter 10).

An extensive abduction folklore evolved through the 1980s and spread with considerable rapidity; the uncriticalness of the times, along with the gullibility and incompetence of the popular and professional worlds, aided the spread. Best known are the mall kidnapper stories. In 1977, taking over from the cult scares and joining 1960s tales of blacks kidnapping and castrating white boys shopping with their mothers (Rosenthal 1971), there was a spate of sensational and unverified stories by television networks on the kidnapping of blond blue-eyed

female teens while shopping in heartland America, to be transported to New York City and worked as prostitutes.<sup>17</sup>

Advice columnist "Ann Landers" [Esther Friedman] became famous for helping make 1984 the height of the hysteria. That she carelessly printed a letter of a mall kidnapping is well known, but what is less realized is the extent to which the information and entertainment media were saturating public sensibilities with emotion-stirring accounts. Just in "Landers'" column alone:

**February 3, 1984:** a letter from Denny Abbott, Executive Director of the Adam Walsh Child Resource Center, says, "Every hour 205 American children are reported missing. That means 4920 per day and 1.8 million per year. ...50,000 children a year are abducted by strangers."

**March 23, 1984:** note is made of the McMartin Preschool arrests.

**April 26, 1984:** a man writes saying he has "molested" (his word) an 11 year old, but points out that she keeps returning for more "molesting." The man feels he may need counselling but the relationship is not bad and he accuses Landers of being "a member of the do-good establishment that has created the current hysteria chillingly reminiscent of the dark ages." "Landers" retorts, "Your sick behavior can have a life-long effect on that child. It is a hideous and destructive thing you are doing. Get therapy at once."

**June 13, 1984:** her whole column is devoted to a repetition of the period's clichés by Marlys Olson, Executive Director of the Tacoma, Washington Council on Child Abuse.

**September 11, 1984:** "Landers" condemns teen sex.

**November 21, 1984:** the infamous account of the chain store kidnapping appears, signed "West Coast Warning."

**November 28, 1984:** a letter from a librarian complains of parents not supervising their children: "with all the kooks out there ANYTHING could happen...someone could grab your child..." "Ann" agrees, replying, "hundreds of children disappear...one careless moment and your child could be gone forever."

**January 7, 1985:** "Landers" says she received calls from a few newspapers saying that versions of the store kidnapping had been around for years as folklore and hoax. "Obviously some weisenheimer put one over on me," she says.

**February 14, 1985:** "BS Detector in Chicago" chides "Landers" again for passing the "yarn." "Landers" then immediately reprints four tips for shoppers on how to protect children, the writer noting that "there is an incredible number of sickos on the loose and we are suffering from a national epidemic of child abductions, rapes and murders."

Morgan and Tucker (1987:185-187) said the tale originated in the Peoria, Illinois area, with people in a "frenzy" over their children's safety. They said a reporter for the *Peoria Journal Star* found no basis for the story and refuted it in May, 1984.

However, the tale's connections are older and wider than that (Odean 1985). Nor was the story "refuted." Knapp, promoting a local business for fingerprinting and photographing youngsters, quoted the entrepreneur as saying that "it doesn't take anywhere near [four or five minutes] for someone to grab the kid and be out of the store with it." In a side-bar at the end of the article, Knapp confidently said, "Kidnappers are very successful at shopping centers."<sup>18</sup> Shuman (1986) later observed that the stories are still in circulation. The *Chicago Tribune* quoted, unchecked, an abduction tale told by Police Commander Joe Mayo, warning that children are often murdered or used as slaves by child pornography rings.<sup>19</sup> A *San Francisco Examiner* sidebar mapped reports from Arizona of youth supposedly kidnapped from malls, drugged, abused, then "sacrificed" in Satanic rituals (Ross 1986d).

A concern over parental kidnapping emerged about the mid-1970s and remained throughout the 1980s, but, as in fiction, it received slight and irregular attention because it was of less entertainment value and was less politically acceptable than pedophile abduction conspiracies.<sup>20</sup> A sympathetic first person account in 1979 justified kidnapping in a custody suit (Anonymous 1979b), but while later articles sometimes acknowledged that parental kidnapping was common, the subject was treated less seriously, and some suggested they were benign for the child (Turbak 1982). Even as evidence appeared (Abrahms 1983) that parental abduction was more traumatizing and placed the child at more risk than any "stranger danger," journalists and professionals in the 1980s spent more time and energy glorifying the heterosexual nuclear family, insisting on children's absolute innocence, promoting international pedophile or Satanic conspiracies, and developing the monstrosity of the sexual threat of the molester.

Three individuals were used to inflate the issue and link it to images of killer pedophiles. On the West Coast, the 1978 abduction, torture, rape, and murder of two year old Amy Sue Seitz was widely and sensationally reported. The case served as the motivating force for the 1980 founding of SLAM, and provided a popular cause which attracted well-known entertainment figures.<sup>21</sup>

Etan Patz disappeared in May, 1979, and intensive searches failed to find him. There was a great deal of media noise but a striking absence of evidence. This factual vacuum allowed marketing the event as a dramatic episode, much to the anger and hurt of the boy's parents (Battelle 1980). At one point NAMBLA was accused of kidnapping the boy, but the group cleared itself at two impressive press conferences that thoroughly embarrassed the FBI and the news industry; understandably, journalists barely reported the refutations.<sup>22</sup>

Six year old Adam Walsh was kidnapped in late July of 1981 from a mall (providing a touchstone for mall kidnapping tales). His severed head was found within a month. His father, John Walsh (and to a lesser extent, the boy's mother), began a personal campaign making numerous appearances. Claiming 50,000 children disappear every year for foul purposes, Walsh said serial killers, pedophiles, parental kidnapping, and child prostitution comprised the "missing children" phenomenon (Walsh 1981:26, 1982:65f, 1985:11f). A television movie,

*Adam*, seen by one-third of the country, was broadcast with a great deal of publicity in 1983, 1984, and 1985; a follow-up (*Adam: His Song Continues*) aired in 1986. The April 29, 1985 showing featured President Ronald Reagan reading a "roll call" of "missing children" as photos scrolled behind him in the background. After the show, U.S. Senator Paula Hawkins and others took calls from viewers who might have information on missing kids. Linda Otto, NBC producer of *Adam* and founder of Find the Children in Los Angeles, said that at the show's conclusion, "there was a moment of silence while we all wondered if anyone would call, and then suddenly every phone lit up at once. There were approximately 150 calls per hour for three full days."<sup>23</sup>

By the late 1980s, the numbers of missing youngsters were in dispute, and connections to pedophilia were not as readily made. Parental kidnapping continued to receive muted attention. Reality encroached on the polemics by the early 1990s and journalists were forced to devote more attention to runaways fleeing their families and to parental kidnapping as comprising the vast majority of "missing children," but the issue continued to be unbalanced. Kantrowitz (1989) featured "parents of missing children," indicating abduction by non-family individuals was the main problem even though statistics in her own article indicated that only 2% of the children abducted from 1984-1989 were "stranger abductions." A 1991 radio spot produced by Child Find of America had as its lead-in the dramatically uttered statement that "thousands are snatched every day;" only later in the ad in one sentence did it mention that most abductions of children are by parents (February 7, 1991, KSYM-FM, San Antonio, Texas).

Another example was *Missing Children Report*, an irregularly published California magazine distributed nationally to police, school, libraries, and sold on newsstands. Counts of the magazine's photos did not reflect the universe of missing children, nor were they a representative sample, but the pictures reached many people and served as guides for searches, surveillance, and popular opinion. The 1992 issue had four articles on stranger abduction, none on parental abduction. The lead article is on the stranger abduction and sexual abuse of a 2 year old female.<sup>24</sup> The age range for all missing is from less than one year through 25 years. In this issue, most of the "Missing Juveniles" (as opposed to Stranger Abductions and Parental Abductions) are females from 13 through 16 (61.9%); all are from the United States. The 1993 issue, whose theme is "Parental Abduction: The Tangled Web," had five articles, three on parental abduction; there is one for kids on how to avoid abduction, and one on the stranger abduction of 5 year old male.<sup>25</sup> Again, most "Missing Juveniles" are females, 13 through 16 (79.5%); several individuals from Canada were added, and twelve individuals from the 1992 issue were repeated. There was more emphasis on stranger abduction photos in the 1993 issue and they were of younger ages, but more articles on parental abductions; "Missing Juveniles" decreased in proportion.<sup>26</sup> Parental abductions remained the same, and missing juveniles moved to older ages.

In 1992, Malkowski produced an abduction threat article similar to those that had saturated newspapers in the 1980s, although by now authors had to be content with stressing the importance of keeping descriptions and records of a child and she tried to deal with the threat parents pose to their children. However, this latter issue was still not palatable, let alone real; police Sergeant John Leal soft-peddled family kidnappings by saying that when a non-custodial parent seizes a child, the case is “treated as a civil matter—interference with child custody.” To further protect the sanctity of the family, he added, “Usually [the kidnapping] is done out of love and we don’t fear for the child’s safety.” Nor could they let go of the villainous pedophile. In a side-bar to her article entitled, “How to prevent child abduction,” seven points list the same dangers and cautions concerning strangers that had been promoted for over a decade. There was no mention at all of parental threats.

Celebrating National Missing Children’s Day (May 25) in 1993, John Walsh devoted a segment of his show *America’s Most Wanted* to missing children. The promos for the show featured a staged shot of a young girl grabbed while playing and a voice-over intoning, “Over one million children are missing every year.” The next shot showed a newspaper headline reading (in red), “KIDNAPPED!” The show included examples of infants abducted from hospital nurseries (claiming 50,000 attempts each year), toddlers spirited away, hitchhiking and missing teens (here showing a photo of a bound and gagged girl and preteen boy, one they admit is of disputed origin, but it was a high impact visual; confusion over authenticity serves the intended purpose of increasing anxiety), and several murdered youths. A portion of a prevention video was shown in which a boy is approached in a store, recalling mall folklore. Finally, a man insisted he belonged to “ring” lead by a mysterious “Emilio” which kidnapped large numbers of boys for prostitution and pornography. He led cameras to a house where he swears it all took place but no evidence or corroboration is shown or was discovered in follow-up. There was no mention at all of parental kidnapping.

In October, 1993, 12 year old Polly Klaas was abducted from her own bedroom and her body was found that December. Her kidnapping renewed rage toward all sex offenders, raised new emphases on stranger abductions, and helped along a movement to begin national registration and tracking of those convicted of sex crimes (Hale 1993). By 1994, when Nickoldeon network broadcast a show entitled, “Stranger Danger” (May 17), the situation was still tenuous. Journalist Linda Ellerbee began by saying that even though “4600 children are taken by strangers” every year, the viewing child should feel that “being taken from your family is never, ever going to happen to most of you—ever.” She was aware that many youngsters were deeply frightened and suggested that was only due to “a few well-publicized cases.” Ellerbee then told the kids of the Klaas incident and one other, both resulting in death. She was surrounded on the set by young people, one of whom related how she eluded a stranger trying to force her into a van at gunpoint. Her guest, Ernie Allen, President of the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, talked about how to protect oneself in case of an

attempted abduction. He said that “every child is at some risk, [but] you don’t need to live in fear, but you need to be cautious and...prepared.” Ellerbee asked what kind of kids were vulnerable, and Allen gave the litany of characteristics of the pedophile’s victim, typically confusing the issue of violent stranger abduction and murder with the complex and varied sexual relationships that occur between adults and youth.

But the effort continued to lose steam if not credibility. A *Justice Files* episode (November, 1994, October 2, 1997), was another of the “unspeakable crimes against children” type, but the moderator admitted several times in the show that the program was composed of segments from shows aired from 1979 to 1989. The present tense was maintained, however, giving the impression that they reflected current situations and totally ignored criticism and refutations voiced in the intervening fifteen years. They said that every three hours a child is murdered, and that every 26 seconds a child runs away from home and turns to prostitution. A segment on Etan Patz was built from 1979 and 1985 program segments (an end-of-segment “file fact” announced that most abductions are family related); and the disappearance of a 20 year old female was used from 1989 footage (another “file fact” announced that 54 million “Have You Seen Me” cards are sent to American homes each week). Finally, from a 1984 report, Kenneth Wooden made an appearance with his “Child Lures” routine. After demonstrating a lure to children he exclaimed, “That man *murdered* seven children!” He further detailed adult-youth contacts that led, he said, to “sex, violence, and murder.”<sup>27</sup>

A couple of new twists on child-napping myths appeared in the late 1980s. One, actually a much older idea, was the abduction of children for use in Satanic rites, and the other was a body of tales of Third World children and infants snatched or bought to be used as organ donors for First World recipients or to sell as “adopted” babies to wealthy Americans (Nathan 1990b, Scheper-Hughes 1990). These were seen as organized efforts and often a connection was made to unspecified pedophile rings (Thomas 1991:4, 158ff, 270ff). The baby market rumors, inflamed by local journalists, were responsible for several Americans being beaten by mobs in Guatemala.<sup>28</sup>

The view that pedophile-strangers kidnapped youngsters overshadowed for a short time the long-standing contrary assertion that pedophiles related most easily to youth they knew. Martin and Haddad said most children are “molested and exploited by a friendly, kind, reasonable person who is or quickly becomes a friend” (1982:10). This kind of contradictory sentence typified the mentality of the period, but it did allow for a smoother transition to the belief that pedophiles insidiously obtained physical and emotional access through seduction.

The 1980s saw a resurgence of “brainwashing,” a concept that hadn’t enjoyed such popularity (and usefulness) since the mid-1970’s vision of cults luring youth to mindlessness. Children were “enticed,” “lured,” “tempted” through drugs, alcohol, food, money, presents, trips, the ever-popular bag of candy, and other

tangibles. Pedophiles “sweet-talk” their victims via citizen band radio or computers.<sup>29</sup> “A molester makes it impossible for a boy to say no,” said experts Abel and Harlow (1987). In a profoundly blinded reading of one man’s account of how his relationships develop, Janus insisted pedophiles “manipulate” youth.<sup>30</sup>

There were two aspects of seduction. One claimed the pedophile is almost supernaturally skilled, seeing into souls and detecting vulnerable youngsters with a mysterious kind of radar-like capability, according to Kenneth Lanning (Emmerman 1985a). Summing up the expertise of the period, Monmouth County (New Jersey) prosecutor Lehrer said pedophiles “send scouts to find...children, to lure them away from their homes to convert them to their own perverted purposes. Afterwards they throw them away like garbage” (Herr 1983). Professor O’Brien said the molesters’ *modus operandi* (she actually used the Latin) is, in the words of one of her subjects, to “look for that special look in the eyes—sort of like a hunted deer, all alone in the woods, scared, knowing that you are going to kill it...” (1986:37, ellipsis in original). She said most popular for sex pictures were those of “slight, blond, blue-eyed boys who looked scared and alone,” ones who have “a kind of hunted, wild-eyed look” and a “hurt look in their eyes.”<sup>31</sup>

Many occupations became suspect because of the idea that pedophiles will do anything to be near children; Summit warned that “child predators...will grab any opportunity to gain access to a child” (Lindsey 1984). Boy Scout leaders were always suspect and the decade saw several lawsuits alleging the organization’s failure for not screening its personnel and for being responsible for the trauma supposedly suffered.

The other element of seduction is that once selected, the “uncanny” powers of the pedophile are put to work with such intensity that the children are completely overwhelmed, physically and psychologically, doing anything the pedophile demands, never telling (Anonymous 1989b). Academic social worker Jane Gilgun felt that “when the offender intends to have genital relations with a child, no matter how the child may resist, there will be a sexual offense” (Gordon 1985:1). Amy Fisher, the “Long Island Lolita” (so named by journalists) was viewed as a victim of her older partner’s seductive powers.

Many felt that pedophiles gained most of their access to children through the use of “lures.” One of the most fearful enticements was “pornography,” that is, visuals of sex, especially those with minors in them. But along with the “lowering of inhibitions,” or their use to “break down the defenses of children,”<sup>32</sup> what was at issue was a more insidious ideological purpose: showing young people that others have done it, are doing it, and that they can do it too.<sup>33</sup> Once “seduced” by pornography, said Lanning, children are then made to pose themselves and the pictures used to blackmail them.<sup>34</sup> Other “lures” listed by Wooden (1984a, 1986) included the “assistance lure,” the “fun and games lure” (which may include clowns) and the “magic rituals lure” which involved “brainwashing.” In the “heroes lure,” Wooden said “a recurring theme in sex abuse is the molester who poses as Big Bird, the Easter Bunny or some other childhood hero.”<sup>35</sup>

For many, the most “pernicious” ploy, however, was “couching the sexual abuse in terms of *love and affection*” (Hillman and Solek-Tefft 1988:11f, emphasis in the original). After winning the child’s confidence, Pienciak suggested in what was essentially a how-to guide (1984b) that anyone interested in having sex with children “may try some ticking or wrestling, followed perhaps by fondling.”

## II

Pedophile “profiles” refer to men. Nothing of any worth is known of women who can enjoy sexual relations with children. They have been denied any voice, their experiences and relationships subsumed under the paternalism of victimology, and their affects dismissed as an internalization of male interests as either mere imitation or masochistic dependence.<sup>36</sup> Many observers admitted that women are often quite sensual with children, but this behavior now deserved more suspicion because they could be abusing youngsters and, more horribly, “children don’t even know they are being molested.”<sup>37</sup>

Most observers were unable to conceive of women in sexual relationships with younger individuals, largely because they were unable to admit to the existence of positive relations and because of stereotyped gender role conceptions. Crewdson, however, felt that women may be sexually abusing children more than had been reported (1988:70). Summit said women involved in youth-adult sex are rare, but then said that for “those situations where a number of children are impressed into sexual activities over time” at least half those involved will be women, often a majority. After being forced to molest youngsters, women can come to be enthusiastic about it, he claimed (Hollingsworth 1986:470f; Victor 1993:110). Instances of older women and younger males in sexual relationships continued to appear, and prosecutors and experts remained indignant, even in the face of general popular unconcern. A 40 year old woman accused of having sex with a 14 year old male fitted the profile of a “female pedophile,” said Christine DeLange, Executive Director of the Child Abuse and Neglect Council of Oakland County, Michigan. The prosecutor was irate: “I don’t understand why some people don’t take this seriously. If it was a 40-year-old man, society would demand he be treated harshly. But in this case, it’s been a big joke around school” (Anonymous 1993g).

One of the first “new” ideas advanced about the pedophile was that they were not the stereotypical “dirty old man.” The pedophile could be anyone, respectable and “decent,” “normal looking” (Fletcher 1991:128ff). They may even be those who publicly are indignant about child abuse, said Lewis (1987), though this observation was understandably uncommon. An earlier position was that everyone carried “dark impulses” or a “beast” inside themselves (Wittles 1948; Soman 1974:xii), but as the hysteria developed there was more of a separation between pedophiles and the rest of the population in terms of internal essences. As part of this newer imaging, a very common related view carrying a whiff of



American anti-intellectual, anti-elitist populist traditions, as well as class antagonisms saw pedophiles as “sophisticated, mobile, educated, and wealthy” (Linedecker 1981:32).

Pedophiles are difficult to detect because they disguise themselves, throw up a facade, or “blend in with the community,” much as subversives did in the 1950s.<sup>38</sup> Offenders have long evaded detection; they have “life-long patterns of secrecy and deception” that are “well-ingrained” (Jensen and Jewell 1988:15). “Ann Landers” (1993a) reprinted a letter supposedly from a man undergoing treatment, wonderfully signed “Mr. Anonymous From Anywhere.” In it he said, “I do everything in my power to disguise my identity. ... We are a very smooth bunch and are masters of concealing our identity. Beware.” Pedophiles were said to use code names for themselves, often names of cartoon characters.<sup>39</sup> They go undetected for long periods of time “because their victims are so vulnerable,”<sup>40</sup> implicitly returning a share of blame to youth, a self-authorization for intensifying methods of discovery and discipline.

Here too, contradictory images are simultaneously presented as valid fact. The Illinois Legislative Investigating Commission (ILIC) said pedophiles have a “compulsion” or “need” to detail their “most intimate needs and desires [to] complete strangers.”<sup>41</sup> Crewdson (1988:96) suggested that pedophiles have a special distinguishing instinct or propensity for grouping and organizing. However, before the conspiracy paranoia had more fully developed, Sanford had confidently said that pedophiles “do not share the camaraderie found among other criminal groups. ... Child molesters work alone and do not share the details of their crimes” (1982:85). Perhaps we can compromise, as most critics did (the image is more appealing anyway), on the pedophile as an organizer and member of secret groups. The best expression of this was to be found in the concept of the “sex ring” that gained popularity in the 1980s.

Most ravings over sex rings were probably based on revelation of the John Norman’s so-called “Delta Project” which, as a fantasy, proposed to have boys available in a number of cities. The Illinois Commission said it was blown “all out of proportion” by the media and it received more emphasis than warranted in the U.S. Senate Committee hearings of 1977 (ILIC 1980:169-172, 51-64). But “rings” do exist, they say, because they have found evidence of adults and minors involved with each other. They said the concept has been neglected and cite Geiser’s use of the term.<sup>42</sup> The Report also referred to Gerassi’s *Boys of Bosie* (1966), but the Commission was disappointed that his book was a criticism of scapegoating homosexuals rather than “an effective law enforcement response to child molestation” (p. 210). The Report concluded with reference to the 1977 Boston-Revere “ring” where they claimed “boys aged 8-13 had been used in homosexual acts and forced to pose as models for pornographic photographs and films” and were given drugs and beer.<sup>43</sup>

The Commission used an unpublished paper by Nicholas Groth, calling it “a well-documented, highly objective study” of 6 “rings” and 36 preteens (p. 213). Groth said that even though force is not typically used, the relations are still

“assault” because the adult may have used deception, enticement, and manipulation through which “children are programmed to provide sexual services through a complex system of rewards and needs” (p. 213f, the Report’s words). The Report commented,

One might wonder why children would engage in these activities for so long without disclosing them to parents or other adults. The answers are complex and no single answer will do, but in most of the groups the children developed a strange kind of loyalty to each other and even to the offender. (p. 215)

But the Report wanted to provide its own explanation and used Groth’s paper to suggest threats of violence, blackmail, and “peer pressure.” The Report said that in only one ring did third party intervention break up the ring, but in subsequent text where they give details, only one instance of direct complaint by the kids was noted. All others involved confessions by youngsters during interrogation and/or the surveillance of the adult by the police (p. 216f). Groth asserted that organized prostitution is the next logical phase of “rings” because the youths have learned that sex is “an exchange process” and “a means to an end” (p. 221, Groth’s words).

### III

The deceptiveness of the pedophile remained extremely troublesome. One of the most long-standing representational devices for evil is a respectable facade hiding something despicable. This “banality of evil” encouraged not only suspicious looks at mild-mannered individuals but helped promote conspiracy theories to explain social issues. If the exterior of the pedophile is conventional, the interior is diseased with flaws of character and intellect, and is demonic because the flaws combine to produce a bestial hypersexuality.

Even though the ordinary appearance of the molester is stressed, there still was a small subgenre of individuals whose looks and lifestyle reflect inner pollution. As in fiction, there were a few accounts of molesters who lived in environments “thick with garbage and reeking from urine” (Cohn 1988). As a literary device, this can be quite entertaining and a crucial part of the argument. One of the best examples of this was the picture of Kelly Michaels painted by Lisa Manshel.

Manshel began by saying Michaels resided in New Jersey’s most crime ridden town, living in a seedy apartment building, the lawn “dotted with blown garbage” (1990:18, 47). Michaels smelled “repugnant” and was “overgrown,” “short and heavy,” with “thick bones, a belly, a wide head”; even her hair was “dense.”<sup>44</sup> Manshel describes Michaels’ mug shot as showing a “flattish bulge under her jaw [that] hinted at a double chin,” her “hard and forlorn” eyes “staring up out of a puddle of flesh,” with eyes “dark, embedded in a white face (pp. 137f, 301, 48). At her first trial, she was “a little overfilled with flesh” and “lumpy;” at the jury tour of the day care facility, she looked “prepubescent, baby fat hugged by the thin material of her sundress.”<sup>45</sup> The obesity motif seen in Chapter 1 now

shades into the Demonic Lolita figure. When called as a witness, Michaels “skipped” to the stand and appeared as “a little girl on stage,” her voice sounding like a “sultry purr rippled through with an open, girlish inflection” (pp. 299, 301). A remark by Michaels is spoken in “a voice innocently husky,” and in a police interrogation, Manshel said (as if she were there) that Michaels’ voice was “low and thrumming: sexual. But the beseeching, lingering glances were those of a little girl” (pp. 304, 20). When on trial, Manshel said Michaels’ clothes “might have been simple and sweet on a little girl, but on a twenty-five-year-old body they seemed to strain in a sexual way” (p. 137).

Manshel also had to make the site of the supposed abuse as nasty as her main character, so the building was described with a Gothic air, making the tale even more exciting. The building sat in an “eerie crouch”; it was “labyrinthine,” and walkways and paths lead to “unused doors or a hulking, knotted bush” (pp. 71, 27). The school itself was “a knot of interwoven passageways and staircases” (p. 56). The rooms were “dusted with cloudy light,” drawn curtains making the rooms “gray and shadowy.” Touring the facility, jurors “twisted from the corridor into the connected rooms;” coming back, the group had to “unwind” their way: “Curving, ducking, twisting their way through the passageways, the reporters whispered... ‘God, you could get lost in here! Look, another hiding place’” (pp. 200f).

Earlier theories saw pedophiles as aberrations of nature, mutants that appeared in society for some reason not entirely explainable (Dutton 1937). Wittles (1948) used the phrase “constitutional psychopathic inferior,” a combination of the dying science of eugenics and the rising star of psychiatry. The view survives in many places; Dr. Fred Berlin of Johns Hopkins University’s Sexual Disorder Clinic, believed that many pedophiles have biological abnormalities in their brains, hormones, or chromosomes.<sup>46</sup> A more liberal explanation assumed environmental and cultural deprivation in which “degenerates” may be a product of having been denied sex education and religious training (Goldberg and Goldberg 1940).

The reason most often given for the flawed character, promoted more from the mid to late 1980s, was that pedophiles were sexually abused as children. A common subtheory was that the pedophile’s preference for a particular age reflected the age at which they themselves were “robbed of their childhood.” With her usual certainty, Hollingsworth declared, “The studies were conclusive: child molesters weren’t born; they rose from the ashes of molested children” (1986:19).

Despite the insistence of reporters and experts, there was in fact always some dispute about this from a few professionals, but very little criticism filtered into popular accounts until the late 1980s when many of the other major assumptions began to be timorously questioned. Most of those who qualified the abused-become-abusers position did so while still retaining the demonic and subversive characterization of the pedophile, as did Fontana and Moolman who said that only 30% of abusers had been abused as children (1991:65). It was a popular idea,

however, and in 1994 Boyle used a 1986 remark by Fred Berlin that “most” pedophiles were abused as children to assert that 50% to 85% of molesters have been sexually abused (p. 28). In a later magazine article, however, Abel and Harlow emphatically insisted that most pedophiles “were *not* molested as children but developed this obsession anyway.” Their “abnormal sexual interest in young children appears to develop in isolation from any other antisocial behaviors,” they continued.<sup>47</sup> Others later broadened considerably the concept of abuse so as to allow any explanatory possibility when they realized that previous pronouncements were in serious trouble. Crewdson, for example, offered a more inclusive causal explanation for pedophilia, believing that “whether they were sexually abused, or beaten, or merely made to feel worthless, nearly all adults who have been caught having sex with children were badly mistreated by somebody when they were children” (1988:64f).

One of the more common flaws attributed to pedophiles was tremendous feelings of guilt, shame, and remorse. Guilt adds to the obsessiveness of pedophiles who become driven to eliminate it; curiously, in trying to escape they somehow become addicted to their desires (Gordon 1985:4). Many believed that pedophiles feel so guilty that they were actually glad to be apprehended (Fletcher 1991:151).

Another belief was that pedophiles lacked empathy with young people and objectified them—and all other individuals in the world as well. Since the sex is defined simply as abuse, pedophiles cannot love youth “because we don’t molest people we love.”<sup>48</sup> Pedophiles by definition are manipulative, “self-centered takers” (Ostrom 1989). They are selfishly concerned with their own needs unlike “normal” or “healthy” adult sexual relations which, by definition, are consensual and egalitarian. The emotions pedophiles “shower” on their partners are “inherently empty,” and, as added verification, it was maintained that young people know it and “are never deceived” (Crewdson 1988:69, 96)—contrary to theories of seduction. Any equality in relationships was merely the product of the pedophile’s projection of adult characteristics onto the child (Sanford 1982:108).

On the other hand, an opposite view was also advanced, often by the same writers, that pedophiles may “genuinely love kids” (Fletcher 1991:130), and that they could have positive and productive relationships with children (Sonnenschein 1983; Volkman and Rosenberg 1985b; Hutton 1989). Nearly all authors reported that most adult-youth sexual relations appear to be between individuals who know, like, and trust each other. Though ignored and denied, by the mid-1980s voices of individuals who had positive relations with adults when they were youngsters began to publicly reappear, at first largely from gay males, but later from heterosexual women as well speaking of their experiences as the younger partner. Critics therefore had to try to account for this variety of experience which threatened the purity of abuse theories and the advancement of political agendas.

Some granted that many relationships had been maintained over long periods of time. As an explanation, the notion of The Secret was used and the longer

relations explained away as the result of threats and seductive manipulations. Another explanation was that the youngster was either defective (lonely, neglected), and/or a product of a flawed family situation. The vulnerable, powerless, or damaged child, the failed parent, and the broken family helped erase sexually assertive and independent youth. So too did explanations involving youth's needs for power, compassion, "solace," warmth, understanding and so on, help deny and stigmatize sexually active children who were seeking and experiencing pleasure and lust. It is only in payment for the material and emotional gifts that the younger partner "has to do a few physical things," as one police officer nicely put it (Fletcher 1991:142).

Sanford insisted that pedophiles lack any sense of the "consequences" of their acts, a popular refrain of the time (1982:89). Only negative consequences were assumed, and when pedophiles or their partners pointed to productive relationships, these were hurriedly dismissed, as Sanford did when she explained away long-term relations as a product of the pedophile's "incredible patience in his premeditation of the crime." Insisting on the cliché that youth-adult sexual relations are based only on abuses of power, she had to grant that "In such areas as decision-making, sports participation, or conversation the offender and the victim are equals. In fact, the child may have a little more power in the relationship than the offender" (p. 103). To recover, she continued, "In the offender's fantasy life, not only does the child initiate the sexual relationship, but she also encourages it to continue. He may also go so far as to believe that the victim's friends seek him out upon her recommendation." She quoted a twenty four year old man:

I didn't have any peace or quiet. First she keeps coming back for more, then she broke her promise and told other kids and they started pestering me because they said she liked it so much. It was one of those other kids who blew the whistle on me. I'm still in love with her.  
(p. 104)

Sanford's view reflects not only a fear of sexual children, but an ignorance of children's own sociological relations and the way adults may fit into them.<sup>49</sup>

Hillman and Solek-Tefft (1988:138f) had to devote some significant space to offer arguments against relationships which on the one hand they grant could be favorable and "nurturant," but which on the other hand they characterize with the languages of abnormality, immorality, and perversity, echoing early polemics by Forward and Buck (1978) and Geiser (1979). Apparently unfamiliar with social theory and research of the last half century, Hillman and Solek-Tefft rejected as "an extreme view" the fact demonstrated by investigators (dismissed as "proponents") that values originate in and are maintained by social and cultural processes rather than come from supernatural beings, movements of the planets, or biological dictation. Leaving themselves with little choice other than to support absurd and destructive laws, Hillman and Solek-Tefft insisted that even though there are some "grey areas," the affairs of both "a fairly independent and

mature seventeen-year-old" and a seven year old *have* to be subject to the same rules of society.

The molester's needs were seen as transient as well. The pedophile was attracted only by "naive innocence" and submissiveness (Rush 1980:164). But, as we were told by Martin and Haddad, "by the time the child is dictating the maneuvers, whether in bed or out in public, the pedophile may be eager to find a new relationship."<sup>50</sup> Because of the narrowness of his desires and his need to dominate, the pedophile has to seek other relations.<sup>51</sup> The "ultimate rejection" is part of the trauma caused by the adult. This accusation, one of promiscuity as well as narcissism, was similar to those used against a broader range of other sexual relations during the period. Pedophiles were unable and unwilling to be monogamous; they were believed to have as many as five to seven partners at any single given time (Fletcher 1991:131).

Another supposed major character flaw was low or lack of "self-esteem," a psychological cliché of wide currency. This accusation continued the tradition of seeing sexual deviates as weak, passive, insecure, inadequate, impotent, insignificant, socially and sexually inept, lonely, immature, and childish. Fans of classic assertions on homosexuality are quite familiar with these generic stigma.<sup>52</sup> Others charged that pedophiles were "regressed," "fixated," had "major aberrations," and were "borderline psychotics."<sup>53</sup> Low self-esteem coupled with manipulative tendencies drive the pedophile to "acts of self-degradation and defilement" (Crewdson 1988:62) to which he somehow then becomes addicted. Hillman and Solek-Tefft (1988:136) assumed pedophiles come from a subgroup of men who are unable to deal with increased women's status and power, so they retreat into "hobbies, work, social groups and clubs, other men, children, pornography, prostitutes, or exotic adventures..."

On the other hand, pedophiles were seen (often by the same critics, oblivious to contradictions) as lacking remorse and guilt (Vieira 1988, quoting Postal Service Inspector John Roberti). They had "few, if any, moral scruples" (Goldberg and Goldberg 1940:142) or they were "moral cripples" (Wittles 1948). By the late 1980s, a substantial discourse was devoted to showing just how arrogant pedophiles were. Liberals said pedophiles had too little self-esteem and required therapy and elimination. Conservatives felt pedophiles had too much self-esteem and deserved punishment and elimination.

This insolence was perceived as a posture of superiority. Pedophiles were proud of what they felt and did, and saw themselves and their acts as "normal." Some "believe they did *absolutely nothing wrong*" (Fletcher 1991:150, emphasis in the original, quoting a Chicago cop). Brian Karem was astounded that pedophiles "consider the rest of us *immoral* because *we* do not agree with them!" (*America's Most Wanted*, December 17, 1994). O'Brien said one of her subjects didn't see anything criminal about his relations and wouldn't use the words "victims" or "molestation;" he "viewed his encounters as 'affairs,'" she complained (1986:153).

It has been particularly disturbing to critics that pedophiles (and others) have produced texts not only arguing for their philosophies but have provided counterwitnesses as well. "Many pedophiles also write long treatises arguing that their sexual preference is normal and blaming society for prohibiting their freedom of expression," said an indignant reporter (Emmerman 1985a). This is a manifestation of "excuses and faulty thinking;" it is merely "twisted logic" (Ostrom 1989). Cartwright (1994:104) said pedophiles display "cognitive distortions, or the inability to recognize that even the vilest act is anything except normal behavior." Pedophiles must satisfy their special instinct for grouping in part so they may "swap...half-baked philosophies" (Crewdson 1988:96).

Much of the shift of opinion from seeing the pedophile as inadequate and passive to maniacal was due to most images of the pedophile running into empirical difficulty, because of the continued political presence of pedophiles, the stubborn persistence of liberal sexology, and the continuing spread of radical sexual politics. The demonization was also part of a greater movement toward more aggressive and hostile "attack politics" and the cultural war declared in the 1980s and early 1990s.

Such resentment was explicit recognition of the political conflict. "Sometimes these pedophiles get belligerent because they think we're infringing on their rights," said Archie Anz, United States Customs Service Agent (Hutton 1989). Critics were astonished to see that some pedophiles felt they are martyrs to struggles for sexual freedom (Linedecker 1981:285), or at the forefront of a cultural revolution (Crewdson 1988:96). More dangerously, many pedophiles insisted that children had rights to their own sexual freedom.

This dilemma could only be solved by denying political legitimacy. To do this, criminality and pathology had to be rigorously impugned to the pedophile, denying any scientific criticism, and the political issues dismissed as irrelevant. Political opponents became "sociopaths." The pedophile "secretly believes that rules and laws are meant for others," and they don't understand "normal societal boundaries," argued Crewdson.<sup>54</sup> Consequently, "pedophiles will go to any length to circumvent the law" (Hutton 1989, citing Beau Sutherland, Customs Service).

Psychologizing involves a second method, simple name calling. For Crewdson, viewed through psychiatric theory of the 1950s, the pedophile is the ideal narcissist.<sup>55</sup> Not only does he have an inflated opinion of himself, he cannot keep any secrets, and is always "disparaging the accomplishments of others." And more: deep in his twisted psyche, the pedophile "indulges in grandiose and totally unrealistic fantasies—becoming a millionaire, becoming a movie star, becoming President..." (1988:61). It is the pedophile, no one else, who "imposes his own interpretation on the behavior of others" (p. 62), a very interesting accusation in light of the number of sex abuse trial and recovered memory scandals, only a couple of which Crewdson mentioned. As an example of the real pedophile come home to roost, Crewdson pointed to former clown John Gacy.<sup>56</sup>

To help overshadow the political implications of youth-adult sex, the demonic pedophile was reanimated, although maintained with slightly more difficulty. What little recognition there was of the variety of youth-adult sexual relations was lost to simple-minded dichotomies by the mid-1980s, helped in no small way by earlier observers' inability to use any other language than that of molestation, rape, assault, attack, and abuse. It became rather common, and rather exciting for many, to see the pedophile, displayed first in his respectable facade, then be told that they "go off in the dark and do things to youngsters that form sick sequences in pornographic films" (Lewis 1987). The essence of this figure, so intensively cultivated by popular fiction and fact, is the hypersexual beast. After brief and superficial gestures of psychological tolerance, if present at all, writers of the period invested most of their energy detailing their visions of sexual grotesqueness, "the ultimate depravity" (Linedecker 1981:302). For over two decades, the news and entertainment industries enjoyed, indeed wallowed in, the depiction of what this meant.

An increasingly erotophobic environment beginning in the mid-1970s called for a hedonistic foil. The homosexual had become unacceptable for use as the villain despite pockets of believers. By the mid-1980s, constructors of popular fact felt profoundly progressive and enlightened when they insisted on a distinction between homosexuals and pedophiles. A chapter of SLAM used an instructional classroom film, *The Pedophile*, in its outreach programs, one of the most homophobic of the many anti-pedophile films available at the time. When pressed to explain the idea in the film that "practicing homosexuals" preferred boys and even preteen girls, both a SLAM representative and a representative of the County District Attorney's Office strongly denied any connection between homosexuality and pedophilia.<sup>57</sup> It was said that individuals like John Wayne Gacy murder because they are "sadists and pederasts," not because they are homosexual. "Responsible" homosexuals don't condone adult-youth relations it was claimed, and journalists and professionals urged gays not to defend pedophiles or transgenerational sex. Homosexuality was seen as a distinct and separate entity, psychologically and morally, from pedophilia; most gays and lesbians "are just as abhorred by sex with a child" (Martin and Haddad 1982:37, *sic*). "Pathological pedophilia is neither gay nor straight. It is sick. It is poisoning. It is criminal," pronounced the editorial writer in the September 13, 1984 *Philadelphia Inquirer*.<sup>58</sup>

Basic to all their sins, pedophiles are "pleasure-seekers—they do what feels good in the short run and don't think about the consequences," complained therapist Steve Silver (Ostrom 1989). This is what drives the compulsive promiscuity of pedophiles and their attraction to a variety of sexual "deviations." Los Angeles Police Captain William Riddle said that "When you arrest a child molester you have arrested a person who has done it day after day, week after week" (Love 1982). Many authorities believed that pedophiles don't care if the potential partner is male or female, just as long as it's a child and they can get their hands on it.



Sol Gordon was certain that not only are pedophiles turned on by youngsters, but by “thoughts of rape, making it with animals..., being tortured, hurting someone, forcing or tricking a child into masturbating you, and imagining yourself watching people in the sex act.”<sup>59</sup> In testimony on the Florida Country Walk case concerning the credibility of the ritual abuse charges, Summit said terrorizing rituals and acts such defecating or urinating on children are common and “predictable in most systems of child molestations.” He said these acts are done for sexual gratification (anyone perverted enough to be interested in children is perverted enough to find excitement in “bathroom issues”), for pure outrageousness, and to build an alibi (Hollingsworth 1986:470). His image was one of uncontrolled yet premeditated perversion, each element a nice one by itself but rather inconsistent when coupled.

Beyond being the simple hedonist, a more decadent essence was attributed to the pedophile. Part of this is the association of pedophilia with alcohol and drug use. McCall (1984b) and Ostrom (1989) claimed at least half of all pedophiles abuse drugs and alcohol as well as children. Hillman and Solek-Tefft at first said that alcohol and drug use is *not* a significant characteristic—then a few pages later they insist with equal emphasis that pedophiles usually behave “impulsively due to external agents such as alcohol or drugs” (1988:112, 134). Crewdson added that pedophiles, as narcissists, abuse food as well, tending to be alcoholic and obese (1988:63).

“Addiction” was offered as a stigmatizing explanation for many devotions, a recently psychologized idea that dates from 18th century treatises on morals and manners. Addiction in the 1980s was a substitute for the older terms “obsession” or “compulsion.” But whatever phrase was used, it served the function of escalating pathology. Anti-drug hysteria was at high levels in the mid-1980s, and it was aesthetically easy and politically necessary to apply the imagery of the dope fiend to the pedophile. Gerald Kaplan, director of a Minneapolis treatment center, said once a pedophile has sex with a youngster, “like a heroine user, he quickly becomes hooked” (McCall 1984b). Journalists were again at the forefront in the construction of images of addiction (Pienciak 1984a; Brody 1990). Sol Gordon sternly lectured his imaginary pedophile that “terrible urges” drive him to gratification, but though the tension is relieved, “you know it’s not for long,” he said with dramatic foreboding (1985:4).

Pathology was conveyed by the polemical use of such terms as “deviance,” “unnatural” (a term making a big comeback after collapsing under ridicule for its use against homosexuals), “abnormal,” “perverse,” “unhealthy,” “aberrant,” and—one of the most used words in the period—“inappropriate.”<sup>60</sup> “Adult sexuality involves mutual sharing, concern for the needs of both partners, and an atmosphere of respect and trust. All of these factors are absent when an adult engages in sexual activity with a minor,” we were confidently told by Cooney (1987).

Returning to the motif of *The Secret*, psychological sickness was associated, as in classical texts and folklore, with disease and with subterranean demonic realms. Writing about the Kelly Michaels case, a mother said the investigation was “like scratching the surface of a skin boil.” “Once probed, pus begins to ooze and, before long, to pour from the wound,” she said; the alleged abuse was like a “giant infection” (Crowley 1990:44).

A narrative variety of this was the molester-with-AIDS-infecting-innocent-children story. Accounts connected the supposed rise of sexual abuse with the spread of AIDS, and in 1984 a police officer told me AIDS was spread by pedophiles. One of the notable elements of this panic was that those arrested were charged with attempted murder. The most publicized case was that of “Uncle Eddie” (Edward Savitz) who while HIV positive had sex with hundreds of boys. His arrest set off a “lynch-mob mentality,” and hundreds of calls to an AIDS hotline came in from youth who had had sex with the man. His bail was set at a record twenty million dollars, but he died in March, 1993, a month before his trial was to have begun. It was acknowledged at the time (though downplayed by the media) that no one had been infected by having sex with him.<sup>61</sup> An HIV-positive man in Oregon was charged with 26 counts of attempted murder for allegedly forcing sex on juveniles. The case had the usual Satanic trappings, and in genre fashion, the anonymous (1992v) Associated Press article opened with, “They cry too often and fear too much...An 8-year-old boy asks...if he’s going to die...A 7-year-old girl sobs for hours...,” etc., etc. KXAN-TV’s collection of clichés could not afford to pass this up. One of their segments (November 13, 1992) used a boy who had had his penis sucked by a man who was HIV positive. The boy tested negative every three months, though not surprisingly: that configuration of sex appears to be one of the safest, not mentioned in the “in-depth” series. Anxiety, paranoia, and hatred were encouraged. KXAN commentators solemnly announced that molesters are supposed to have higher rates of HIV infection because pedophiles are more sexually active—with other adults. While assertions that pedophiles represented a disease threat were common enough, the NBC affiliate’s claim was unique in the hysteria’s narrative corpus.

Disease is usually seen as a hidden phenomenon, and the images are combined: “Sexual deviancy begins as hidden thought which erupts into overt behavior” (King 1988). A number of writers made a point of connecting this secrecy to masturbation, generally a private or solitary behavior (until AIDS concerns helped develop it as a social activity). Because autoeroticism is related to private fantasy play, the image of the masturbating pedophile was added to all the negative valences already mentioned, and was especially tied to images of pedophile sex as secret, compulsive, desperate, and frenzied.

Popular writers and professional experts agreed, repetitively, that the sexual interests of pedophiles are “obsessions:” they are “impulsive” and “driven,” a “lifelong, uncontrollable compulsion.” It is “a desire so powerful that it almost always ends in crime,” solemnly warned reporter Rhonda Rowland (*CNN Presents*, “Thieves of childhood,” February 5, 1995). A confessing pedophile

said, "I will be a sex offender for the rest of my life. I cannot control my impulses. ... I do not need a motive; I *have* a motive. [*sic*] It is simply to satisfy my warped sexual urges. What I need is an opportunity."<sup>62</sup>

Similarly, a man wrote to "Dear Abby,"

I can't count the number of little boys I have violated. I know I am sick and have begged to be locked up and put away. I have had treatment and thought I was cured, but the first chance I got, I did the same thing over again. I hate myself and the way I am. (Van Buren 1989)

Martin and Haddad offered their ideas as to why pedophiles are driven, desperate, and dangerous (as opposed to parental motives).

...the pedophile must move quickly to satisfy all his desires, before his victim grows up. He knows he is sitting on a time bomb. In the short months or few years that the relationship exists, the child lover will film, record, and treasure his brief affair... He will cram into short days, weeks, or years a lifetime of memories because he realizes it can't last. But while it does exist, he revels in the moments he shares with that youth and will recall those times with fellow pedophiles... (1982:15; 37, 85f)

A theory of the period was that pedophiles take pictures of kids because they will then "never grow up."<sup>63</sup> Another text from Martin and Haddad (1982:77f) continued: "When the memory dims, the photos will be brought out, and the full recollection of that event will explode in the pedophile's mind." Images may "dim," but, more in line with the obsessive sex fiend, they may just wear out from so much use (Brody 1990). In either case, the exploding pedophile must again begin his search for larger quantities of material, for newer, fresher, and harder images. Peters (1986:28) said "the more a molester is exposed to child pornography, the coarser and more violent the pornographic material has to be to produce sexual excitement." Worse, sex pictures or fantasy cause the pedophile to seek actual sexual contact.<sup>64</sup> A popular motif, it was confirmed by confessing pedophiles, as when "Joe, Convicted Molester," hidden in shadow, said, "once you start fantasizing...you're gonna do it" (KXAN-TV, November 12, 1992). A very nice text from Stratford's book illustrates this conception:

For most of these men, it probably started many years before with a magazine like *Playboy* and an X-rated movie, but soon their sexual fantasies were not satisfied... It took hard-core porn to satisfy. Natural sex was left behind... Once the line of "normal" is crossed, the flames are fanned into an ever-increasing abnormal, uncontrollable craving for perversions that end in abuse, torture, animalistic behavior, multi-partner sex, and sex with children. The cravings become more and more deviant, finally culminating with sexual acts that are almost unthinkable to the mind that hasn't been polluted with hard-core pornography. (1988:69)

Like all good images of degenerative horror, a fundamental belief is that it is "progressive" as pathologists use the term. It is growing, spreading; sliding on the

infamous slippery slope. It is “all consuming” as Texas prosecutor Claire Dawson-Brown (1985:54) announced to a receptive U.S. Senate committee in 1984. The thing that drives pedophiles may at one time have been just a small virus in the host awaiting the proper ignition. San Bernadino, California Sheriff’s Detective R. P. “Toby” Tyler warned that “pedophiles will start out taking innocent pictures of children” (Volkman and Rosenberg 1985b), but once started, the pedophile quickly veers out of control.

Sex pictures were seen as an organic necessity of pedophilia. Not only do they collect sexual materials, “They collect caps, string, whatever. One guy kept a convenience store receipt for a soft drink for six years,” said Jake Snyder, Assistant United States Attorney (Hutton 1989). But the pedophile’s major focus is “kiddie porn” itself. The pedophile’s collection is “their whole *life*,” said a Chicago policeman (Fletcher 1991:142, emphasis in original). Pedophiles were also accused of collecting popular and scientific texts on pedophilia as a way of “legitimizing” their interests. The books in one’s home became elements of the forensic profile and could be used as evidence in court. Pedophiles have a room, closet, or secret hiding place they keep “off limits to *everyone*. ... ‘Most of them have entire rooms filled with child pornography...’”<sup>65</sup>

In comparison to the imagery just cited, a description given by Hollingsworth of psychologists Joe and Laurie Braga, interrogators in Florida’s Country Walk case, is significantly different. Joe Braga was “a collector of memorabilia,” such as “a ticket stub, a parking decal, a key.” But there is no psychopathic compulsion here, only elements of “bottled memories meant to be uncorked and savored in quiet moments of reflection. The Bragas were hopeless romantics,” Hollingsworth sighed (1986:28, 267). Part of this collection consisted of photos of Laurie Braga’s “special children,” those whom she counselled, children who were “captured in the same soulful expression of a child who feels understood” (p. 29). Later Hollingsworth related how Lanning of the FBI was asked if any non-sexual photos of children were found at the accused Fusters’ home; there were, and Lanning replied dismissively, “Typical” (p. 240). Hollingsworth claimed all the pictures of kids taken by the Fusters of their charges contained few smiles. Those that had smiles seemed forced to her: “their eyes all reflected a deep and disturbing melancholy.” When Fuster smiled at one of the photos shown him by a prosecutor, however, shocked Hollingsworth saw it as “frank pleasure;” she thought Fuster was “all but drooling” (pp. 382, 386).

The real fright, knowing that the pedophile is out of control, is also knowing that he is on the loose. Martin and Haddad give us a little story at the end of their book in which they recall a pedophile they knew.

[His] demeanor is that of a saint. He is truly a “gentle man.” Sensitive and caring, he does not enjoy the fact that he is a pedophile. He does not *want* to molest your children...he will be released soon; he will try to control his behavior.

**If he feels that your daughter needs to be loved, will he be able to turn his back on her??** (1982:128, emphasis in the original)

Later at an assembly of fellow experts, Martin said “once a pedophile gets his grip on your son or daughter, you and I as parents cannot compete” (1984:204). He read a letter supposedly from an incarcerated pedophile who wrote, “I will soon be molesting your child...I cannot be stopped” (pp. 199f).

The effect produced by the combination of two narratives—they-are-everywhere and anyone-could-be-a-pedophile texts, and beasts-on-the-loose texts—is one that attempts to incite even more anxious emotional involvement on the part of target markets. Its implication, in the immortal words of Kevin McCarthy in the 1956 *Invasion of the Body Snatchers*, is that “You’re NEXT!” The victim was a major part of the entertainment.

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## THE FACTUAL VICTIM

The expansion of “victimology” the early 1970s was seen by some as part of an attempt at behavioral control. Kathleen Barry was appropriately sensitive to this, and offered a well-said piece:

The status of “victim” creates a mind-set eliciting pity and sorrow. Victimism denies the woman the integrity of her humanity through the whole experience... The assigned label of “victim,” which initially was meant to call awareness to the experience of sexual violence, becomes a term that expresses that person’s identity. ... Victimism is an objectification which establishes new standards for defining experience; those standards dismiss any question of will...<sup>1</sup>

Sadly, for most of her book Barry ignored the implications of her own thought, just as she ignored the nature of many of her sources, lumping all adult-youth sexual relations as “sexual slavery.” She lazily used all the clichés that others with opposing but overlapping political agendas were to find so useful in the coming years.

As the second figure in the symbolic trinity of adult-youth sex, the scope for inclusion was great: every child, boy and girl was a target. Traditions of journalism demand the exposition of extremes to be represented as commonplace, so a basic tendency in the period was to announce the youngest age sought by pedophilic lust, cultivating the impression that “the younger the better.” A subtext was that once one began having sex with minors, one was driven to find younger and younger partners. Claudia von Werlhof said in 1986 that “the victims get younger all the time” in sex pictures (Thürmer-Rohr 1991:201). Thomas (1991:206) indicated that experts were sure that there are prostitution rings “stocked with five year olds,” and promised two year olds if needed. Attorney Alan Rosenfeld began his seminars on sexual abuse by passing around a pair of baby shoes to depict the vulnerable age and size of the supposed victims; agreeing, Mary Lance of San Antonio, Texas’ United Way insisted that “most children who are sexually abused are 5 years of age and younger.”<sup>2</sup> Joyce Thomas, Director of the Washington, D.C. Children’s Hospital Child Protection Division, said the average age of victims is 8 years and sometimes infants are seen (Marriot 1984a). Robert Joy of the Postal Service claimed that intercourse with three month old infants “happens” (Pienciak 1984a). Detective Dworin said he

was "seeing children as young as 18 months being molested and photographed" (*The Crusaders*, January 22, 1995). Wooden proclaimed that "kids [are] being molested while in the incubator, little babies."<sup>3</sup> Haddad said pictures of a three year old are "sexy" to pedophiles; the youngest victim she knew of was "two hours old."<sup>4</sup>

In fiction a point was made that the most outstanding kids were sought by pedophiles. While we saw in the last chapter how some believed pedophiles preferred blond blue-eyed children, this was less common in popular fact, though it did appear as a tactic to emphasize the threat that pedophiles were used to represent. DiNova warned a Congressional committee that "The children being taken by the criminals in this country are usually the stable, conscientious, high-minded and intelligent ones who would one day become leaders of our society." Frederickson (1992:80) said "Victims are often the best and brightest the family has to offer."<sup>5</sup> But generally the threat was presented more democratically, allowing all children a chance at victimhood.

## I

Body counts of the molested, calculated to one decimal place per pedophile, attempted to add authenticity to the imagery: 62.4 for molesters of female children and 30.6 for molesters of male children,<sup>6</sup> "68.3 molestations per offender" (Collins 1982, quoting Gene Abel), "an average of 70 kids" (Kennedy 1992), "dozens" or "scores" (Crewdson 1988:98), 175 (therapist Robert Powitzky in Smith 1992), 150 to 380 (Hillman and Solek-Tefft 1988:112), 23 for girl-lovers and 282 for boy-lovers (Abel and Harlow 1987), three hundred,<sup>7</sup> "hundreds,"<sup>8</sup> 1,850 child victims per pedophile,<sup>9</sup> and so on. The tabulations culminated in inventories of decimation.

1 in 4 females will be sexually molested or raped prior to reaching age twenty. (*Child Protection Alert* 1985, citing FBI figures)

1 in 3 girls and 1 in 6 boys before 18.<sup>10</sup>

...the state of Washington says that anywhere from 33-46% of all children are sexually assaulted before they reach the age of 18. (Martin and Haddad 1982:54)

...before they turn 18 as many as half of all girls and 10 percent of all boys are sexually abused... (Pienciak 1984a)

46% of sex abuse victims are boys. (Boyle 1994:31)

Of the 50,000 stranger abductions [each year], 5,000 children are returned unharmed, while 5,000 are found dead. The remaining 40,000...simply disappeared. (Bartimus 1982)

[50,000 children] are criminally abducted each year: More than 3000 of these are reported murdered. (Wooden 1985b:54)

205 children reported missing an hour, 4932 a day, 1.8 million a year.<sup>11</sup>

Two million children become missing every year, and 400,000 of these are never heard from again. (Cuba 1984)

...a child in the U.S. is stolen by a stranger every 60 seconds.<sup>12</sup>

Every year about 4,600 [children] are taken by strangers. Of those all but about 150 are returned to their families.<sup>13</sup>

Each year, about 300 children...are stolen by strangers, usually sexually abused and tortured, most killed or never found. Another 4,200 are abducted briefly, molested, raped, or mutilated and released, damaged for life. (Hale 1993)

At least half of sex abuse cases involve forced participation in kiddie porn; 300,000 people under 16 nationally are involved in child pornography. (Volkman and Rosenberg 1985a; Raschke 1992:345)

600,000 children are "used" each year by the pornography industry.<sup>14</sup>

...it is estimated that 1.2 million children are exploited annually in child sex rings and pornography, according to figures from Women Against Pornography...<sup>15</sup>

By even the most conservative estimates, a child is sexually abused in this country every two minutes.<sup>16</sup>

More than 1100 new cases of sexual child abuse are reported every day. (*Scared Silent*, 1992)

95 per cent of all missing children are victims of occult related abductions.<sup>17</sup>

7%-10% of all abuse survivors are from ritual abuse.<sup>18</sup>

The most common statistic of the period was that 25% of all juveniles have had or *will* have abusive sexual contact with an adult. Peg Foster, social worker, co-director of a sexual assault unit at a Newark, New Jersey hospital, and investigator in the Kelly Michaels case, said in 1985 that one of every three children in the United States will have an "inappropriate sexual experience" by age 18 (Manshel 1990:29, Rabinowitz 1990:56). A common footnote to this narrative was that the figures are only from reported cases; estimates were that 20% to 99% of all adult-youth sexual contacts are unreported. In exasperation, Peters (1986:17) asked, "who *hasn't* been sexually abused?" It was actually a very good question, but no one followed it up.

"Sexual abuse" was variously and often vaguely defined. Nearly everyone, of course, counted any sexual contact with an adult, and many included youth peer sex. Also counted as abuse were relations consented to or sought by youth. Some counted as abuse the suggestion of or asking for sex by an adult, as well as any "indecent and immoral act [done] with the intent to arouse or satisfy the sexual desires of either the child or the person" (Hagans and Case 1988:22). A few defined abuse as any contact "where there is an imbalance in age, size, power, or knowledge."<sup>19</sup>



From the mid-1980s on, the field was broadened considerably, offering adults a chance to participate as a child victim. Bass and Davis gave long lists of everyday “coping” strategies from which to select indicators of forgotten abuse, and the excavation of memories was encouraged (1988:33-39). Many were very direct: “If you think you were abused, you were. If you’re not sure, you probably were,” stated Farmer (1989:12), and therapist Wendy Maltz suggested, “If you sense you were sexually abused and have no memories of it, it’s likely that you were. ... When people have suspicions of sexual abuse, it’s usually because something did happen to them” (1991:46). “If a memory fits your sense of your past, and, in the long run, you feel better for having dealt with it as real, then accept it as true,” urged Frederickson (1992:167). These statements steadily accumulated from the late 1980s on as individuals and institutions expanded their client bases by appealing directly to popular markets through America’s irrepensible and profitable self-help genre and through corollary promotion by journalists.<sup>20</sup>

Affirmations of recalled abuse were meant not only as validation of memories themselves but went beyond that. The certainty secured the professional status of therapists and counsellors using the approach, and authorized their views as real knowledge. Practicing a form of incest, authors and therapists cited each other for support, making them more inbred and insulated in terms of method, theory, and ideology. This established a consistent discourse, offered as its own empirical verification. Further, the increased numbers of therapists in the job market and broader definitions of abuse made for a certain amount of instability. There had to be ways to ensure a more dependable and consistent discourse to preserve market shares, create and regulate consumer needs, and maintain ideological purity and dominance. One of the ways to do this was to give specific instructions on how to recover and certify memories of childhood abuse. After authorizing their own knowledge, experts had to substantiate their customers’ knowledge in ways that made for orderly professional and commercial transactions.

After initial recruitment seductions, “recovered memory” texts spent a great deal of time instructing the consumer on how to produce the desired recollections. For example, if you have personal problems and want to see if they are related to unremembered abuse, say to yourself three to four times a day, “I believe this problem is about my repressed memories of abuse” (Frederickson 1992:32). If you have any unexplained reactions to everyday life, ask yourself, “Am I reacting to what could be associated with sex or sexual abuse?” (p. 43). Examples are fondness for a hairbrush (repressed event of father inserting hairbrush in vagina), or fear of going to the dentist (repressed memories of oral sex). Further, one can use dreams to “prime the pump” (p. 137). When drifting off to sleep, tell your inner child to dream about abuse.<sup>21</sup> Or you can write a story about abuse—unconscious memories will automatically supply real events (p. 143). Once written, the memories, now with their own physical existence, become accepted as real (Frederickson 1992; Kritsberg 1993:164).

Next, there are ways of verification using outside referents. Most therapists derided the idea of “proving” memories. What was essential was that one believe in one’s own memories. If “you relate easily to survivors of sexual abuse” or are “drawn to survivors,” then “it is highly likely that you were sexually abused as a child” (Kritsberg 1993:20, 235). But one could feel safe in any context. “If you have a tendency to avoid sympathy or support, it is an indication your memories are real;” doubting your memories is also proof that they are real (Frederickson 1992:171). If you’re not sure, feelings were the main source of validation: “If you felt violated, you were violated” (p. 6). In any case, factuality was never a significant consideration (Herman 1992:180, *passim*).

Coming to belief may be “a gradual awakening” (Bass and Davis 1988:91), or, consistent with the explosive imagery of the abused and abuser, memories may suddenly be “triggered,” resulting in a “barrage” of recollections (Frederickson 1992:37).

When you have retrieved enough memories, you will reach critical mass, which is a sense of the overall reality of your repressed memories. ...you will suddenly know your repressed memories are real. It is the opposite of the maxim that if you tell a lie long enough, you will believe it is real. If you talk about your repressed memories long enough, you will intuitively know they are real. (Frederickson 1992:173; Kritsberg 1993:78).

Exactly why one was a victim seemed obvious enough (“because of the pedophile”), but some amount of time had to be spent clarifying the role, given the exceptions and variances encountered during the period. The best source of this had to come from the mouths of those designated as victims. Confessional narratives are an integral part of these historical periods. Struggles of control over values, meanings, and images call for dramas displaying special character types, the enactment of expected roles, and the recitation of predefined monologues. Special attention had to be given to confessions and testimonies so that their effectiveness would not be jeopardized. Religious apostasy is usually the discursive model for historical spates of confessions, the child telling *The Secret* being the secular translation of this genre.<sup>22</sup>

Confessions of pedophiles and victim narratives were fully established as genre in this period, the latter serving to affirm the suffering of the victim, to serve as additional accusations against pedophiles, and to enhance the status and power of the saviors (as in Boyle 1985). Pienciak’s (1984e) article was typical of the period. In the “case history” format, it featured the step-by-step detailing of how victims were supposedly won over or coerced, the detailing of suffering, and the ultimate affirmation of the point of view and power of the authorities.<sup>23</sup> Pienciak concluded with an interview of a young man in therapy displaying proof of suffering: weeping, the very core of high drama for journalists.

Carolyn Huebner claimed to have been a kidnapped child herself and testified in epic proportions. Chloroformed by a “depraved” couple, she said she was

beaten, tortured, locked in a closet for a year, burned with scalding water, locked in a freezer, had her hands and arms put through a wringer, thrown through walls, and tossed off buildings. She escaped when “suddenly, the lock on her shackle mysteriously came loose.” She then forced the kidnapper to turn her loose after three years of captivity.<sup>24</sup>

But while victims were called upon to discourse on their sufferings, by so doing there emerged the dissonant image of the innocent victim as a defective child. A youngster was “at risk” if they satisfied one or more criteria that were thought to make them vulnerable to abuse. Writing of AIDS, Sontag remarked that a “risk group” is a “neutral-sounding, bureaucratic category which also revives the archaic idea of a tainted community that illness has judged” (1989:46). She is quite right, and its application in the sexual abuse furor is clear, although the idea of a tainted community is not “archaic” in the sense of “out of fashion.” It is an old idea, but it has consistently kept its presence and proved its worth over hundreds of years.

“At risk” emphasized young people as disadvantaged or disabled. Indeed, the justifying assumption of child savers is that children are by definition incapable of taking care of or managing themselves, either by thought or deed. It was also commonly said children have been “conditioned” to obey adults—all adults. This unquestioning obedience combined with the pedophile’s need for domination, makes any child susceptible to “idolatry” of the abuser (Crewdson 1988:63). Emmerman (1985a) quoted Kee MacFarlane, then a heroine of the anti-abuse movement: “[Children] are easily intimidated. You can convince them of almost anything, and if you can’t, you can trick them or bribe them.”<sup>25</sup>

Others had quite a bit to say about what kind of child came under the pedophile’s powers; most of the qualities were strikingly similar to those attributed to the pedophile. Victims were alienated, longing for attention and affection, socially and emotionally isolated or “impaired,” dependent and submissive, had low self-esteem, and (continuing a traditional child-saving assumption) lacked “strong religious or moral affiliations.”<sup>26</sup> Alice Vachss seriously thought that pedophiles sought kids with learning disabilities, and that white pedophiles preferred non-white partners in order to take advantage of biases against minority victim complaints (1993:91).

One of the more developed examples of this was the early 1990s characterization of Amy Fisher as victim. At 16 she began an affair with 36 year old Joey Buttafuoco; it culminated when out of jealousy she shot and wounded his wife. Searching for causes, Eftimiades found them in Fisher’s sex with an adult when she was 12, supposedly causing Fisher’s deterioration. Her “haunted past,” full of “wrenching,” “formidable,” and “terrible” secrets (1992:2, 34), drove Fisher to become different from other teens.<sup>27</sup> Fisher was lonely, seeking attention, and, of course, burdened with low self-esteem. The standard victim, Fisher was vulnerable, ready to be taken advantage of, “a young girl who acted and reacted on a thin tether of emotion, easily influenced and unable to foresee the consequences of her actions.”<sup>28</sup>

In her autobiography, Fisher gave a slightly different picture.<sup>29</sup> Fisher said she was molested by an unidentified man when she was 3 to when she was 6, and said she was raped at age 13 by a man working on the house. Fisher said one of her friends sold the story to the press and falsely claimed that Fisher bragged she had deliberately “fucked the tile man” (1993:34f). She also said Buttafuoco’s lawyer, Marvin Kornberg, erroneously claimed she was 12 at the time, and in defending Buttafuoco he used the anecdote as proof of Fisher’s liking of sex with older men. She addressed him, echoing abuse victim rhetoric: “if you think *any* twelve- or thirteen-year-old girl enjoys sex, or even is capable of having consensual sex, with an adult male, then you are a very disturbed and exploitative man. (p. 35, emphasis in original). As to why she was attracted to Buttafuoco, Fisher continued in the same vein:

I bet other sixteen-year-old girls know what I mean. People call you “seductive,” as if you have power. But *you* feel you have *no* power. ... You’re just going blindly along on tools you picked up. But, if you’d ever been given a choice, those might not have been the tools you’d have chosen.<sup>30</sup>

Another sign of “risk” is defective parents and/or a fragmented family structure. The accusation that single parent families automatically placed a minor “at risk” appeared throughout the period; a later variation was that women who remarried jeopardized their children by adding a step-father to the household. There is here the not very subtle accusation of domestic failure, as well as ideological assertions of the safety and security of biological parents, all directed at women.<sup>31</sup> The theme is an old one, dating largely from mid-19th century religiously-oriented social reform movements, campaigns meant more to combat ethnic subcultures and the influences of anarchism and atheism than poverty and ignorance. A decade after writing a spate of viewing-with-alarms texts (Elkind 1981; Winn 1981, 1983a; Postman 1982), these same authors were again asked to bemoan “the breakdown of authority and a loss of faith among children in the wisdom of the adult world” (Darnton 1991, Medved 1992). The main concerns were with the influence of popular culture, and single parents depicted as uniquely “lonely and under stress.”

A mother of one of the alleged victims of Kelly Michaels wrote obsessively of her guilt at allowing her daughter to become “at risk.”<sup>32</sup> She had seen herself as in charge and had focused “on being the perfect, conscientious mother,” a “supermom” (Crowley 1990:128, 138). She continuously pampered and catered to her daughter largely because, she admitted, “It was a way for me to regain my power” (p. 139). Guilt was pervasive among many of the Wee Care mothers, and support groups formed almost immediately at the first accusations.<sup>33</sup> “Crowley” was apparently the most agitated. Her guilt and fear caused her to become hysterical with shaking, troubled breathing, and “uncontrollable fits of weeping” (p. 19). She often found herself on the edge of nervous collapse, and usually had to have a couple glasses of wine to go to sleep. Her marriage was severely strained, as were several others, and all blamed Michaels personally for their

distress. When she was without her support group, she felt “left without the solace and company of fellow addicts” (p. 141). There are several scenes in her book of frenzied mothers in panic, images meant to emphasize the depth and pervasiveness of the suffering caused by sexual abuse, images necessarily more intense and insistent because of the severe questions raised over the reality of that abuse.

During the 1980s, there was an earnest and often bitter debate in American nudist communities about nudism and young people, and the possible presence of pedophilic interests. Much of this argument was in reaction to accusations and investigations of nudist organizations and families by the authorities. Nudist parents were often looked upon with suspicion for either abusing children or placing them “at risk.” One unsigned newspaper editorial ridiculed nudists (they “frolic” and “hang out” in their camps), and referred admiringly to Detroit Postal Inspector Michael O’Hara who believed molesters have two purposes: to gain the child’s trust and to get them to take their clothes off. “If Mom and Dad have already got you trusting and naked, you’ve broken down the child’s two main defenses,” O’Hara warned.<sup>34</sup>

Qualifications to the status and role of victim were few and reluctantly given. Crewdson (1988:106ff) cited a case where over a dozen young teen females were involved with an adult male and he saw it as a “most perplexing question” because they didn’t fit the “profile” for victims. He reported one cop suggested that there was “a sense of adventure and excitement” motivating their relations and that they may have “just been bored.” Emmerman (1985a) quoted officer Brian Killacky: “We’ve run into quite a few kids who came from families with supportive parents. These kids got involved with pedophiles. It’s hard to say why they do it. All I can guess is, they’re curious and they’re experimenting.” It was an interesting aspect that was never followed up, despite that there indeed seemed to be “quite a few” youth in such involvements. Sexually active youth have largely been dismissed as dysfunctional or “psychologically damaged.”<sup>35</sup> Sex is mere “acting-out,” a favorite expression of the times. Miller (1982:48, 146) saw it as an inability to manage “stress,” and therapist Robert Powitzky saw youth’s sexual engagements as a compulsion to gain attention, the proverbial “cry for help” (Smith 1992). Children’s sexual behaviors could not be considered in and of themselves but had to be taken as signs of something greater, deeper, and meaner.

Given the difficulty of knowing when one did in fact have a victim on one’s hands, it became necessary to run through a checklist of physical, behavioral, and psychological stigmata. A causal chain operated, and if not caught and corrected lesser signs would develop into more serious ones. An ad placed in the *New Yorker* magazine (May 6, 1991, p. 71) by the Child Welfare League of America showed a medical attendant carrying a child in a body shroud; the title of the ad read, “4 Ways To Spot An Abused Child Before It Becomes This Obvious.”

There was usually some qualifier that no one sign is certain evidence of abuse, but each indicated cause for alarm and professionals were legally pressured to certify abuse if the signs were what was called "consistent with" actual trauma. The American Medical Association would later recommend that all female patients, children and adults, be "screened" for signs of abuse (Anonymous 1992s).

What did one watch for? Everything. If pedophiles tend to be obese, so too are many of the victims. They tend to be "overweight and unkempt and they tend to speak with tentative, frightened voices" (Crewdson 1988:73). Crewdson went on to showcase the stars of the show all the while insisting that they are supported by a cast of thousands, understudies no less competent to assume the starring role.

Many younger victims revert to infantile behavior like sucking their thumbs and wetting their beds. Some set fire to their houses or mutilate their pets, and a few even attempt suicide by stabbing themselves with knives, running in front of moving cars, or jumping from high places. Although most reactions are less extreme, they are not necessarily less serious. (p. 208)

Gleaned from texts used here, this is a list of what were said to be signs of sexual abuse in youngsters:<sup>36</sup>

***Physical:***

bruises  
 swellings  
 rashes  
 cuts  
 welts  
 abrasions  
 fractures  
 bleeding, blood spotting  
 venereal diseases  
 infections of urinary tract, vagina, mouth, gums, throat  
 loose or loss of anal sphincter control  
 broken hymen  
 distended or large labial folds  
 genital and/or rectal tissue damage  
 bowel disturbances  
 vomiting; gagging  
 migraine headaches  
 ulcers  
 colitis  
 abdominal pain  
 discharges from genitals and/or anus  
 cervical cancer  
 psychosomatic ailments

***Behavioral:***

fear, distrust, or avoidance of men

increasing hate toward an individual  
fear of some places, especially small places; fear of bathrooms  
fear of some social activities at school or elsewhere  
desire to stay in public and familiar places, fear of being alone  
desire for isolation or privacy  
seeking escape or running away; truancy  
French kissing  
playing with genitals; "excessive" masturbation  
sex play with peers and/or toys  
"inappropriate" attitudes toward and knowledge of sexuality  
"inappropriate," "explicit," or "bizarre" sexual behaviors and talk about sex  
"promiscuity;" non-monogamous relations  
"precociousness"  
"indiscriminate" gestures of affection toward adults  
homosexuality  
hypersexuality; nymphomania; satyrisms  
frigidity, impotence  
bisexuality  
masochism  
sadism  
prostitution  
delinquency  
arson  
early marriage  
early pregnancy  
"failure to thrive" (infants)  
self-damaging behaviors  
suicidal "gestures" or attempts, successful suicide  
drug use  
alcohol use  
food abuse (over- or under-eating, anorexia, bulimia)  
food avoidance (disliking peanut butter or tuna fish)  
clothes abuse (hiding clothes, pulling clothes at crotch, wearing unnecessarily heavy or  
"inappropriate" clothing, frequent change of underwear)  
sleep problems; refusal to get into jammies for bedtime; sleeping too much; not sleeping  
enough  
speech impediments and other problems  
nail biting  
tics  
learning difficulties; rapid decline in schoolwork; sleeping in class  
decreased attention span  
lethargy; tiredness  
helplessness; passivity; compliant behavior  
aggression, violence; victimization of others  
excessive crying or fussing  
"regressive" behavior; bed wetting, thumb-sucking, baby talk, whining, clinging, over-  
dependence, "separation anxiety"  
playing with feces or urine; fear of feces or urine  
excessive cleanliness

poor personal hygiene  
“immaturity”  
“pseudomature” behavior and thought  
sleeping with stuffed animals  
cruelty to animals

***Psychological:***

lack of “normal” development  
irritability; moodiness; temperamental; over-sensitivity  
absentmindedness  
emotional instability  
schizophrenia; multiple personalities  
low or lost self-esteem; powerlessness  
feelings of betrayal  
guilt; shame  
sadness over losing virginity  
anger; rage  
fear; insecurity  
remembering abuse  
not remembering abuse  
nightmares  
depression; melancholy  
pessimism; cynicism  
attention to conspiracies and sinister forces or events  
unusual or “bizarre” drawings or stories  
imaginary friends  
inability to trust others

***Social:***

isolation from others; withdrawal from friends and family  
hostile and/or negative relations with family members  
refusal to attend church; lessening or loss of religious beliefs  
problems in associating with peers  
“inappropriate” association with non-peers (older or younger)  
inexplicable changes in relationships  
problems in obtaining and maintaining heterosexual relationships  
feeling older than peers; “loss of childhood”  
demands for adult privileges  
confused and blurred role boundaries of age and gender  
possession of unexplained gifts, money  
possession of sexual materials  
possession of drugs  
difficulties in keeping jobs  
overall negative socioeconomic life

Lists of symptoms and signs were extremely popular and were used quite seriously in the 1970s and 1980s to detect social threats and sources of revenue. Many institutions, mostly schools, took it upon themselves to conduct hunts for



signs, including strip searches and—interestingly enough—photographing youngsters nude without parental knowledge or permission (the child’s permission was never considered). One official said, “investigative workers must have complete access to the child.”<sup>37</sup>

A variation was offered by Stratford (1988:215-219) and others for signs and activities of “ritual abuse” (which, by definition, included sexual contact). The following incomplete list is also taken from texts used here. These were alleged to be common activities (taken seriously by professionals and journalists), taking place in thousands of cults since at least the 1950s. The lists influenced prosecutors and juries to sentence people to immense prison terms. According to these reports, children were

- molested by clowns
- molested by a machine as big as a room
- molested by “atomically radiated mutants”
- molested in supermarkets in front of other shoppers
- molested in hot air balloons
- molested in helicopters, other aircraft
- molested on playgrounds, outside in front of motorists and pedestrians
- molested in boats
- molested in a house with lions in the basement
- molested on side of freeways, lined up at side of highway to be photographed naked
- molested in cemeteries
- molested in a car wash
- molested in the ocean while wearing air tanks and scuba diving
- molested in churches in front of naked nuns and priests
- molested in secret rooms
- taken to foreign lands, exotic places, farms, other communities
- taken through tunnels, lit by oil lamps with pictures of Satan on the wall; taken down elaborate spiral staircases to tunnels; taken through sewer tunnels
- forced to drink potions
- forced to wear a gold crown
- forced to dance nude or witness it
- forced to observe nude piano playing (by abusing teacher)
- forced to play the “nude pileup game” (all take off clothing and jump in a pile with each other)
- forced to play the “naked lady game” (all take off clothes, stand in a line on a stage to have pictures taken)
- forced to endure insertion of knives, spoons, forks, swords, Lego blocks, tampons, air hoses, lighted candles into vagina, anus, penis, ears
- insertion of snakes in vagina, anus
- forced to endure insertion of body parts from ritually murdered infants into vaginas, anus, penis
- forced to have a stick coated with dog feces inserted into anus
- tied to posts, poles
- thrown off boats into swarms of sharks
- locked in a freezer
- locked in cages with flayed cats

whipped by a city attorney (named) and film star Chuck Norris while tied to a post  
 nailed to floor  
 forced to sit on boards spiked with nails  
 drilled with a drill in the armpits  
 staples put in ears, tongue, nipples; scissors put in eyes  
 electrodes attached to genitals and zapped  
 burned on body with coals  
 forced to witness animals killed and drained of their blood (horses, cows, birds, rabbits,  
 turtles, pigs, dogs, snakes, household pets, wolves, a baby bear), either as sacrifices  
 and/or as threats to keep silent; a hamster had a bomb inserted in it and exploded  
 witnessed others beaten  
 witnessed babies thrown into ovens  
 witnessed sacrifice of adults, babies, siblings  
 forced to witness and/or subjected to torture, beatings, cutting, burning, castration  
 forced to witness sacrificial suicides  
 forced to sacrifice their own recently delivered baby/babies  
 used as breeder for infants for sacrifice  
 drugged  
 subjected to mind control techniques developed by Nazi scientists brought to the US by the  
 CIA  
 locked in caskets or buried alive in coffins, alone or with corpses  
 forced to spend the night in the opened abdomen of corpse  
 buried alive with insects, snakes  
 forced to witness exhumation of bodies in cemetery; forced to witness dismemberment of  
 the corpses, some of which bled  
 married to Satan in ceremony  
 forced to take blood oaths  
 forced to desecrate various religious symbols/artifacts  
 forced to eat feces (sometimes covered with chocolate sauce), urine, human body parts,  
 drink blood of humans, including sacrificed infants, eat sacrificed animals, insects,  
 spiders  
 forced to defecate or urinate on self and/or others  
 covered by a white and/or red slime  
 had genitals covered with tuna fish, peanut butter (including jelly), then licked off by  
 abuser(s)  
 forced to witness or undergo abortion of baby  
 raped by individual and/or group, usually in front of group  
 subjected to/forced to give anal and oral sex, masturbation  
 forced to have sex with animals  
 forced to insert fingers into a goat's anus  
 forced to observe and/or have sex with dead people  
 forced to participate in orgies  
 photographed in all of the above  
 forced to prostitute oneself for cult  
 forced in all of above at gun and/or knife-point

A cultural reading of stigmata later in the period showed some interesting  
 variations in the character formation of actress and singer, Madonna. It was said  
 that her ballet teacher, who was 45 when Madonna was 17, was "her tutor in

love.” It was noted that she spoke highly of him, saying “we’re still great friends.” The reporter said Madonna

gave up her place on the high school cheerleading team and cut off her brown shoulder-length hair. “She pierced her ears, got into nuts and berries, stopped shaving her armpits and legs,” says her friend... “She became kind of far out.” (Anonymous 1990b)

While it illustrated the connection that was often made in the early to mid-1980s between an intergenerational sexual relationship and the personality deterioration of the younger individual, there is far less moral indignation here because it appeared after criticism became more open, because Madonna was also 17 rather than 12 or 13 at the time of the so-called “tutoring,” and because Madonna was seen as “successful.” But it is a generic sort of narrative, contextualized in an appropriate medium,<sup>38</sup> expressing assumptions regarding sex, youth, and the natural and unnatural.

## II

Attacks on children in the 1980s were framed by several sensational incidents. In February, 1984 a nurse killed a least five infants by injecting them with a muscle relaxant, and in July a number of children were killed by a gunman at a McDonalds. In tune with the times, most victim discourses about the harm done to youth by sex with an adult in the early to mid-1980s featured death and destruction. If pedophiles didn’t kill them, victims often killed themselves.<sup>39</sup> In the mid and latter part of the 1980s, the Satanism scare added tales of ritual killings of children, most of which were supposed to have been videotaped (Thomas 1991:269f).

Child sex pictures were thought to be material specifically designed and constructed only for a pedophile market, and—assuming a relationship with other American marketing schemes—aimed at the most animalistic instincts of that group.<sup>40</sup> The visuals were supposed to be symptomatic of the pedophile’s personality and the youth-adult relationship, produced as a matter of course in all cases. The pictures were represented as “crime scene photos.” It was, to the popular mind, “the abuse, the rape, and the molestation of real children, captured on film” (Hey 1987, quoting U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese III). Raschke claimed the American income from child sex pictures was three billion dollars a year, the international income twice that (1992:351). Youngsters were abducted and placed in “syndicates,” which have “been changed into ‘concentration camps’ for permanently abused children...” Kids were smuggled into the U.S. from south of the border for use in sex pictures and for sale; others were imported “solely ‘for the purposes of killing.’” He said the “traffic in snuff porn among children is increasing rapidly” (pp. 346f, 351; *sic*, he means “using children”), and he linked child sex representations to crime and drug networks. Over a decade after youth sex visuals ceased to be commercially available, the professor made the incredible but suitably shocking statement, “Kiddie porn in which children are sexually

abused before cameras, made to perform degrading acts, and sometimes even snuffed has become as common, and as popular, as eating out."<sup>41</sup>

As the violent pedophile was accepted, it became easier to claim that youth-adult sex involved "increasingly savage sado-masochism." Noting that "there is no limit to the perverse imagination," pedophiles were supposed to use "foreign objects" and fists to penetrate "unaccommodating" juveniles (Linedecker 1981:120; Watson 1984). Rooney (1983) listed what she believed was unmistakable evidence of pedophilia which included "audio tapes, complete with descriptive narrative, [that] record the screams of a little girl being raped" and photos of adults supposedly having sex with a six month old infant.<sup>42</sup> In another article, neighbors in an unspecified case supposedly heard screams of children forced to have sex with men while being photographed.<sup>43</sup> William Dworin of the Los Angeles Police said, "We're starting to see children involved in pain experiences, sadomasochism...kids tied up, with chains and ropes around their necks" (Pienciak 1984a). Seven years later, Thomas (1991:207) said his experts were seeing more and more "torture scenes." The imagery continued to be promoted even a dozen years after commercial child erotica was suppressed; Police Sergeant Jack Kelley gave the impression that sexual materials flooding society were composed of "bestiality, children in chains and whips and leather" (KXAN-TV, November 12, 1992). ABC's *The Crusaders* used old commercial erotic magazines and seized Polaroids to claim that child pornography is of "children made up to look like they were slaughtered, hung, and bound" (only one photo was shown, a boy loosely tied to a stick).

Before about 1975, the degree of emotional damage from sexual contact with an adult, if present at all, was known to be considerably variable. It was also established that professionals and the news industries significantly contribute to any trauma. Closer to the mid-1970s, child advocates began speculating that there was more psychic injury; the "emotional ambience is certain to be terribly distorted," wrote Soman (1974:197). Even as late as 1980, some would still admit that data indicated a wide range of relationships and reactions; the ILIC said that "it has been demonstrated in the literature that a completely mutual consensual relationship between a young man and an older man usually does not result in deleterious effects on the younger of the two."<sup>44</sup> They insisted, however, that involvement in sex pictures had severe effects on youth, and went on to say that "Even a boy making pornographic films for the money involved is being exploited and knows it, if not consciously, then peripherally" (ILIC 1980:206), though the "exploitation" they refer to is sexual, not of their labor. Later they briefly mentioned that "some children gravitate to child pornography willingly," but did not elaborate.<sup>45</sup>

By the early 1980s the devastation was seen to be total and totally gruesome. Adult-youth sex came to be known as "the murder of souls." Kaminer (1992:94) quoted self-help entrepreneur John Bradshaw saying that "soul murder" was the world's biggest problem. It is a religious concept that has been around for

hundreds of years. Augustine in the 3rd century complained of Donatist heretics slaying souls (Levy 1993:47f), and by the 16th century the accusation was common. Servetus was held to be responsible for “the murder and ruin of many souls” (Bainton 1953:208), and Wall (1956:103) says the term “was a well-known apologia of [16th century] Spanish Inquisitors who argued that a murderer only murdered people’s bodies whereas a heretic murdered their souls.” Ephraim Pagitt’s *Heresiography* (1645) spoke of soul murder caused by dissenting religious views. During the 19th century the phrase described the destruction of innocence and the lack of religion.<sup>46</sup>

The term was revived in the professional world, and the images suggested by the phrase proved useful and entertaining.<sup>47</sup> Young people were “victims whose spirits are mutilated as their bodies are violated,” said Judianne Densen-Gerber (1977b). Linedecker (1981:302, 119) used the phrase “murder of souls” himself and quoted Densen-Gerber as saying that children are “emotionally and spiritually murdered.” Fontana and Moolman believed that all adult-youth sex would “mutilate the maturing psyche beyond repair,” resulting in “soul murder” (1989:64, 97). The imagery persisted into the 1990s when Kennedy (1992) insisted that “kids die a little each day for the rest of their lives after sexual abuse,” an image recalling the inevitable deterioration of 19th century fallen women and masturbators. She said those who have sex with minors commit “small murders” and deserve appropriate punishment. It was particularly popular among religious advocates of abuse theories; Stratford said Satanic rites were “spirit abuse” (1988:211f, 208f). The soul murder idea was also used to convey the impact of sex between priests and their younger clients (Rossetti 1990).

Others preferred secular descriptions, such as a 1984 *Philadelphia Inquirer* editorial, “There is no credible body of psychological or psychiatric theory or practice that does not recognize that sexual contacts between adults and children are profoundly damaging.”<sup>48</sup> Other terms were “devastating” (Newcott 1981); or “destructive” for youngsters “plunged” into sexual and emotional relationships with adults.<sup>49</sup> Consistent with the erotophobic tone of the period, Linedecker announced that “premature” sex, even with peers, can be “injurious” (1981:123). The activity that previously had been benignly—and patronizingly—referred to as “sex play” took on an insidious air, imagery similar to demonic dolls and evil children in horror stories. Others emphasized “emotional scars” to make a more secure tie to allegations of physical damage from youth-adult sex.

Two things happen with sex abuse trauma: one, it lasts forever. Therapist Bob Priest on *Investigative Reports* (March 10, 1995) said firmly that “there is no total recovery of child abuse, period.” John Boyle, Director of a coalition of anti-abuse groups in Austin, Texas guaranteed victims “can’t escape it,” and social worker Rosalie Anderson at the University of Texas said “the problems don’t go away and they can’t have any kind of healthy relationship with anyone” (Herget 1985). There was “a legacy of shame and pain that haunts them forever” (Martin and Haddad 1982:88). Tom Jarriel, on ABC’s *20/20* (June 14, 1984) confidently referred to the McMartin Preschool as “a sexual house of horrors” and said that

the children will “never recover” from the abuse he was certain had occurred there.

The other thing that happens is, it gets worse. “It’s like cancer...It causes an emotional deterioration,” and “The dirty secret continues to fester,” said experts.<sup>50</sup> Borrowing from developmental theories, the assumption was that sex with adults interfered with “normal” progression which made the child deviate into dead-end obsessions and fixations, disabled the developmental process to produce “immature” personalities, or accelerated development to produce the equally grotesque mutation of “pseudomature” or “pseudosophisticated” attitudes and behaviors.<sup>51</sup>

Fundamentalist Christian anti-pornography activists theorized that most trauma comes from participating in sexual representations (Hutton 1989; Raschke 1992:345), a kind of soul robbery that recalls 19th century anecdotes of nonliterate natives shunning cameras for fear of being bewitched, vampirized, or captured. It was believed that the trauma of appearing in sex photos is even worse than being the victim of a violent crime. This is evident from reading the faces, said Linedecker, because they clearly appear to be “frightened,” “bewildered,” and “confused.”<sup>52</sup>

All in all, youngsters are “robbed of their childhood.” An example was given by one of the elder statesmen of the anti-abuse movement, C. Henry Kemp, in a letter to the *Boston Globe* (May 1, 1978, p. 13) in which he said, “The fact that young Brooke Shields insists that she is just fine means nothing. It is simply not up to a twelve-year-old to make some decisions” (Geiser 1979:127). This is submitted later as fact (though we are not told how they know) by Martin and Haddad (1982:107) when they said that “Brooke Shields, who played in R-rated movies as a child, has been exploited to a point where it would be difficult for any teenage boy at her local high school to show her the innocence of a prom.” Similarly, New Jersey psychologist William Prendergast said sex with minors is abuse because “a child is simply not old enough to make a decision; I don’t care if he says he likes it!”<sup>53</sup>

Kemp briefly raised the issue of consent and solved it immediately by the usual heavy-handed exercise of adult power. But it would continue to appear with annoying regularity as apologists tried to deflect criticism and contrary evidence. Youth supposedly lacks sexual knowledge because they lack “maturity,” and because they cannot evaluate rationally the “consequences” or “significance” of sexual interaction as adults do. Minors were therefore unable to give “informed consent” or to have “free choice” because they are unable “to defy the adult masculine world” (Steinem 1977). Herman (1981:27) cemented the issue by saying that consent is irrelevant because since a child is powerless to withhold consent (supposedly because of the pedophile’s enormous powers), “she does not have the power to grant it.” Journalist Boyle said there is no such thing as “informed consent” for young people. He used psychiatrist Gene Abel’s criteria that required (1) the kid know that society believes sex between men and boys to be wrong, (2) the youngster comprehend the “long-term consequences” of a

sexual affair with an adult, and (3) that the kid be on the same power level with the adult.<sup>54</sup> Some insisted that even if a minor did understand and was able to consider “the consequences,” the child would never consent, for “consequences” were defined exclusively in negative terms and the youngster was defined exclusively as asexual or with an instinctive antisexual morality.<sup>55</sup>

Given all of these contradictory defenses, it was no surprise to see an obsessive emphasis on seduction. Although a few had to admit that some youngsters enter into relations as a matter of choice (or by desire, though never expressed as such by critics), nearly all still insisted that tricks and force are used regularly and unceasingly. Passivity, as it was for the 19th century, was a sign of the sexually vulnerable child, and there was a frenzied attention to assertiveness training and self-defense for young people.

The specter of “brainwashing” emerged again. A convicted pedophile seemed to confirm the theory when he said youngsters

are manipulated psychologically to such a degree that their facial expressions are blank, as though they are thinking, ‘just get it over with.’ ... in the child’s mind, they think they are as guilty as I am. They know other little boys and girls don’t do this, so they must not be good children. They are overwhelmed with shame much of the time, and simply comply with the wishes of the adult. (Henry 1985)

Detective Al Palmquist asserted that the entry of youth into sexual activity, especially for money, “involves total destruction of self-esteem and obliteration of all will...a near Pavlovian response to any command...” (1978:13; 3, 54, 55). Stratford, speaking of young participants in Satanism as well as of Satanists themselves, said they are all “*victims of brainwashing and mind control.*” They cannot think for themselves, are “separated from normal and wholesome thought processes,” and cannot disassociate themselves from “deceptively evil ways of thinking.”<sup>56</sup> Using in all seriousness a phrase that became popular as humor in the 1980s, some referred to such youth as “love slaves” (Newcott 1981; Rhodes 1988, quoting clinical social worker Susan Moores).

It was asserted that children know inherently what is “wrong” (“bad touch”) in terms of sexual behavior, but some victims were rather troublesome in not entirely fulfilling the wishes of their moral custodians. While speaking of encountering photos of kids supposedly in bondage and sadomasochistic sex, Los Angeles detective William Dworin made the observation that “that’s not the important thing. The important thing is the smile on the kid’s face.”

This, indeed, was “the important thing,” and much time and energy was spent in explaining away those illegal smiles.<sup>57</sup> Expressions of enjoyment were not seen as real. Christine Grant said that youngsters start out naive and innocent, but upon entering a relationship, “they’re transformed” (Lewis 1987). “Dealers with fresh faces, ones that have yet to become the twisted leers, common to children who have been subjected to sexual exploitation for very long, can charge top

dollar for pedophiles shopping for photos of pure, more virginal children," claimed a special Task Force.<sup>58</sup>

Protests and denials are merely an affirmation of how skillful the pedophile's brainwashing is or how vicious are his threats of violence and blackmail, since (temporarily forgetting their arguments about instinct), the child cannot know any better. Another popular subtext, drawing on feminist influences, saw youth as victims of gender definitions wherein females are trained to be submissive and males to be aggressive; males particularly are held responsible for towing the gender line because they are said to be afraid to express their "secret" feelings or to admit to being used or hurt by anyone.<sup>59</sup> "Children are gradually brainwashed to believe pornography is acceptable but not to discuss it with anybody," said Odis Doyal, San Antonio, Texas vice squad (Garcia 1989). More disturbingly, there are young people who "do not initially sense anything unnatural or wrong about engaging in sex" (Emmerman 1985a).

But some youth protected their adult lovers, and many insisted later as adults that they had not been abused.<sup>60</sup> The Illinois Commission Report, while describing adult-youth relationships with such period buzzwords as "molester," "abuse," or "victim," noticed that many of the young people, especially those involved in long-term affairs, described their lovers as "their best friend," not just in one occurrence but "too often to be mere coincidence."<sup>61</sup> The Commission tried to serve as a vehicle for victims but no complaints were received. Some youths were discovered after being named by others, and after being intensely interrogated they named adults they had had affairs with. Several refused to testify against an accused adult lover, and one neighbor of a man arrested said parents had to go to the place "to drag their kids out," a sign of some reluctance to leave the man's company (ILIC 1980:132, 168, 136).

It was rare for the news media to report that some young people refused to validate the accusations against their lovers. Most of these youth were punished. A 16 year old refused to testify against a 32 year old man and was threatened with 60 days in juvenile detention. Judge Robert Fox claimed her right to privacy was overridden because the alleged crime was not committed against her but "against the people of the state," and District Attorney Roger Cognata insisted that "we have a duty to protect a minor whether she likes it or not" (Horn 1981, Anonymous 1982a). In a more famous case, a 12 year old refused to testify against her stepfather and was held in solitary, then released to a foster home (Hammer 1984). The case received national attention not because it showed flaws in abuse theories and the character of child-savers, but largely because the anti-incest movie *Something About Amelia* was aired that same week and as one of the most watched made-for-television films at the time, it dramatized (and escalated) many of the developing clichés. In another situation, after refusing to testify a 13 year old was apprehended and sent in handcuffs as a witness against her adoptive father. Her mother and 17 year old sister were similarly cuffed; all three had refused to testify and had been hiding from the authorities (Anonymous 1990c). A much publicized case of an American in Thailand in the late 1980s was promoted



by the entertainment industry and police as an example of the international reach of perversion, but a few years later the outcome received only a brief mention in an article still trying to incite moral indignation in Western markets. The case "collapsed when young boys who had agreed to testify recanted earlier statements and fled."<sup>62</sup> O'Brien (1983:127) said most kids will protect their partners, and she advised police, "If you get a confession from a child, be sure to hold him or her in custody until you arrest the perpetrator" because the kid will try to warn the partner(s).

A professional paper by Ann Burgess and others (1984) was enthusiastically received by the popular press insofar as it allowed continued tongue-clicking over adult-youth sex, reinforced the idea of long-term trauma, bemoaned the difficulties facing the savers and healers, and presented the exciting theater of secret rings and conspiracies in which bizarre illicit sex takes place. But Goleman had to say that only one in four of the sex-ring youngsters was brought to a "healthy psychological adjustment," by which he meant "believing that the adult ring leader was wrong and was responsible for what went on." Many of the kids steadfastly refused to accept the idea "that anything was wrong with what went on" (1984; Sweeney 1984). Speaking of another "ring," Inspector Glenn Pamfiloff said, "After many hours of questioning, the children finally admitted to being molested." Adding that there was a sexual response on the part of the kids, he said "They don't feel that they are victims, they feel like they are accomplices. They are too young to understand all the implications" (Kortum-Stermer 1990).

Some individuals, referred to as "victims" though they insisted the contrary, began to speak of their experiences as "ambivalent," and sometimes as outrightly pleasurable and positive. Kirschenbaum (1987) quoted expert Henry Giarretto as saying that not all "unwanted" (a term of qualification used more often later in the period) sexual contacts have long-term negative effects. Kirschenbaum cited "Karen" who had an affair when she was 12 and who saw it as "seductive." "Karen" said that now if she were part of a study, she would say she had been "sexually victimized" even though she was still greatly ambivalent about the contact—i.e., she enjoyed and benefited from it. Her remark points to the importance of historical context in determining the range and language of culturally and politically appropriate answers.

After a decade or more of "myth-bashing," later works turned on their earlier colleagues and denied, as a "myth," that the abused become abusers (Sanford 1990). Journalists continued to have to explain why "a minority" seem to have "no lasting emotional harm" (Crewdson 1988:209f) to a public that had been saturated by their own profession with accounts of horrific, absolute, and eternal trauma.

### III

"The [child's] mind pretends that the abuse is not scary... the child believes that he or she is in control rather than powerless and out of control ... [the child] thinks that everything is all right," said Hillman and Solek-Tefft (1988:20). The

phrase “out of control” was a slip; more likely they meant “not in control.” But the phrase they did use tells us, again, that beneath the loud surface texts of threats to children runs the unspoken fear that there are threats *of* children.

As usual, the most immediate imagining is violence. Harking back to the Freudian duality of Eros struggling with Thanatos, Geiser (1979:29) sounded an early warning that rape (his term for all adult-youth sex) disrupts the youth’s ability to temper aggression with affection, and once created, this demon turns against other individuals, objects, or the self. Remarks by Kee MacFarlane, made at the 1984 Third Annual Conference on Sexual Victimization of Children, were often repeated during the era: “We...see children who become offenders themselves, among them, three seven year olds.”<sup>63</sup> Based on the assumption that children are completely innocent of both sex and violence, the view persisted and was expressed with vehemence. Sherry Abbott, Executive Director of the San Antonio, Texas Alamo Area Rape Crisis Center, gave an account of “a 5-year-old boy who assaulted a young female neighbor with a cola bottle.”

it’s inconceivable that a 5-year-old would comprehend a sexual assault on someone else. A child that age probably has been the victim of sexual abuse and possibly had access to hard-core pornography. Children that young must have been exposed to sexual assault themselves to some extent to make it a part of their lives because children imitate what they see.<sup>64</sup>

MacFarlane again provided excellent imagery, nicely tying the relentless advance of the pedophile to the total innocence of a tiny victim; the result is a kind of Rosemary’s Baby image of this unholy union:

We’ve seen hundreds of children who’ve said “no,” who’ve begged “no” and it didn’t help. And we’ve seen children who’ve been so “sexualized” that we must wean them away from sex—they go through withdrawal when they lose that stimulation.<sup>65</sup>

The idea allows usage of one of America’s favorite images, the time bomb (O’Brien 1983:99, Crewdson 1985). Advancing an idea from some years before (Peters 1973), Geiser added the necessary suspense recalling a Night-Of-The-Living-Abused scenario. He says that “a child who was apparently little affected at the time of the rape stores up psychological dynamite that may explode at some crucial point in her psychosexual development” (1979:27f). John Boyle estimated that in 1985 there were between 5,000 and 10,000 sexually abused students at the University of Texas and that “some are like a time bomb ready to explode” (Simpson 1985). Hollingsworth (1986:124, 252) said the memories of abuse must be “defused.” In the 1990s, there were a couple of conceptual expansions on the image. Vachss (1994) said that emotionally abused individuals are like time bombs, but in this case they “implode,” taking out the trauma on themselves. In one of the many ironies we see during this period, a journalistic account of the fall of Bruce Ritter (Sennott 1992:97) referred to one of the young men Ritter supposedly had sex with as “a walking time bomb,” not so much because he had sex with Ritter, but because that revelation threatened to bring down the Covenant

House business. This was at a time when teen and preteen violence became more recognized and the image was adjusted as needed.

Finally, there were wide-spread fears that the abused would fill the ranks of those contributing to social and moral deterioration. The Illinois Commission claimed abused youth manifest “destructive behavior throughout the entire adult life and their effects can span generations” (1980:206). McConnell (1984:43) said that “The sexually exploited child of today has a good possibility of becoming the hard core criminal of tomorrow.” Andrew Vachss was certain the abused juvenile has no possibility of rehabilitation (Pooley 1987); he believed that “survivors of child abuse grow up to haunt us with juvenile crime, drug and alcohol abuse, juvenile prostitution, and suicide” (Vachss 1985b, 1993). Nearly all writers of the period felt that such youngsters were likely to end up in a “lifelong entrapment in perversion, prostitution, and other more violent forms of antisocial behavior.”<sup>66</sup>

While these texts considered the child a victim, this story type placed the youngster as a disease vector, particularly those who are undiagnosed, adding the theme of the unseen threat. It demanded even closer surveillance and control of youth’s physical and mental life. At a deeper level, the texts excitedly anticipated (and encouraged) “incredible outrage” (Anonymous 1985b) in the form of retributive violence against alleged offenders. This is in some ways a continuation of much older fears about the migrations of youth from the country to the city. In more recent times, the World Wars contributed to these fears and reactivated their expression in very similar forms. Dr. Mary Fisher, chief of the Child Study Department at Vassar, was worried about the “thousands of 12 to 15 year old girls who flirt with men in uniform. Educators should do something about them. They are war casualties” (Anonymous 1942). This article used violent situations mixed with an instance where two females (12 and 13) were living with three male members of an orchestra as examples of ruined youth. The magazine continued to fume over the “moral breakdown among teen-age American girls” (Anonymous 1944), especially condemning “bobby-soxers—many...as young as 13,” whom the writer referred to as “frowzy Victory Girls.” Others complained of the rise of venereal disease among “amateur” prostitutes, females in their mid-teens (Anonymous 1943). Later and less common accounts paid attention to boy prostitutes, seeing them much the same: from broken homes, living in “depravity,” and “all demoralized, unhappy, roaming the trackless sands between childhood and maturity.”<sup>67</sup>

The whole of Part Three of the Illinois Investigating Commission Report is on youth prostitution. Judianne Densen-Gerber said in 1977 that Chicago was a central point in a national network of boy prostitution, and she claimed that 600,000 boys and girls were involved in prostitution and child pornography (ILIC 1980:224). The Report then quoted a Chicago *Sun-Times* (February 6, 1977) story by Roger Simon about a 17 year old female who supposedly became a prostitute at 11 but had been “saved” by Densen-Gerber’s Odyssey House.

Commission investigators tried to confirm this but Densen-Gerber refused to speak to them. An aide finally told them that she “had no *concrete* evidence or personal knowledge of child abuse in Chicago and that the information she had brought to public attention was totally derived from Robin Lloyd’s book” (1980:225, emphasis in original). Attempts to trace the identity of Simon’s young woman revealed that there was no such person. The Commission was unable to discover any preteen or early teen prostitutes in Chicago.

That no law enforcement group encountered organized groups of teens and preteens prior to 1977 meant little to anyone heavily involved in this country’s moral climate in 1977 and immediately thereafter. Books like *The Minnesota Connection* were graphic, gripping, and, to many, plausible. That such books are not documented and that their authors have been unable to authenticate their claims may have gone unnoticed by the general public.<sup>68</sup>

The Report cited a *Time* magazine article (Anonymous 1977c) that also labelled Chicago as a center of intense prostitution and pornography activity and claimed police were cracking down. The investigators found no changes in arrests for juvenile prostitution over a period of years and police officials themselves had no evidence of large scale operations of prostitution or pornography and could not be “cracking down” on something that didn’t exist.<sup>69</sup> The Commission also tried to interview Father Bruce Ritter but he too was “unavailable;” an aide told the Commission that a recent CBS *60 Minutes* program had distorted the youth and their problems.<sup>70</sup> They mentioned Ritter’s testimonies and the fact that he published many of his “horror stories” (the Report’s phrase) in brochures that hyped Covenant House (Ritter 1987, 1988). They reprint one undated flyer that tied a portrait of a 15 year old young man—“Slow waves of depravity and innocence washed in shadows of darkness and light across his face”—to a message of why and how the Christian god loves and forgives everyone.<sup>71</sup> The Commission also noted that the figures for prostitution and runaways Ritter gave have never been substantiated.<sup>72</sup>

The Illinois Report said that a director of a social service agency remarked that “80% of all runaways end up in prostitution.” When investigators asked for the basis of this, she remarked that she had heard it from a co-worker who had in turn read it in a popular magazine.<sup>73</sup> Nevertheless, despite the lack of evidence, the authors of the Report insisted that there is a “correlation between early sexual experience, particularly sexual abuse, and child prostitution” (p. 285).

Prostitution has always seemed to hold a special fascination, if not an outright obsession, for the police. The search by Palmquist for a pipeline of teen prostitutes included several interesting narratives. In one, his chief told him that a woman who begins prostitution at sixteen “would be destroyed mentally, her mind not capable of normal thought patterns, by the time she was twenty-one. Physically, she’d be without feeling and probably ridden with venereal disease” (1978:24). He showed Palmquist “pictures of girls in acid baths, disemboweled, beaten pulpy with tire irons, doused in gasoline and burned to blackened bones”

(p. 26). The Chief lays the high school pictures of the prostitutes along side for contrast, an effective device Palmquist used in his own book illustrations.<sup>74</sup> Among the qualities that make girls "susceptible" to prostitution are "unworldly backgrounds and naive desires for freedom and excitement," Palmquist said (p. 45). He believed there was "control by fear" of boys forcing them into prostitution, "as common in the gay community as in the heterosexual world."<sup>75</sup>

Even more fearful than the abused becoming social liabilities was the fear that there would be wide-spread sympathy for the devil in the form of youngsters who themselves become pedophiles. Into the early 1990s, the imagery held as "fact:" *"Perhaps the most sinister long-term effect consists of the fact that boy victims are far more apt to become future sexual offenders and girl victims to become further exploited or victimized"* (Hillman and Solek-Tefft 1988:43, emphasis in original; 133f). The idea that the abused will become abusers was in place professionally some time previously, building on the old folk wisdom of the bent twig. Goldberg and Goldberg (1940:143) felt that the men who had sex with the young females in their study may have had their "own sex feelings prematurely and abnormally aroused." Each period of anxiety over youth brings refreshed theories and applications of the idea. In the 1950's, it was believed that juvenile delinquency and homosexuality were caused by the "unwitting" seduction of children by defective parents.<sup>76</sup> The view remained from the early 1970's on.

Part of the threat was the suspicion that child victims will recruit other youngsters to satisfy the hungers of the pedophile. There was also the scenario of rejected lovers who have grown too old to be attractive who "will sometimes procure...other child victims in a last-ditch effort to rekindle the former total relationship... The cycle may then continue" (Martin and Haddad 1982:109).

There were only two allowable roles in adult-youth sex: victim and criminal. The sexual child, when it was granted that such a creature might exist, was seen as a mutant, a grotesque result of unnatural forces. The sexual child, a product of the pedophile's extraordinary powers, something on the order of Frankenstein's monster, became the pedophile's familiar, an entity with its own insidious promise. In a nice demonstration of the avoidance of the issue and the conceptual shift at the basis of the hysteria, Cooney (1987:15), in a "myth- versus-reality" text, showed how the terms of the issues were construed: the myth is supposed to be that "Some children are naturally seductive and encourage adult sexual attention. *Reality:* The victim is never at fault in sexual abuse." Aside from an evasion of the issue, the positions become reversed: what was "reality" is presented as a "myth," and what was ideological commitment becomes designated as "reality." Similarly, Janus presented a portion of a potentially valuable text by a 14 year old who had been sexually active since the age of 12. He quickly and nervously dismissed her as "pseudosophisticated" (1981:278) and pronounced her the product of a pathological family system.

In the early and mid-1970s, youth's sex was more benignly considered but still problematic and subject to professional anxiety. One text from that period

criticized the 1950s view that saw children as happy carefree creatures whose problems were essentially trivial. Klein felt that adult insistence on acting out certain ideas of childhood, based largely their own guilt-driven fantasies, deny children "their most meaningful inheritance—the right to total possession of the fullest spectrum of their feelings." Among the most important feelings are sexual ones, and she felt that young people "should not be cleansed of the lusty, swirling sensuality" that is a significant part of childhood (1975:10, 139). Her views were typical of opinions held in the late 1960s and early 1970s, a brief bubble of sexological liberalism. It was a re-realization that children do not lead completely unaffected and asexual lives. But the idea that they should (or must) was stubbornly retained and was placed in the image of the suffering but innocent child; children's sexualities were vehemently denied or reconfigured as something foreign and antithetical to happiness and growth.

Sexuality returned to the traditional body-destroying alien. Some knew that youngsters can come away from pedophilic relations with feelings of "pleasure," "strong sexual feelings," "highly eroticized" (O'Brien 1983:104), or "preoccupied with sexuality, or sexual expression."<sup>77</sup> Because they don't know how to "handle" or understand the "implications" of sexual feelings, the image feeds directly into the out-of-control (or controlled-by-others) narratives that make up the literature of hypersexuality. "Children will automatically do anything that is pleasurable until conditioned otherwise," insisted Linedecker.<sup>78</sup> Hillman and Solek-Tefft (1988:37f) gave a good exposition of the sexual child as seen by the experts of the period. The juvenile is "overly knowledgeable and acts deviantly," and has a "heightened sexual awareness" which includes a rich inventory of slang and an insightful comprehension of "the nature and process of specific sexual acts" that leaves their peers wide-eyed and open-mouthed in amazement and admiration, and their elders shaken, indignant, and aroused. They act out "compulsive" or "excessive sex play," fantasize about sex, manifest their sexual imaginations in various media, and indulge in the decadence of "incessant and agitated masturbation." Teenagers and preteens may be "overly" seductive, though we are not told what they believe the "normal" levels of seductiveness are. They may then engage in prostitution or in (deliciously vague) "more unusual sexual practices;" they will be "promiscuous," defined as "repeated victimization of an almost masochistic nature, or repeated seduction or abuse of others." In her account of a girl supposedly the subject of Satanic sexual abuse, Hayden acknowledged that children can be sexual, and added that "disturbed kids can get pretty creative in that realm."<sup>79</sup> Then she admitted (p. 140, emphasis in original) that what is really disturbing to her even more than doing it, is "*wanting* to do it." The hero must save the child, and civilization, from this at all costs.

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## THE FACTUAL HERO

### I

Child-saving heroes were usually characterized along traditional lines. The true hero is reluctant, forced to fight, pushed past the limit of toleration.<sup>1</sup> One of Gordon Thomas' heroes was Jack O'Malley, Chicago Customs agent. He has a gun but prefers to use "his formidable intellect" and his "natural fearlessness." He wanted "constant excitement" from his job, and "He knew he had the right kind of covert mind," Thomas said (1991:49f). His image is "timeless" as is befitting the eternal hero, and his Brooks Brothers outfit is augmented by a "government-issue briefcase" to complete the ordinary look—but inside it is "stuffed with the latest reports on men and women with the morals of alley cats and the killing instincts of cobras" (p. 72).

There were two main aspects to the heroic child-saver of the 1980s. One side trembled with tenderness, not afraid to weep at the tragedy of the drama. Some of the best characterizations can be found in Manshel's book. Figures are cartooned at the very beginning, with no complexities, no contradictions of role or circumstance in her melodrama. In a reflective scene, Officer George McGrath poured out his soul in a "poignant, pained" piano tune, then played "You'll Never Walk Alone." The kids in the Kelly Michaels case sensed the "sweetness" of social worker Lou Fonolleras, said Manshel. Both McGrath and Fonolleras were described as "passionate, caring men who felt more than the usual responsibility for the world" (p. 80). The investigating team was "a very sensitive, caring group of detectives" (p. 31) and knew "intuitively" how to handle the kids. But shading into the other side of the hero, McGrath "got a visceral satisfaction" from apprehending suspects, and "He found personal gratification in making arrests. George felt great arresting Kelly," said Manshel (pp. 47f); he possessed a "fierceness" that drove him to save children, "no matter what." This reveals the other basic heroic quality: unhesitating aggressiveness.

The pedophile must be found, made to confess, and punished. So too must victims be found, made to confess, and saved, all with the same swift righteous surety. A self-assumed purity of heart and strength of spirit separate the true hero from "weak-kneed yellowbellies," a term used by Madison County Illinois prosecutor Don Weber for those reluctant to prosecute sexual abuse cases

(Linedecker 1981:177). Cuba (1984) said of Carolyn Huebner, founder of Texas Child Find (1984), that she was “a fanatic about missing children,” and is “tough, loud and completely impatient with people who don’t share her interests.” In unchecked stories, Huebner said she had received death threats and been shot at in the course of her child saving, and claimed to have single-handedly beaten up three men while rescuing a boy held captive by an unnamed cult in Austin, Texas. Attorney Shari Karney, author of a California state bill that significantly changed the statute of limitations for prosecuting individuals based on tenuous concepts of “delayed discovery” and “recovered memories,” was well known for her rabid histrionics, which included trying to strangle a defendant while he was on the stand.<sup>2</sup> Alice Vachss, another highly promoted prosecutor known for her pursuit of maximum sentences and unquestioning victim support, wrote a valuable period text on her experiences in New York City. Using metaphors of boxing matches (1993:211ff, 260, 263f, 273), she relates stories of bucking a system that badly needed it and of prosecuting rapists. Pedophiles are to her merely a subcategory of rapists, all referred to as “subhumans.”

## II

The hero must first save the child, but often a block to salvation was the child’s denial. If the children lacked any conviction, it was more than made up for by the demanding optimism of therapists, prosecutors, and police. Officer John G. Fasick, admitting to being “obsessed” with arresting offenders, said he had interrogated a number of boys suspected of illegal sex with adults but the kids were “reluctant to tattle” (Gregg 1984). The police, advertised as the protectors and saviors of youth, had to do it, “even if it means bending his or her civil rights” (Linedecker 1981:299). Hackensack, New Jersey Detective William G. Thorne justified his “intense” interrogations of youth because “We’ve got to crack the boy, and it’s not an easy thing to do.”<sup>3</sup> Another detective said of over 100 cases of illicit youth-adult sex he had worked, not one was the result of a report by a minor (Earl 1992). This had been a problem from the very beginning, and police officials and social workers prided themselves on their ability to obtain confessions from suspected or uncomplaining victims.

When children denied any abuse or sex had occurred, or failed to exhibit any of the stigmata, certain methodological and theoretical assumptions permitted the investigator to proceed. For a small but energetic and influential group in the period, religious ideologies formed a foundation for professional practice. Demon possession was a real and causal agent for such things as homosexuality, multiple personality disorders, or homicide. Allen cited an unnamed psychiatrist who said he encountered a number of people in his practice who believed they were possessed by a demon or Satan; the psychiatrist said he “almost invariably found a history of sexual abuse in early childhood” (1993:213). So-called cult cops used this to guide their investigations, and it was often used as a basis for therapeutic work with children (Hicks 1991b). Gordon Thomas gave one of the best accounts. An official of a California agency who worked with troubled youth



decided many of them had been possessed by the Devil and needed exorcism or (the newer term) "spiritual reversal."<sup>4</sup> Described dramatically by Thomas as if he were there, the boy screamed and confessed he was Satan. With the power of scripture the boy was "reversed" by a man identified only as "Reverend Ed," and the session videotaped. But when they go to play the tape immediately after the session, they are shocked to discover *it is blank!* They all agreed that Satan had erased the tape.<sup>5</sup>

Most others took a secular approach, though the methods were often as mystical. None of the children in the Kelly Michaels case reported abuse, but social worker Fonolleras (with "dark, caring eyes, eyes that could hear") believed that some deniers had been molested (Manshel 1990:37). Fonolleras said "you can't go by what they *say*," claiming that he saw signs in children's body language that convinced him they had been molested (Rabinowitz 1990:57, emphasis in original). Experts wanted it both ways: children may not say what they mean and may not mean what they say; prosecutor Sara McArdle told the jury that "to believe a child's *no* is simplistic" (Rabinowitz 1990:61, 63). It was necessary only to believe what one wanted to believe.

[Investigators] were convinced that—with the pressure of a massive headache—these children pounded with things they needed to tell. The investigators could see in the agitation, the tears, the fearful tensed eyes, the massive thing in their brains. (Manshel 1990:50; 52)

Many kids in the case froze up or resisted the interviews, or went on rampages. In what appear to be transcripts of interrogations, the kids avoided responses or deny them and have to be led, as when Fonolleras badgered a reluctant boy, "Do you want to help us keep her in jail longer? Huh? Do ya, huh? ... Do you want to help us keep her in jail longer?"<sup>6</sup>

Here was the opportunity to heal souls, instill correct thought, and control behavior. Popular press accounts of therapy were superficial and stressed the emotional salvation coming from psychological rescue. "Disclosure," a very popular term of the period, was something that children may "do," but more often it was something officials felt youngsters must be "*brought* to," as in Christian evangelism where people are "brought" to their deity. Clients may be "reborn" or (a secular equivalent) "empowered" through the efforts of mental health specialists. Exactly as did medieval clergy, authorities claimed that a failure or refusal to confess would result in severe life-long problems (Hagans and Case 1988:27). Telling, confessing, is healing and "transformative," proponents said.

Several ontological and sociological contexts for victims' testimonies were necessary. One was a need to establish a belief in the absolute truth of what young people were saying and an equally absolute denial of contrary views. Sex researchers had known for a long time that children are not reliable reporters (Gagnon and Simon 1969), but many legitimate victims of abuse complained bitterly and correctly that an adult's word was often accepted over that of a child's. By the mid-1980s there was a fanatic belief in the veracity of children's testimony. There were buttons, banners, and posters seen in the McMartin case

and others proclaiming, "We Believe The Children!," and an organization was formed by that name which offered consultation to prosecutors around the country. By the mid-1980s it was given as scientific fact that children never lie about sex.

Well, hardly ever. Crewdson again provided an example of the kind of hedging that appeared in the popular media in the late 1980s. First he asserted that "if older children rarely lie about sexual abuse, it seems that younger children almost never do" (1988:170). But then he said, one page later, "to say that children rarely lie is not to say that they always tell the truth, only that most of them believe they're telling the truth" (p. 171). As a good apologetic should, there is an attempt here to not only justify the inquisitor's heavy-handedness but to try to salvage some shred of credibility after the numerous fantastic testimonies that sent many to long prison terms were recanted or disproved. By the early 1990s, there was still the urge to "Believe The Children," although more critical investigations were started, largely to avoid the increasing number of lawsuits against authorities and journalists for libel, slander, false arrest, prosecutorial misconduct, malicious prosecution, illegal searches and seizures, and so on.

Other contextual necessities for victim testimonies included establishment of a net of adult relations, assuring the youngster of its own veracity and protecting it from challenges, and adults assuring each other of their righteousness.<sup>7</sup> Writing in the early part of the hysteria, Sanford said the reaction of adults around the child is the most important factor in determining whether or not the sex becomes "a life-destroying event."<sup>8</sup> Initially the insulation of the child was to protect it from threatening adults, but later was used to isolate youth and adults from reality checks and criticism. Declarations of innocence of children were also declarations of the innocence of adults, of their intentions and institutions.<sup>9</sup>

A major effort of the period went into convincing parents that abuse had taken place, particularly (later in the decade) "ritual abuse." Social worker Peg Foster told parents that abuse was very common and under reported, and that "something could have happened at Wee Care" (Manshel 1990:29), and gave parents a list of stigmata to watch for. Much of the panic for parents in the Florida Country Walk case was induced by police, psychologists, and the media. This was done by promoting cases around the country as true and as extensive, by producing the usual list of symptoms, and by promoting parental guilt for not recognizing these signs, sending their children into the hands of supposed molesters.<sup>10</sup> Hollingsworth said parents "were grossly uninformed of the quiet national epidemic that claimed a child every two minutes of every hour of every day" (1986:118). In all of these cases, authorities and frightened parents turned to the child, now an official victim, for the validation of all they now firmly believed.

Theory usually assumed that traumatic events are not consciously remembered; consequently, what is not remembered or admitted must be pulled out of the client: "Patients must accept the fact that these experiences, so artfully hidden, did occur ... the truth must be faced; the past is unalterable and must be

accepted.”<sup>11</sup> Inquisitors of children felt more than justified in insisting, over and over, that their customers “disclose.”

Suzanne Sgroi said that even if a youngster didn’t experience the sex as abuse, “as the child learns what society thinks of what he has done, the child feels betrayed. The child has a sense of danger, a sense of being violated, a sense that he is not as good as he was before” (Nelson 1983). The task of the heroic therapist is to make sure the child thinks and acts like a victim. For the many children who don’t realize that adult-youth sex is “wrong” (ignoring the insistence that children know instinctively what is “wrong” sexually) and who refuse to confess, the therapist has to insist with “a lot” of intense and “constant” affirmation and support, terms indicating a predefined context in which the difficult youngster must (re)construct relations (Blair 1984). MacFarlane remarked that in using “anatomically-correct” dolls to help children construct stories of sexual activity, “I look at children as people who have just arrived from another planet. And I’m their translator.”<sup>12</sup>

Elicitation of narratives was based solely on forensic techniques. The Eberles complained that interrogations in the McMartin case were composed of elements of “Pavlovian conditioning,” hypnotism, exhaustion methods, or “brainwashing,” all modeled after police examinations (1993:187). One of the charming aspects of the Eberles’ indignation is their naivete about the kind of sexology in ascendance during this period (as well as their views of what is important in journalism). Few of the moral entrepreneurs at this time made any secret about their criminological and moral approach to adult-youth sex as opposed to critical inquiry or scientific research. The purpose was to produce narratives to be used to confirm certain symbolic complexes, to punish certain kinds of adult sexual behavior and thought, to control children’s behavior and ideas, and to reestablish certain ideologies and roles as heroic and superior. MacFarlane was very explicit about this: “child sexual abuse is not comparable to other types of adult crimes, and should not be investigated as though it were.”<sup>13</sup>

Avoiding leading and suggestive questions “may not be in a child’s best interest if the child is young, frightened, and sexually abused,” she said. Further, guiding scripts are “necessary in order to enable frightened young children to respond to and talk about particular subjects” (MacFarlane and Waterman 1986:86, 87). The narratives not only must be made to flow, they must flow in the right direction. The idea is to move the youngster along a sequence from denial to disclosure, what MacFarlane called the “No-Maybe-Sometimes-Yes Syndrome” in which children “need encouragement in order to disclose in small, tentative steps” (p. 89). This helps ensure satisfactory conclusions but also, especially when videotaped, may be used to refute later recantations if they arise.<sup>14</sup>

The therapist is specifically instructed to “help the child become more aware of the sexual abuse. ... It is crucial that the child own up to the event” (Hillman and Solek-Tefft 1988:69f). The therapist has to *make* the child remember any sexual abuse instead of allowing the victim any chance of “forgetting or ignoring

the problem" (p. 78). Two things are demanded: that the child know there is a problem, but more importantly, that the problem (and its solution) be defined by the saving adult. In the case of adults trying to recover memories of sexual abuse, the therapist is to accept and work toward fulfilling the assumptions of the client.

The allowed scope of data and interpretation was limited and selective. "Recovered memories" entailed a shift in the empirical status of the "fact," a shift made easier by David Finkelhor (1979) who absolved the prosecution of adult-youth sex from scientific authentication. Late in her book, Manshel reported that several children said other teachers knew of the activities and/or participated in them. Because these statements were too easy to verify and posed a risk to the rest of the children's claims, they were dismissed as "scattered and contradictory." Some children also said that their parents were present during the molestation; the prosecutor reinterpreted these as "rescue fantasies" and "a coping mechanism" (1990:100). When a boy spoke of "chopping his head off," Fonolleras "inferred" that the boy really meant sexual intercourse (p. 86). When one girl was reluctant to go to the bathroom at school because she was shy, this was rejected in favor of seeing it as a symptom of abuse.

The underlying assumption is that all sexual contact with an adult is severely traumatizing. "There is no positive or neutral experience of sexual abuse," Bass and Davis confidently assured believers (1988:316). If it was discovered not to be so after an intensive examination, in the eyes of the experts it *should* have been traumatic because theory said so, and the least that can be done is to let the child know what a narrow escape it had. Investigators in the Michaels case were bothered not only by those who denied any sex had taken place, but also by the number of children who failed to exhibit any symptoms. Despite the initial accusations and immediate stigmatization of the day care operators as villains by the state and journalists, many parents kept their children in the school. To a puzzled and disappointed Manshel, these students appeared "startlingly comfortable in their surroundings, not visibly disturbed to be in the school's grip" (Manshel 1990:44).

While a few therapists boasted that they looked at the overall quality of relationships, the affairs were ultimately subject to the interpretation and articulation of offended adults who excluded qualities not consistent with the reified concept of adult-youth sex.<sup>15</sup> Sanford saw a need to "assess the depth of the relationship according to the child's definition, not the parent's or that of other authorities," and "make no assumption about how any given form of sexual abuse will affect the individual child [and] not impose our adult interpretations (and resultant emotions) of the sex act on the child." As an example of her generosity, she cited a "victim" who was saying, "I kept on trying to get my parents to understand that Charlie was my friend."<sup>16</sup> Having absolved professionals of ethical or methodological misconduct, she was then free to assert that it is only the villainous pedophile, not the savior, who "projects his own feelings of sadness and loneliness onto his victim" (pp. 102, 148).

The verification of abuse called for a conceptual system that allowed events or artifacts to be arranged in such a ways as to be “consistent with” (a favorite phrase of validators) the first cause of abuse. At the very beginning of her book Crowley claimed to be extra-perceptive of her daughter’s moods and feelings, but her own text shows that it was only after accusations were made did she think anything was wrong (1990:18). While driving with her child, she had a vision:

...it was as if a light bulb suddenly went on in my head. I saw with horrible clarity why Hannah had been so eager to avoid naptime at Wee Care. I slammed on the brakes and shouted, ‘Hannah, why don’t you want to take your naps at school any more?’”

Not seeing the cartoon light bulb above Crowley’s head, the girl is unnerved at the sudden severity of her mother’s outburst, replying “non-committally.”<sup>17</sup> Her child would many times not eat the lunch Crowley prepared, so it dawned on Crowley, “No wonder Hannah hadn’t had time to eat! She was kept too busy with Kelly’s bizarre games” (p. 21). On Hannah’s request to not have to take naps: “I hugged her, wished I’d recognized months earlier this innocent request for what it was—a cry for help, a plea to stop Kelly from hurting Hannah and her classmates” (p. 22). The process is escalated and refined when three mothers get together: “There was so much...in their daughters’ behavior to look back on and reexamine. They marvelled that they hadn’t seen the signs sooner” (p. 68). When Hannah was nine, Crowley discovered a drawing Hannah had made of a woman and man having intercourse. “Underneath the picture she had printed, ‘Sara and Ken loved each other very much. They loved hugging and kissing each other. Before long they were cresting [I’m sure she meant caressing] each other under their clothes.’” Crowley was “horrified” by the “disturbing” drawing, and felt it was a product of abuse and used it to renew her hatred of Michaels.<sup>18</sup> It is implied that the rampaging behavior of several kids at the interrogations is proof of abuse: they no longer knew right from wrong and were wild because they were “desperate” for someone to set limits on their behaviors (Manshel 1990:77, Crowley 1990:69ff).

When one girl said Michaels played “Jingle Bells” on the piano while naked, Manshel said this “introduced the concept of more unusual abuse” (p. 43). Peanut butter and jelly were seen as sexual tools, used to condition the kids to oral sex. “If they could do peanut butter and jelly, then they could do urination and defecation,” Manshel said (1990:68). The kids might have just been “doing” lunch, but social worker Peg Foster saw this as a key to the ultimate motive of youth-adult sex: degradation. Foster then went through the school kitchen and found a number of partially used jars. “Though she knew the teachers had used peanut butter for snacks, disgust overwhelmed her. She thought, Oh God, it’s really here. I really found it!”, Manshel wrote (p. 68). When a child reported drinking urine, Fonolleras accepted Foster’s assumption and “now it seemed *irrefutable* that Kelly had intended to dominate and degrade” (p. 86, Manshel’s words, my emphasis). An examining physician found Hannah’s hymen “patent,” that is, simply open. Even though the physician offered a number of more

probable explanations, Crowley said, "Here it was, then, physical evidence. A doctor had confirmed what I pretty much knew."<sup>19</sup>

Ritual abuse cases presented a special problem for validators, but it was easily overcome by the same sort of thinking. Spencer (1989:222) was able to establish a cult by logic: "Alters" (multiple personalities) arise due to severe trauma; ritual abuse is a severe trauma; therefore, the presence of an "alter" proves the existence of the cult. For being "pretty much what they knew," Spencer made a similar observation concerning ritual abuse tales: "The nature of the activities and beliefs [of one of the multiple personalities] presented to the therapists was consistent with what they were ready to accept."<sup>20</sup>

Another mystical transformation of real or imagined events into proof was found in the novelistic account of what is supposed to be therapist Gail Carr Feldman's case of ritual abuse. Her patient thinks she was sexually abused by her grandfather, but the only evidence she had was her feelings of hatred for him. All of the subject's complaints caused Feldman to think of sexual abuse (virtually every human complaint had by this time been symptomatically linked to abuse by professionals and journalists). With no real evidence, Feldman classified her patient as a sexual abuse victim after a few visits. How did she know everything her subject was saying was true? "I'm not certain, but I knew," she confidently said (1993:48). This was based largely in her shift from a belief in mental illness to a belief (more akin to religious faith) in Evil: "Being evil was beginning to seem quite distinct from having a mental disorder" (p. 75). To separate herself and her profession from the demands of science, Feldman ridiculed what she called "intellectualizing."<sup>21</sup> As an example, after hearing reports of abuse in a hospital, Feldman asked for basic facts about the hospital, such as where it was. Then she drew back and apologized for this slip into "intellectualization." She said, "If we talk about the hospital and the perpetrators, then I don't have to share your pain" (p. 8). The sharing of pain is the highest priority and the source of validation. Empirical verification is abandoned in favor of voyeurism, moral absolutism, genre theater, and emotional parasitism.

Another ritual abuse case involved a fundamentalist police officer accused by his daughter's "recovered memories." Paul Ingram couldn't remember the events she alleged, so psychologist Richard Peterson suggested that Ingram had been molested as a child himself but repressed his memories (Wright 1994:34f). The police and Peterson helped construct scenarios to which Ingram readily agreed and even elaborated upon. The first to say others were involved, officer Joe Vukich suggested a "cult," and Peterson suggested "the Satan kind of thing" (pp. 40, 44). The family pastor, John Bratun, suggested to Ingram's wife various scenarios which she passively accepted. The cops and Peterson pressed one of Ingram's sons to recall any abuse, which he couldn't, so then they had him relate his dreams. They told him the dreams symbolically represented the events they wanted him to disclose. His inability to recall any abuse was taken as proof of the abuse; Peterson said, "They assaulted your ability to know what was real." When the son still doubted the truth or relevance of the dreams, they told him he had

been “programmed” not to tell (pp. 62ff). Interrogation of Ingram by Peterson brought forth testimonies following scenes directly from Stratford’s fraudulent *Satan’s Underground* (1988). As detectives questioned witnesses and offenders, Watters said “soon it became clear that everything the detectives asked about would happen or appear in the [confession]...they could even direct the actions of Ingram and the other characters” (1991:65). Ingram himself, trying hard to be cooperative, said “It’s like I’m watchin’ a movie.”<sup>22</sup>

Police automatically assumed that the events happened and assumed guilt. When Ingram’s tales became too bizarre to seriously consider, the detectives then felt that Ingram had engineered this as a plot to discredit his confession and the investigators. Others accused simply went along with it. When unable to remember any of the events of which he was accused in the case, one man said, “I’ve blocked it out enough—I must be the worst one. The only option is to lock me up, and you’re going to have to throw away the key, because I’m so damn dangerous I do not deserve to be loose” (Wright 1994:57). News media, as usual, favored prosecutorial views and reported them as verified facts. When Crowley saw news reports on her case, she started weeping again and felt “validated” by the stories which had become representations beyond herself (1990:134).

Testimonies and events also have to be validated among professionals themselves. The way investigators in Manshel’s book convinced each other that molestation took place was to stare at each other and say, over and over, “it happened” (1990:57).

In one of the early books to begin molding the hysteria, Walters used the “myth-versus-fact” device to establish newer ideological paradigms. One of them was a contrast of the “myth” of everlasting trauma with the “fact” that an abused child need not be permanently damaged (1975:113). This assertion was based on a good deal of research but the idea became completely reversed after the mid-1970s, as “myth” and “fact” rotated positions. Promoting a project that studied children who were supposed to have been sexually abused in preschools, a *Los Angeles Times* story tried to reinforce several badly damaged images of the victim and heroic savior by claiming that “with the right kind of help,” most abused children can recover, even if it takes years.<sup>23</sup> This was advertised as a new finding and the progress of science, when in fact it was a revisionist return to pre-1975 research results, forced upon child savers by the realities of human behavior and by growing criticism minimized or unreported by journalists.

One of the essential tasks of heroic child savers is to oversee the distribution of guilt. The manufacture and management of guilt has long been a hallmark of Western religions. Stratford (1988:180ff) insisted that people not be allowed to hide behind a “victim” label. The aim of Christian therapy is that in order to receive the “total freedom, healing, and peace” that her deity offers, one must accept the sinfulness of the self, come to confession, and beg forgiveness. Secular strategies still insist on confession and the placement of guilt in the relationships.

There must be guilt; "if guilt is not present, then there will probably be no anxiety over the act," lamented Janus (1981:319). Earlier workers were more explicit about its necessity. Referring to the suggestions of Alexander Zaphiris, Associate Dean of the Graduate School of Social Work at the University of Houston, Hinds (1981) said therapeutic practice was necessary, for in order to "break the incestuous bond, [the child's] guilt for having enjoyed the incestuous sex must be strengthened." There has to be guilt, but it doesn't have to be directly placed: it may be fed indirectly, as when everyone insists that the sexual event was "wrong," but not the youngster's fault. Sanford said every victim needed professional intervention, if only to tell them, over and over, that they are not at fault for being a part of "this terrible thing," and despite (or perhaps because of) frequent intrusive physical examinations (including taking photos of the anus and genitals), to insist to the child that their body was not damaged by the incident or long-term relationship. They must make the child believe the offender is the sick and criminal one (1982:138, 141f, 145f).

Guilt remains basic to the therapeutic process and the therapist's authority. The issue of "ambivalence" is addressed by therapists, though not without some ambivalence of their own. Often referred to as "mixed feelings," it was acknowledged that some positive and negative feelings may coexist. While exclusively negative feelings are not only recognized but demanded, positive feelings must be extinguished. Therapists instill in the youngster the belief that any positive feelings about the relationship, love for the adult partner(s) and sexual pleasure, were only basic, inherent "survival" instincts, adding a delicious ingredient of fear of a close brush with death to the child's perception of the experiences, firmly associating sexual arousal with fear and violence.<sup>24</sup> Bass and Davis took a more deceitful route. In their book on recalling memories, they consoled the reader by telling her that she is not to feel ashamed of any sexual feelings and pleasure she may have had (1988:78). Later, however, when addressing readers who are counselors, the authors tell them that the client's pleasures are to be turned to a sense of shame (p. 348)—all the while telling the consumer that she was not "at fault."

The correct installation of guilt is a tricky matter and can often interfere with other intentions. In the Michaels case, Manshel mentioned that investigators took some kids to the jail to show they were protected from Michaels. But Manshel admitted it "backfired" when it implied that the children were also going to be jailed for the activities the adults were so sure had happened (p. 50). The investigator's insistence on the "badness" of the situation spilled guilt onto the children and impaired their "ability to judge the goodness of people they met," Manshel admitted (1990:88). Thus "generalization" is another symptom to be dealt with. "A child might sincerely believe that no adult is to be trusted, that all men have dirty minds, and that the whole world is laughing at them behind their backs," said the experts.<sup>25</sup>

In any case, it is important to instill a deep sense of wrongness about the act, and to turn guilt into anger and hatred.<sup>26</sup> A vivid example was shown on a



television documentary on the Little Rascals day care case. As Robert Kelly exited a North Carolina courtroom after his conviction, a number of young girls ran at his car repeatedly screaming, "I hate you!", cheered on by their applauding mothers.<sup>27</sup> In one of her interrogations, using an anatomically correct doll to represent defendant Ray Buckey in the McMartin case, Kee MacFarlane said, "I think we should beat up Mr. Ray...What a bad guy! Don't you think he's a bad guy? He's not gonna do this any more to kids, is he?"; she later told another child to beat up the Ray doll. MacFarlane's assistant Sandra Krebs said of the doll designated as "Miss Peggy" in another examination, "What a stinker! Let's punch her" (Eberle and Eberle 1993:189, ellipsis in original; 202, 373).

Hillman and Solek-Tefft take the offensive; critics should be questioned "in both individual and group situations, about their reasons for so acting, helping them look at the broader picture" (1988:82). Summit (1987b:v) was also indignant: "Rather than confront large numbers of trusted suspects, we challenge the methods and the motives of those few who voice suspicion." Critics, as well as "trusted suspects" (another slip, he meant "victims"), are thus subject to review "in both individual and group situations," making sure that they see the Big Picture, one drawn and animated by authorities driven by particularistic moral imperatives rather than empirical realities.

One of the more revealing instances of the therapeutic approach can be found in Hayden's account of "ritual abuse" in seven year old "Jadie." At one point, she discovered Jadie and a little boy together; Jadie had had the boy's penis in her mouth and seemed to have bitten it. Hayden is shocked and angry (because the girl had his penis in her mouth, not because she bit it), but said little at the time. Much later, when she discovered the girl and another little boy exploring the genitals of a puppy, she grabbed Jadie and told her that that was the equivalent of fooling with the previous boy's "private place" and that "we don't do those sorts of things." Hayden told the girl that at first she was ready to dismiss the incidents as "silliness" but now suspected something was wrong and felt "concerned." Taking the official line, she said to Jadie, "When little girls do something like you were just doing [with the puppy], it's usually because they've seen it done before. Sometimes, someone older shows them or does it to them..."<sup>28</sup> After telling Jadie that she must tell adults about any genital contact, Hayden said she believed Jadie or her parents had been threatened.

When a grown-up is doing something wrong, that is the sort of thing they will say to you... They're lying to keep you from getting help. But if someone is touching you or making you touch them, you need help. You're just a little girl, and these are grown-up matters. You need a grown-up to help you sort it out. (pp. 136f)

Jadie protested several times, saying she was just playing. Finally after a long harangue, Jadie gave in and apologized, probably hoping to be done with it and go play. But Hayden grew even more insistent: "That's not the point. Jadie, I want to *help* you." And indeed, that *is* the point. Hayden continued to try to have

her way with the girl, but finally, without getting a confession and feeling “disgruntled,” Hayden let her go.<sup>29</sup>

Many urged intensive ideological training for children, and, interestingly, the younger the better. Soman suggested that children from two years of age on should be instructed on how to understand “sex deviance from our norms” (1974:198), and other therapists wanted two year olds to learn about “good touch-bad touch” and the universal No (Marriott 1984a; Pienciak 1984d). Day care workers enthusiastically looked to even younger children for signs of what they thought was abuse, and when found shuttled them into special reeducation programs for children aged 6 weeks to two years of age.<sup>30</sup> The aim was to intensify observations on even younger children (Anonymous 1982c, Anonymous 1982d), and even more rigorously continue with what Hillman and Solek-Tefft delicately refer to as “the questioning” (1988:37).

Such moves continue a long tradition of molding youth. Trudgill (1976:51) quotes a text on masturbation from *The Duties of Parents: Reproductive and Educational* (1872):

Our children must be taught, from the earliest period at which their minds can grasp such teaching, the inviolable sanctity of their sexual nature—the irreparable ills which follow its abuse. They must be saturated with the conviction that impurity is a foul and hateful sin, that the perversion of these instincts through whatever agency is a plunge into a fathomless abyss of turpitude from which they will never emerge with a clean soul; that it will interpose an impassable gulf between them and the pure minded; that it will disqualify them for virtuous parentage, and will degrade them beneath the brute. .

Ultimately, there is the return to the specter of the sexual child. One of the most basic assumptions of the time was that children were incapable of sexual interests, abilities, or feelings.<sup>31</sup> While any behavior could be seen as disturbance, sexual expressions were especially alarming. “Intense concern and preoccupation with sex is the most universal and flagrant characteristic of sexual abuse cases,” warned counsellors.<sup>32</sup>

Mike Lew’s book on boys having sex with men was uncritically received by most reviewers.<sup>33</sup> According to Lew, if a child enjoyed the relationship, it was only because of the physical sensation. Enjoyment is the most insidious kind of temptation for youth, Lew admits, for the child continues to seek it. This purposeful return for pleasure he called “a pattern of victimization” (1990:132f). The therapist’s task was to break “the connection between abuse and enjoyment,” to use his revealing statement.<sup>34</sup> The specter of “overaffectionate” children who “hurl themselves” at strangers rattles the emotional, cultural, and physical separateness most American adults carry in their relationships, and requires the subjection of children to programs that establish and reinforce these distances and distinctions. The Relief Nursery of Eugene, Oregon carried the motto, “Freedom Within Boundaries” (Newman 1986), and while it may not be the same as “Arbeit

Mach Frei," the doublespeak slogan encapsulated the ideological intents and confusions of most child savers.

On the other hand, to cover all the bases, we are told there is a possibility that some children might *not* display "heightened sexual awareness." It is possible that they "may sometimes show excessive ignorance of such matters, staunchly denying any knowledge whatsoever but exhibiting acute distress, agitation, and defensiveness during the questioning" (Hillman and Solek-Tefft 1988:37). Therapy was applied in these cases with even more determination.

### III

Saving the pedophile was part of the heroic role and a few held the view that she or he could be recycled, and underlining the nobility of their own motives, declared that the prisoner has a "right to appropriate treatment" (Jensen and Jewell 1988:14). "We have to reach his humanness," said Henry Giarretto. "We have to somehow say to him, 'I care for you as a human being. I don't like what you did,' or in religious terms separating the sin from the sinner, you know. That he *is* redeemable, that he *is* salvageable as a human being."<sup>35</sup> Many cultures feature a folk hero who tames monsters. Instead of (or often in addition to) killing exotic beings, one may try for their salvation: "the stranger the appearance of the creatures to be converted, the greater the triumph for the missionary," observed Friedman (1981:60).

There are a few pedophiles with whom one might deal in more benign ways, those who accept the appropriate roles. Therapists look for those "who show remorse, are generally stable and have some healthy social and sexual activities, have much to lose if they fail, and can verbalize their motivation to succeed."<sup>36</sup> The therapy groups of Fred Berlin's Sexual Disorders Clinic at Johns Hopkins University are necessarily composed of members who will say they are suffering from a problem (Blair 1984).

The goals of therapy were covered in a number of genre newspaper articles of the period. Technical language was directed sometimes at popular markets, as Hillman and Solek-Tefft did when they spoke of destroying the pedophile's "denial system," of dissecting the "specific behavioral and sexual arousal systems," of tinkering with other "systems" such as fantasy and "unresolved emotional issues," of reconstructing "social and interpersonal skill deficits," and of engineering the "successful reentry" of the individual into society (1988:119). Such language helped confer scientific status on "behavior modification, cognitive restructuring, skills training, and relapse prevention"—in short, "offender programming" in the words of Jensen and Jewell.<sup>37</sup>

One way of doing this was through what O'Brien called "peer confrontation as a method of conflict resolution and self-understanding" (1986:13). The therapy was explained by one of her subjects:

They confront your negative attitudes and it's a more peaceful environment. ... Somebody was giving us problems, wouldn't talk to us, and was acting real mad. So we called a group on him...It took

three hours of the group. ... They hold you down and you try to get away from them. You're on a mat. You just let your anger out.<sup>38</sup>

O'Brien resentfully said of one of her subjects that his "on-going concern about the public's attitude is most disturbing: he states, 'those people who are trying to make stiffer and stiffer laws do not know what they are doing'" (1986:153). Disappointed by another subject, O'Brien repeatedly said he didn't believe that what he did was hurtful. One of his partners told him that it was her sister, not herself, that revealed the relationship (1986:164f). O'Brien then said vehemently, "There will need to be effective, confrontive therapy to force George to realize the gravity of his perpetual offenses and curb his rationalizations" (1986:176). The heart of this ideological battle was the necessity, via aversion therapy, to correct the "distorted views" of pedophiles (Collins 1982).

For Jensen and Jewell, the offender is afflicted with "cognitive distortions:" "Thoughts and beliefs such as 'It didn't hurt her,' 'He liked it,' 'I didn't know it was wrong,' [which] must be replaced with appropriate statements" (1988:18). "Appropriate statements" are generated by the therapist and "rehearsed under deep relaxation several times per week. The client's thoughts and beliefs are also rigorously challenged in group therapy" (p. 18). Older mental health approaches which used trust, support, and non-directive methods were inappropriate for sex prisoners because with those techniques the offender had a chance "to exercise his well-honed skills of manipulation and deception." Offenders rarely volunteer for treatment, and "minimize or rationalize the behavior as justifiable." Treatment must bring out the "hidden agendas" of inmates. Use of the penile plethysmograph is urged to reveal undisclosed "deviant behavior" and, "If the client does not admit new and incriminating information [during evaluation], the problem is amplified by the threat of additional legal charges, the loss of family, friends, and job, and notoriety" (pp. 14f).

During aversive conditioning the prisoner is made to write out his most arousing fantasy, then while reading it aloud is made to inhale a noxious odor "20 times a day, 7 days a week, for 12-16 weeks and until the client's arousal to deviancy is under control..." The offender must also write out an autobiography and sexual history "to accurately identify the precursors to deviant behavior" so that people can intercede "when maladaptive behavior or thoughts emerge" (pp. 17f). Spouses should also undergo counselling to cure her dysfunctions for "her own personal growth;" the woman has to be able to report her partner to the authorities when certain behaviors or thoughts are evident.

Lest the therapist or society be fooled, the subjects of therapist Tim Smith "must disclose their deviancy to at least 40 people" (Ostrom 1989). The necessity for the wide public notification of the offender's interests, say Jensen and Jewell, is because "the traditional guarantee of confidentiality is limited when treating sexual offenders in a community setting" (p. 14). "Credible therapists usually require their clients to sign releases so that both evaluation and treatment of sexual deviancy can be exhaustive and thorough." The final goal is to produce "healthy, adult heterosexual relationships" (p. 18).

Ostrom (1989) gave a more specific account of reeducation in which pedophiles are made to reorganize their "faulty thinking" and "excuses." They are made to perform a drama about their activities which may include acting the part of the younger individual. They are given mannequins and their performances are videotaped and viewed by select professionals; others write out detailed accounts of their "exploits" (McCall 1984b).

Roland Summit, known for his aggressive approach to disciplining pedophiles, saw treatment as necessary, provided it did not exclude or minimize punishment. He praised methods used in Seattle:

Offenders who qualify for treatment get not so much a diversion from punishment as a commitment to scrutiny. They must relive and re-enact their crimes in the company of their counselors and peers. Self-justifications and alibis are exposed by electronic monitoring of their hidden feelings. They must inform every current and potential associate, including employers, of their history, arousal pattern and potential for re-abuse. There are abundant precautions to ensure that an offender will not be alone with a child, any child, ever again. The offenders pay for their treatment as well as offer apologies to their victims.

Offenders in that system do not entirely overcome their longing for children, or even all of their potential for violence, but they learn to respect the hazards of their condition, and to welcome supervision and support in avoiding temptation. If they fall, the system is capable of early detection and prevention of covert re-offenses and escalation. That capability is deliberately constitutionally forbidden in either of the traditional dichotomies of psychotherapy or determinant sentencing. (1987a)

Summit was delighted that there was a way around Constitutional protections, admiring of the "electronic monitoring of hidden feelings," and felt this system would protect against false allegations, asserting with excellent Orwellian reasoning, "We can learn to recognize false allegations only by acknowledging those that are true."

Some went further. A 17th century Puritan practice reappeared in demands for public stigmatizing of the offender. Andrew Vachss (1985b, 1993) wanted the identity of the abuser publicized and the identity of the victim protected, a policy that has in fact governed media coverage and police procedure of anyone even merely accused of sex with a minor.<sup>39</sup> Royko wanted a "career child-molester," referred to as a "creep" six times, to be labelled in accordance with the much publicized 1987 sentence by Judge Dorothy Baker who called for a sign to be placed on the door and car of a man convicted of a sex crime reading, "Dangerous Sex Offender. No Children Allowed."<sup>40</sup> Royko promised that if the man was not labelled, he would soon be "panting into your ear." Asserting that "forcing your sexual attentions on tiny children" is more degrading than the sign in question, Royko said they all should be labeled—or dyed green—if they are going to "roam

the streets;" "under our laws, it's an indignity for a guy who pounces on little children to be labeled," Royko grumbled.

While incarcerated, one of the McMartin defendants (against whom charges were later dismissed) had to wear a red wristband with the words "Lewd acts with a child" (Sharpe 1986). *Harper's* magazine reprinted a 1989 notice and photograph of a convicted sex offender that had been ordered locally as a part of probation:

I am ---. I am 29 years old. On --- I was convicted of child molestation. I received a 35 year suspended sentence, with 35 years probation for my crime. If you are a child molester, get professional help immediately or you may find your picture and name in the paper and your life under the control of the State. (Vol. 280 [1678-March]:25, 1990)

Cooperation between the police and journalists in stigmatization is common. Police labelled a man a suspect in child kidnapping and murder cases, but even though charges were either dismissed or not filed, newspapers did not hesitate to invade and publicly exploit aspects of the man's life, including reading materials, to reinforce the police's assertion (Fimrite and Reed 1992, Brown and Wilson 1992). Similarly, the *Vancouver Sun* published police speculations concerning a man who they thought molested children; their evidence was that he befriended children (and their parents), and belonged to NAMBLA. Though the man was never charged, the newspaper published his approximate address and physical description.<sup>41</sup> States now require community notification of sex offender releases, including full physical description, occupation, anticipated address, whether or not there is "a high risk of re-offending," and any organizational affiliations, such as membership in NAMBLA.<sup>42</sup> The stigmatizing search for the molester frequently continued after the serving of time. A physician was forced to resign after harassment by news media labelling him a "convicted child molester."<sup>43</sup>

Most salient in therapy texts is therapists' need for managing the thought and behavior of the pedophile. There were two main aspects of this. One was the fact that therapy, like probation terms, usually places those convicted under direct behavioral and attitudinal control for periods longer than some prison terms; some states have considered lifetime supervision, something never suggested for those convicted of homicide, domestic violence, or other crimes.<sup>44</sup> This was one of the procedures advocated by Kee MacFarlane; it had the added advantage, she said, of "being very painful in a lot of ways" (Curry 1982). Treatment is lifelong; "There is no 'cure' for sexual deviancy, only degrees of control," said Jensen and Jewell (1988:19). "Treatment of the offender is coercive," they promised.

Secondly, it is only the therapist who is able to interpret the feelings and acts of the pedophile, as they do with youth. Recommended as the "most respected" treatments are strict and rigid controls on the offender's everyday life [combined] with techniques and counseling to modify thinking and behavior," including aversion therapy (King 1988). Ostrom (1989) gives an account of a standard aversion scenario. Ammonia or the smell of "rotting placenta" is

sprayed into the subject's nose at the same time an erotic visual is displayed; the therapies also include "masturbatory reconditioning" and electroshock.<sup>45</sup> Confession is taken from the pedophile but is checked by lie detectors and penile plethysmographs because "these guys have very few internal standards—and they lie," said therapist Steve Silver.<sup>46</sup>

Even more interesting is an element of this therapeutic drama purposely ignored by journalists and glossed over by professionals. Chemicals and/or electric shock are administered during session in which a "stimulus" is presented. This stimulus is just what the name implies: something that the subject supposedly finds arousing, usually erotic pictures of juveniles. Where do these come from? Sometimes from the collections of pedophiles themselves, sometimes from "artistic" photographic studies of young people now declared blasphemous and illegal to possess. Many erotic child photos, however, are purposely made for the specific function of punishing and exterminating sexual reactions to youth. Professionals seeking exemption from the law in return for their service to the state brought some of this to light. At the August, 1986, National Conference of State Legislators, when asked if the Meese Commission's recommendations meant to protect materials designed and used for therapeutic purposes, Park Elliott Dietz eagerly replied,

...it is the consensus among the Commissioners that the materials that were designed and marketed for therapeutic and scientific purposes are, of course, exempt from any kind of legislative changes; and I want to point out that this is very important, because one of the major forms of treatment for sex offenders right now involves using sexually explicit materials.<sup>47</sup>

One of the producers of this material was Farrall Instruments of Grand Island, Nebraska, headed by William R. Farrall. He felt taking erotic photos of children was permissible because they were nudists and were "comfortable" with the unclothed body, and because their parents gave permission, were present at the photo sessions, and presumably received part or all of any payment.<sup>48</sup>

Therapy was not guaranteed, however, and many were uncertain as to the effectiveness of drugs in regulating behavior (Salholz 1982). This may be part of a larger plot, warned Louise Armstrong. She deferred to Mo Sila, a counsellor who believed that pedophiles and incestuous fathers had deliberately conspired to construct pedophilia as a "disease" so as to lessen their punishment and to protect the "historical permission" of males to dominate and exploit females.<sup>49</sup>

All in all, said Andrew Vachss, "Rehabilitation of unrepentant criminals is a waste of our financial resources. Society has a finite amount of resources, and it should also have a finite amount of tolerance" (1985b). Unrepentance is the crucial element here, and given the ideological conflict, most commentators recommended long if not terminal prison time. Imprisonment has two benefits according to Jensen and Jewell: the "community" sends a message that "sexually assaultive behavior is not acceptable," and society is given a "short reprieve"

those who have been incarcerated (1988:17). Early in the 1980s, recommended penalties were severe and were quickly and near-unanimously enacted (Curry 1982). Phyllis Smith (1985:12), mother of an allegedly abused child, called for a minimum sentence of 15-25 years per charged count of sexual contact. Most states now have sentences that range from 10 to 50 years per act, and many require life sentences for a third sexual felony.<sup>50</sup>

Feminists were among the most insistent that the adult be severely dealt with. The "assailant" is to be given the message that "What you did is perverted, damaging to the child, and against the law. We as a community are outraged and you will have to pay a price" (Butler 1982). Thürmer-Rohr (1991:202) wrote,

Perhaps love for the really innocent, the unsuspecting, for those who are simply harmed, is the strongest impulse of despair, rage, and clarity. And a clear view of reality arises not only from sympathy with the injured, but from identification and condemnation of the injurer.

While the hysteria over youth-adult sex was one marked by despair and rage and vigorous identification and condemnation, it was marked by a near-total absence of a "clear view of reality."

For most, there is no hope for the pedophile; there is no worth, no redemption, no salvation except on a divine level.<sup>51</sup> As a clincher, given the personality the pedophile was supposed to have, there was a fear that pedophiles secretly enjoyed the programs of aversion therapy, an amusing turn of the conspiracy theory: "I've got a feeling that these guys like to be punished so they can go out and re-offend," said San Antonio, Texas clinical social worker Mark Steege. Some were fearful that therapies requiring erotic visuals may in fact expose the subject to "even more deviant ideas" (Smith 1992).

Most agreed that pedophiles are incurable. Dr. Janis Bremer, Washington State therapist, believed, incorrectly, that it was only in the last few years that people thought that some sex offenders are incurable (Egan 1990). The move from therapy to punishment was in part because cures were believed to be tenuous or faked; "they laugh behind their masks at our attempts to understand and rehabilitate them," said Vachss (1993). Because "evil" pedophiles had "perverted" childhoods, they are cast forever in their mold; "none can be rehabilitated, since they cannot return to a state that never existed," he said, giving us an interesting twist in Puritan predestination and interpretation of The Fall. Following the rage against the murder of Amy Sue Seitz in 1978, California and other states abandoned emphasis on treatment in the early 1980s for that of severe punishment. Those who believe in the philosophy of "'understanding' and rehabilitating the abusers are condemning future generations to attack," claimed Vachss.<sup>52</sup> "We've got this bizarre idea that sex offenders are treatable," said Kit Bail, chairwoman of the Texas Indeterminate Sentence Review Board.<sup>53</sup>

Because they will continue their behavior, the only alternative is to deal with pedophiles in ways that will isolate them (Hechler 1988:10, 241; Jensen and Jewell 1988). For many law officers and prosecutors, one of the most popular exclamations of the period dealt with how eager they were to imprison people.



FBI agent Pat Livingston remarked in the late 1970s as he was beginning an agency anti-pornography campaign, "Just think of all the people I can put away."<sup>54</sup> Large body counts and toughness of punishment became the badge of the hero in the struggle. Reverend Allen cited Luke 9:42 to strike the tone of divine sanction: "And whoever causes one of these little ones who believe to stumble, it would be better for him if with a heavy millstone hung around his neck, he had been cast into the sea" (1985:10). This is based on a paradoxical strain of late 17th century Calvinism in which the severity authorities use to punish evildoers is a measure of their own belief in and approval of God's ideas of goodness. For the Calvinist, "righteous hatred would secure his own position in the world to come" (Davis 1957:7).

In the late 1980s, the Washington state "Community Protection Act" called for the involuntary, indeterminant confinement of sexual "predators," defined as "any person ...convicted of *or charged with* [my emphasis] a crime of sexual violence and who suffers from a mental abnormality or personality disorder which makes the person likely to engage in predatory acts of sexual violence."<sup>55</sup> Conveniently for the authorities, sex with minors is by their own definition an "abnormality" and an act of violence, so that confinement is logically and legally assured.

Removal of pedophiles from society is needed and is the only answer to the "menace" (Conway 1973). Indeterminant confinement is not a new idea; during a previous panic, it was commonly advocated that special institutions should permanently confine sex offenders because they are incurable (Pollens 1938:179; Dutton 1937). Believing in the ability of psychiatry and psychology to detect sexual deviates, experts cited by Wittles (1948) insisted that once spotted, and preferably *before* the commission of any act, "psychopaths" be immediately and permanently removed from society. He quoted Dr. David H. Keller, Clinical Director of the Central Louisiana State Hospital, who wanted sex offenders placed in special camps for life, "forced to earn their own maintenance." Linedecker (1981:299) said molesters don't need to be in the Scouts, schools, churches, "or in the house next door. ... If that means locking them up for the rest of their lives, so be it." Referring to a NAMBLA member who refused for political reasons to cooperate with police, *New York Times* editorial writer Sidney Schanberg suggested that they "lose the key to his cell forever."<sup>56</sup> Alice Vachss wanted life sentences for all as she waged her total war (1993:282f).

The adolescent sex offender as a concept emerged early in the 1980s, but didn't reach popular distribution until later in the decade. It was a resurrected concern over sexual delinquency and carried an emphasis on the detection of potential practitioners and offenders. The "adolescent offender" occupied an interesting place conceptually in the professions, being looked at as both victim and victimizer. As with other images, this category included a jumbled range of sexual acts and behaviors from preteens through late adolescence. Early depictions were generally permissive; Sanford saw the acts of the "the teen-age child molester" based in a lack of sexual experience and subject to the "chaos" of

peer relations at the time. She contrasted this individual with “normal” boys who date girls (neglecting any mention of lesbian and gay youth who, as before, became a pathological residual by definition), have good family relations, and are not abused as children. She said they were “too young to be *permanently* classified as a child molester,” but later in her text she does exactly that (1982:89, 90ff, *passim*; emphasis in original). O’Brien (1983:87f) was more stern and assigned them characteristics of the adult sex offender.

This was not a new anxiety, even aside from the continuation of America’s agony over delinquency. Dutton (1937) recommended that children classified as sexual deviates “should at once be removed to a special institution.” Wittles agreed a decade later, claiming that such children are “doomed from birth to be a menace” (Wittles 1948); forty-five years later Andrew Vachss supported this tradition (1993). It was believed that potential pedophiles can be spotted at puberty or earlier (Summit 1987a; Fletcher 1991:129). Oprah Winfrey in a television documentary aired in late 1992 asserted that “60%-80% of adult offenders started as adolescents;” the average age at the first “offense” was said to be 11. By the early 1990s, all of the therapeutic devices practiced against pedophiles were also being inflicted on children accused of sex crimes.<sup>57</sup>

There was considerable dispute about science’s ability to predict the sort of behavior looked for by the authorities. One extremely popular idea (with only a few dissenting voices) was that individuals could be pinpointed as being “predisposed” to outlawed behavior and thought. Part of the “career criminal” concept developed in the mid-1970s, “predisposition” carried the implication that cure potential was negligible and control the only possibility. While Jensen and Jewell believed that a “propensity toward sexual deviancy” can not be predicted, they urged evaluators to spot “the precursors to sexually deviant behavior.”<sup>58</sup>

Another solution that keeps appearing is castration, a belief based on drive and biochemical theories of sexuality and on images of the sexual beast.<sup>59</sup> Michigan judge Robert L. Borsos referred to science for his authorization of castration when he said that “recently there have been important scientific studies...that some men are truly oversexed...like a furnace that overheats a house when the thermostat is set too high.”<sup>60</sup> The option remained viable for many, especially those in “extreme stages,” said clinical psychologist Robert Powitzky (Hutton 1989). Claiming that even pedophiles can realize it’s best for them, Crewdson cited the case of a San Diego judge who offered two defendants castration or prison and they chose to have surgery. Crewdson was disappointed that it was prevented by the ACLU and “a vocal group with the local medical society.”<sup>61</sup>

All in all, most agreed, as Linedecker related in an unreferenced quote from Judianne Densen-Gerber, “we need to have severe penalties for adults who destroy children.” Linedecker himself grew firmer and said that along with severe penalties, we also need “the certainty of execution for some crimes” (1981:116, 299). The public has often been anxious to assist in the extermination of molesters.<sup>62</sup>

Attached to a growing belief in retributive and vindictive justice, harsher punishments became more promoted throughout the late 1970s and 1980s. In early 1985, it was reported that 72% of the population felt that vigilante action was sometimes justified (Gallup Poll, February 14, 1985), and 84% approved of the death penalty.<sup>63</sup> This is fertile ground for heroic postures, a heroism that sees understanding as irrelevant and compassion as weakness. An ironic result was the approval, promotion, and enjoyment of suffering. This appeared not only in the anguish inflicted upon those judged guilty, but also in broader cultural dramas as victimage became more promoted.

Throughout the period the view remained consistent. Feeling that prison was not the answer, largely because there is “no jail large enough” to hold all the pedophiles, Summit (1987a) said “Our burden is to recognize the offenders in our midst, to challenge their access to children and to block their escalating addiction, even as we hold them responsible to lawful, productive citizenship.” Vachss (1993) escalated the view, strengthening its ties to late 19th century forensic biosexology and early 20th century eugenics:

Chronic sexual predators have crossed an osmotic membrane. They can't step back to the other side—our side. And they don't want to. If we don't kill or release them, we have but one choice: Call them monsters and isolate them ... Our attitude [of release or rehabilitation] is a deliberate interference with Darwinism—an endangerment of our species.

Sol Gordon, represented as a concerned and benevolent sex educator, struck a heroic posture in an article in which he imagined himself directly confronting The Molester. His text employed the rhetorical device of prefacing his opinions with the authoritative phrase, “we know [insert assertion],” contrastingly used with the phrases, “what you don't know is [insert another assertion],” “what no one ever taught you is [insert assertion],” and “what you may not like to think about is [insert assertion].” And if this was not forceful enough, Gordon simply blurted out, “Therefore, it will be up to us, the professionals, to tell molesters what they are and what they need to know” (1985:4). Though unstated, the same holds true for “victims” as well. The totalitarian voice of the patriarchy could not have been made more clear.

Similar in intent and rhetoric, Crewdson at the end of his book needed to firmly seal the attitudes and acts he intended to rescue because the polemic required closure suitable to the genre, because he had to hedge so much as he was exploding myths, and because his audience—who so gratefully and uncritically received his apologetic—needed absolution for the acts they committed in the anti-youth-adult sex campaigns. “What society does...is the only thing it can do: it issues a flat prohibition against having sex with children. ... Sex with children *is* wrong because society says it's wrong. No better reason is required.”<sup>64</sup>

A combination of the classic Might-Makes-Right argument and the traditional paternal Because-I-Say-So assertion, it was assumed that there was social unity on the issue to the extent that there was not supposed to be any issue at all. Like the

validation of “recovered memories,” it was all supposed to be self-evident, accepted on faith. To buttress this, to add further dimensions to the heroic struggle and to underline the urgency, the cinema-like depiction of society under seige became a substantial feature of anti-pedophile narratives.

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## THE HERO IN SOCIETY

### I

One perception constant from the late 1970s through the 1980s, irrespective of objective conditions, was that the laws needed to combat the pedophile were non-existent or impotent. This attitude became more defensive later in the decade and early 1990s, expressed as resentment toward “media derision and public disbelief,” in which accusations of witch hunts were perceived as impediments to child saving.<sup>1</sup> Because of this, “the enemy is becoming more skillful at covering its tracks; it knows how to use the media to mock and discredit; it has reached into the very heart of law enforcement.”<sup>2</sup>

If the rear areas were in disarray, the forward zones were full of organized and overwhelming foes. A cry from an earlier panic—“sex crimes are rising rapidly in every city in the land” (Dutton 1937)—was rebroadcast through the 1970s and 1980s. Wittles (1948) said molesters “continue their depraved careers, committing further abominations...caught only by accident or after their perverted lust drove them to kill.” Officers worked hard, some admitting to becoming “obsessed” with the search for perverts (Gregg 1984), but felt they were “scarcely making a dent” against hoards of frenzied deviants (Volkman and Rosenberg 1985b). But it was also claimed that pedophiles were being “driven underground,” into their “clandestine subculture” (Linedecker 1981:297; Pienciak 1984c, quoting FBI Director William Webster). The phrases emphasized the subversive and inferior (literally downward) character of pedophilia, attributed potency to heroes, and heightened the threat by implying a secretive concentrated power of the enemy.

Chastising themselves for neglecting children’s issues (Dennis and Sadoff 1976), journalists produced articles, “in-depth” series, and programs galore. An editorial for a special issue of *Life* (December, 1984, p. 4) prefaced “the story we wish we did not have to print” using an old device of preparing readers for their tour of tragedy by telling them that the “horrifying facts” will be presented with “seriousness.” While providing exciting and lurid stories, journalists raised themselves to higher levels of heroism with the collaboration of authorities and professionals. One element of a television “Child Lures” package featured a “Child Lures Question Line” which allowed people to ask questions of “a panel of experts” (there was only one, a psychotherapist; KXAN-TV, Austin, Texas

November 11, 1992). A story of how a "sex-crazed pervert" found his (admittedly willing) partners ended with psychologist Whitney Dobbins saying "after reading [these] shocking admissions, every parent in America should be better equipped to protect their child from pedophiles...and their unspeakable acts of depravity" (Anonymous 1992a, ellipsis in original).

Journalists complained that the system failed to support and reward their courageous efforts. Hollingsworth said that reporters exposing a "conspiracy of silence" were disallowed from telling all they know by annoying Constitutional protections (1986:15-23). The combative posture of journalists was evidenced in interviews and press conferences as well. At a NAMBLA session, Arthur Spiegelman observed as an aside that it was "a rowdy news conference in which reporters openly mocked NAMBLA's views."<sup>3</sup> Journalists moved virtually unchallenged from polemical reporting to vigilante action, justified by their own manufactured images of the pedophile threat.<sup>4</sup> Martin King, an Australian television reporter, achieved some fame for an interview with David Koresh, leader of a Christian apocalyptic sect. King was quite explicit about his heroism and journalistic intents. While doing the interview he depicted himself as being in a dangerous, life-threatening situation (Breault and King 1993:11ff, 324). Using a "seductive sounding" female reporter to set up the interview, he came to America specifically "to expose [Koresh] as a cruel, maniacal, child-molesting, pistol-packing religious zealot who brainwashed his devotees," "to expose him as a sex-crazed despot," to depict him as "a sex-deranged lunatic," and to represent him as "a power-hungry psychopathic, child-molesting religious loony who was ever-so-systematically destroying life after life on a daily basis" (pp. 12, 257, 260, 324). Such premeditation is an integral part of journalism, but King's obsessed admissions are delightful documentation of how media characters and scenarios are constructed.

In such folk dramas, the hero must pursue the enemy, descend to the underworlds, and return with souvenirs and entertaining tales. While showing a seminar audience a copy of Aleister Crowley's, *The Book of the Law*, cult cop Bill Lightfoot boasted the book was difficult to obtain and was evasive about how he came upon his copy; the implication was that he had to travel to great depths to obtain such a trophy, but reemerged with it, a testimony to his courage and connections.<sup>5</sup> It's "a sleazy underworld" (Cohn 1988), but officers use "unique investigative techniques" to "infiltrate pedophile sex rings" (Volkman and Rosenberg 1985b). In introducing his book on a supposed national network of Satanists, Terry promoted his project as "the journey of a life-time," and a "harrowing voyage:" with heroic style he wrote, "Into this abyss I reluctantly walked."<sup>6</sup> Lew spoke of his "odyssey" in which he met "monsters" and "heroes" (1990:4). Detailing her child saving activities, Hayden's (1991) encounter with a case of suspected "ritual abuse" meant, according to the cover blurb, she would travel "a difficult journey into the realm of satanic cultism." This "difficult

journey” consisted of buying a couple of books on Satanism at a New Age bookstore and using her imagination to develop scenarios.

One of the better documented descents was conducted by the Illinois Legislative Investigating Committee (ILIC) in the late 1970s. The Commission formed sting operations and conducted “correspondence and actual undercover meetings with child molesters.” Ads placed in “underground sex journals” led to “undercover telephone conversations” which in turn led to more “undercover meetings.”<sup>7</sup> One of the stings was a “Summer Camp” for boys 11-16, aimed at boy-lovers. A letter offered to obtain boys according to the applicants’ “special interests.” They selected the “truly zealous” by “forcing applicants [to] state his philosophy of sexual development and involvement with young boys” (p. 88). Part of the application read, “In compliance with the philosophy of the ILIC Ltd. Summer Camp, which is sincere youth development, I promise that I will not use force in having any close ‘encounters’ with any of the boys in the program.”<sup>8</sup> “Jerry” (the Commission organizer) said the boys “are aware of the nature of the camp and appreciate adult ‘companionship.’” He then wanted the applicants to “Be as explicit as possible, state your ideas on sexual freedom, youth development, sports, counseling, etc.” When applicants responded in kind, i.e., with concern, the investigators bluntly told the applicants to “skip the doubletalk.”<sup>9</sup> This is standard interrogation technique, but it demonstrates the allocation of discourse based on an authority’s personal view, usually a fantasy, of what constitutes the talk of deviants.

The Commission felt qualified to say that “there is an actual underground group of child molesters and small-time pornographers” (pp. 95, 115). More often, however, the Commission by its own “undercover” work created those very networks that were then said to be the basis of relations among pedophiles. They believed the foundation of this sociality was a need to talk of their desires and experiences, and this was the “downfall of the child molester when pursued aggressively by the authorities” (ILIC 1980:115). They faulted police for not using more “aggressive tactics,” and were contemptuous that they “waited for a crime to be reported to them” (pp. 127, 164, 179, 206f, 288). All in all, seven men were arrested, the Commission boasting that all materials had been turned over to law enforcement agencies.<sup>10</sup>

This descent, called “proactive” law enforcement, long used to infiltrate and provoke political groups, became pervasive throughout the 1980s in covert operations that targeted individuals who supposedly had sexual interests in youth, but also included those interested in sexual representations, political activism, or intellectual association. Any device was used. In recounting the late 1970s prosecution of the outstanding Canadian gay newspaper, *The Body Politic*, Jackson and Persky said the editorial offices began receiving phone calls from a boy sounding nine or ten years of age, asking where he could buy the paper and where he could go to have sex. “At least once the prompting voice of an adult male was audible in the background,” the editors reported.<sup>11</sup> Lexington,

Kentucky police admitted using 14 to 16 year old males as decoys in campaigns against homosexual commercial sex (Anonymous 1984h).

Some of the period's most notorious entrapments were conducted by the United States Postal Service. One tactic was to seek information on sexual thoughts, desires, and philosophies via questionnaires from agents posing as political or research organizations. Largely through the efforts of Inspectors Calvin Comfort, Paul Hartman, and Robert Northrup, these fronts were based in the United States and other countries. American Hedonist Society, Crusaders for Sexual Freedom, Heartland Institute for a New Tomorrow, Ohio Valley Action League, Society of Americans for Family and Youth, Midlands Data Research, Research Facts, Project Seahawk, Far Eastern Trading Company, International Trading Company, and Candy's Love Club were the most well known. The campaigns were responsible for a few arrests and several suicides, a tradition begun by Anthony Comstock in the late nineteenth century. At no time was the Constitutional issue of free association raised over the government's use of political fronts to gather together ideologically related individuals to obtain information on their beliefs, then using that information to engineer searches of their homes, seizures of their property, and obtain their arrest.<sup>12</sup> Activists had been exposing these operations since the early 1980s, though their existence was not revealed in the popular press until late in the decade.<sup>13</sup>

The cost of these operations is unknown, but in the late 1980s the Postal Service was heavily criticized for its rising rates. While the stings were in full swing, Postmaster General Anthony Frank traveled to Omaha, Nebraska (the area of Calvin Comfort's operations, already under considerable criticism) to help unveil a new stamp depicting a honeybee. Praising the design, Frank remarked that the bee "teaches us two of life's most important lessons: one is not to be idle, and the other is not to get stung" (Thompson 1988). The public relations effort helped cover up the operations for a few years until the Supreme Court in a narrow 1992 decision overturned the conviction of one man who had been entrapped. Popular press condemnation was near universal against the Postal Service.<sup>14</sup>

In a well known case involving Christian minister and anti-circumcision activist Russell Zangger, Inspector Comfort assumed the persona of a mother eager to educate her children in sexuality and masturbation. In letters to Zangger, Comfort as "Jolene" wrote of "her" sexual arousal and masturbation. In letters to another target, Comfort became "Karen," and told of taking videos of her two nude girls and implied sex had occurred with one of "her" daughters:

Last summer a thunderstorm was approaching [and] Kimberly came running into the bedroom. I was sleeping without my P.J.s due to the heat and Kimberly came up and snuggled up against me. It was still hot and I let Kim slip out of her P.J.s. A clash of thunder sounded right near our house and Kimberly jumped into my arms. One thing led to another and she often sleeps with me. I hope this doesn't shock you.

—, please write and tell me your fantasies.<sup>15</sup>



Gordon Thomas, who obtained his information solely from police or child care agencies, painted a heroic picture of Customs agent Jack O'Malley. Using fronts and fake documents, some provided by the CIA, O'Malley in correspondence also posed as women, in one case, "a degenerate woman seeking sexual gratification through voyeurism" (1991:69). Posing as a researcher was a popular ruse. In one Customs Service sting aimed at academics, an agent placed an ad supposedly by a clinical psychology doctoral student wanting to study "male sexual preference, behavior, fantasies, and erotica." The fifteen page questionnaire asked for referrals to others who might want to participate. The sting was set up with the cooperation of Georgetown University which O'Malley, quite correctly, said "had long had an association with the CIA and other federal agencies" (p. 161). There was a great payoff, with academics "revealing not only their obsession with unformed bodies but some were also using their universities as a postal cover for receiving hardcore child porn" (pp. 213f).

The hero must receive adulation for his efforts, even if he has to elicit it himself. Thomas, in an excellent passage written as if he were O'Malley, placed us in the agent's office while he dictated a lecture on developing entrapments to fellow pedophile hunters and warnings about encountering pictures of

"...the real horror stuff. Babies being violated. Little girls being raped. Little boys being sodomized. That sort of stuff removes any worries...about going to the very edge of the law to get those supplying it. The sort of filth which is literally sickening to see. Strong-stomached agents have thrown up after viewing some of that material. When those liberal lawyers yell 'entrapment,' they should take a look at what has been trapped."

He stopped the tape. That should get him a round of applause. (1991:209f)

One of the more striking operations involved over 100 FBI agents and police in two states. Two gay men, interested in sadomasochism, were targeted by police and brought into contact with undercover officers pretending to have similar interests. The police cultivated a fantasy in which a young boy is kidnapped, violated, and murdered while being filmed. When the men tired of the game and refused to commit any actual act (as was urged by the police), the police encouraged them on, elaborating on the imaginary themes. On this basis, a fantasy, the men were arrested and sentenced to decades in prison, the police taking credit, with the usual supportive media fanfare, for appearing to prevent a crime before it happened.<sup>16</sup>

The near-divine image of the investigator, enhanced by popular novels and film, depicted the hero as clever, insightful, and at the forefront of technological detection.<sup>17</sup> This status became especially important in an era when high intelligence was attributed to the deviate, and when intellectual and ideological variety became less tolerated. The FBI's "Behavioral Sciences Unit," embarrassed by its certainty that pedophiles are all kidnapper-killers, next claimed

expertise on violent crime and serial killers. Adult-youth sexual relations, however, continued to be subsumed under "violent crime" insofar as every molester was considered a potential killer and every adult-youth sexual encounter was predefined as assault.

Strength and courage is called for within the demonic domains. Frank Osanka and Judianne Densen-Gerber claimed to have seen "chilling examples" of child abuse, but Linedecker said they were not ready for the horrors of "little girls and boys bent and twisted in the most explicit forms of sexual activities;" these were "so unbelievably filthy that hardened policemen shook their heads in disgust" (1981:18, 75). The Disgusted Policeman motif was present throughout the period. Martin and Haddad (1982:68) told how police investigated a "kiddie sex session" with youngsters 8 to 14. "What they found," the authors said, "was enough to turn the stomach of the most hardened investigator."<sup>18</sup> A Chicago officer told of attending a seminar featuring taped interviews with child molesters, as well as a two hour (!) slide show of juvenile sex pictures. The cop said, disgustedly,

I've seen some of the most brutal things human beings can do to each other. This is worse. It got to the point where I thought, I don't want to see any more of this shit. ... This is too much. This is worse than homicide. ... This goes beyond—it's evil. (Fletcher 1991:107)

For an antidote, O'Malley recommended thinking good thoughts: "Think of your family. Say this is no game. This is filth with a big, big F" (Thomas 1991:201); O'Malley insisted his agents consider it a personal issue to keep motivation and hatred high.

A submotif of this was that of the Disgusted Lawyer. Needing rehabilitation from the long-standing contempt in which popular wisdom has held lawyers, attorneys vigorously reasserted themselves as heroic child-savers. Besides designing nearly all the abuse laws on the books, lawyers said they also nobly took on the defense in molestation cases. While a few astutely observed that by the mid-1980s prosecutors were becoming "zealots" and "fanatics" (their corruption or criminality was not publicly acknowledged), most defense attorneys saw themselves as long-suffering protectors of a system which calls for all accused to be represented by counsel. Many felt themselves paying a price, personally and professionally, for defending such cases, with negative pressure coming from other lawyers and professionals.<sup>19</sup> Other varieties included the shocked and disgusted social worker, psychologist, reporter, prosecutor, and so on. Manshel said the Michaels case investigators often found themselves nauseated and "shuddering on the verge of tears" (1990:57). Journalists unhesitatingly exhibited their partisan heroism. On *The Crusaders* (January 22, 1995), reporters Michele Gillen and Carla Wohl at appropriate points shook their heads in disgust at their own drama, Wohl emoting, "Oh, that's terrible" to sum up the segment "Kids for Sale!"

Hate and fear are absolutely necessary to conduct purification campaigns. The cultivation of disgust and its turn to contempt is fundamental in justifying and motivating crusades of moral outrage. In these politics of aesthetics, factors of advertising, stage management, and production work become as important as copy writing. Some of this was accomplished by narratives (pedophile confessions, victim testimonies, and the adventures of saviors), but during the early phases of the hysteria a good deal of energy was spent using displays of child sex materials, a condensed emblem of villainy, victimage, and heroism. Densen-Gerber was especially famous for her energetic presentations. Her conduct was not without some criticism, and in reply to a mild admonishment from a U.S. Senate Committee, she retorted,

you cannot clean a gangrenous wound by remote control. You have to get in there, you have to dig it, you have to even smell the tissue to see what is diseased and what is not. I think people have to know how bad it is. (1977a:270, *sic*)

Running parallel with slide shows by anti-erotica feminist groups at the time, such displays were common and hearings were well attended by those who delighted in viewing the material.<sup>20</sup>

## II

Descent and disgust are the underpinnings for ideological combat. This took a number of forms, the first being the “myth-destroyer” stance. Usually the term “Myth” was opposed to “Fact” or “Reality,” indicating the keenness of perception, mental stability, superiority, and normality of the experts.<sup>21</sup> Related to this was the Expose-To-The-Light-Of-Day approach, one linked to the heroic descent into the underworld. Journalists “break the chains of silence that have bound the problem and prevented its discussion and prevention,” claimed Wynne (1992a), promoting the television documentary, *Scared Silent: Exposing and Ending Child Abuse*. Seemingly ignorant (or hoping the audience was) of over a dozen years of such presentations, the program was marketed as “unprecedented” by CNN’s *Headline News* (September 4, 1992), as if it were the first time the idea had ever occurred to anyone.<sup>22</sup> It was broadcast simultaneously over CBS, NBC, and PBS (ABC showed it later). Consumers were assured that “real-life abusers and the abused” would perform in “real-life vignettes.” Like a carnival barker, Wynne promised an emotional exposé: “Welcome to the world behind the curtain—behind the facade of respectability—to the shocking drama of child abuse” (1992a, 1992b). Carefully programed by an award winning film maker,<sup>23</sup> it featured weeping confessions by spotlighted molesters, paternal therapists orchestrating participants (“Let it out, let it out,” encouraged Jonathan Ross), and the soap opera drama of tearful and rage-filled confrontations of villains and victims.

But wait, there’s more: each molester was also a victim, so the viewer got the added value of a confession and description of abusing, plus accounts of being abused from many of the confessees. But in case the audience was squeamish,

Shapiro comforted the potential viewer: the program was “very easy to watch. There’s no nudity, there are no pictures of battered children... The power of it comes in the storytelling.”<sup>24</sup> There are “no graphic scenes,” said Wynne; he meant sex but there were the obligatory explicit displays of suffering, weeping, hate, repentance, and tearful optimism. Indeed, Shapiro claimed the program was inspirational, “filled with messages of hope and information and knowledge.” To express their gratitude and allegiance, viewers were urged throughout the program to call and report child abusers to operators standing by.

This activity was part of a larger area of ideological heroism, the restoration of moral and conceptual order. Speaking of psychiatrist Gene Abel and psychologist Judith Becker, Crewdson (1988:59) said heroic researchers “break through [a] barrier of silence.” Crewdson himself was advertised as a hero with a testimonial on the book jacket by Anne H. Cohn, Executive Director of the National Committee for Prevention of Child Abuse. Admitting that even though things had gotten just a little bit hysterical, and even though a number of boisterously promoted triumphs had collapsed embarrassingly into one, two, many Vietnams, she said these can be dismissed as mere “misrepresentations and misinterpretations of the problem.” Only by reading Crewdson’s book, she said, could one “get a realistic and sophisticated understanding of child sexual abuse. Crewdson explodes the myths and replaces them with facts—historical and statistical.” He does no such thing, of course. What he tried to do was maintain a continuity of older assumptions and assertions in the face of heavy criticism. His book is important and is fun to read as an apologetic, the kind of political text always seen in similar historical circumstances.<sup>25</sup>

Another variety of conceptual heroism took the form of reaffirming and enforcing the structures and meanings of traditional institutions and roles. Many individuals, beginning with the “missing children” issue, ran up against indifferent or ineffectual law enforcement and social service agencies and complained that “our beliefs in the system have been shaken to the core” (Walsh 1981:28). A good deal of effort had to be spent in reassuring people of the validity and effectiveness of the systems of law and justice. The approaches that were advocated, however, were decidedly anti-democratic. Sting operations and entrapments allowed the apprehension of those said to have a “predisposition.” Officials do background checks and “proactive” undercover investigations on anyone suspected of being sexually interested in anyone under 18 (Hutton 1989; Fletcher 1991:106f, 128), instigated by anonymous tips or “profiles.” The purpose, said Detective Richard Cage was to discover, observe, entice if necessary, and arrest individuals “before children report.”<sup>26</sup> States passed or strengthened “sexual predator” laws to allow indefinite detention or lifetime registration for those who refuse to “control” their sexual desires and/or resist treatment. Defense attorneys were belittled as unsophisticated, incompetent, and having ulterior motives (Manshel 1990:101; Hollingsworth 1986:264f, 317).

A feature of law which allowed more free-wheeling prosecution was "prosecutorial immunity." When eight civil suits against Jordan, Minnesota prosecutor Kathleen Morris were consolidated for review before an Appellate Court, the plaintiffs alleged that Morris

filed or threatened to file criminal complaints against them recklessly, maliciously, fraudulently, and without adequate investigation; that she caused [some] plaintiffs to endure a criminal trial; that she resisted certain plaintiffs' pretrial release from custody upon reasonable terms; that she entered into a plea bargain with [a defendant] which was illegal; that she suborned perjury of a major prosecution witness ...in exchange for plea bargaining concessions; that she made or caused misrepresentations to the court during family court proceedings; that she caused witnesses to give false and unfavorable testimony; that she withheld potentially exculpatory evidence, and that she destroyed two pieces of evidence.

Citing recent cases, the Court decided in favor of the State and Morris, "with the *possible* exception of the alleged destruction of evidence."<sup>27</sup> "Absolute immunity" for the State became a matter of absolute authority, achieved most often through cases from the moral panics over youth-adult sex, drugs, and "obscenity." The criminal conduct of prosecutors continued to worsen to the point that in late May, 1991, the Supreme Court had to render a decision that very slightly modified the concept of "absolute immunity," though most prerogatives were left intact.

Before being appointed U.S. Attorney General, Janet Reno made her reputation in Florida from the vigorous punishment of adult-youth sex, regardless of whether it was abusive or not, whether anyone complained or not, or even whether it actually occurred or not. In the early 1980s, despite considerable resistance of the "victim," Reno brought charges against a 38 year old male who was having an affair with a 12 year old sexually active female who also desired the relationship. In the famous 1985 day care case against the Fusters, when both suspects denied the charges Reno's office kept the wife, 17 year old Ileana, in solitary for six months, often drugged and naked. A psychologist appointed by Reno's office used what was referred to as "reverse brainwashing" on Mrs. Fuster to "help her remember" the alleged abuse; in all of the sessions where the psychologist practiced his craft, Mrs. Fuster's court-appointed lawyer was not present. After a year of this she plea-bargained and testified against her husband, although she frequently had to be coached by the prosecutors to keep her account consistent and acceptable even for the loose requirements of their law. She was deported and her husband received life in prison. In another case in 1989, when a Florida mother brought her daughter complaining of "nightmares" to a psychologist, the psychologist judged the nightmares consistent with sexual abuse, beginning a process that resulted in a 14 year old male being indicted on 108 counts of sexual assault against 20 youngsters at a day care facility. There was the usual lack of witnesses, accounts of bizarre sexual and ritual activity emerging after intensive interrogation, and a lack of any physical evidence. The

boy remained jailed for nearly two years, eight months of which was in solitary. He was eventually acquitted and the family, here from Europe on diplomatic duty, fled the United States in horror and disgust.<sup>28</sup>

As part of the drive to preserve or institute a particular moral order in the face of destabilizing influences, it was necessary to redeem the concept of inherent naturalness and moral rightness of the heterosexual nuclear family. Families could inoculate their children against sexual seduction (as well as keep them from running away) by providing love and affection and firm discipline, by being "good" parents. On the other hand, a more mystical view held that being a married heterosexual parent meant that one was automatically endowed with inherent knowledge and skills, and heroic ones at that. Congressman Dannemeyer said that "parents instinctively believe that [homosexual] experiences may indeed pervert the child" (1989:134), and Darnton (1991) felt that parenting is based on the exercise of natural instincts, and that parents know "intuitively" when youngsters are ready for certain kinds of information or experiences.

A significant part of the broader heroic endeavor was the drive to rescue standards of taste and decorum. Pervasive in this were campaigns to stop youth from having sex, for the war against the pedophile was also a war against children's sexualities. Endorsed by liberals and conservatives, it quickly became official government policy, the state sweetening its approval with extensive funding for indoctrination programs.<sup>29</sup> While the culture recycled most of the old horror and political motifs of invasion, seduction, brainwashing, and conspiracy to apply to the pedophile, similar tactics were used on children to ensure acceptance and support of policies. Support was also configured in the "War on Drugs" which had a war on sex aspect, as well as all the numerous anti-abuse programs that became a memorable part of going to school in the 1980s.

One example of the cultivation of chastity was the 1987 founding of "CLEAN Teens," a typical project of the Morality in Media organization; CLEAN stood for Citizens Leading Effective Action Now, their goal the elimination of sexual representations, and for sexual abstinence before marriage. Standing modestly in the background was Harry Kullijian who had been watching 18 year old Kirk McCall from afar for some time. Sensing Kirk's leadership qualities, Kullijian "planted a seed on fertile ground and it soon rooted in Kirk's consciousness to give birth to CLEAN Teens."<sup>30</sup>

As a moral enterprise, heroes have to save souls before they are damned or sexualized. The cover copy advertising the exploits of Torey Hayden (1991) said that "With courage and devotion, Torey struggles to help Jadie come to terms with her own reality and take the step that will be her salvation." While no one else had been able to induce the seven year old to even speak, Hayden got her to talk very soon after their first meeting (1991:20ff). Insisting that she was not engaged in a "moral crusade," and that child saving is nothing but value-free benevolence, she remarked that youngsters in whom she saw disturbances gave

her "an ultimate sense of mastery on those occasions when I could successfully intervene" (pp. 198f, 225). One can't ask for a better statement of the need of the saviors to save. Saving children has been for many a respectable endeavor, and if the outcome was less than what was hoped for, or was not what had been advertised and predicted, it was the effort that counted, and the saviors felt they deserved to be praised more and restrained less.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s there appeared a number of severe critiques of American child-saving activities. Platt's famous book appeared in 1969, and Rothman criticized the tedious age-grading that was instituted in the early 19th century as having a much "darker side" than its advertised sensitivity to "developmental stages," suggesting it "may have been part of an effort to lock-step the child into rigid and predetermined modes of behavior...the rationalization of childhood so that behavior would become more predictable and manageable" (1973:189). As part of the then-emerging anti-abuse interests, Soman strongly reacted to this liberal critique, referring to Platt's book as "a 'scholarly' snide antibook." She said "the writer of this book doesn't know...that the beast in all of us is only a history page away from Buchenwald...that the torture of children is a daily delight for millions of adults who have themselves been tortured...that there can be no more favorable calling, no more vital work, no more grand design that the saving of children" (Soman 1974:xii).

Heroic child-saving has also been a suitable religious activity and a way to demonstrate a deity's power. Palmquist was elated to find that saving youth from sex corresponded to the dictates of his deity and the mayor. His divinely-ordained mission was "to search and expose, rescue and restore" (1978:36). By his own assessment, he was an awe-inspiring hero to the young women he saved (pp. 22, 28, 32, 33, 73), able to physically transform them into smiling radiant beauties (pp. 32, 53, 82). To treat ritual sexual abuse, Stratford saw a special place for Christians to "exercise the authority God has given you to break the powers of curses and the influences of evil spirits that are harassing and damaging our children" (1988:220). She is correct in that the "exercise of authority" was of paramount interest for most, Christian or not. Trying to get her subject to admit to being programmed by the Satanic cult, therapist Feldman told her, "Remember who I am. I'm Gail and I've been chosen to help you."<sup>31</sup> The laying on of hands or assumption of divine will was not restricted to the religious. A February, 1990 flyer from the Child Assault Prevention Training Center of Northern California boasted,

We've changed history! ... The secret has been told. ... What could be more profound than changing childhood? Every time we touch the life of a child with empowerment, we are touching the lives of generations. We are engaged in a breathtaking enterprise.

Most significant for all of the ideological struggles, science itself was felt to be in need of reconfiguration. Generally in the 1980s, there was an overall elevation of sensational and simplistic news coverage of science where a "less

critical [and] more promotional style” served to emphasize scientific “heroes” and “break-throughs” (Nelkin 1987:97). Everyone promoting the sexual abuse hysteria was promoting science as the generative machine that produced their results and reinforced their recommendations for social and legal policy. But the idea of science had changed.

Coming mostly from European scholarship, criticism of traditional science had been growing since World War II. Within social science, explanations of personal and social action had been moving away from universal Grand Theory to more fragmented subjectively-based accounts. Occurring in all fields, psychoanalysis was particularly vulnerable. Criticism of beliefs in the rigid determinacy of unconscious childhood experiences rattled many developmental theories which depended upon such foundations. Moreover, in the early 1980s some of the scandal over fraudulent scientific experiments reached the popular press (e.g., Raeburn 1982). This was damaging to the already shaky 18th century idea of positivist empiricism as well as to the popular image of “objective” science, the heroic scientist, and the ability to offer both cures and explanations that soothed the social fabric. It was an ideal time to renew concentrated attacks on liberal research and thinking and to promote replacement heroes.

An early piece (Anonymous 1980) helped begin this process of ideological selection in which unpopular lines of investigation and theory were denigrated and demolished, not by empirical evidence, but by personal and political attack. The author said there was a “propaganda campaign” to “undermine” the basis of the incest taboo by “neatly planting the notion that opposition to incest is quite like religious intolerance.” A number of researchers and their “simple-minded arguments” were disparagingly named (all unreferenced; see Herman 1981). Most of this conspiracy was supposed to come from

the premises of the sex research establishment: all forms of consensual sexuality are good, or at least neutral; problems arise...from guilt, fear, and repression. That kind of faith is bound to lead its believers in crusades against all sexual prohibitions... (Anonymous 1980)

According to the *Time* article, “traditional academics” see sex researchers as “pushy, ham-handed amateurs.” Assuming a myth-buster position, the author said this “pro-incest” literature paid “absolutely no attention to psychological realities,” by which was meant the theory that young people cannot consent, and that routine exploitation occurs by “disturbed parents.”

Much of the article was a rhetorical and political extension of a piece by Professor of English Benjamin DeMott (1980). He spoke of “the new permissivists” who were saying that some youth-adult sexual relations and contacts are not harmful and that some appear to be beneficial. DeMott then made an extraordinary personal attack on therapist Joan Nelson in which he dismissed all abilities of self-knowledge and self-consciousness by individuals daring to offer testimonies qualifying or contradicting traditional evaluation and therapy. DeMott said such people existed only in “loneliness, unadmitted despair, [with an] unexaminable childhood wound, or self-hatred,” and that “in their



tormented defiance, their saddened isolation, these voices cry out loudest for pity.”<sup>32</sup>

A little over a year later, another such article appeared in *Time*, now with the author's by-line, again throwing morally indignant rhetoric against the views and findings of many sex researchers. Their “preachings” contained “a disturbing idea,” one made more threatening by its growing popularity, said John Leo.<sup>33</sup> The idea that frightened them so much was that young people ought to be able to conduct their own sex lives “without interference from parents and the law.” This nefarious concept, Leo said, was being spread subliminally, wrapped up in “pieties,” by subversive researchers who “have the wit to keep a low profile and tuck the idea away neatly in a longer, more conventional speech or article.” Investigators were again attacked for their work which fell “just short of a manifesto for child molesters’ lib.” Leo turned to “responsible” authorities, and quoted psychiatrist Leon Eisenberg who said the researchers were “full of crap.”

This piece caused several of the attacked researchers to do a lot of backpeddling (an activity quite typical of liberals when challenged), sputtering that they never “advocated” or condoned adult-youth sex.<sup>34</sup> Some did protest, however, but *Time* refused to publish their letters. A complaint was filed with the National News Council which found that all but one of those attacked were misquoted, quoted out of context, or otherwise had their positions distorted, and found that *Time* violated “accepted journalistic standards for fairness and accuracy.” *Time*'s unconcerned Executive Editor offhandedly dismissed the charges. Leo continued to feel alarmed and indignant that sexologists were taken in by pedophiles (1983).

At about the same time, Dr. Judianne Densen-Gerber made a remark which now strikes us as quite an interesting historical curiosity: “One of the greatest dangers we now face,” she said, “is from so-called experts who are flooding the field with distortions” (1981:11). Herman made a similar comment, applicable to all youth-adult sex:

Without a feminist analysis, one is at a loss to explain why the reality of incest was for so long suppressed by supposedly responsible professional investigators, why public discussion of the subject awaited the women's liberation movement, or why the recent apologists for incest have been popular men's magazines and the closely allied, all-male Institute for Sex Research.<sup>35</sup>

The next few years continued to demonstrate the ruthlessness of the ideological struggle. In late 1983, journalist Janet Malcolm published two long articles (1983a, 1983b; see also 1984) on the work of Jeffrey Masson. He claimed to have discovered that Freud abandoned his original theory on the cause of female “hysteria” (caused he thought at first by adult-youth sex, usually between daughter and father) for a theory less challenging to the male establishment, that is, that the child secretly wished for sex with the father or mother but repressed it, producing psychosomatic disturbances.<sup>36</sup> Masson's theory received a great deal of publicity, partly because pedophilia, young peoples' sexualities, and sexual

abuse were then being reconstructed. His theories fit nicely with contemporary views, especially those using the imagery of science breaking “barriers of silence.”

In the professional world, David Finkelhor (1979) had moved the struggle from an empirical basis to one of his own sense of wrongness. He urged the disregarding of data that were inconsistent with the morality crucial to the ideology of the 1980’s hysteria, a move accepted enthusiastically by most academics and professionals. Watson (1984) helped establish the new pantheon by promoting Nicholas Groth, David Finkelhor, Ann Burgess, Roland Summit, Kee MacFarlane, Kathleen Morris, and others without question or criticism. In this spirit, journalists deliberately suppressed any indication of the controversy in the professional world. A professional article by Burgess and her colleagues (1984) on “sex rings” was uncritically promoted by the *New York Times* (Goleman 1984), the *Los Angeles Times* (Sweeney 1984), and was used to support NBC’s polemic, *The Silent Shame* (August 25, 1984). Further, despite numerous requests from several professionals (including myself) and activists, the 1987 American lectures of Theo Sandfort, which presented contrary evidence, were deliberately refused coverage by the *New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and others.<sup>37</sup>

In 1981, Judith Reisman advanced her accusations against the work of Alfred Kinsey and his colleagues at a World Congress on Sexology, renewed them during a 1983 radio interview on a Christian talk show, then elaborated the charges in her 1990 book, expanding her attacks to Kinsey personally (Reisman and Eichel 1990). The charges were that Kinsey was a homosexual and a pedophile.<sup>38</sup> As such, he had a hidden agenda (“The Grand Scheme”) which was no less than to destroy the sanctity of heterosexual familial reproduction by homogenizing all human sexual activity so that any one “outlet” (the Kinseyian term for orgasm) is to be seen as legitimate as any other. There were two ways Kinsey and his co-conspirators managed this. One was by purposely skewing their sample toward more sexually active people, toward over-representing homosexual activity, and toward the over-inclusion of sex criminals in the sample. Kinsey’s other tactic (actually two)—and this was their more theatrical charge—was to present phoney data on children’s sexuality gained through Nazi-like experiments on youngsters.

To do this, the authors said, nine pedophiles sexually stimulated several hundred juveniles aged two months to fifteen years to orgasm using oral and manual methods; the reactions were timed via stopwatches and recorded in detailed logs. They said these were “violent sex acts” (Reisman and Eichel 1990:11), performed on the children “*against their will*” (p. 4, emphasis in original). The authors concluded, backed by collegial affirmation from “a number of professionals in a variety of medical and psychological disciplines” (all unnamed), that the youngsters *had* to have been strapped down and that they subsequently suffered “extremely serious, perhaps even fatal” trauma (p. 40), as

evidenced from subjects who were “weeping, screaming, convulsing and fainting.”<sup>39</sup>

More sinisterly, according to Nobile (1990b), Reisman believed that Kinsey kidnapped and drugged ghetto boys for the experiments, that he himself “technically trained” the pedophile experimenters; Reisman implied that Kinsey may have had sexual contact with some of the youth.

This is a wonderful book, and a valuable artifact of the period. Television entertainers are missing out if they ignore this as the basis for a delightful made-for-television film or in-depth documentary, perhaps titled *Surveys of Shame*, or *The Secret Screams of Social Science*. Most professionals, while they uncritically supported the assumptions of the abuse hysteria, were embarrassed by Reisman’s speculations. Others naively accepted the conspiratorial insinuations, accusations little different from those the study authors received immediately after the Kinsey reports appeared.<sup>40</sup>

Science in the 1980s underwent shifts in method and status. Research became subservient to political opinion and moral views. Legitimated by Finkelhor’s infamous 1979 article, application of this methodological reversal appeared at expected points. Foremost was the search for causal factors. The Illinois Legislative Investigating Commission acknowledged the inconclusive or counter evidence of the causal effects of sexual materials, but still they believe, “pornography is either an adjunct or a tool to the crime. We cannot state this definitely, but it is a conclusion one may draw” (ILIC 1980:31). The Meese Commission on pornography similarly declared that “absence of evidence should by no means be taken to deny the existence of a causal link” (Attorney General’s...1986:I:332).

As intended, the newer science was quickly translated into state policy. In mid-1985, the 11th Circuit Court decided that Georgia’s sodomy statues violated the Constitutional rights of homosexuals on privacy grounds. In the appeal of that decision to the U.S. Supreme Court, Georgia Attorney General Michael Bowers insisted that states do not need to show any sort of “compelling interest” to invade the sexual lives of its citizens, and argued further that “states do have the right to make unprovable assumptions lacking in scientifically certain criteria, in order to protect a social interest in order and morality.”<sup>41</sup> In the hysteria, science was used when it provided respectability and authenticity to political and religious aspirations, and ignored, denied, or even destroyed when it didn’t.<sup>42</sup> A Washington State association of psychiatrists criticized the bill that allowed the indefinite detention of anyone convicted or accused of youth-adult sex, but their views were disregarded. The overriding interest, as Bowers made very clear, was to protect the state’s political and religious order.

Later in the decade, a few professionals began to admit some befuddlement. The status of the pedophile remained thoroughly villainous and continued to function as a foil for moral administrators and entertainers. The status of the victim, however, became less clear, especially in “ritual abuse” cases. Writing of events that supposedly happened in the late 1970s, Hayden was uncertain about

theories for the behavior of her seven year old subject. While no proof of sex with an adult was forthcoming, Hayden felt certain the girl had been molested. Further, though she claimed to favor traditional psychological explanations for the girl's attitude and behavior, Hayden believed there had been Satanic ritual abuse, even though here too, as usual, no evidence was ever obtained.<sup>43</sup> Hayden claimed pedophiles were running secret rings that forced drugged young females to make sex movies, using the occult as a cover. In the end, Hayden couldn't figure out what happened to Jadie, even though the cover blurb *promised* for our reading pleasure Jadie that "reveals a lifetime of sexual and emotional abuse." Readers were disappointed.

Attacks on professionals were attacks on the status and sources of knowledge in general. While Baudrillard (1988:36, 44f, 54) correctly saw American academics as egotistical, narcissistic, and intellectually masturbatory, these had been common domestic observations for generations. When he said he could in no way consider them as sources of knowledge, Baudrillard was succumbing to the simple belief that "knowledge," like "truth," is singular and obtainable. He missed the point made so well by his own countrymen and women that the issues and prizes are not insight and enlightenment but power and dominance, and the pleasures of violent entertainment.

By the end of the decade, in addition to the acknowledgement of hysterical conditions, a few academics began to suggest indignantly that sexology had been perverted. Okami (1989) bemoaned the "betrayal of sex research," saying "Sexology has, until recently, remained an essentially sex-positive social science," but now there is "a new kind of sexology that intentionally blurs the important line between social science and social criticism." These comments display an unfortunate ignorance of the history of social science in general and of "sexology" in particular. But like narratives of the popular media, the remarks are meant not so much to convey fact as to indicate loyalty to the culture of professionalism—the orders that condition and produce authorized knowledge in the first place. The statements indicate internal academic and professional struggles for dominance, as well as an overall contest for authority to issue pronouncements on the state of human sexual normality and administer its enforcement.<sup>44</sup>

An interesting event in the late 1980s that threw some light on this was a study by William Epstein. As an experiment, Epstein offered two versions of a fictitious article to social science journal editors. One depicted a child removed from a home to alleviate a psychosomatic illness and offered data supporting the intervention; the other version was the same but offered data that depicted intervention as ineffective. Generally, the negative version was rejected over the version that supported intervention. The study confirmed what many of us have experienced for a long time, namely that fads in science will be preferred over conflicting data and positions, and more specifically that researchers will seek data and design studies that support contemporary fancies. The period under examination here continued this as usual academic and scientific practice,

vigorously stigmatizing and excluding those whose work ran counter to the moral views or neuroses then promoted as science.<sup>45</sup>

This attitude was quite prevalent among police and prosecutors. Rooted in a long-standing tradition of American anti-intellectualism, a tradition not always misplaced, it made its appearance frequently in the period. Hollingsworth said few psychologists, "and no respected ones," would dare testify that three year olds confused fact and fantasy (1986:392). She vehemently scorned defense expert Ralph Unterwager, and linked Lee Coleman to VOCAL (see below for more on VOCAL) with conspiratorial overtones. Thomas again offered a nice text, one in which he wrote in the persona of Jack O'Malley. O'Malley is supposed to have said defense experts turned prosecutors' questions into other questions.

Then, in their grave professional voices, the doctors would quote Freud and any sexologist they could muster. Kinsey was almost always trundled out—that now notorious passage...in which he argued: "It is difficult to understand why a child, except for its cultural conditioning, should be disturbed at having its genitalia touched, or disturbed at seeing the genitalia of other persons, or disturbed at even more specific sexual contact."

The prosecution would try to show Kinsey's views are long discredited. The defense doctors would smile indulgently, murmuring that was only a point of view. No matter how fierce the questioning, it would seldom shake the erudite, all-knowing attitude of the expert on the stand.<sup>46</sup>

Many professionals continued to distance themselves from stigmatized voices and data in the 1970s and 80s. Richard Green was accused in a rather sloppy review of his book, *Sexual Science and the Law*, of saying that there are no reliable data that sex with adults harms youngsters. He supplied a more accurate reading of his findings in a response to the review, a response submitted in large part because he was afraid of appearing to "support the extremist views held by pedophile groups like the North American Man-Boy Love Association."<sup>47</sup>

In the mid-1980s, academic social worker Allie Kilpatrick was a great believer in "scientific objectivity," and she insisted that rigorous protocols of definition and critical inquiry be followed in investigating youth-adult sex. Suggesting her own work as a model of correctness, she (re)discovered a wider variety of adult-youth sexual relationships than had recently been promoted, and urged a reexamination. But working in the mid-1980s she could not help but be cognizant of the pressures on those speaking to what she referred to as "aberrant childhood sexual experiences" (1992:116). Like any good professional, she hurried to affirm her loyalty:

Under no circumstances should [my] findings be interpreted as saying that...offenders of societal norms should not be prosecuted. ... Also, under no circumstances should [my] findings be used as a sanction for child-adult sexual relationships. These relationships are violations of principles of informed consent. Unequal power relationships are also involved. Sexual relationships with children under these circumstances

constitute psychological if not physical coercion and should be treated as such.<sup>48</sup>

These statements directly violate her own warnings and criticisms of work done in the 1970s and 1980s (voiced especially in her 1987 paper), and her assertions lack the very empirical substantiation she sees lacking in others' work. The comments repeat the past two decades of dogmatic sexual politics, and her insistence on the punishment of "offenders of societal norms" is especially interesting.

Professor Raschke often attacked social research, saying that those who really know what's going on, those who know The Truth, are social workers, therapists, district attorneys, and police.<sup>49</sup> This led to some interesting subthemes in the conflict that rarely surfaced explicitly. In order to execute the policies of the new experts, the regime has to have functionaries who believe in (or at least adhere to) the ideology and who will unquestioningly process the paperwork and perform the technical functions. For her study of incest, Russell was quite explicit about who was qualified to gather data. She had her interviewers undergo minimally ten hours of education about rape and incest, but even this "cannot transform a bigot into an unprejudiced person. Hence interviewers were carefully selected not only for their interviewing skills but also for their non-blaming attitudes toward sexual assault victims."<sup>50</sup>

Andrew Vachss was more direct. He said investigations of abuse allegations are usually done by ill-trained workers, or, worse, those "whose social philosophy places the rehabilitation of offenders over the safety of the victims. ... If a social worker believes...that 'all children lie' or that children fantasize sexual abuse, he cannot do his job properly." To aid in this, he suggested that social workers be "psychiatrically screened" (1985b). For Butler, child savers should all be feminists, committed to "a deep respect for children" and to the facts of the common oppression of women and youth. In a statement that echoes 19th century patriarchies (though she seemed unaware of it), she said that "women and children are the responsibility of the entire social community, and...have an absolute right to safety, dignity, and freedom from any form of tyranny and abuse..." Above all, she insisted that the conduct of the new child savers involve "no moralizing or ethical confusion" (1982).

A text with considerable similarities to these early views was an article aimed at prosecutors by therapists Jensen and Jewell. They complained that many of those who treat sex offenders are "naive" and inexperienced, lack "appropriate" training, and are given to "absurd inferences and drawing unsubstantiated conclusions" (1988:13). What is needed is

a healthy value system and a personal background devoid of pathology. Individuals with a personal history of sexual deviancy, criminal behavior, alcoholism or drug dependency are seldom able to provide a consistent model of responsible behavior and provide clear guidelines for treatment.

... He needs to be comfortable with the fact that therapy for mandated sexual offenders is often coercive, and that skepticism, confrontation and behavioral consequences are necessary. ... He needs

to understand the necessity of prosecution and believe that treatment and incarceration are not incompatible. ... Therapists must not view themselves as advocates for the offender. (p. 15)

Daniel Sexton worried about further abuse of “survivors” by the mental health system and said to fellow therapists,

If you do not believe that [Satanic ritual abuse] could possibly happen, do not work with this issue. We don't want you a part of this because it is simply going to make the issue more confounded and more difficult.<sup>51</sup>

Credwson (1988:60) praised Gene Abel and Judith Becker for being able to detect hidden perversion by wiring men's penis's to a meter to see if they respond to pictures of young people—“not pornographic pictures but suggestive ones that only a true pedophile would find erotic.”<sup>52</sup> “In dealing with the sex offender, mistakes made by an untrained or incompetent therapist may result in reoffense, additional victims and sometimes death. This is not an area for the novice therapist,” warned Jensen and Jewell (1988:14). The authors gave two examples of their own work where, after evaluations by others were negative, they, with profound insight and technological wealth, were able to expose the subjects as pedophiles—or at least that they fit the “profile.”

This belief in abilities to detect hidden dangers has long been a fervent wish of a beleaguered populace and a capacity advertised by professionals themselves. It was believed that “any good psychiatrist” can “easily” spot a sexual troublemaker (Dutton 1937); Wittles (1948) told us that “their trained eyes and ears interpreted symbols unnoticed by the layman.” Conway (1973) was impressed with work at Stanford University which analyzed brain “E-waves” to detect suspected pedophiles. The capacity to discover deviants was enviously regarded by the society, and in a historical context of heavily promoted threats and vulnerability, the demand for such power rose considerably. The result was the development of stigmata lists and “profiles,” a democratization of expertise that promised effective and quick authority in the hands of the masses. Their distribution and enthusiastic use by all levels of society to identify, investigate, and imprison suspects was a triumph of the egalitarian decentralization of professional incompetence.

### III

Anti-pedophile sentiments were also grounded in the context of a historical period that perceived crime and disease in terms of “epidemics” along with a “sexual holocaust.”<sup>53</sup> Adult-youth sex was believed to be growing in three basic, interrelated ways: more and more of it was occurring, villains were seeking younger and younger victims, and acts were increasingly brutal. Concomitantly, heroes had to represent themselves as increasingly hampered by restraints on their powers.

The social and historical reasons that were given for pedophilia were varied. Hillman and Solek-Tefft (1988:138ff) saw it due to the growth of “the mystique of childhood innocence and the general allure of children,” and a spread of “evil.” Sandra Butler saw a cause in a pervasive “youth cult,” and because women were making more demands on men (Watson 1984). Others felt sure that pedophilia resulted “when the natural links between romantic love and sexual lust is severed, blocked or distorted.”<sup>54</sup> O’Brien (1983:vii) felt that the popularity of adult-youth sex was due to a “cult of youth philosophy,” an “increased fascination with nudity,” and too much tolerance expressed as “live and let live.”

Most blamed a perceived “permissiveness” and a “liberalization” of attitudes toward sexualities and their representations.<sup>55</sup> Referring to a “dangerous freedom,” Winn (1983b) exclaimed that educators who had given sex information freely, were tolerant and permissive, and emphasized rational explanation had produced a situation that was “disastrous.” McConnell (1984) claimed the exploitation of youth was due to “the Sixties” and “child liberation,” openness about homosexuality (facilitating “Wayne Williams and John Gacy types”), indifference toward children, and acceptance of prostitution as a victimless crime. Densen-Gerber (1981:9) complained that “permissiveness is exalted. Those of us from past generations have no anchors to secure us.” Darnton (1991) felt that a broader context was that of “the breakdown of authority and a loss of faith among children in the wisdom of the adult world.” At the time of sex abuse charges against film director and actor Woody Allen, Geyer also perceived tears in the social fabric:

...old strictures at the center [are] not holding thus releasing people to do things they would never have done before—or let them become public. When the central authority of societies does not hold...the breakdown of recognized moral authority and of physical authority as well, looses individuals to go further and further out.<sup>56</sup>

She admitted that Allen’s alleged victim, Soon-Yi, not only denied any abuse but the entire imagery of the hysteria. Geyer still concluded that

this type of thinking and the authority-less world that gave birth to it came directly out of the 60s... because of the creation of a self-indulgent youth culture that prided itself on rebellion. [It is] a yawning moral emptiness at the center caused originally by children in both the upper middle class and the lower deprived classes being raised so permissively they never were fully socialized into society.<sup>57</sup>

Coming with views that sexual abuse was caused by permissiveness was considerable hostility toward liberals and civil rights groups. O’Brien and Raschke felt that the prosecution of youth-adult sex was hindered by liberal judges and defense lawyers who raise First Amendment issues.<sup>58</sup> Agent O’Malley was accused of being an “enticer” and “entraper” by civil rights watchers, but O’Malley proudly listed the suicides caused by his stings and will continue to assert his opinion to “all those psychologists and liberal-minded lawyers who argue otherwise.”<sup>59</sup> Lew warned against a conspiracy of “apologists” for youth-



adult sex, implying they are tied to the "multimillion dollar pornography and child sex industry and a powerful 'pro-incest lobby'" (Lew 1990:xv; Hechler 1991). African-American journalist Thomas Sowell (1994) admitted that some injustices had occurred, but the only real effect of this is that molesters are "allowed to run amok." He complained about the American Civil Liberties Union's protests of the public listing of sex offenders, saying the ACLU acted only for monetary reasons. The ACLU argued that permanent listings of those convicted of sex crimes labels people as "irredeemable," but Sowell said that was a spurious issue because molesters are never cured; "thousands of people were not gathered at the Lincoln Memorial in 1963 so that child molesters could remain anonymous," he said. While making some protests against First Amendment infringements, the ACLU has always encouraged "increased vigor" (Barry 1987:40) in the prosecution of youth-adult sex, and has energetically suggested changes to laws for more successful convictions and punishment.

Continuing a major theme of 19th century America, some saw pedophilia as a part of Big City life. Hayden (1991:165) told a friend that "pedophiliac" activity had disturbed one of her students, and the friend is shocked, saying that such activity is typical of cities, not a small town, and is "California-style stuff," or even "those other foreign places, where they let people get away with this kind of thing."

Many others saw the failure of families to conduct themselves in "traditional" ways to be responsible for the country's decline. Densen-Gerber (1981:12) was especially critical of parent role models: "if the parent lies, steals, or has few values, the child will have nothing good with which to identify," an interesting remark considering her own status as role model. Vachss said child abusing parents are either "inadequate," "mentally ill," or just plain "evil."<sup>60</sup> Crewdson, reviving an old Puritan tradition, said "the parents of a child who is seriously abused by someone outside his home are not, by definition, capable and effective parents" (1988:69). The consequences of this view have been the seizing of children from parents, usually at the first rumored complaint. If found guilty of poor performance or unauthorized attitudes, the youngsters have been kept from the families while all undergo reeducation or punishment.

Out of the abundant number of instances of child seizing (its history has yet to be written), one of the more interesting examples was that of a 28 year old New York mother concerned about breast feeding her two year old daughter. She had called the Le Leche League to ask if her feelings of sexual arousal were usual while breast feeding. Arousal in that situation in varying degrees has long been known among medical people and sex researchers; some have reported orgasms while breast feeding. But the League directed her call to a rape crisis center who had the woman arrested and charged with incest and endangering the welfare of a child. After she spent two days in jail, the charge was dismissed at first hearing. The Onondaga County social services department immediately brought new charges of sexual abuse and neglect and seized the daughter, placing her in foster care. The social workers told the woman that if she did not plead guilty she

would never see her daughter again. The second set of charges were also dismissed, but child savers again filed sex abuse charges, accusing the woman of “placing [the daughter’s] mouth on her breast.” The third set of sex abuse charges were dismissed, but the judge found her guilty of neglect—for failing to wean her daughter earlier. One year later, the two were finally reunited, though the girl by then had all the symptoms of an abused child. County social workers were not prosecuted.<sup>61</sup>

Groups such as Victims Of Child Abuse Laws (VOCAL) were looked upon as a “backlash” against the heroic war against abuse. VOCAL was founded in 1984 in the aftermath of the Jordan, Minnesota accusations, and had over 100 chapters by the late 1980s, 10-12,000 members, and drew sympathetic professionals to their position. Hollingsworth, however, said VOCAL was “composed largely of accused and/or convicted child molesters.”<sup>62</sup> Roland Summit said VOCAL was “citizens and lawyers [who] have organized to offer strategies for discrediting child witnesses and humiliating anyone who elicits or endorses disclosures of sexual assault.”<sup>63</sup>

Alarms were sounding. Insisting on the necessity of his child photographing and finger printing business, Gary Hess warned that “205 children per hour” are reported missing (Knapp 1985). The body count motif emphasized relentlessness throughout the period. Geiser said, “A child rape occurs once every forty-five minutes” (1979:20), and McCall insisted that “a child is molested every two minutes.”<sup>64</sup> “Every family...is vulnerable to the most insidious attack ever to strike American neighborhoods: the onslaught of the pedophiles,” warned Martin and Haddad (1982:5). Hollingsworth said “the child molester was free to practice his aberration; his ‘rights’ remained intact. ... It was open season on any child under the age of seven—and the child molesters knew it” (1986:21, 38).

The “onslaught” became *The Invasion of the Pedophiles*, a drama of cosmic proportion made wonderfully entertaining by its B-movie production values. “Working in their own neighborhoods, churches, youth organizations and businesses, otherwise ‘respectable’ perverts ruin the lives of thousands each year,” warned the *Child Protection Alert* (1985:5). Martin and Haddad again provided a nice text on the threat that recalled the “Keep Watching the Skies, America” motif of 1950s science fiction films:

If you live in a suburb, there is a pedophile or two nearby, and undoubtedly that pedophile knows who your child is...

The sad and scary thing is that you do not know the desires of your friends and neighbors. They may be monitoring you as a parent. If you let up, they will move in and your child may become a victim. And you may never know that your child has been sexually molested and exploited. Don’t wait. Be alert. You don’t know what kinds of sick thoughts and feelings the child molester may harbor. Some day your own child, or a young person you know, may never come home at all.<sup>65</sup>

With this many perverts at large, it was easy for the popular imagination to see sinister connections in political organizations. The best expression was by journalist William Newcott: "Organized groups of disgusting, perverted sickies are rallying to promote sexual relations between adults and young children." He said they have "sordid" newsletters, "nauseating" mottos, and indulge in "blatant" public demonstrations. He cited "shameful groups" who try to "force their twisted beliefs down the throats of decent, moral citizens" (1981). Similar to the rhetoric of minute-by-minute molestation is that of the body counts of ideological conversions:

[Pedophiles] are convincing adults by the hour that their theories can be proven with "scientific evidence." Many adults have been drawn to these sick conclusions by pedophilic organizations almost as easily as the pedophile seduces the child ... Child lovers are working 24 hours a day, 7 days a week for their cause. (Martin and Haddad 1982:100, 102; 42)

The most visible targets were pedophile political organizations and children's rights groups: journalistic polemics against them carried extraordinary degrees of exaggeration and fabrication. The Rene Guyon Society attracted some of the most indignant attention due largely to its catchy slogan, "Sex by age eight, or else it's too late." Rooney (1983) said the group "uses child porn to stimulate youngsters," an erroneous "fact" repeated eight years later by Thomas (1991:74).

The Paedophile Information Exchange (PIE) was another popular target. Founded in Britain in 1974, it was finally destroyed by government harassment in 1984. In the company of a number of other but less recognized European pedophile political groups, PIE was used to prove the international scope of pedophile "propaganda."<sup>66</sup> A children's liberation group, The Childhood Sensuality Circle, was another favorite foil usually mistaken for a pedophile organization. It too was destroyed in the mid-1980s by police action; by 1986 the 87 year old woman who founded the Reichian-influenced group in 1971 no longer cared to carry it on.<sup>67</sup>

The North American Man-Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) was perhaps the group most feared and attacked, the group journalists loved to hate.<sup>68</sup> Echols related the crimes of several "serial killer-homosexual pedophiles" whom he equated to NAMBLA members (1991:317ff). For several years, NAMBLA was suspected of being involved in child pornography and prostitution. Janus incorrectly characterized the famous 1978 Revere case that gave rise to NAMBLA as "a large call-boy operation." Conjuring up a delightful image, he claimed over 250 boys were "available for sex anywhere in the Massachusetts area for fifty dollars and up," and he said the scene "was just one branch of a national network with headquarters in Houston, Texas," through which operators could deliver a boy anywhere within half an hour if the credit card clears.<sup>69</sup> In 1982 journalists falsely reported that three young boys were found "imprisoned" by NAMBLA members and that pornographic photos of them were in "wide circulation throughout the country" (repeated by Volkman and Rosenberg 1985a).

The *New York Times* called NAMBLA “a homosexual teen-age pornography group” (Anonymous 1982b). A missing young man was compared to the Etan Patz disappearance, and NAMBLA was at first accused of forcefully abducting the youngster (Anonymous 1982e), then later of having “lured” him away (Kilman 1982). The boy, however, was not Patz, and he was quoted as saying “I had fun” while he was supposedly “missing.”<sup>70</sup> Senator Paula Hawkins said Federal investigators were looking into NAMBLA on the basis of rumors that there was a phone number through which one can “get a child to order” for several thousand dollars (1986:68).

A total lack of evidence subverted accusations of NAMBLA as an international supplier of prepubescent flesh, so the group then was accused more of being a haven for pedophiles and supplying pornography. John Walsh targeted NAMBLA for his December 17, 1994 *America's Most Wanted* show, admitting that they were “an organization I’ve been battling for years.” Inspector Pat White of the San Francisco Police Department said “The members of NAMBLA that I have come in contact with are all molesting children.” As an example, Walsh exhibited the “mysterious figure” of Stephen David Lewis, charged with molestation and supposedly a typical member of NAMBLA. Walsh then showed selected parts from the “controversial” documentary, *Chickenhawk* (1994) which Walsh said shows a NAMBLA spokesman “cruising around looking for young boys.”<sup>71</sup>

The bulk of the segment was by Brian Karem. He set the scene by saying playgrounds are places where NAMBLA members “*watch*” children, “perhaps *interact* with them, maybe even have a *relationship* with them...” (emphasis in original). Karem said he obtained a “rare” interview with NAMBLA spokesman Leyland [*sic*] Stevenson to support this depiction. In the “interview,” almost all of the footage is of Karem arguing with Stevenson, constantly interrupting him and switching the subject to make accusations. At one point, Karem said in an indignant voice-over, “So strong is Leyland’s belief in sex with young boys, he *wouldn’t*—or *couldn’t*—draw the line at having sex with an *infant*.” Stevenson tried to form a reply but was frustrated by Karem’s interruptions and badgering:

LS: It depends on what is going on entirely and what you mean by sex...There is no way...

BK: [unintelligible interruption]

LS: Brian, there is *no way*, there is no way that we can resolve this question in this show, on this camera at this time. There is no way that it can be done—none!

BK: Do you realize...

LS: Because the question is...

BK: Do you realize your inability to resolve that question is what keeps you apart from the larger society...

Karem then demanded Stevenson “conform” to “protect our children.” Karem comically (unintentionally so) wagged his finger at Stevenson throughout all of

this, and the camera goes for a couple of tight close-ups of Stevenson's eyes, signification of the reporter's surveilling and dominating power.<sup>72</sup>

The best documented instance of journalistic manipulation came in early 1992 when a San Francisco television station "exposed" the meetings of a NAMBLA chapter.<sup>73</sup> Beginning January 13, 1992, KRON-TV (NBC) reporter Greg Lyon made the following false accusations about NAMBLA, which when challenged, were insisted upon as "fair, accurate, honest, and forthright" (O'Connor 1992):

An organization dedicated to helping its members meet children and then molest them without getting caught holds its regular monthly meetings in a branch of the San Francisco Public Library. We're talking about children as young as three years old.<sup>74</sup>

Lyon claimed members, whom he said will not control "their lust for children," discussed putting together a calendar of pictures of nude boys. It was later discovered that this was in fact a suggestion of former social worker Mike Echols and was rejected by the NAMBLA group. Echols attended a meeting of the group in December, 1991, then tried to interest a number of Bay Area news organizations in his services as an informant. After several rejections he was finally taken in by KRON producer John Dann. He was presented as an "infiltrator" in the January 15 KRON broadcast, and was the object of a sympathetic article in the *Los Angeles Times*.<sup>75</sup>

One of the visual highlights shows a January 4 meeting "captured by our Target 4 hidden camera."<sup>76</sup> Scenes of the meeting were juxtaposed with footage of children downstairs at the library. One final scene showed a teddy bear on a chair with a solemn voice-over promising further coverage. KRON-TV claimed they contacted NAMBLA but the organization refused to be interviewed. NAMBLA officials said they were not contacted by the station at all, and indeed no mention of any attempt to contact the group before bursting in on the meeting was mentioned in the January 13-17 shows. KRON-TV used footage of NAMBLA members leaving after the camera team barged in as proof of the secrecy of the group.

KRON-TV said the *NAMBLA Bulletin* had "articles telling you where to meet kids, how to avoid getting caught, and how to teach children to lie to their parents" (January 13); the January 14 report said it carried "Letters to the editor [which] smolder with stories of sex with children, and advice on how to molest youngsters without getting caught."<sup>77</sup> San Francisco Police Captain Diarmuid Philpott said NAMBLA "distributed leaflets that told its members 'where and how' to meet young boys."<sup>78</sup> Police gave KRON-TV access to files on arrested as well as suspected and unprosecuted individuals, and the station made repeated associations between men arrested or accused of sex with minors, including one who tested HIV-positive, and NAMBLA. Philpott claimed 13 people associated with NAMBLA had been arrested on sex charges but gave no substantiation (Botkin 1992a, 1992b). Reporter Lyon said the exposé was instigated by Cathy Baxter, Director of the San Francisco Child Abuse Council, but she denied this.

The public reaction attempted to exclude NAMBLA from meeting at the library, and calls were directed to the library from people "going on about kidnapping boys and child prostitution rings and snuff movies...stop the rape of our children and such" (Purdue 1992). KRON-TV reporters said the library kept silent on the meetings and "the danger," and the station pointedly asked parents, "How do you feel about child molesters meeting in your library?"<sup>79</sup> Library Commissioner Dale Carlson, ignoring the fact that NAMBLA publicly listed chapter meetings in their readily obtainable newsletters and had been meeting there for three years, asserted that "They don't want to meet in public. They don't want mothers and the public at their meetings" (Anonymous 1992d); "they can't bear the harsh light of the public eye," he said (Anonymous 1992e). He hoped "that by driving NAMBLA out from under a rock...it will cause them to seek a more appropriate place to hold their meetings" (Richardson 1992a). Library officials were somewhat miffed to have their open public facility referred to as "under a rock," and it was unclear what a "more appropriate place" would be.

"This isn't a First Amendment issue or a gay rights issue. This is a child protection issue," insisted Tish Monirov, organizer of an anti-NAMBLA group (Hoover 1992a). Another mother wrote, "I want them to continue to meet publicly so that we can see their faces and learn what their tactics are in abusing young male children. I want to prepare myself and protect my son and other children from these 'monsters.' They are the enemy..." (McGee 1992). At NAMBLA's January 20, 1992 press conference, Christian fundamentalists, neo-Nazis with Confederate flags, gays and lesbians against NAMBLA, incest "survivors," and other protesters carried signs, such as "Death to child molesters."

Reaction from the gay community was cool at best. Gay author and editor Jonathan Katz was "troubled" by issues of consent (Hoover 1992b). Most used the cliché that heterosexuals "molest" more than homosexuals, and stated they didn't support NAMBLA; the Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation refused to join NAMBLA at a press conference. Lesbian City Supervisor Roberta Achtenberg (later appointed U.S. Assistant Secretary for Fair Housing) said NAMBLA was "an organization of men whose primary purpose is to exploit children." Morse complained that "while citizens, gay and straight, get justly furious about a few guys in greasy raincoats, children are selling their bodies on the streets of San Francisco and nobody gives a damn."<sup>80</sup>

Other media programs in San Francisco at the time also substantially contributed to an unease over the health and safety of young people: Channel 5 aired a story on mother-son incest called, "Breaking the Silence," and Channel 9's *Frontline* aired a story about the death of a child because of incompetence in the child protective system. More to the point is the fact that KRON-TV's "exposé" was an attempt to increase ratings as the stations shifted its prime time and late news schedules (White 1992).

A similar but even more vicious attack was performed in early March, 1993 by New York City television station WNBC and reporter John Miller. They surreptitiously filmed meetings and traced NAMBLA members to where they

worked, filming them there in deliberate attempts to damage their lives because of their political beliefs and associations.<sup>81</sup> "The NAMBLA Tapes," as the series referred to itself, claimed erroneously that the group "advocated" sex between adults and children, and repeated all the falsehoods from the previous decade. NBC called one individual's employer asking if "disciplinary action" had been meted out yet, the network feeling it should dictate people's employment. To its credit, the employer said it had investigated the matter and found that the employee's private life, personal activities, and political beliefs had no influence on his job and they were no longer concerned about the matter.

The biggest flap was over Peter Melzer who had been a teacher for 31 years without complaint concerning his conduct or competency. Harassed by the New York City Board of Education and prevented from teaching, the Board voted to dismiss him. Not surprisingly, local gay organizations remained silent (despite their slogan, "Silence = Death"), but a number of liberal groups and critics rose to his defense. Leo (1993) joined in the attacks, adding his scorn for liberal politics ("creeping tolerance") and his contempt for empirical social science ("every sexual taboo must be analyzed pro and con").

The shows "exposing" NAMBLA were seen by many observers as one of the best examples of journalism as vigilantism, undertaken by the stations as a manifestation of the meanspirited authoritarian turn of society, as part of "sweeps week" drives, and as attempts to recoup respectability after NBC had been exposed and had to publicly apologize for falsifying a collision test of a pickup truck the previous month.<sup>82</sup>

Attacks against organized pedophiles also often took the form of campaigns against so-called "rings." Monmouth (New Jersey) County Prosecutor Alex Lehrer gave a delightful expression of this mentality when he was quoted as saying, "There is an organized conspiracy among unorganized people who would kidnap the minds and bodies of children" (Anonymous 1983b). It was believed that pedophiles' mysterious powers of perception could not only locate victims but enabled them to secretly communicate with each other. One police officer said, "by looking at each other, they'll know," and one of O'Malley's agents asserted, "It's like joining a secret sect. They've got their special codes. To establish identity. To warn of danger."<sup>83</sup> "One American group is said to require its adult males to have deflowered a male or female child eight years or younger as part of their membership requirements," Linedecker confidently told us.<sup>84</sup>

Members exchange letters and subversive literature, and are linked by computers, magazines, or citizen band radio. Some meet through "swinger magazines," using "special code phrases" intelligible only to those "in the know" as Crewdson implied he was (1988:99). One of the main reasons given for social contact was to enable the pedophile to exchange photographs of youngsters "like baseball cards." Agent O'Malley predicted that by 1991 there would be over 22,000,000 copies of child sex videos sold or rented in the United States; Gordon

Thomas repeated this without any doubt, including O'Malley's belief that pornographers use satellites to "beam down filth from outer space" (1991:47, 71).

But more than mere photos, pedophile organizations were believed to be involved in the exchange and selling of children. FBI agent Dana Caro said there was "a clandestine subculture...in the United States [which] is involved in recruiting and transporting minors for sexual exploitation" (1982:38). FBI agent James Murphy said, according to the *New York Daily News*, that "You can order children by height and weight," and claimed three and four year olds were being used in sex films (Anonymous 1983c). Detective William Dworin said molesters use day care centers "as a source of children," and the gullible reporter added, "often for a fee" (Lindsey 1984). MacFarlane warned of "conspiracies... organized operations of child predators," who use "Preschools [as] a ruse for larger unthinkable networks of crimes against children;" these rings use day care centers to make and market masses of child sex pictures and sell the children placed in their care.<sup>85</sup> Preschools were seen to be more of a way for Satanists to draft believers rather than simply to have sex with the children. The young age was more suitable to indoctrination and "programming."<sup>86</sup>

Profiteers ran a "highly organized multi-million dollar industry with operations on a nationwide scale" which forced minors into pornography and prostitution rings; most were killed "after their roles are finished" (Hyde and Hyde 1985:43ff). "A child in Connecticut...can be marketed in California. Since nobody knows him or her out there, the ring is afforded protection," claimed Lewis (1987). Mexican, Central, and South American boys were "packaged," sold, and passed through pedophile networks "until their novelty has worn off."<sup>87</sup> "Thousands of missing children are routinely sold to so called sexual freedom groups...and child pornography rings...some of them in foreign countries. ...of the 20 to 50 thousand abducted children in this country each year, at least ten percent of them are kidnapped for sexual purposes," said a very serious news anchor.<sup>88</sup> Raschke believed local and international networks of organized crime distributed child pornography and drugs, and that the gangsters were Satanists.<sup>89</sup> In 1984, Cuba took Huebner's word that there was a "white slave trade" operating in San Antonio, Texas; she said females from mid teens to early 20s were being kidnapped, taken to Mexico, then sold to buyers in Asian countries, especially blond, blue-eyed females. Hollingsworth believed in a five billion dollar a year international child pornography market, one that specialized in blond blue-eyed children such as those at the Country Walk care center (or six billion, her figures vary: Hollingsworth 1986:215, 237). Five years later, Jim Dukes of the Customs Service was quoted as saying there is "an elusive child-slavery network operating in Texas," part of nation-wide organization that commercially dealt "exclusively in children."<sup>90</sup>

Thomas said there are vast numbers of people in sexual slavery, brought over ancient slave routes to feed the European sex industries, including 30,000 babies sold annually for adoption (1991:38, 49). Slavers raided Third World villages and kidnapped women and children, and/or snatched them off city streets and drugged



them, then sold them to pedophile rings and pornographers, mostly in the United States.<sup>91</sup> Children were shipped across the United States in 18-wheelers (according to “Susan Warmsey”), or in small planes (according to Customs agent O’Malley; pp. 75, 144, 158). Thomas offered a wonderful tale about a secret pedophile headquarters, “The Ranch.” His story is full of mystery, horror, and gothic aires—and one should expect no less, for besides being an award-winning investigative journalist, he is also a crime-thriller writer. Mysterious at first, Thomas dropped clues that continued to build through his story. “Susan Warmsey” and her assistant believed in it the most, saying juveniles were kidnapped and taken there for sexual and homicidal use by “high-ranking government, military, and civilian officials who want to have their way with children” (p. 81). Ritual killings were also a big part of activities on The Ranch, and Thomas cited “Lauren Stratfield’s” [*sic*] book as evidence. In a nice episode comparable to any of his novels, after all the build-up, he tells how “Warmsey’s” files on The Ranch were stolen by Satanists (pp. 103-107), so he was unfortunately unable to provide proof.

Pedophiles also “infiltrate” and “take over” other groups, such as the Boy Scouts or Big Brother programs, or anywhere there are young people.<sup>92</sup> Boyle claimed that NAMBLA had been urging members to join youth groups “Since at least the 1970s.”<sup>93</sup> As part of their international conspiracy, pedophiles will “employ counterintelligence techniques.”<sup>94</sup> This is the pedophiles-will-go-where-children-are view, but added here is the dimension that pedophiles also mean to politically subvert traditional institutions. Further, it was asserted that some pedophile organizations were themselves merely fronts for larger secret organizations—although this imagery was disappointingly rare despite the popularity of conspiracy theories. It was believed that international organizations of pornographers “channeled part of their profits into organizations like NAMBLA or supported conferences where another psychologist came grunting out of the woodwork arguing that pornography was a good thing” (Thomas 1991:128).

Early on there were two main attempts to defuse political meanings of the pedophile presence. One was to deny any Constitutional basis for circulating, viewing, and possessing representations of juvenile sex, part of a larger anti-erotica movement. Journalists said police believed the “fastest-growing, and most insidious, aspect of the whole child pornography epidemic” was that “So-called ‘sex freedom’ groups” circulate child sex materials and “openly advocate sex between adults and children.” The most “dangerous” part of this exchange was that “members believe it to be a *constitutional right*” (Volkman and Rosenberg 1985a, emphasis in original). In 1990, the Supreme Court declared that there was no Constitutional protection for representations of children’s sex in any form. Later refinements included classifying visuals of clothed children in non-sexual poses and situations as “child pornography”—if a pedophile found them arousing or if the images were perceived to be “prurient.” In Canada, efforts in the early

1990s continued to criminalize the production and possession of any *written text* that advocates or supports youth-adult sex and/or advises youth to have sex as well as explicit representations; the laws, passed without dissent, gave ten years in prison for such crimes. In England, which also has a demagogic system of law, PIE was largely destroyed by imprisoning its writers for, in the words of sentencing Judge John Owen, trying to give “intellectual respectability to acts which society as a whole regards as loathsome.”<sup>95</sup>

While the First Amendment has always been a target for America’s right, some attacks were registered from leftist and feminist sources; the abuse panic provided many opportunities for all to undermine free speech protections. Morse (1992b) said, “Not only are these people saying it’s OK for them to mess around with kids, they’re saying it’s politically correct.” He concluded, “one should draw a line at talking pedophilia in a public library crowded with kids.” Densen-Gerber said, “It’s a full threat. There is a world-wide movement...to permit the sexual use of children. And it’s done under the guise of civil rights and civil libertarianism.”<sup>96</sup> Linedecker, active later in the Christian anti-pornography movement, insisted it was “absurd” to consider First Amendment arguments: “there is no reason to either listen to or to tolerate the claptrap spewed out by...such crazies” (1981:297). To further discredit the arguments, Crewdson (1988:243) added an *ad hominem* swipe to the issue: “No one except pedophiles argued [that representations of child sex] was a legitimate form of free expression.”<sup>97</sup> “Hiding behind the First Amendment” was a favorite expression of the period to deflect consideration of free speech issues, and it attributed to the user an ability to discover secret agendas of individuals and groups. Janus used a 1979 debate from the pages of *Gay Community News* in which he said Nancy Walker made “a direct hit” on pedophile rhetoric; beneath the political arguments, she felt the only thing pedophiles were really interested in was “fucking children.”<sup>98</sup>

Ehrlich (1993) broadened the issue to attack the freedom of association guaranteed by the Bill of Rights, suggesting ways to make life difficult for pedophiles and their supporters, one being to directly suppress pedophile organizations, including laws against “conspiring to commit child abuse.” Applauding the hounding of NAMBLA members in New York, Leo (1993) supported the firing of individuals for reasons of organizational membership and ideological belief; his article produced local reactions demanding “zero tolerance for admitted pedophiles” (Schumann 1993).

Thus the second main move involved a dismissal of political legitimacy to arguments and organizations sympathetic to or neutral toward adult-youth sex. Leo was livid at the idea of “child molesters lib” (1983, 1993), and Raschke was equally outraged that there was a “movement” to defend youth-adult sex (1992:345, 351). Violations of the sacred were also added to accounts of what is at stake in the anti-pedophile campaigns. Leonard claimed that adult-youth sex “can’t be figured according to any ordinary moral arithmetic” (1989). Pedophilia was a violation of “God’s special plan and purpose for each child’s life” (Allen

1985). Agent O'Malley, via Gordon Thomas, was more explicit. The philosophy of some pedophile or political texts angered, disgusted, and shocked O'Malley and his ring of agents: "Shove their filth down their gullets!" he cried as he sent his agents forth to do battle (Thomas 1991:203). Extending these assumptions, Schanberg wrote "it is impossible to sympathize with the criminals" who commit "crimes against little children," and, assuming NAMBLA to be the kidnapper of Etan Patz, went on to ask, "Does this support network include kidnapping 6-year-olds? In the name of what twisted idea of sexual freedom can anyone justify as 'benevolent' the criminal taking of a first-grade boy from his parents?"<sup>99</sup>

Observers dismissed arguments of "children's rights" as subterfuge and distraction. Leo said that "pedophiles have learned to package their desires in the language of free sexual expression and the children's rights movement. But no matter how sanitized, it is still the systematic exploitation of the weak and immature by the powerful and disturbed."<sup>100</sup> Granting rights to pedophiles "in a society already teetering on the madness of allowing sexual rights for children, will exclude the parents' traditional role to teach and guard their young," protested Martin and Haddad (1982:14). Janus (1981:320) believed the only sexual rights youth are entitled to is sex among peers, though Densen-Gerber would not allow even this.

Images of military and political threat coupled with conspiracy theories continued to accentuate the pedophile threat in greatly entertaining ways. From the late 1970s into the 1990s, concern over crime steadily escalated, helped by the usual journalistic promotion. "Crime" was a multi-faceted and interrelated set of feelings and perceptions based on fears of violence or property loss, aggravated by clashes in cultural, generational, and racial styles of appearance and behavior. Where fear didn't exist, or exist in enough proportions to be usable, it was cultivated and maintained by a number of institutions. Once established, fear could be manipulated to energize a desired direction of social action. Within this way of thinking it was rhetorically easy to establish a logical identity among concepts of youth-adult sex, organizations of pedophiles, and violent crime. Writing in response to an article attacking NAMBLA, a mother said of the villainous characters constructed by *Time* magazine, "I could pity them. However, while they are free, I feel only hatred based on my fear."<sup>101</sup> There could not have been a more concise expression of the entire hysteria than just that, hatred based on fear.

Crime and violence were the bases of Ehrlich's article (1993) on pedophiles and prostitution in Asia. His imagery began with a story of how a 14 year old Asian female was supposedly kidnapped, held captive in a brothel, raped repeatedly by customers, and threatened with beatings. Other youngsters were said to be chained to their beds, kept prisoner in brothels surrounded by barbed wire and electric fences. As an added thrill, Ehrlich included an account from an imprisoned individual, said to be a member of NAMBLA. Ehrlich kept his informant anonymous because the man feared "retribution," implying that

NAMBLA rubbed out squealers. Pedophile groups were also supposed to educate members in ways to avoid getting caught and was dedicated to helping fugitives. Ehrlich said a manual told pedophiles how to liquidate their American investments (thinking that most are rich), set up invisible overseas bank accounts, and to get forged passports.<sup>102</sup>

An urgent sense of national struggle formed, accompanied by the kind of apocalyptic vision that has characterized Western mentalities for so long. Notions of the ties between self and society that informed moral indignation in the issue were well-stated by John Leonard:

The violation of a child also violates our fundamental notions of ourselves as guardians—what we owe to the innocent and defenseless, how we feel about family and authority, who we want and need to be. Faced with such violation, our helplessness is both a personal nightmare and a subversion of the social fabric. (1989)

Leo said “no society interested in its own preservation can allow child-adult sex.”<sup>103</sup> California State Senator Newton Russell said child pornography was “a reflection of the social and spiritual morality of this nation” (Anonymous 1977a), and Stein (1985) saw cross generation relationships as symptomatic of civilization’s decline and fall. “At stake is the future of our children and with them, the future of America. For they are the very soul of our nation. Surely, it is a soul worth saving,” pled Volkman and Rosenberg (1985b). The reaction against sexual representation was “no longer a ‘conservative’ issue. ... It’s an issue for everyone who cares about children, about women and families.”<sup>104</sup>

One of the best texts was by Ellen Goodman. Her syndicated column contained some very nice statements about what child sex materials represented to an uneasy and fragmented society needing a unifying issue with eternal and absolute solutions, a society looking for personal escape and yearning for a resolution of moral ambiguity.

There is almost a sense of relief in talking about it. At last, a simple matter of right and wrong. There is no “redeeming social value” for “Lollitots” with its sex shots of little girls. There is surely no “community standard” left unviolated by “Moppets” with its children posing in adult fantasies.

No. Finally there is an unequivocal villain. Finally a group we can pursue with a clear sense that “This, we know, is wrong.”<sup>105</sup>

War was declared to “stem the tide,” one of several official and unofficial wars waged in the 1980s.<sup>106</sup> Father Bruce Ritter scolded a United States House of Representatives Committee, “We are wallowing in unspeakable filth and we wring our hands about the first amendment” (1977:253). Action was demanded. “There comes a point at which we no longer can defend atrocities by intellectualization or forensic debate. We must simply say: ‘I know the difference between right and wrong and I am not afraid to say no or to demand that limits be imposed,’” said Densen-Gerber (1977b, 1977a).

As in any war, death was to be expected and encouraged. A program on NAMBLA by *American Journal* (week of December 11, 1994), was enticingly introduced as “an investigation into the dark world of men who want to do unspeakable things to young boys” by moderator Nancy Glass. At the end of the segment, they show a West Virginia couple, apparently responsible with others for driving a NAMBLA member out of their small town, boasting that they would have shot him, the man saying, “he’s a sick animal and needs to be put out of his misery.” Glass then appeared on screen nodding in agreement.

When carried out, such acts initially received relatively little notice and light sentences. In early 1984, Gary Plauche killed a man who had been having sex with Plauche’s 12 year old son; he had wide support and was allowed to plea-bargain to manslaughter, and in 1985 was given five years probation and 300 hours of community service (Anonymous 1985d). The most famous was Ellie Nesler who in the Spring of 1993 murdered, in a courtroom, a man accused of having sex with her son and other youth. Her bail was reduced from \$250,000 to \$100,000, much of this raised from donations sent from all over the country. Generally sympathetic articles appeared (Quinn 1993); smiling and cheerful, she told receptive reporters, “There’s a lot of little boys and children that’ll be saved.” Television reports showed cheering crowds of supporters, a man saying, “It wasn’t right but it was necessary.” One of Nesler’s sisters said, “We’re not advocating violence, but standing up for change.” Some were sympathetic but wanted more authorization: “Hang [molesters], shoot them, do whatever, but convict them first,” said one (Quinn 1993). The prosecution appeared unenthusiastic, and Nesler’s lawyer claimed she represented “an oppressed class,” that is, that she too is a victim of the pedophile. The trigger of her revenge, she said, was that the alleged molester had “smirked” at her in the courtroom—implying his lack of guilt feelings and the possibility of his getting off. She also later claimed she had been molested herself as a teenager. In her confession, taped immediately after the shooting, Nesler said, “The man is sick. He deserved to die. Maybe I’m not God, but I’ll tell you what, I’m the closest thing to it” (Anonymous 1993e). An accurate critique of Nesler’s heroic image and a challenge to contemporary views of sexual interest in children appeared in the *New York Times* (Kincaid 1993), but it was unique in the popular press. The jury later found her guilty only of manslaughter rather than premeditated first degree murder, despite the fact that she had talked of killing the man for some time previously, and to brace herself had taken amphetamines before she shot the man five times.<sup>107</sup>

Accusations of sex with youth continued to justify attacks. Television personality Roseanne said that every abused child “has a right to kill their parents.” She would have killed hers, she said, if she had had a gun; she then generalized from incest to all youth-adult sex saying pedophiles were conducting “a war against children” to “kill their souls” (Sessums 1994). In October, 1994, a Travis County (Texas) grand jury refused to indict a man who had beaten a man accused of showing the attacker’s son sexually explicit pictures.

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The abuse defense for homicide gained acceptance from the mid-1980s into the mid-1990s. First made popular by battered women killing their mates, it was then used by allegedly abused children killing one or both parents.<sup>108</sup> In 1986-87 the case of 16 year old Cheryl Pierson was widely publicized; she paid a schoolmate to kill her father because she said he had been sexually abusing her. Cheryl got six months but the 18 year old young man who actually shot the man was sentenced to 24 years in prison. The best known case was the Menendez brothers who shot their parents, saying they had suffered a lifetime (they were then in their early twenties) of emotional, physical, and sexual abuse and they feared for their lives. Their highly publicized trials ended in hung juries in early 1994; a four hour mini-series ("Menendez: A Killing in Beverly Hills," CBS, aired May 22 and 24, 1994) and a two hour television movie (*Honor Thy Father and Mother*), aired before they could be retried. Both productions were generally sympathetic to the defense, although standup comics at the time derided the argument of self-defense against abuse and the brothers were the butt of many derisive jokes. Convicted of murder at their second trial in early 1996, they were sentenced to life without parole, a sentence seen as still sympathetic to the abuse defense.<sup>109</sup>

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## AFTERWORD

From this descriptive overview, the data clearly show that the 1980s child sexual abuse hysteria was media-driven, offering documentation, once again, that journalism largely continues to fail as a source of reliable information. Exceptions did appear, but they were late in coming and had minimal effect, particularly at the local level of media practice. Further, the treatment of this issue was different only in degree, not in kind, from the journalistic construction of other issues and individuals.

Beyond that, the data also reveal the inability or unwillingness of other institutions to correspond to their public myths, either because of corruption or incompetence. The criminal justice system is the most obvious example, but just as pervasively, professional cultures also exposed their prior, sometimes exclusive, allegiances to careerism, a necessary commitment in the absence of advertised critical intellectual abilities. Across the board, stupidity and viciousness, protected from challenge by the obliviousness and cowardice of any opposition, ruled. It was one of the best expressions of a culture based economically, politically, and morally, on consumption and waste.

But it was fun. It was entertaining, pleasurable to many, and to not just a few, erotic. Here was a chance to publicly and privately enjoy forbidden, and for not just a few, unacknowledged desires.

While satisfying on an elementary level, the analysis of cultural images can also tell us much about the personal and social relations upon which a culture operates. Part myth, part reality, the images must be matched against behavior to distill that which seems to matter, that is, what meanings, professed or unprofessed, become translated into concrete action and enforced law. For this period, the images assumed their own reality, moving their consumers, unconscious or uncaring of their source, to connect to their objects by electrified reeducation or, just as commonly, by spittle, a fist, or a bullet.

This has been so for a long, long time. Broader and older streams of perception and belief helped reduce what happened in the 1980s to a mere repetition, its histories readily accessible but conveniently forgotten, its negations deliberately ignored. Recurrences continue to accumulate, making Foucault's "archaeology of knowledge" a wistful optimism. Autopsy becomes the necessary analytic approach, continued in Volume 2.

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# NOTES

## CHAPTER 1

1. In 1986 it was made into a film with the same title.
2. Dornier 1988:90, 215. A television movie of the novel entitled *Don't Touch My Daughter* was made in 1994.
3. Koenig 1974:11, 111. A film was made in 1977 with the same title, starring Jodie Foster, one of the highly visible and erotically tinged child stars of the 1970s. Martin Sheen was horribly miscast as the villain and lacked all the disgust evoked in the novel.
4. Puzo 1969:54. He is filthy rich, and despite a sophisticated veneer is just a violent slob, a side revealed in his anger and, by implication, when he has sex. The 1972 film nearly eliminated the presence and impact of the character's encounter with a 12 year old in the novel. An earlier film portrayal was a man attracted to teens in *The Asphalt Jungle* (1950). It is subdued by today's aesthetics, and the woman playing the school girl merely comes across as silly. The stalking molester in the exploitation film, *Violated*, is balding, pudgy, inept, and obsessed. In *Alice Sweet Alice*, an immense slovenly man is clearly the local pervert, played well for sleaziness and disgust.
5. A film with the same title was made in 1980.
6. J. Kellerman 1985. The book, written in 1981, won the Edgar Allan Poe mystery writer's award. A made-for-television film with the same title was first shown in late 1986.
7. Police believe the child killer in Crane (1981) also has a desire to be apprehended, part of the overwhelming guilt supposedly felt by pedophiles.
8. The Satanic cult scare was in full bloom in 1988-89. A similar plot element is in McCammon (1984) in which an agent of Satan kidnaps and kills 6 to 14 year olds to cook as food for evil patriarchal armaments industrialists. King's 1986 novel is also based on an idyllic setting masking a recurring horror, one which takes children to feed upon. A film of his novel was made for television in 1990 and a new edition of the book appeared then.
9. Strieber 1990. Barton's torture room is called "the black room." The folk motif of the Forbidden or Bloody Chamber is basic to most horror and suspense tales.
10. References are to the date of newspaper appearances. In 1985, a comic book, *Spider-man and Power Pack*, a 1984 publication of Lee's Marvel Comics Group (MCG), was referred to by the National Education Association as "a viable attempt to educate children about the problem of child sexual abuse;" MCG received a Special Citation from President Ronald Reagan. It was distributed by local newspapers, cosponsored by the National Committee for the Prevention of Child Abuse (NCPA), department store chains and other businesses, and was endorsed by a number of civic, academic, religious, police, and professional groups as well as anti-abuse agencies. It featured a story of the sexual coercion of a young boy by a demonic female babysitter, and a runaway young girl fleeing an incestuous relationship with her father. A second edition, aimed at a readership of fifteen million children developed by NCPA (1988), shifted emphasis from sexual abuse to "emotional abuse."
11. After his arrest Gacy became famous for his paintings of clowns, exhibited around the country. He also designed album covers and T-shirts (e.g., for the band "Bloody Mess" of Peoria, Illinois), and appeared as author, artist, and interviewee in the "zine scene" of the late 1980s (Petrisco 1989) and on some tabloid television shows in the early 1990s. My appreciation to Mike Gunderloy and Bloody Mess for some of this information. After his execution, in June, 1994, a man bought and then burned 25 of Gacy's paintings in a public bonfire at which some of the victim's families were present. Joe Roth said he burned the paintings (most were of clowns, others had Nazi themes) as a message to children to watch out for child molesters.



12. Anonymous 1986a; the figure is said by the author to come from the Department of Justice. I am indebted to Ray Manners of *Info Journal* for copies of this material.

13. Anonymous 1986b; Crewdson (1988:219) briefly mentions "Sparky the Clown" charged with enjoying 28 youngsters in Maine but gives no reference. Surveys of demonic child abusing clowns of the late 1980s would be incomplete if the film *Killer Klowns From Outer Space* was neglected; the heroine was traumatized as a little girl by clowns, recalling with a shiver, "those horrible smiling faces!"

14. Lyons 1988:159. He makes reference to Melton's first edition of *Encyclopedic Handbook of Cults in America* (1986) for a study by William Holmes at Northeastern University dealing with a 1984 case of a costumed molester, but the page cited carries no such reference, and I have been unable to locate the citation.

15. Nabokov 1977:27, a theme built from the earlier characterization in *The Enchanter*. In his book on horror film, Twitchell felt that the "rogue males" sitting toward the back of movie theaters enjoy and urge on the punishment of the heroines; he called them "sour Humbert Humberts" (1985:69f).

16. Oates 1970. A movie was made in 1985, retitled *Smooth Talk*.

17. Keating 1981; this was a carry-over from the cult scares of the late 1970s. The theme reappeared in the late 1980s (Frey 1987) in stories of Satanic ritual sexual abuse.

18. Parker 1982. A made-for-television movie with the same title appeared over a decade later.

19. The status of bisexuality changed in the late 1980s from the psychiatric view of incomplete development and dysfunction to a more benign opinion in which, if not more openly accepted, it was less condemned. Small parts of feminism encouraged same-gender sex for women, and many gays and lesbians came out as bisexual. Depictions of pedophiles usually present the character with a single orientation; attraction to both genders is used to intensify ideas of uncontrolled and corrupted sexuality.

20. An important variation is Varley (1986) where a character became the mistress of an Army captain in Vietnam when she was 14 and he was in his 50s. She remarks that "he surely was a pedophile, and probably had homosexual tendencies, since I looked so much like a skinny little boy." Despite the familiar association of pedophilia and homosexuality, the account is interesting in that the woman remembers: "He was very dear, very special to me. ... He was fatherly to me." This is about as close as we get in genre fiction at this point in history to the possibilities of non-abusive relationships.

21. Dorner 1988; Ray 1988, 1989; Grice 1990; Block 1991.

22. Harris 1988, Lindsey 1990. Greven claims sadomasochism is "one of the most common aftermaths of a childhood of suffering" (1990:181, 186, *passim*). In the 1970s, sexology began to return to 19th century forensic science, by necessity including a renaming and recolonization of traditional sexual interests, including homosexuality, from which the professions were temporarily evicted by their subjects.

23. Nabokov 1987:111, 115. Vladimir Nabokov indicated that a sexual interest in children is common enough in men's fantasy life, but he felt it was acceptable only when restricted to that realm (1987:56).

24. In other similarities to the 1931 film, the man chases the girls around a lake, and he appears to have a long scar across his face. Even the search party for the two girls resembles the mob in the old film. This clichéd but well-done film is perhaps the least known of the Hammer productions and its use of horror genre elements is not accidental.

25. Jennings used episodes of sexual youth and youth-adult sex to add exotic elements to several of his historical novels. In *Aztec*, the hero describes his sexual encounter with his obliging preteen slave boy. The hero is worried not about being a pedophile but of being homosexual; an older warrior recognizes the relationship and sees it as normal under the circumstances. The two have infrequent sex, and remain the closest of friends as the boy grows into manhood. In another scene the narrator and his wife visit a royal court known for its "predilection for inventive, voluptuous, and even perverse sexual practices" (1980:395); there they are both orally and manually stimulated by youngsters of undetermined age and sex.

26. This from a correspondent at a showing:

In it, a woman shopkeeper—one of the principal characters in the film—imagines an S/M scene with a young (10 or so years old) girl customer. One minute you see the shopkeeper—she owns, appropriately enough, a shoe store!—waiting on the girl, who is wearing a typical kid's costume of bluejeans; the next minute the girl is all dressed up in lace and is in the shopkeeper's lap, being stroked; the next minute the girl has triumphantly tied up her mother and looks ready to savage her. This is the only time I've seen a movie depict any type of woman/girl love, and the audience, mostly S/M dykes, loved it!

## CHAPTER 2

1. By their count, "From 1976 to 1991...there [were] some 350 mass murders of at least 4 people each, claiming nearly 2,000 innocent lives" (Fox and Levin 1995:139). Serial killers were icons for many 1980s zines, finding representations in song, on t-shirts, record or tape covers, posters, and trading cards. The 1980s was the centenary of the Ripper murders and a number of books and television shows celebrated the occasion.

2. Nabokov 1977:252. Reynolds (1988:220) cites George Thompson as the first American novelist to deal with "child pornography," but gives no citations or examples. He does mention a man approaching a young boy prostitute in Thompson's *City Crimes; or, Life in New York and Boston* (1849), and an adult-teen orgy in Thompson's *The House Breaker; or, The Mysteries of Crime* (1848).

3. Jennings (1987) again adds historical depth with an elegant Italian count who wants to take nude pictures of the young people in the story's 19th century circus troop.

4. Taken from the slang for killing, and the title of a film by Roberta and Michael Findlay, *Snuff*, also known as *Slaughter*.

5. It was claimed by many in the period that youth in the pictures were victimized with each viewing and exchange, challenging the liberal insistence that "pornography is a victimless crime."

6. There is a bit of prefiguring in Nabokov 1977:22, where Humbert wishes Lolita would "never grow up," though he doesn't photograph her.

7. Hunter 1989. Grice's man in a sex video "looked like a terrorist [with] oily black hair, cruel features, and half-smiling lips" (1990:590). This could also describe Elvis, who, like a number of rockers, was known for his involvement with young teen females, a man immortalized on a stamp from the United States Postal Service, an agency famous for entrapping people with such interests (see Part II).

8. There had been rumors for some time that Paraguayan dictator Alfredo Stroessner had young high school females delivered to him for his use (Hilton 1990:47).

9. Carlo 1986:13. *Newsweek* uncritically referred to the FBI's "Behavioral Science Unit" which had categorized childnappers by types, "the pedophile" being "perhaps the largest." Pedophiles were said to murder their hostages if they expressed any desire to go home (Gelman 1984:85).

10. Gutcheon's 1981 novel was based on the disappearance of Etan Patz (see Chapter 5), though the outcomes were different. She was the screenwriter for the film made of her novel, *Without A Trace*.

11. *Do You Know The Muffin Man?*, supposedly based on the McMartin Preschool case, was aired twice during the final phases of the trial in Los Angeles, a move many saw as an attempt to influence the conviction of the defendants.

12. Mills said research for her book began about the time of "a virtual tidal wave of mass hysteria" on Satanic cults, and she said she made "a painstaking search for documented facts, or information which was reasonably well substantiated" (1991:vii). Most of her sources, however, were those promoting the hoax, understandably more attractive to a fiction writer.

13. Cooney's books for young adults (1990, 1993) were made into a television movie in 1995.

14. Kelman 1989:227. This sort of scene is a variation of the Mad Scientist routine where he delivers a monologue about how important his experiments are to humanity, how he's misunderstood, what's a little death and destruction compared to what the end result will be, and so on.

15. Vachss 1991:228, 233. It's pointed out that in the pedophile's study is an aquarium stocked with fish from the Family Pomacentridae, popularly known as Clowns.

16. The line that “true pedophiles” really love children and would not hurt them was used, perhaps sincerely, by former Los Angeles detective Lloyd Martin when the McMartin Preschool case first started yielding accounts of Satanic ritual abuse. He called individuals throughout the country, asking if anyone had seen any of the thousands of photographs that supposedly had been taken of the children. None had, of course, but the allegations continued to be taken as fact and the case continued to be promoted as an example of pedophile indulgence.

17. Vachss 1991:240. The “right” to which he referred was never acknowledged to youth and was virtually non-existent, specifically prohibited in fact by many statutes.

18. Vachss 1987:236; 151. The *NAMBLA Bulletin*, publication of the North American Man-Boy Love Association, carried a column entitled “The Unicorn, by a twelve-year-old ‘faggot’” from 1983 through early 1985; the age of the author in the title at the beginning was correct. Vachss refers in the novels to the newsletters as “semi-legal” but in fact all, as of this writing, are Constitutionally protected.

19. Based on traditional folk elements and the tale of a young woman who at 11 was able to pass for 18 arrested by the police but neglected by social workers. While her story was supposed to be typical of the “thousands” of runaways who took up prostitution, Raab (1977) admits that most young prostitutes were mid-teens, an age category still considerably in the minority of female sex workers.

20. In the 1960s, the FBI began visiting libraries supposedly to gather evidence on activities by Soviet agents. It wasn’t until 1987 that a librarian and the American Library Association (ALA) became indignant and complained publicly that the FBI was violating rights of privacy. A Freedom of Information suit was filed against the FBI by the National Security Archive for records on the matter (the ALA did not participate), but despite disavowals, the FBI continued to make inquiries at libraries throughout the 1980s, developing a number of informants. The National Commission on Libraries and Information Science endorsed the FBI’s Library Awareness Program in a private meeting between the two. The FBI then investigated 266 people who had protested the Development of the Counterintelligence Awareness Among Librarians (DECAL) program (Foerstel 1991:20ff, Robins 1992:375-393). Also similar to Kelman’s heroine, police, Customs, and Postal officials devised fictitious societies which were used to investigate the sexual interests of those who joined; see Chapter 8.

### CHAPTER 3

1. Grice 1990:18, emphasis in original. The narrator’s daughter is chased by the villain and is so scared she wets her pants. In a reverse affirmation of her victim status she says, “I was like a baby, he made me into a baby” (p. 214).

2. The single was from album, *Shelter From the Storm*. A four and one half minute video was also made featuring Sharon holding a doll.

3. Six year old Steinberg was beaten to death after social workers refused to act on a multitude of signs she was being battered by caretakers in her own home.

4. Anonymous 1987a, 1987b. Another 1987 anti-abuse award-winning song was “Luka” by Suzanne Vega.

5. Wolman 1982:14. Both mother and child have “premonitions” of danger, joining 19th century melodramatic traditions which used women and children as divinely connected moral regulators.

6. Unthinkable except to a horror writer; Kelman 1989:98: “Hideous images trampled through my brain. The evidence shots. Naked innocent bodies posed to reveal the monster’s sadistic handiwork. Bloody slashes. Seeping wounds. Faces warped with horror;” pp. 219, 236, *passim*. The heroine frequently and graphically thinks the unthinkable, one of the pleasures of genre texts where the idea is to exercise the imagination and body via pleasure, disgust, anger, or fear.

7. A part of this American obsession is the fear of youth being taken over by and/or becoming like computers (Russo 1985, Rutherford 1988), a development of the 1950s political and science fiction fear of mindless pawns. Hersey’s novel (1960) centers on a man who obtains bright children to modify with drugs and surgery into highly intelligent automatons.

8. Grice’s narrator who had an affair with a teacher raised a virtuous daughter and feels no danger of becoming a pedophile herself (1990:68f, 76, 78; Dodson 1980).

9. Carlo 1986:91. When the hero convinces the kidnapped girl he is about to recuse her, she begins to cry and “chug-chug-chug-chug-chug went the angry blood in my ears.” He sends her to

the room in which she had been held captive for protection but she fears locked doors. "It was not hard to figure out why she did not want me to lock the door. ... And chug-chug-chug went the blood in my head" (p. 115).

10. Strieber 1990:13. Barton especially likes skin: "Smooth, pale skin inspired him. He loved to brush a soft arm or beautiful hand. To taste its salt sweetness, to inhale its miraculous variety of scents..." (p. 18; 19, 194).

11. Grice 1990:35, 55, 37; for other associations of food with youth and innocence in the novel, see pp. 63, 133.

12. Gutcheon 1981:118. The boy was kidnapped and sexual violation is suggested. Gutcheon may not have intended this to have any anti-fellatio or anti-gay implications but it is easy to read those meanings from it.

13. Strieber 1990:220. Oreos are associated with children, memories of childhood, and the passing of tradition (a 1993-94 television ad featured lessons given by a father on how to eat Oreos, i.e., take them apart to get at the filling, dunking, etc.). Aside from the more obvious symbolic references of disgust, disease, and decay, the motif of contaminated food as a threat to children is an old one. Passage of public health and food preparation laws in the late 19th century and early 20th made much use of references to children, and with a small beginning in the 1950s, the threat of deadly Halloween treats became even more popular from the 1970s on (Best 1990), supporting the sex abuse hysteria. Sedgwick suggests another linkage of contaminated personal and cultural integrity when she wonders if "a complex, developing consciousness or articulation, full of its own and other's intelligence and desire, can be, simply, at some moment, *spoiled* like food?" (1987:111, emphasis in original).

14. At one point the 13 year old tells the mother, who is concerned that she doesn't know how to drive, "I do a lot of things you don't know about," another announcement of the gap of knowledge and experience between generations—and the fear of it, especially when it involves the body through sex, drugs, and music (Strieber 1990:249, Nordan 1989:79).

15. Strieber 1990:121. These "brute processes" probably refer to anal intercourse, an activity while quite frequent in fantasy appears less common in actual man-boy sex; much depends on the age, capabilities, and desires of the younger partner. Laumann *et. al.* (1994:341) reported 18% of their respondents recalled "anal sex" when they were the youth in man-boy relations, but the researchers' superficial treatment did not give breakdowns by age or distinguish coercive versus non-coercive relations, nor did they specify what kinds of anal sex occurred.

16. Weesner 1987:398. This scene may be based on a nudist camp, "Naked City," in Roselawn, Indiana, which also had a highway restaurant, the "Adam and Eve," next to the camp. Adult women and two young women, 11 and 14, worked as waitresses in 1977. The place had been raided, and a "Mr. and Miss Nude Teenybopper Universe Pageant" was enjoined by court order. Linedecker (1981:122f) relates this but as usual gives no references.

17. An interesting subtheme of the attack on and loss of "normality" is the perception that pedophiles are primarily after the best and brightest of children. Lara's (1990) novel carries the blurb, "the innocent are their eternal prey," promising to show how "gifted children from happy homes" are being taken and destroyed by evil forces. Nordan's (1989) blurb says "The prettiest children are in the most danger." See Chapters 6, 8.

18. Kelman 1989:95. The irony of course is that aesthetically the novels and films discussed here use the very same symbols in the very same way.

19. Strieber 1990:212. Should this appeal to you, it must be fried in olive oil as Strieber describes. Additional food business is also in Grice (1990:35f) where Kady likes food the heroine, Sherry, finds unappealing or outrightly disgusting, food "gloopy," runny, sticking to their mouths, and so on. The use of food metaphors is an effective device for evaluative descriptions of propriety. Violations of food "civility" and odor are ways of portraying the "obscene," especially when issues of intimacy, privacy, and bodily functions are involved.

20. Carlo 1986:82, emphasis in original. Holland outlawed production and distribution of sexual representations with youth in late 1994 and criminalized possession of such material in April, 1995. Vachss (1991:242) has a reversed view where the hero mutters that "Other [countries] may treat pedophiles nicer on the surface, but nobody's got our brand of freak-protection written so deeply into the laws." During the 1980s a number of people fled the United States to countries having more rational, realistic, and humane sex laws.

21. Specifically, the loosing upon society of violent minority race sex criminals, as the image of Willie Horton was so used by the Republican Party in the 1988 Presidential election.

#### CHAPTER 4

1. Vachss 1990:15, 60, 64, 71ff, 135. In *Sacrifice*, he predicts the gender of a fetus by reading a palm (1991:32).

2. Vachss 1990:123. In the quest to absolve himself, Spider-man also takes time to battle a group of overweight discourteous bikers (July, 1985).

3. Nicholson 1988. Not all reviews were favorable. Several were offended by the violence, self-righteousness, and egotism (Kimberley 1986, Steinberg 1988, Anshaw 1990, Stasio 1990), while most were disgusted by the silliness (Prescott 1985) or clichéd B-movie nature of the characters and plots (Nicholson, Steinberg 1988, Stasio); Nicholson referred to Burke as "the ultimate urban paranoid." These critics are unfair I think for taking crime fiction too seriously. Wagner (1954) long ago noted that crime novels are like comic books to their "addicts," and readership favors the serious and intense author. My favorite review was by Gehr (1988) who noted in *Blue Belle* the child-like characteristics of the heroine in this anti-pedophile series, and Burke's "secret proclivities" for spanking and anal intercourse. Gehr suggested that Burke be "kept off the streets for a while," but that would have denied us too many chuckles.

4. Parker 1984:30. By the mid-1990s this was considered pedophilic perversion.

5. James 1991:54; for other instances in the book noting the sexual appeal of young girls, see pp. 63, 65.

6. Moon (1987:88) notes 19th century examples of the similarity of the "rhetoric of seduction...with discourses of middle class philanthropy."

7. Schutz 1985:78, supported by court decisions in the late 1980s. The statutes were fixed more firmly in the legal system by feminist support (an anti-abortion political group was prosecuted under the statutes). However, the law was so badly used, or perhaps used for its truer intents, that even some conservatives began complaining (Kilpatrick 1993) about its over-broad application to sexual materials and its abuse of state power.

8. The 1980s saw the development of a substantial weapons culture, not only as part of the military but as private potency. Arising on the one hand from the techno-weapon emphases in the early 1970s as part of the strained effort to keep the Vietnam war popular and competitive, and secondly from the renewed techno-defense stress of the early 1980s (*Soldier of Fortune* magazine was begun in 1975) against a revitalized Evil Empire, the period witnessed a tremendous increase in manufacture and sales of semiautomatic assault weapons (easily converted to full auto) to individuals and groups taken by the survivalist and militia mystiques of the time. Part of the techno-war against cultural villains involved the emphasis on "profiles" and psychological techniques (such as technologically heavy aversion therapies) which gave a scientific justifying tint to combat (see Chapter 7).

9. Vachss 1988:212. In a later novel, Vachss' hero again beats a pedophile, though this time in self-defense because the man attacked Burke for exposing his denial of raping a young girl (1990:69); he also beats and robs a procurer. Later, Vachss complained of "nasty, mean-spirited, personal-attack cruelty that passes for entertainment" in the media and saw it as a form of emotional abuse (1994).

10. Vachss 1985a:249. Though not applied to a molester, a similar sentiment is expressed by the heroine in Lindsey's *Mercy*, as she interviews a woman involved in SM scenes: the detective "was finding it increasingly difficult to convince herself that each person on earth had as much intrinsic worth as the next. ... Some lives evidenced no discernable value whatsoever" (1990:472). This novel was one of several at the time glorifying and promoting the profiling of deviants by academics and the FBI.

11. See Richetti 1969:166. This was directed to the fallen innocent as well as the corrupting villain via insistent messages that even though they were not at fault, they were still to be burdened with severe life-long trauma. See Kern (1988) and Gibson (1994) for "avenger dramas" of late 1970s and 1980s popular culture; America was the "innocent victim" in these novels and films about the returning-to-Vietnam rescuing veteran. The domestic variety was driven by hate based on the violation of personal realms, making for more emotionally engaging and violent entertainment.

12. McDonald 1986:253f, 300. Divine justice is not the sole providence of male deities. This is from a period text on a feminist goddess:

We have suffered the consequences of unbalanced power for long enough. Our world cannot any longer tolerate the disruption and destruction brought about by demonic force. In the present Kali age, Kali is the answer and she will have to annihilate again in order to reveal the truth of things, which is her mission, and to restore to our natures that divine feminine spirituality which we have lost. (Mookerjee 1988:9)

German feminist Thürmer-Rohr (via translation) drifts into such terms as "cleansing" and "national hygiene" (1991:28, 98).

13. Vachss 1991:208. As a general rule, it is unfair to hold any fiction author personally responsible for all the values, events, and characters in their books. But questions have been raised as to how personally involved some authors were in their novels and about the solutions positively valued in the plots. Vachss is quoted as saying, "I'm not selling vigilantism," though when pressed he admitted that his books do reflect his moralities (Abrahams 1988:80). It's not the point, he insists; the idea is to show "how a validation works, how a pedophile packages himself" (Vachss, in Pooley 1987). Urging people to accept fiction as fact (he sees his works as a kind of toned-down reality), Vachss said he wanted not to raise consciousness but to incite anger and encourage action (Rovner). This view was accepted by sympathetic reviewers who saw no pointless violence (Pearson), only a righteous rage and a justified arousal of "disgust for human depravity" (McAleer 1985).

14. This theme of the permissibility of extermination based on assertions of inferiority, defectiveness, uselessness, and dangerousness, appears in other period novels, especially crime and spy genres. Chacko's (1988:107) hero feels that "terrorists" are "outside any rules." *The Crosskiller* (Montecino 1988) featured a celebratory exposition of police heroism, including busting up political meetings, police stealing, beatings, and killings, and general approval of vigilante violence. The book was highly endorsed in cover blurbs by Steven King and Jonathan Kellerman. This is sometimes related to ideas found for example, in *The Destroyer* series (Murphy and Sapir 1986) wherein the Constitution has to be violated to preserve the Constitution, or in the general lament of police who see criminals hiding behind the Constitution (Izzi 1988). Masterson's hero decries the legal existence of a cannibal cult, and complains about the cowardice of the courts, police, and media; he vows "there comes a time when the principle of liberty for all has to be circumscribed" (1988:214).

15. His film *The Naked Kiss* appeared in 1964, then Fuller made a novel of the screenplay, published the next year.

16. Six years later, a television film was made of the book under the title, *A Mother's Revenge*, prompted by several such shootings, the most famous by Ellie Nesler (see Chapter 8). There were many other characterizations, especially of raped women, featuring vigilante revenge and/or capture of the assailants, grounded on themes of the perpetrators getting off and/or the justice system taking an unfair toll on the victim herself. See *Victims* (1982), *Sudden Impact* (1983), *Victims for Victims* (1984), and *Extremities* (1986).

17. Tuska 1988:408. There was throughout the 1980s a generalized encouragement of killing, acts celebrated whether done by heroes or villains. Critic Roger Ebert (1981) worried that audiences (especially youth) would be affected by the newer wave of horror films such as *I Spit On Your Grave* which favored "the lust to kill" above all (he notes boys cheered the rapist-villain while girls cheered the avenging heroine).

18. Anshaw 1990. She reviewed the book for the *Chicago Tribune*, one of the major promoters of the child sexual abuse hysteria. While in fact not the only one to feel as she did (Stasio, Symons 1992:308ff), hers was the first and only unfavorable review of Vachss' work in that newspaper. Her comment reflects the extent to which those challenging the hysteria felt isolated or stigmatized.

## CHAPTER 5

1. Modleski 1991:78. The American film was based on an earlier French production, *Three Men and A Cradle*. French film in general has taken a more realistic look at the erotic possibilities between adults and youth: Wolfenstein and Leites 1954; Lenne 1978:62-66.

2. The forensic approach is governed by the assumption of pathology and criminality, the need to assign casual responsibility and guilt, and the infliction of efficient punishment and elimination. It shares some elements with social science, but more so with sexology which has been largely forensic in design and application. Ex-prosecutor Alice Vachss said pedophiles should be studied only "from a combat point of view; we need to understand the enemy" (1993:281). FBI agent Kenneth Lanning, promoted as knowledgeable in youth-adult relationships, confessed he had "a particular law enforcement concept of pedophilia" (1985:47). Sociologist Jeffrey Victor gushed over Lanning's authority, calling him "a genuine expert in the study of crimes involving the sexual victimization of children." He applauded Lanning's "careful" work and felt that he was only "concerned with obtaining concrete evidence of crime that can be used in effective prosecutions of criminals, and skeptical about moralistic rhetoric which plays fast and loose with verifiable facts" (1993:249). Victor appeared to be totally unfamiliar with the FBI's history, with Lanning's contributions to the hysteria, with ties between laws that criminalize sexualities and "moralistic rhetoric," and with the complexities of human sexualities generally.
3. Boyle 1994:31, quoting psychiatrist Gene Abel from 1988, gender unspecified.
4. Thomas 1991:47. Crewdson (1988:56) used figures produced by a 1985 *Los Angeles Times* telephone poll in which men were asked if they had ever molested a child. The answers to this idiotic question, after using questionable probability manipulations, supposedly revealed that from 4% (1 in 25) to 20% (1 in 5) of the male population were child molesters. Victor (1993:68) said that in 1989 police estimated there were over two million Satanists in the United States, Satanism then being connected to pedophilia. See Chapter 6 for victim body counts.
5. Quoted in Eberle and Eberle 1986:107. Summit moved immediately on to his main concern: "a broad spectrum of what you can put through rehabilitation." The use of the term "what" to designate a subject pool is particularly interesting. For once, Summit is correct, there is no such thing as a "pedophile," but it matters little as long as some kind of group, defined as expendable, can be used refine behavioral modification and administration.
6. November 10, 1992, PBS. The debate over the constitutionality of the state's 1990 indeterminate detention law was only briefly mentioned then quickly dismissed, overshadowed by the program's enthusiastic focus on horrific examples displayed as commonalities. The "Community Protection Act" was ruled constitutional in 1993 by the state Supreme Court but overturned by a federal judge in 1995; in 1997 the U.S. Supreme Court upheld indeterminate detention.
7. Janus 1981:203. "True crime" books on Corll and Gacy did not assign them to pedophilia but considered them as insane mass murderers. Janus's book should not be confused with a 1985 book with the same title, *The Death of Innocence*, by Peter Meyer. The phrase was a favorite one in the 1980s, but Meyer's book represents a shift of emphasis, describing the rape and murder of two twelve year old females by teenagers, and is concerned with youth violence and criminality, problems that received slight recognition during the frenzy to declare children innocent. The problem became more serious and was belatedly recognized later in the decade (Ewing 1990). A notorious case in early 1994 was of two English boys, age 11, who abducted and murdered a 2 year old boy. A movement began in the early 1990s to try minors as adults. Citing Justice Department figures, Cable Network News (July 25, 1994) reported that juvenile crime was "up 88%" in the period 1988-1992.
8. Linedecker 1981:293. Like many "true crime" genre writers, he favors explicit descriptions of violence. In the late 1970s, exhibits of Henry Darger's (1892-1972) epic and gory collages seemed to affirm that Darger was a typical pedophile, that is, interested in sadistic homicide. While he may or may not have been sexually interested in preteen females, his creative output is aligned with surrealist traditions dating from the 1910s through the 1930s. Nathan and Snedeker (1995:242) say "sadism" was devised to replace "ritual abuse" in the early 1990s because of extensive criticism. Only partially correct, the concept has always been attached to the sexual beast.
9. Cartwright 1994:151. The man later recanted his statement, saying he was pressured to make it.
10. Watson 1984; Hyde and Hyde 1985:1, 41f, 45. It needs to be remembered that the FBI's so-called "Behavioral Sciences Unit" is geared only toward the application of a politically conservative and forensic point of view. As one example, even though a more realistic picture of homosexuality began appearing in the professional literature in the late 1950s, the FBI would not allow gays or lesbians as agents until embarrassed by a civil rights suit filed in late 1993.
11. Moseley 1977c. A man was sentenced to 40 years in prison for supposedly molesting children while dressed in a clown suit and threatening them by killing birds and squirrels (sidebar to Ross 1986d).

12. Manshel 1990:79. Some of the children said Michaels had threatened to turn them into mice, or that she could transform herself into a monster. The charge of "terroristic threats" was then considered briefly; using a toy spider on a string to tickle or scare the kids, or when Michaels made her eyes roll back in her head, scaring the kids, were to be prosecuted as "terroristic threats."

13. Hollingsworth 1986:190. Jackson was accused in late 1993 of having sex with a 13 year old boy, possibly others, but no charges were filed and he settled out of court in early 1994. A television movie was made of Hollingsworth's text in 1990, closely following her point of view and aesthetics. Aired during the closing arguments at the McMartin trial, it was seen as an attempt to help convict the defendants (Eberle and Eberle 1993:352).

14. Hyde and Hyde 1985:1; later in the book (p. 41), they then said 6,000 to 50,000 were abducted by strangers each year.

15. Baugh and Morgan 1979:28. The kidnapers were young men doing it for a lark. In a society already disorganized by generational divisions in politics and religion, the possibility of children inside the family as a threat added even more of an impetus to find an external villain. The event continued to attract the attention of entertainers (*They've Taken Our Children*, 1993).

16. The widespread suspicion of injustice caused a great deal of reaction in Atlanta from those protecting the justice and media establishments (Boles and Davis 1988; Dettlinger 1983, Rosenberg 1984b). Other accounts, such as a segment of *American Justice* ("Wayne Williams," July 28, 1993), were consistently supportive of the police and judicial system. The program continued such biases with their episode on the Kellers (December 8, 1993), accused in Austin, Texas of Satanic day care abuse (showing without question a local station's absurd claim to have discovered the Keller's "Satanic hand signals;" see note 40). *American Justice* also mentioned the Country Walk case in Florida and the Matamoras "cult" without any indication of the considerable criticism surrounding these cases.

17. Detective Al Palmquist claimed 200 pimps were operating in Minneapolis alone in the late 1970s recruiting hundreds of runaway teens for prostitution and pornography in New York City (1978); the television movie *Off the Minnesota Strip* was based on Palmquist's alleged exploits. Some adult prostitutes did come from Minneapolis, but most gave that city as their hometown either to hide their identity and/or as a put-on and in-joke to give the shocking impression that Middle America was collapsing into permissiveness, a common mode of defiance in "the Sixties." See also Chapter 6.

18. Knapp 1985. Perhaps trying to counter anxieties that were interfering with shopping, 2800 malls joined together in 1986 in a campaign to fingerprint ten million children (Spitzer 1986). In mid-1994, Wal-Mart instituted a "Code Adam" for their stores to be sounded when a child was reported missing; employees rush to block the doors and search everyone (named for Adam Walsh, discussed below). It had become popular to name laws after child victims, a way to typify behavior and justify punishments, the most famous being "Megan's Law," requiring public notice of sex offenders moving into a neighborhood, named after Megan Kanka, a 7 year old brutally raped and murdered in 1994 by a man with two prior sex offense convictions. Wal-Mart continued to say child abduction was "commonplace," and their efforts were endorsed by Ernie Allen of the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children ("Wal-Mart leading the battle against child abduction," advertising circular, May, 1996); see note 23.

19. Kass 1985. The article used these stories to explain why pictures of missing children were just then beginning to appear on milk cartons in the state, a device originated in Iowa in 1985 to locate two missing newspaper boys.

20. Anonymous 1978, Anonymous 1979a. Laws against parent abduction were passed more slowly and with far less severe punishments than the draconian measures against adult-youth sex. A number of states also allowed religious exemptions in their child abuse statutes well into the late 1980s (cf. Greven 1990); a 1976 California law, not qualified by court rulings until late 1988, allowed exemptions from prosecution when parents substituted prayer for medical treatment. In several states circumcision was specifically exempted as a form of abuse.

21. For example, actor Robert Vaughn and his wife, actress Linda Staats (Beardsly 1981). The acronym was used variously for "Society's League Against Molesters," "Society's League Against Molestation," or "[Concerned Citizens for] Stronger Legislation Against Molesters." Similar organizations inspired by the Seitz murder also stressed heavy punishment, long incarceration, and easing prosecution rules (RASCAL [Reform All Sexual Child Abuse Laws], EPPIC [Educate People/Protect Innocent Children]).



22. See North American...1985. Others (Gosch and Gosch 1985:29, 41; Walsh 1982:66) also accused NAMBLA and other groups of kidnapping children; see Chapter 8.

23. Timothy 1986; Wishon and Broderius (1987:45) list over two dozen organizations devoted to finding missing children and corporations who attached their name to the issue. In September, 1985, a *Christian Science Monitor* feature (National Public Radio) said that in April, May, and June of 1985, the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children received over 600 calls a day.

24. This represents 1.3% of the stranger abductions, and 0.4% of all the missing (N=299) in their magazine.

25. This case represents 2% of stranger abductions, and 0.8% of all missing (N=254) in the issue.

26. There was no article on runaways in either issue (indeed, the term was not used). Several listings for missing females commented that she may be in the company of an older adult boyfriend.

27. Wooden was a reporter for ABC; the show was produced by ABC for the Discovery network. The moderator was another ABC reporter, Tom Jarriel of *20/20* and the McMartin fraud fame. See also note 36.

28. CNN *Headline News* March 29, 1994; Anonymous 1994. ABC's *20/20* (June 3, 1994) reported the beating of Ruth Weinstock whom a Guatemalan mob suspected of baby-snatching. The Guatemalan Army and the United States Embassy were called for help while she was trapped in a police station but they refused, and she was then abandoned by the police and a Christian missionary who had accompanied her. She was still in a coma at the time of reporting with little hope of recovery.

29. Pedophiles were also said to use computers and bulletin boards to show an "endless variety" of erotic scenes, including sadomasochism and scenes of adults and children being killed. *The Crusaders* (February 6, 1994: "On-line Deviants," ABC) implied that pedophiles with "horrifying intentions" make extensive use of computer bulletin boards to lure children; they said that 10% of adult BBS users are pedophiles, and insisted the boards are "havens for deviants." For evidence, however, they were only able to show some adult erotica supposedly captured from one BBS, and provide two young people who said they had been "lured." One, a woman whose age was not specified, was so vague about the circumstances as to be unintelligible, and the other, a 16 year old boy, said he was raped by a man who lured him to his house. KXAN-TV reporter Nancy Miller kept the image alive, claiming pedophiles use computers to get information on the "latest lures, kids' camps, or what the police are up to." She was posed beside a laptop in a try for authenticity, but no on-screen substantiation was offered. The concern continued as interest in the Internet extended into the 1990s; one reporter disguised as a 13 year old boy exposed one man's sexual solicitations in a chat room labelled "Pedophile Plaza" (*Save Our Streets*, October 15, 1995). In September, 1995 The FBI raided 100-125 (figures varied) homes in "Operation Innocent Images" in which agents in collusion with America On-line posed as minors. The FBI claimed to capture not only images of preteens but foiled organized attempts at youth-adult sex (CNN, September 13, 1995; Johnston 1995). News accounts were no more than FBI press releases despite the agency's history of entrapment and deceit.

30. Janus 1981:231. The man, quoted in a long passage (pp. 229-231) describes the ethics of how he begins relationships, and what kind of relations they'll be, based on considerations of the qualities and abilities of the youth themselves. He also told of the sexual assertiveness and advances of many of his young partners and how those are to be handled. But Janus was too obsessed with stigmatizing and punishing, too fearful of the sexual child, and too taken with his own moral indignation to be able to competently handle the complex data of human sexual behavior given to him in plain view. It is excellent documentation, not of adult-youth relations, but of the quality of professional readings of pedophilia.

31. O'Brien 1986:38; 48, 181f. Victor (1993:27, 65) thought blond blue-eyed children were particularly sought by Satanists.

32. Garcia 1989, citing Odis Doyal, a police officer on the San Antonio, Texas vice squad; Hey 1987, quoting Jerry Kirk, minister and head of National Coalition Against Pornography.

33. A. Smith 1985. Pedophiles were often brought forth to confess to this use to reinforce ties between anti-pedophile and anti-pornography movements (Henry 1985:13).

34. Lanning's remarks at the third annual conference on "Sexual Victimization of Children," 1984, summarized in *Child Protection Alert*, 10(9-May 4, 1984):3; O'Brien 1983:6, 94f.

35. In 1984 Wooden claimed he was getting 7500 requests a day for his booklet and video (1985b:56). As investigative reporter for ABC's *20/20*, Wooden worked on two shows—"They Are

Killing Our Children" (March 1, 1984), and "The Lures of Death" (March 3, 1984)—and made numerous television appearances. On the daytime ABC show, *Home* (January 13, 1994), he used young people from the audience to demonstrate his "lures." The faces of the kids and their parents were full of anxiety and some showed outright fear. One agitated mother, after seeing Wooden handcuff her seven year old as a demonstration of what a child molester would do (like John Wayne Gacy, he said), she said in a strained voice, "It was very scary" to see her son like that. Wooden referred to Ted Bundy and Richard Ramirez as pedophilic examples (neither were interested in pre- or young teens; see also note 58). Hosts then introduced a girl, saying that she "had trouble sleeping after the last show [on lures]." Wooden then speaks of children taken and killed while he tells the girl that this was "rare." A parent asks Wooden how youngsters can be kept from "being terrified" by what he presents, but instead of answering the question, he replied that he has "never had one complaint about scaring kids." Allow me to be the first, Mr. Wooden.

For the hell of it, I watched the rest of the show with its segments on cellulite removal, kitchen refurbishing, and wedding fashions. Of the latter, one dress was promoted by its designer as "very sexy, yet demur and innocent." The "baby doll" look was back in fashion that year, discussed more in Volume II.

36. Steinem 1977; Hillman and Solek-Tefft 1988:4, 136. The snubbing may be more of an American phenomenon; the well known affair of Gabrielle Russier in France drew a great deal of radical, liberal, and feminist support (though this was before the hysteria became widespread). Russier was a teacher in her early 30's and took as a lover one of her male students, then 16 (Russier 1971, and the film *To Die of Love*). Nancy Walker asserted in an issue of *Gay Community News* that "gay women are not the least bit interested in having sexual relations with young children" (1979), a boast quickly embarrassed by the reality of positive relations testified to in a well-known piece by Beth Kelly (1979). Fragments from my preliminary interviews, along with some popular culture references and texts, were published in the pamphlet, *Women Pedophiles?* (Austin, TX, 1983). The question mark in the title superficially refers to the professional dismissal or neglect of women's sexualities, but more particularly meant to again challenge the whole idea of "pedophilia."

37. Jill Haddad, transcript from an undated appearance on WWEE radio, Memphis, Tennessee (Martin and Haddad 1982:35-58).

38. McCall 1984b, deferring to FBI profiles. An episode of *Investigative Reports* (March 10, 1995) made constant reference to the normal appearance of the show's subject. Clips of a neighbor and a local store clerk were interspersed throughout the show as a parallel they-are-everywhere narrative. Also shown is a young woman clearly fearful of the situation and of pedophiles ("he could have got a hold of us!"), excellent documentation of journalism's vigilante function of fear provocation, particularly in young people, especially their anxiousness to display these created emotions as they report on news of their own making.

39. Hayden 1991:302, using police opinion. Purporting to expose the pedophile conspiracy, reporter Nancy Miller for KXAN-TV said, "Pedophilia is everywhere, deeply entrenched, underground like a secret club, complete with secret passwords." To confirm this, Austin, Texas Police Sergeant Jack Kelley was presented as an expert and said, with a straight face, that pedophiles use "certain phrases to identify each other," after which they'll exchange pornography and, "if available," kids. The only thing missing was the Secret Handshake, although an Austin, Texas television station claimed to capture Satanic hand signals given by a prisoner as he was led into court (it turned out to be a greeting to fellow inmates).

40. Lewis 1987, quoting Christine Grant, an associate of Ann Burgess.

41. ILIC 1980:115. See Chapter 8 for details on how this "compulsion" is facilitated by authorities. Heinrich Himmler believed homosexuals to be "blabbermouths" (Fraenkel 1973:218).

42. Geiser (1979), however, equated "rings" to prostitution with formal socioeconomic structural features for the procurement and delivery of youth to a network of customers.

43. ILIC 1980:211. They then turn around and mention an article by Mark Rowland that correctly exposed the case as media hype and police fabrication (pp. 211f), but it is not listed in their bibliography; see NAMBLA 1985.

44. Manshel 1990:13f, 19. In Michaels' first police interrogation, Manshel (who was not there) said her hair appeared "dank, heavy" (p. 20). Crowley, pseudonym of a mother of one of the supposedly

molested children, disparaged Michael's "limp" hair (1990:282). Michaels may or may not have been having bad hair days but at least for Manshel and Crowley, it was a sure sign of pedophilic pathology.

45. Manshel 1990:201, 137f; pictures of Michaels at this event in Manshel's own book (pp. 172, 174) do not support this.

46. Nelson 1983, Blair 1984. Blair's National Public Radio propagandistic program was funded largely by the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect.

47. Abel and Harlow 1987; emphasis in original. Both Abel and Berlin continued to be mystified as to why all of those "abused" don't become "abusers" (*CNN Presents*, "Thieves of childhood," February 5, 1995).

48. Social worker Susan Moores and therapist Bill Lennon in Rhodes 1988.

49. Janus (1981:230) also quoted a subject who reported efforts of younger lovers to include their friends. This element appears in some accounts I and a few other researchers have taken from adults and youth. It is more common in male peer groups over a wider age range; for females, such social organization of sex occurs roughly from 9-13.

50. Martin and Haddad 1982:109. An interesting observation in itself, especially since the authors generated so many fine images of the pedophile as a ruthless manipulator. This was part of the confusion in the earlier phases of the hysteria. O'Brien (1983:140) spent considerable time asserting that the pedophile is dominant and exploitative and the child passive and powerless, but at one point she suggested the manipulative child is proof of sexual abuse because when "the child controls the adult," it is a pathological, unnatural role.

51. On *Investigative Reports* ("Secrets of a child molester," Arts and Entertainment, March 10, 1995), pedophiles have an "insatiable" need for dominance, said therapist Bob Priest. The subject of the show, a landscaper before being jailed for sex with teens, was put in charge of prison flower beds. Moderator Bill Kurtis said his fondness for arranging plants *proved* his need for control, manipulation, and dominance.

52. On *Investigative Reports* (March 10, 1995), moderator Kurtis presented the show's subject as psychologically crippled: filled with "emotional turmoil," alienated from other adults, lonely, hiding his emotions, limited in his feelings, etc. The man was 63 at time of filming; such traits, if present, could be more of an artifact of his gender and generation and/or from the experience of imprisonment, but the overriding need is to use any characteristic to define the pathology of pedophilia.

53. Emmerman 1985a. The distinction between "fixated" and "regressed" is generic to psychiatric conceptions of deviance and pathology. Pollens (1938:80) saw "sex criminals" as "fixated" or "latent," the latter an accusation meaning unacknowledged homosexual interests. Astrid Heger (1992:5), the state's examining physician for the McMartin case, generated a third type of pedophile, "undifferentiated perverse." These have little or no empirical content. When stigmatization and aspirations to power are paramount interests it is easier and preferable to multiply categories (a variety of naming) than it is to examine the conceptual structure or empirical data.

54. Crewdson 1988:64. Since political arguments were laboriously silenced in media reports, it appears to have been journalism's "secret" rather than one of organized and public pedophiles.

55. The cliché was part of the *Chicago Tribune's* stock-in-trade description, voiced in 1977 by psychiatrist Nathan Greenberg of the University of Illinois School of Medicine (Moseley 1977a).

56. Crewdson 1988:66f. Most of Gacy's alleged victims were in their late teens through mid-twenties but journalists referred to them as "boys" to heighten the tragedy. Gacy at times admitted some murders and at other times denied all guilt. His lawyers said they had evidence that Gacy was out of town when at least half the murders were committed but appeals were turned down and he was killed by the state in May, 1994 in a botched execution.

57. Goldsmith 1984; the film was used by the Massachusetts Criminal Justice Training Council. In 1984 I counted well over a dozen such films with many more appearing since then. Almost all offered exposés of pedophile "seduction techniques." Some are visually interesting, such as several that showed children on swings and jungle jims shot from low, upward-looking angles; *Child Molesters: Facts & Fiction* features some fascinating soft-porn crotch shots of an adult woman playing the part of a preteen in one episode. A favorite of exploitation film lovers is *Sexual Abuse of Children: America's Secret Shame*, narrated by Peter Graves. It was Graves in the film *Airplane* who, with his arm around a young boy, utters the immortal, "Do you like to see movies about gladiators?"

58. Trager 1988:179. Alice Vachss (1993:280) also asserted that “Same-sex pedophiles are not homosexuals any more than different-sex pedophiles are heterosexual—they are *criminals*” (emphasis in original).
59. Gordon 1985:4. The direct personal references were used because Gordon fantasized himself heroically confronting a pedophile.
60. Jensen and Jewell (1988) use the word “deviant” 34 times in their short article addressed to prosecutors.
61. Jordan and Russakoff 1992. Around the time of Savitz’s arrest (March 29, 1992), a made-for-television movie (“based a real events”) was aired, *Something To Live For: The Alison Gertz Story*, in which a woman, aged 22, discovers she is HIV positive, supposedly acquired when she had one-time casual sex when she was 16. Ads for the film featured the line, “If you even *think* your child is sexually active, see this movie!” The film starred Molly Ringwald, a former child star, but many viewers still saw her as a child actress.
62. Landers 1993a. The confused disposition of what and where a “motive” is appears in other statements and is an artifact of therapeutic demands. Such generic statements are expected of confessing pedophiles (Nelson 1992).
63. The “never grow old” theory, aside from being embarrassingly obvious, is certainly not original. Oscar Wilde’s *Portrait of Dorian Grey* (1890) carries this assertion with a twist wherein the individual never grows old but his portrait ages. There were a number of late 19th century anxieties coming together here, such as theories of biological extinction spreading to popular consciousness, debates over the expansion of visual versus textual modes of representation in popular culture, the decline of belief in religious guarantees of an afterlife, declines in imperial empires, and other factors.
64. Pienciak 1984c, quoting William Dworin of the Los Angeles Police; Landers 1993a. In the 18th century Mexican inquisition, possession of pictures of Satan was taken as proof of involvement in witchcraft (Behar 1987).
65. Archie Anz, United States Customs Service Agent, in Hutton 1989, recalling horror fiction’s “bloody chamber” (Chapter 1).

## CHAPTER 6

1. Barry 1979:38. Speaking of Richardson’s victim Clarissa as a role model, Fiedler remarked, “The imposition of the Clarissa-image on the young girl represents an insidious form of enslavement” (1966:68).
2. Burkett 1994; letter to *San Antonio [Texas] Express-News* by Lance, February 24, 1994. These ages do not fit reported ranges of interest. My own observations broadly agree with Bernard’s respondents (1975, 1985) who indicated age preferences for girls to be 10-14, and for boys, ages 9-12; few others were attracted to younger ages, though self-defined “pedophiles” with the implied interest in preteens may erase attractions to older age ranges. Most of the individuals in commercial “kiddie porn” were in those upper ranges. Children supposedly abused in day care centers were from 2 to 4 years, well below the clusters above, but were asserted as typical of pedophilic interests. In her account of Florida’s Country Walk case, Hollingsworth said pedophiles seek preschoolers because they’re too young to make believable witnesses; “it lent an ominous grain of practicality to an adage common in pedophile circles: ‘Eight is too late’” (1986:15, an imaginative reference to the slogan, hardly “common,” of the Rene Guyon Society; see Chapter 8).
3. Ross 1986c. When pressed for evidence (rare for a reporter to do), Wooden was unable to provide any.
4. Martin and Haddad 1982:42, emphasis in the original. O’Brien also used the 3 year old marker, then said victims may be “a few months old” (1983:66). She said the average age of youth in child pornography was 10-16, quite a wide and diverse “average.”
5. DiNova (1982:195) was co-director of the Tampa, Florida, Dee Schofield Awareness Program, one group among many early in the decade urging broader and harsher laws. During the anxiety over UFO abductions that overlapped with the abuse hysteria there was considerable concern over livestock supposedly mutilated either by aliens (to experiment on or to use for nourishment), or

by Satanists. A similar worry was expressed that it was only the "best" animals being mutilated (Kagan and Summers 1984:302, 410).

6. Sanford 1982:85, citing an interview with Gene Abel and Judith Becker.

7. Postal Inspector Dan Mahalco, in Vieira 1988. Wooden (1985a:56) bragged that his pamphlet "Child Lures" was so potent he got calls from "molesters with as many as 300 experiences under their belt, wanting to give up."

8. Crewdson 1988:207, quoting psychologist Judith Becker, colleague of Gene Abel, and member of the 1986 Attorney General's Commission on Pornography; Ostrom 1989.

9. Sonnenschein 1983, quoting Ken Cullen, spokesman for the Special Behavior Clinic of the New York State Psychiatric Institute in New York City, headed by Gene Abel.

10. Hillman and Solek-Tefft 1988. Similar figures were used in a television ad by Mothers Against Sexual Abuse, January 1, 1993.

11. Find the Children pamphlet, Los Angeles California, no date (ca. 1984), "based on statistics from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services." Reprinted in *Title IV: Missing Children's Assistance Act: Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Human Resources* [1984], United States House of Representatives (98th Congress): Government Printing Office, p. 172. The group was founded by Linda Otto, producer of the film *Adam*. Various news articles are reprinted in the Hearing record as well, saying that of the 1.8 million, twenty to fifty thousand "disappear," and 2000-2500 are killed yearly.

12. From a fund raising appeal by Childsavers of Hillsdale, Michigan (Gratteau and Gibson 1985).

13. *Stranger Danger*, Nickelodeon, May 17, 1994; Linda Ellerbee moderating.

14. Stratford 1988:60, based on figures given by O'Brien on a 1986 Christian radio talk show, from her book (1983) where she claimed that 40,000 to 120,000 children are in child pornography each year (p. 19, citing Lloyd Martin), that 300,000 boys and 300,000 girls under 16 are in child prostitution (p. 21, citing Martin for the males, and Judianne Densen-Gerber for the females), and that there are one million runaways each year, 100,000 of whom are involved in prostitution (p. 21, with no recognition of the conflict with her previous figures). Bass and Davis (1988:21) also used these figures. Citing Michael Murphy of Bruce Ritter's Covenant House, Sanford (1982:128) said 400,000 to 600,000 runaways a year end up in prostitution and/or sex pictures.

15. Hutton 1989. Lindsey 1984 used the same figure, adding that "thousands" of unsolved child murders "appear related" to prostitution and pornography. Spitzer (1986) using an unreferenced article in *USA Today* said 1.5 million children were involved yearly in pornography and prostitution.

16. One of the era's most popular statistics, offered by Congressman Christopher Dodd (D-CT) at the Third Annual Conference on Sexual Victimization of Children, 1984.

17. Larson 1989:125, quoting Mitch White, Chief of the Beaumont, California police department.

18. Frederickson 1992:165, according to an "informal working group."

19. McCall 1984a. Some included certain forms of education in this definition, as did Schlafly (1984), complaining of secular humanism. The question of youth-adult power imbalances extended in the 1980s to campaigns against professor-student affairs. Hollingsworth again provided an interesting contrastive textual description of her heroes in the Florida Country Walk case, psychologists Joe and Laurie Braga. She tells how the Bragas became romantically involved when she was his student—but in this case there is no power exploitation implied; in fact, Laurie was said to have "coaxed" Joe into the relationship, and Hollingsworth believed the couple and the world have been the better for it (1986:27).

20. Ofshe and Watters (1994) correctly point out that "recovered memories" come from a long-standing theoretical base in psychology and psychoanalysis. Actual practice appears to have been first used by William Prendergast on prisoners at the Rahway State Prison in New Jersey in the early 1970s. He believed that abusers had themselves been abused even though they denied it, so he developed his "ROARE therapy" (Reeducation Of Attitudes and Repressed Emotions) in which subjects were "regressed" in order to uncover memories of traumatic abuse. When "recovered," the experience was said to be similar to religious conversion (Brecher 1978:44).

21. Maltz (1991:50f) suggested women “spend time imagining that you were sexually abused.” She then urged readers to elaborate on the fantasy to a level of detail that can only be called pornographic—which, of course, is the whole point.

22. Donoghue and Shapiro featured a series of testimonies on the traumatic effects of religious confession on children, complete with symptoms (1985:100, 125; see pp. 119-155 for guilt over perceived sin, and pp. 127-136, 144, 246 for trauma over sexualities). Released near the height of the sex abuse hysteria, the form of their testimonies was right, but the content was decidedly not in fashion. The Church demanded confession from children aged 6-7 in the early part of the 20th century, later raised to 9. In the late 1980s there appeared several support groups and texts for those fleeing religion, overlapping with anti-cult narratives. Despite the small but steadily appearing stream of evidence, religion has never been seriously considered as a form of child abuse.

23. The “case history” format as a forum for expertise is of ancient origin, based on fables and tales illustrating rules of personal and social behavior. Modern professional genres appear in the 19th century. They were used for comparisons in which the “Us” were elevated above “Them,” the most popular usage in anthropology and the forensic sciences, including sexology, Krafft-Ebing being the most famous example. The accounts were, and remain, “pornographic” in various degrees to emphasize the depravity of the “Other,” and to entertain the reader. Their most recent form was that of the day-time television exposé talk show of the 1980s and 1990s.

24. All of this was reported without question by Nan Cuba. Later, when Huebner was accused of trying to obtain a contract to murder her husband, Cuba claimed, “I had doubts. Not everything she said could possibly be true” (Hendricks 1987). Entertainment and insistence on a point of view, not “truth,” is paramount for journalists, especially during historical periods of this sort. Cuba and the editors of *San Antonio Monthly* performed their professional duties well, giving us the kind of exciting drama popular at the time.

25. This theme changed in the late 1980s and early 1990s after the collapse of the McMartin Preschool trial. Emmerman’s colleague Crewdson (1988:150f) quoted MacFarlane later, allowing her to explain how, dressed in her clown suit, she could not possibly have intimidated, convinced, tricked, or bribed the children she interrogated for that trial:

I just don’t believe that we have this incredible power to influence children, that children are incredibly more susceptible than we’ve ever considered, and that they will not only acquiesce to what we’re saying but will go on to elaborate on it in some detail.

Later, with an interesting but by then necessary twist, a popular columnist used the McMartin collapse to support the old position, saying that the case “with its manipulative prosecutors, has proved that children can be pressured into all kinds of things by adults” (Morse 1992b). The child manipulated by social workers and prosecutors became proof of the powers of the pedophile. With similar logic, psychologists Joe and Laurie Braga, when faced with children refusing to admit abuse, saw denial as proof of abuse, believing the youngsters were now finally exercising power over adults, power that had been denied them by molesters (Hollingsworth 1986:125).

26. Geiser 1979:79, citing a Los Angeles Police Department victim profile reported in the *Chicago Tribune*, May 15, 1977; Groth said one sign of sexual abuse is “refusal to attend church” (ILIC 1980:218). Parents were advised to be suspicious “if your young child begins to reject basic social values—family, country, and established religious beliefs” (Wooden 1986). Sontag noted that people with cancer were perceived as socially inept and emotionally deprived with low self-esteem in the 1970s (1978:51). There were theories of “happy people” being immune to cancer circulating at the same time the idea that well-loved children will resist the pedophile’s advances was popular. However, if a child says it is “happy” in the relationship, that was taken as “delusion” or “denial” (Kritsberg 1993:35ff, 52f).

27. Efimiades 1992:27, 31, 37. Efimiades frequently referred to Fisher’s sexual activity as “unbridled” and “flagrant,” and scorned her “indiscriminate ways” (pp. 38, 154, 279).

28. Efimiades 1992:43. While there was much of this sort of pity, there was almost no feminist support. Sheila Weller noted only one defender, *New York Post* columnist Amy Pagnozzi; others, such as Anna Quindlen and Ellen Goodman, famous liberals with “better papers,” offered no feminist perspectives as they usually do on any other variety of issues and personalities (Fisher 1993:224). Weller believed feminists were generally cowed, and there is the possibility that Fisher

was not the victim role model wanted by most feminists because she was enthusiastically sexually active.

29. The book should carry Sheila Weller's name as senior author. A true-crime genre writer, she did several interviews with Fisher, gathered other information, and wrote the narrative of the book.

30. Fisher 1993:45, emphasis in original. On the other hand, Fisher later offered more advice to fellow teens (p. 101, emphasis in original):

All you seventeen-year-old girls out there with much older boyfriends, do *you* know when you should feel flattered and when you should feel insulted when your boyfriend is making a big deal to his friends that you're sexy? Don't you, in year heart of hearts, feel flattered *most* of the time that older men find you sexy?

In a 1994 article, she was even more explicit about negative influences. She says adolescent women are especially vulnerable to older, "sophisticated" men who cater to young women's emotional and physical desires only to gratify their own selfish needs. She tells female readers to listen to their mothers, and instructs male readers how to treat their girlfriends. The nurturing of love is her message, though one comment was incongruent with the rest of her text: "Sex is something you can have with just about anyone. But love and romance are different." This is contrary to the message teens are supposed to receive, that sex has a place only in the context of "love and romance," and then only when of legal age and preferably within sanctified institutional relations. Fisher's text fully reflects this, tinged with therapeutically-derived psychobabble. Part of the fee she received for the article supposedly went toward establishing a child abuse foundation under Fisher's name.

31. Bartley 1988. Goldstein (1991) pointed out that many of the AIDS narratives of the period that featured children were basically "family sagas;" concepts of abuse and disease were used extensively to criticize changing family forms and attitudes toward the family.

32. Crowley 1990:15, 18, 22, 54, 56, 89, 92, 94, 113, 128, 132, 156, 218.

33. Though not all; some did not believe any abuse had taken place nor did their children show any of the stigmata they were told to watch for. There was also a gender division in what "Crowley" called "dealing with guilt." The women complained that the men didn't "deal with" the alleged abuse, and "Crowley" resented her husband's reluctance to discuss the issue and join in her hysterics.

34. Anonymous 1992b. In a locale already known for mean-spirited ignorance, anti-pedophile laws restricted a famous skinny-dipping spot near Austin, Texas to those 18 years or older. County Commissioners handed out a flyer at Hippy Hollow saying, "...authorizing or consenting the nude display of children and the nude display of adults to children under the age of 18...will be treated as a violation of the law. Violators and parties to such violations will be investigated and prosecuted, if possible."

35. Anonymous 1988b, quoting social work professor Kathleen Coulborn Fuller.

36. The lists apply to non-adults. The "recovered memory movement" generated similar lists for adults; see Ofshe and Watters 1994:65ff.

37. Bullard 1987. This is a procedure institutionalized from the time of the Civil War. At that time, and through the 1920's, women suspected or accused of being prostitutes, or of being "promiscuous," could be detained, inspected, and if necessary, registered (cf. Kern 1975, Walkowitz 1992:91ff).

38. That is, the supermarket tabloid. The implication is that Madonna and the man had sex, but others indicated the teacher was gay and there was no affair at all. Another article in the same issue, "Drew Barrymore, 15, dances with drag queen as Hollywood party turns into sex orgy," also drew upon the theme of the sexual vulnerability and corruption of youth in general and to Barrymore (as decadent Hollywood star) in particular; her autobiography of her fall and redemption in the Eighties was released the same year (Barrymore and Gold 1990).

39. Vieira 1988; Karkabi 1985, quoting Anne Cohn, Director of the National Committee for the Prevention of Child Abuse.

40. Consistent with his forensic view, FBI agent Lanning said, "Child pornography exists only for consumption of pedophiles. It serves no other use in our society" (1985:31, *sic*). This view was also present among professionals, such as Money and Lamacz (1989:35): "Paraphilic pornography has sexerotic appeal only to those who already have the matching paraphilia in their own sexerotic

imagery and ideation—like attracts like!” It was another formulation of the essentialist idea of “predisposition.”

41. Raschke 1992:351. A segment of *The Crusaders* shown even later in time (January 22, 1995) had Howard Thompson exclaiming that child sex pictures were then “more pervasive than ever before!”

42. This is the “youngest victim” motif, and she cited the magazine, *Baby Sex*, as an example. Others cited that magazine as an example of what they believed to be the ultimate pedophilic interest (Kenedy 1982, Gow 1984). Stanley (1989:308, note 65) says the “infant” in the magazine is an achondroplastic dwarf in his mid-thirties. The photos of the 32 year old man appear to date from about 1971 when they appear in some advertisements and a couple of erotic publications (Patrick LaFollette, personal communication, December 31, 1991). I have seen very few photos of adults having sex with infants for they are extremely rare. In no instance have I seen penetration, the sexual activities being usually oral or manual stimulation, or what Kinsey referred to as “genital apposition.” Most of these photos were made prior to the resurgence of “kiddie porn” in the early 1970s. Further, they may not have any erotic value. Pictures of sex often have value as satire, humor, aesthetic shock value, ideological expression, or as curiosity items in the museum function of pornography, all aspects difficult or impossible to understand for those unfamiliar with sexual subcultures, a quality that marked most of those asserting expertise on youth-adult sex during the hysteria.

43. Volkman and Rosenberg 1985a. Screaming was a common metaphor in this period and the word was used to market many books and articles on youth-adult sex. Other terms used in various combinations and permutations were “silent,” “shame,” “secret,” and some version of crying or tears: Butler, *Conspiracy of Silence* (1978); O’Brien, *Child Abuse: A Crying Shame* (1980); Sanford, *The Silent Children* (1982); Wohl and Kaufman, *Silent Screams and Hidden Cries...* (1985); Crewdson, *By Silence Betrayed* (1988). Nathan and Snedeker (1995) titled their critique *Satan’s Silence*.

Also influential at the time was the widely circulated 1985 anti-abortion video produced by Dr. Bernard Nathanson entitled *The Silent Scream* which used the same vocabulary to depict innocence, vulnerability, and brutality. Conspiracy theories continued to flourish and grow in popularity during the 1980s, and a title similar to Butler’s, *Conspiracy of Silence* (Penrose and Freeman 1986), came out. It was an account of espionage and used the same language of conspiracy, “deviant sexuality” (homosexuality), betrayal, subversion, and so on.

Anti-pornography forces of the period also extensively used the imagery. *Shattered Innocence* was a title of a “last days” film of Shauna Grant (Colleen Applegate), the plot being about a small town high school cheerleader going to the Big City, falling into sex pictures, becoming addicted to cocaine, and eventually committing suicide, much as 19th century heroines had done. The Public Broadcasting System previously had their hand in the anti-pornography indignation by their documentary on her life, delicately titled “Death of a Porn Queen” (*Frontline*, May 17, 1988). Similar 1980s films featured the life and death of Dorothy Stratten (*Death of A Centerfold*, and the wonderfully sleazy *Star 80*), emphasizing the supposed danger to lives involved with erotica.

44. ILIC 1980:205. Similar data existed for some relations between adult males and female youth as well but was not mentioned in the Report even though such articles were listed in their bibliography.

45. ILIC 1980:209. O’Brien (1983:46) also noted without comment that “95%” of the children go along with the taking of photographs.

46. Not confined to sex, fear for the “soul” was spread among many disciplines in the 1980s. Barrett published *The Death of the Soul* during the intense years of the hysteria, bemoaning a perceived fragmentation of ethics and ideas of the self, part of a growing conservative stream in academic philosophy at the time.

47. Schatzman 1973; Shengold 1979, 1989. Novelist D. F. Mills (1991:viii, 137) said she got the phrase, “psychological murder” from Dr. Robert Dobyms (Medical Director, Children’s Unit, Charter Lane Hospital, Austin, Texas) whom she said coined the term. Most users were unaware of the concept’s history.

48. Trager 1988:179. “Credible” is the key term here in keeping with Finklehor’s (1979) dictum of discarding data not supportive of the abuse view; evidence contrary to this ideology was either not sought or deemed not “credible.”



49. Crewdson 1988:252. In the very next paragraph, however, he said, "No one can make a determination about the potential for harm" of the relationships, one of the numerous immediately contiguous contradictions common in the period.

50. Bartley 1988, quoting Orlando Manaois, clinical supervisor of Seattle's Sexual Assault Center. Trudgill (1976:51) quotes a text on illicit sex from Elizabeth Sewell's *Principles of Education* (1865):

The scars will always remain; visible to the inward eye, though unseen by man... And they will not only be seen as scars, disfigurements, but they will be felt as wounds; they will give the pain of wounds; an ever increasing pain as the spirit longs more and more intensely for that purity of heart...

51. The theory is an old one, used in the 19th century to combat masturbation. Elizabeth Blackwell believed that "premature" sexual activity would result in "a permanent injury...done to the individual which can never be completely repaired" (1878:8), and Edward Carpenter wrote, "To introduce sensual and sexual habits...at an early age, is to arrest growth, both physical and moral" (1908:93). One of the phrases used in the 1800's to describe youth-adult sex was "interfering with children," a reference to the importance of theories of development then gaining strength. Based in causal biomechanical mentalities, psychological developmental theories promise linear, teleological travel but if interrupted, insure a single consequence, degeneration, as opposed to divergence and diversity.

52. Linedecker 1981:296, quoting Patrick Deady, Chicago Police investigator. O'Brien saw "empty expressions and pitiful, searching looks seeking off-camera direction..." (1983:8), and said kids "appear afraid, bewildered, and confused" (p. xii). Alice Vachss remarked, "As disturbing as it is to see young ones in sexual positions, it is their eyes that haunt you. There is a look of such despair and betrayal in them that it is impossible not to understand the terrible nature of the crime" (1993:235).

53. Janus 1981:209. A similar morally indignant pity for not seeing the light was displayed by Sinclair by ignoring the statements made by Nastassia Kinski defending her positive relationship with Roman Polanski when she was a young teen (1988:133ff). Therapist Wendy Maltz saw actor Don Johnson on television being interviewed by Barbara Walters, and he mentioned that when he was 12 he had sex with his 17 year old babysitter; he grinned, saying the memory still excited him. Maltz was outraged at his pleasure and wrote Walters, insisting that the sex "was exploitative and premature... This past experience and perhaps others like it may very well be at the root of the troubles Don Johnson has had with long term intimacy. ... He was sexually abused and hadn't yet realized it" (1991:30).

54. Boyle 1994:175, citing interviews with Gene Abel and Fred Berlin, and a September 1988 court deposition by Abel for a suit against the Boy Scouts of America. The obvious questions come immediately: should the youngster also know that society used to believe that sex between same gender people was "wrong," and that masturbation or non-marital sex was "wrong?" Do the "long-term consequences" of an affair apply equally if the partner was an adult of the same gender, or different gender, are the "consequences" to be considered only those that are "bad" or "good," or (to be fully informed) can both be taken into account? These and many other elements were never calculated by those defining "informed consent" in the period.

55. A small corollary to this view was used to explain why some of the runaways or abducted children didn't escape or return home when they had the chance: they were held prisoner, drugged, beaten, fear of rejection by parents, brainwashing, and so on. One of the main purposes of such narratives is to lessen any guilt feelings among parents and to deflect criticism against the nuclear family. See White (1987) as an example.

56. Stratford 1988:231, emphasis in original. Earlier she observed that "In every religion that has a god other than Jesus Christ, adherents are not allowed to think for themselves" (p. 224f).

57. Apologies, and thanks, to John Prine.

58. Page 14, *Final Report of the Kentucky Task Force on Exploited and Missing Children*, Louisville, KY, 1983, published by the Task Force, chaired by Mitch McConnell.

59. Therapist Tom Berg claimed that as many young males are molested as are females but they don't report fear of being labelled gay (Blair 1984).

60. Lloyd 1976:34, 211f; Geiser 1979; Janus 1981:21f, 168ff; Abel and Harlow 1987; Summit 1987a; Crewdson 1988:71; Hechler 1988:10; Fletcher 1991:152.

61. ILIC 1980:7. The idea was repeated by Goldstein (1984:25) in one of the standard "Truth versus Fallacy" charts of the period when he says that rather than being forced to participate in sex and/or photos, youngsters "are, in many cases, willing, noncomplaining victims. Some children have actually described the people who molest them as their 'best friends.'"

62. Smucker 1990. Local observers told me many of the young men had been brutally interrogated and forced to "confess" by Thai police, themselves pressured by U.S. officials.

63. Quoted in *Child Protection Alert*, 1984, 10(9), p. 2, and O'Brien 1986:180f.

64. Merchner 1990. This has always been a part of the religious right's argument against sexual representations and the dangers they hold for children; see nearly any issue of *MIM*, newsletter of Morality in Media, Inc., especially volume 29, #2 (March-April, 1990), p. 2.

65. Made at the Third Annual Conference on Sexual Victimization of Children in Washington, DC, 1984. *Child Protection Alert*, 1984, 10(9):3; also quoted by O'Brien 1986:180f.

66. Linedecker 1981:119. Psychiatrist Dorothy Lewis (Goleman 1993) and others said serial killers come from "an abuse-riddled childhood" (Fox and Levin 1995:247). The idea of being "trapped" in prostitution is a pervasive and comfortable one, but the Illinois Commission said, "Most children involved in prostitution are there because they want to be. They are...not being enticed by procurers or other unscrupulous operators" (1980:viii). There is very little "entrapment" in most sorts of Western prostitution, although abuse and exploitation by pimps, sexism, and economic systems are other matters. The depiction of child prostitution is predefined by moral attitudes and genre imagery. If competent research can be undertaken, several main varieties of commercial sex will be found, each with its social structures and roles, separated largely by the gender of the youth selling or exchanging sexual services (the term "prostitute" is itself too contaminated to continue to be used).

67. "Nightmare alley" by Selwyn James in the magazine *Salute* (March, 1948), quoted by Duberman 1986:138.

68. ILIC 1980:227, 287. There are a number of reasons why a thoroughly domesticated population would not notice such contradictions or fabrications, especially when no contrary views are offered, and when they may enjoy the sensational imagery more. But they were "unnoticed" largely because there were no attempts to verify or question them by journalists. The book referred to is by detective Al Palmquist (1978), who was unable to find any of the hundreds of Minnesota child prostitutes he claimed were in New York City.

69. ILIC pp. 228f. Criticism of statistics did not prevent the Commission from using on the cover of their Report a blurry (presumably "undercover") photo of a man appearing to pay a young female. Years later, *Time* featured a "special report" on world prostitution. Tales of child prostitutes were written around a "an exclusive series of photographs" that supposedly documented the trials and tribulations of boys, aged 8 and 9, in the "clutches" (they actually used the word) of a Moscow pimp (Serrill 1993). Even before the issue went to press, reports were received that the photos and story were fabricated. Later, it appeared that the series was in fact posed (Rupert 1993, Hiatt 1993), but *Time* editor James Gaines (1993) continued to insist that the story and photos were factual.

70. ILIC 1980:230. Sennott (1992:162) said the actual ethnic and age makeup of Covenant House clients were very different from the promotional publicity that claimed the charity was saving mid-teenaged whites from prostitution and pornography. Most were poor Black and Hispanic males, nearly all over 18 and few if any involved in commercial sex; local observers at the time confirmed this to me. Ritter's history of his beginnings was similarly fabricated. The charity supposedly started (Ritter 1987:3f) when six child prostitutes showed up, fresh from making sex films under the coercion of their drug addicted pimps. Sennott (1992:65ff, 72) found there were only two individuals who came to Ritter, and said they were not prostitutes, didn't make any pornography, and had only stayed off and on with various junkies, a common association in street life.

71. ILIC 1980:266. Journalist Sennott, trying to gather material for his book, attempted to push his way into Ritter's house, but was unsuccessful (1992:337). His own description of Ritter's face resembles the promotional texts which Sennott disparages: after acknowledging he was a reporter, he said Ritter's face turned "to a cold landscape of deep lines and dramatic ridges, like storm clouds sweeping over the sunlit hills" (1992:336).

72. ILIC 1980:267. Sennott's account of the ruin of Covenant House charities was also a narrative of heroic journalism, Sennott himself being one of the main figures. He indicated that even though rumors were circulating of Ritter's sexual adventures in the early 1980s (that is when I began hearing of them), and even though a small circulation New York City magazine in 1987 offered the first exposé, the mainstream press did not begin to examine the situation until 1989 (he and his paper, the *New York Post*, being that one). They appear to have been unaware of the Illinois findings nearly a decade earlier; many in fact ignored or suppressed information that threatened sacred figures and theories of the period.

73. ILIC 1980:278. Prosecutor Shari Karney claimed 80% of all prostitutes were sexually abused as children (Lear 1992).

74. Palmquist 1978:86-88. He loved to feature descriptions of beatings or beaten prostitutes (pp. 6f, 18, 20, 21, 26, 38f, 48, 54, 69f, 75, 105, 113), but an ex-prostitute, according to him, told him, "You're one of the few men I've met that doesn't get off on porn talk" (p. 73).

75. Palmquist 1978:126. He claimed to have discovered a boy dressed in drag who was supposed to have been raised in a Satanic cult (p. 127). There are no details, but Palmquist's mention here predated *Michelle Remembers* (Smith and Pazder 1980) for asserting that youngsters were sexual victims of Satanic cults.

76. Johnson and Szurek 1952. This referred largely to seductive behavior rather than actual sex. The idea was still around in the late 1980s, referred to as "emotional incest" in keeping with the linguistic styles of the day.

77. Therapist Tom Berg on Blair 1984; Rhoda Sommer, a sex abuse counselor in Salholz 1982; James Comer, professor of child psychiatry at Yale University, in Janus 1981:319.

78. Linedecker 1981:118. This was written earlier in the period and the theory that youth are asexual until programmed by the pedophile had not yet become fully established. Critics took any theory they needed to prove their point.

79. Hayden 1991:139. The child was a scruffy lower class kid; upon first meeting "Jadie," Hayden saw in her "a knowing, almost come-hither kind of expression..." (p. 15).

## CHAPTER 7

1. In fiction physical endurance and suffering is a measure of heroism. While it is dramatic (and crypto-erotic), some of this is present in the factual realm but not as much. One exception is from therapist Feldman. Her account of a patient is also autobiographical in which Feldman relates her troubled youth and adulthood, and tells us how boring life was until therapy of "survivors" gave new meaning (an "obsession," 1993:5ff, 27ff) to her life. Like Crowley's martyrdom, Feldman frequently mentioned how emotionally and physically draining the sessions were: she was a "basketcase" at home (pp. 14f, 21, 25, 27, 56, 72, 87ff, 99ff, 128, 204), increasingly took sleeping pills, and wept all the time, so much so that her own patient became concerned about her.

2. Lear 1992. The excuse was that she had supposedly recovered memories of her own sexual abuse as a child. A television movie aired in 1993 entitled *Shattered Trust: The Shari Karney Story* and features Karney's attack on a defendant accused of having sex with his one and a half year old daughter. The defendant says he only touched her genitals to medicate them but he appears sleazy and guilty. Karney remembers her supposed incest, from age six months to five years, while under hypnosis; her parents deny it in the film but visuals of her memories, featuring screaming infants, make the father a clear performer, leaving no doubt. As she encounters disbelief and resistance to her cause, she attacks her opponents as "siding with child molesters." Although the dysfunctions are portrayed as stabilized, the character still comes across as a deeply troubled woman.

3. Lazara 1983. Thorne described how, with a lack of complaining victims, police often have to follow a couple and then seize the younger male as he is leaving his lover's home. O'Brien urged more of such "proactive" law enforcement (1983:149).

4. Thomas 1991:78f. The mother of one of the boys worried about it becoming a scenario from *The Exorcist* (p. 144). The consciousness of movie themes and plots is an interesting and frequent reference during the period. In Crowley's account of her tribulations as mother of a supposedly

abused child, she said she wasn't the only one "who felt as if she were viewing a scenario out of *The Exorcist*" (1990:135; another woman made similar associations, p. 145). See also note 22.

5. Thomas 1991:218-230. "Reversal" was also used in obtaining confessions. In the case of Paul Ingram, he felt he needed to be exorcised, so his pastor drew out some "demons." Ingram felt relieved enough then to produce more memories that satisfied his interrogators (Wright 1994:58). Though Ingram was still doubtful, the clergyman told him the memories must be true because God would not allow any untrue thoughts to enter his mind (p. 59).

6. Manshel 1990: 81. During the interrogation, Fonolleras wrestled with the boy (p. 82), much as Kinsey had sometimes done when taking boy's sex histories (Paul Gebhard, personal communication). This is interesting in the light of Kinsey being accused of child molestation in his research (see Chapter 8). Wardell Pomeroy, one of Kinsey's associates, and others put together a book on taking sex histories (Pomeroy, Flax, Wheeler 1982), but there is no mention of techniques for children's histories or mention of methods used during Kinsey's time. All we have at this point are corrupt methods devised by forensic therapists. See Nathan and Snedeker 1995 for extensive documentation of children's interrogations.

7. While prosecutors and social workers denied leading young individuals, it was assumed that the child's view would be twisted by allowing the accused to examine the child witness in court. Later in the decade, parallel to other anti-Constitutional activities, adults were allowed to testify in place of youngsters, and in 1990 the Supreme Court ruled that states can "shield" minors from testifying in court, using such devices as one-way closed circuit television and/or videotaped testimonies. In 1989 Texas passed legislation exempting those claiming sexual abuse from taking lie detector tests. New York in 1984 allowed conviction of suspects solely on the basis of a child's testimony, without corroboration (all but two states at the time required such). The reason given for this, since previous law allowed conviction in cases of forced sexual contact without corroboration, was that officials specifically wanted ways to prosecute sex "that for people under 17 occurs without the child's objection" (Gargan 1984).

8. Sanford 1982:142. This was an older view that faded quickly as the 1980s progressed. At the same time, others were calling this one of the "myths" of youth-adult sex (Butler 1980, 1982), the new reality being that the trauma was ever-present and ever-lasting, caused only by the pedophile.

9. In 1994, there were two sensationalized cases in which mothers reported their children abducted by strangers but investigation revealed that they had murdered them. In November of that year, the Justice Department recommended giving parents lie detector tests in all reports of missing children.

10. Hollingsworth implied that the initiation of the search for abuse was due to media sensationalism over the McMartin charges, and the specific urging of psychologists Laurie and Joe Braga who became the main interrogators in the case. She said the media also promoted vigilante action (1986:114, 128, 137, 152; 8; 112).

11. Bliss 1986:195. This was slightly before theories of "recovered memories," but laid one of the bases for the view. Much of the late 1980s "recovered memory" school was prompted by the unwillingness of youth in the early 1980s to present suitable narratives for therapeutic and legal purposes. Ofshe and Watters (1994) said the "recovered memory movement" grew out of flawed psychology, which is true, but it also was rooted in specific historical and cultural conditions, subject to the requirements of genre and power.

12. Remarks at sessions of the Third Annual Conference on Sexual Victimization of Children, Washington, D.C.; *Child Protection Alert* 10(9):2, 1984; MacFarlane and Waterman 1986:68. For more on the assumption of such status by professionals, see Sol Gordon's approach to pedophiles later in this chapter. Carlson (1984) wrote glowingly of MacFarlane's way of eliciting confessions. In these dolls the genitalia are disproportionately represented, and the fact that dolls children use for play don't have such elements is not considered when exposing children to them for the first time. Manshel documented (unintentionally) this effect when a social worker in the Michaels case showed one such doll to a young girl. The girl looked "blank, stunned, as if Peg [Foster] had blasted her with a ray gun." Foster is undaunted, however, and plowed ahead believing that "here was the child's chance to unburden herself" (Manshel's words); the kid remained sullen through the interrogation "as if she's lost the momentum of her childhood" (1990:51). Manshel meant to convey the impression that exposure to the doll activated repressed memories of abuse, but the account seems more directly

applicable to the effect of exposing children to the bizarre dolls in a highly charged and intimidating interrogative session.

13. MacFarlane and Waterman 1986:87. Citations are to the pages of the book MacFarlane and Waterman edited, but the texts are from chapters written by MacFarlane and Sandy Krebs, MacFarlane's assistant during the McMartin interrogations: "Techniques for interviewing and evidence gathering" (pp. 67-100), and "Videotaping of interviews and court testimony" (pp. 164-193), the latter reprinted as MacFarlane 1986.

14. MacFarlane 1986:145. MacFarlane and Krebs supported "non-traditional methods" and "directed or leading questions in order to get children talking..." In the *University of Miami Law Review* version, MacFarlane (1986:153) praised those who use directed questioning and "do whatever it takes to get children to talk..." [my emphasis]. This is nicely reflected in the Michaels case where prosecutor McArdle frequently criticized social worker Fonolleras' interrogations with exclamations of "No leading questions! No verbal pressure!" But despite this, Manshel wrote, "the investigators knew among themselves that they had done what they had to do. Those who were in the school every day realized that there were no unbreakable rules" (1990:69f). After the mid-1980s, interrogators stopped videotaping, tape recording, or even note taking in sessions with children because they had proven so useful to the defense.

15. Blair 1984. Part of the reification was the use of acronyms that became popular by the late 1980s. Child sexual abuse, Satanic ritual abuse, and multiple personality disorders were frequently represented as "CSA," "SRA," and "MPD," signs that the ideas had taken on a life of their own and were rising above criticism, posited as "givens." This was consistent with marketing trends to condense corporate logos into more symbolic icons and acronyms, as well as with traditional bureaucratic use of such markers as child saving became routinized, industrialized, and militarized.

16. Sanford 1982:139ff. The child was not believed. Sanford's gesture to allow youth's subjectivities was a part of the early period and was scrapped by the mid-1980s.

17. Crowley 1990:13. Another woman made similar connections between her abuse scenario and fragments of behavior and remarked, "Suddenly it all make perfect, horrible sense" (p. 67). The "sense" here is the logic of genre aesthetics.

18. Crowley 1990:300, brackets by Crowley. Actually, I rather like the word, "cresting." I think the girl was on to something, but then we all know kids say the darndest things.

19. Crowley 1990:90. This method of interpretation was extremely common during the period; see also Cartwright 1994 for another biased interpretation of hymenal tears, this time in a child known for inserting objects into her vagina. Bass and Davis (1988:75) related a comment from a woman who "recovered" a memory of abuse: "It's as if I always knew it."

20. Spencer 1989:222; a great part of the readiness was that the therapists were committed Christians.

21. Empirical testing to her was merely a "defense," though when it suited her purposes, she used the method to research snakes, gathering support for her ritual abuse view (1993:157ff). See also Herman 1992, Ofshe and Watters 1994:155-165.

22. Wright 1994:48; Ofshe and Watters 1994:165-175. Wright also notes that a confession written by Ingram read "very much like a movie script" (p. 144); see Wright 1993a, 1993b. Ingram later tried to withdraw his "confessions," but appeal courts would not allow it, upholding his twenty year sentence.

23. Anonymous 1990d. The article reported on a study by David Finkelhor, funded by the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect. The popular account of this study erased the fact that most of the day care cases fell apart and that most of the small number of children's accounts were unprovable, irrational, and/or recanted. The article led the reader to believe that the study was based on real, uncomplicated incidents, conducted by disinterested investigators. As one of the leading contributors to the child sexual abuse hysteria, the *Los Angeles Times* received a great deal of criticism (after the fact) for its coverage, particularly of the McMartin case. The entertainment industry, because it had so thoroughly imbedded the theme of eternal trauma in the minds of its markets, and in itself, could not present any contrary image. They can only qualify the myth, as in this case where the authorities retain their power to save, or blame a few experts who "misinformed" journalists, or, as they usually do, simply ignore history altogether.

24. White 1987, referring to the work of therapist Gary Hewitt, founder of the Center for Missing Children of Rochester, New York. One of the best examples I've seen of this was when on *CNN Presents* ("Thieves of childhood," February 5, 1995) a teacher told kids to tell "if you get touched in your private parts," the kids all made loud disgusted and angry noises ("ehew," "yuk," etc.). Wilhelm Reich probably rolled over in his grave.

25. Hillman and Solek-Tefft 1988:80f. With so much emphasis on teaching children to be fearful of strangers or of "bad touch," a counter-reaction appeared at the end of the decade and in the early 1990s. A child psychologist warned that if a child is concerned "with fears about adults who try to harm children...there are probably other sources of anxiety underneath this issue." This is a very nice avoidance of considering whether or not the methods of warning children was itself generating the anxiety; its virtue lay in the fact that *any* reaction on the part of the child qualifies her for therapy and is seen as proof of abuse.

26. Hillman and Solek-Tefft 1988:71. It was not until the early 1990s that implications of professional "rage therapy" came to the popular eye, especially in Texas where investigations of psychiatric assault were conducted by the state legislature. Witnesses testified that, while in their teens, confined voluntarily or not, they were subjected to physical assault in order to get them to "express their anger;" one female said when she was 15, she learned that "You said what they wanted you to say and you did what they wanted you to do, so you could get out" (Sills 1992). No one was arrested for child abuse or abduction.

27. *Frontline*, July 20, 1993, PBS. The first part was aired May 7, 1991. The Kellys were freed in May, 1997, when all charges in the case were dropped, though Robert Kelly still faced other charges.

28. Hayden 1991:136. She is not the only one showing a vast and inexcusable ignorance of human curiosity and children's sexualities. Hollingsworth (1986:471) quoted Roland Summit on oral sex among children: "We don't see that in a population of children that haven't been molested." A mother saw her 3 year old having oral sex with a 5 year old neighbor boy, and Raschke said it was "a technique he could only have learned from deliberate and personal tutorials" (1992:109).

29. Hayden 1991:136f. Later Hayden struck an aloof posture by saying, "I'm all too aware of the danger of 'leading questions' and 'eliciting information' and all that crap..." (p. 140). This comment could only have been made after the blow-up of the sex abuse cases in California and Minnesota, and is another indication of the implantation of views and language of the late 1980s on events that Hayden claimed happened in the mid-1970s. The issue of unasked for intervention, aside from traditional involuntary internment, expanded to wider applications in the 1960s and became a legitimate tactic in the next decade; by the 1980s it was no longer considered ethically or legally necessary to debate the issue. See Johnson 1973 (revised edition, 1980), 1986.

30. Newman 1986. A related contemporary trend was the expansion of instilling religious beliefs in extremely young children. Long a popular belief (Morgan said, "Every child has a natural hunger for God" [1973:167]), the view soon became a professional assertion of fact. Jim Carr of the Laurel Heights Methodist Church conducted an "Early Christian Awareness" program for children aged six months to 3 years. "Youngsters of this age are far more capable of spiritual awareness than was previously thought," he said. (Newsletter, San Antonio, Texas, Laurel Heights Methodist Church, 1990). Hoffman (1992) urged the cultivation of what he saw as children's inborn impulses toward religion, or at least "exalted states of consciousness" (p. 93). His book is a highly varied collection of recollections of youthful "peak experiences," none of which include sex—and indeed, can not for the children and their experiences are divine and "innocent." For all of his assertions of original inquiry, his vision of childhood comes directly from the late 19th century. The contest here is for the control of children's emotions and intellectual processes as well as their behavior.

31. Manshel (1990:258) related how sex abuse validator Eileen Treacy testified that children do not have sexual capabilities. Hopkins (1988) had already noted Treacy's problematic qualifications.

32. Hillman and Solek-Tefft 1988:79. We have to assume, of course, that they are referring to youth and not to the adults, although it is a more interesting and important question to consider adults' obsessions with children's sexualities.

33. For a notable exception, see Andriette 1989.

34. Lew 1990:133. Another wonderful example of his terminology was when he defined a youngster having sex with a neighbor as "incest" (p. 17). In Lew's world the logic seems to be: incest destroys trust; adult-youth sex destroys trust; ergo, all youth-adult sex is incest. His text is an excellent example of popular and professional logics restructured to fit ideological commitments, and the expansion of clichés into authorizations for intrusions into realms that had previously been protected by older cultural meanings and Constitutional guarantees. A third of Lew's book is spent in justifying therapy and extolling the benevolence of therapists.

35. Blair 1984. Giaretto's expression referred to the "hate the sin, love the sinner" slogan frequently used by Christians in their anti-homosexual campaigns.

36. Ostrom 1989. Jonathan Ross, Director of an adolescent therapy program featured in the 1992 television docudrama, *Scared Silent*, said the purpose of therapy is to "teach them remorse." O'Brien felt "strong legal pressure" was needed to control pedophiles and to bring both offender and victim to "a more wholesome life" (1983:88, 50).

37. Jensen and Jewell 1988:13f. Jensen was then President-elect of the Board of Directors for the Association for the Behavioral Treatment of Sexual Abusers.

38. O'Brien 1986:13. There are 20-30 men in the group, and she asked cheerfully, "It helps, doesn't it?"

39. The idea was encouraged and practiced not only on pedophiles but many others in contention during the period. Leo (1992) says, "there's no need to fear a process that all societies engage in to protect themselves from behavior that weakens or disorders social life. Let the stigma contests flourish."

40. Royko (1987) was writing in disgusted reaction to the American Civil Liberties Union appeal of the case. The signs were to be posted for four years after his release from prison; Anonymous 1987f, Hale 1993.

41. Anonymous 1992q. The newspaper falsely claimed that NAMBLA "promotes sex between men and boys."

42. From an October 2, 1992 release by "PR Newswire Associates," distributed to newspapers from the Tacoma Police Department. The release erroneously claimed NAMBLA "aggressively recruits and grooms young males, ages five to 14, for eventual sexual activities." The Justice Department operates a 900 number through which people may obtain the records, descriptions, and locations of registered sex offenders.

43. Anonymous 1992r. As usual, one is unable to determine the nature of the charges for which he was imprisoned, and the actual form and content of the relationship(s) are unknown. The man apparently could no longer practice medicine and was then working a clerical job and not around children. I have received accounts of similar events when journalists and police notify neighbors and employers, even of those only accused or off parole; one San Antonio, Texas television station placed such exposés in a segment called "Dirty Little Secrets."

44. The Democratic anti-crime bill of 1994-95 required all states to register "sex offenders" by 1998. This and other measures, applied in practice only to pedophiles and some rapists rather than gays or lesbians, heterosexuals convicted of "sodomy," or others. Montana tried to include homosexuals but public outcry in early 1995 forced the state legislature to delete the provision. In mid-1995, in a bill named for a child murdered by a paroled sex offender, Texas passed "Ashley's laws" requiring those convicted of indecent contact with a child, aggravated sexual assault, or "sexual performance by a child" (making or showing sexual images of minors) to be registered for life; registration of other sex offenders was extended ten years after being released from state supervision. Those convicted of a third sexual felony were to be imprisoned for life. The federal anti-crime bill made it a felony to *intend* to have sex with someone under 16, required registration of anyone soliciting sex with a minor (even if no sex took place), possession of child sex representations, and the kidnapping of a minor—though parents were excluded. The bill conveniently exempts its agents from civil and criminal liability if their "community notification" results in vigilante action.

45. McCall's (1984b:51) article has a photo of this by Mary Ellen Mark. Even if it was referred to as pornographic by a number of observers, Mark's photo is still excellent documentation of how the culture officially defined and enforced the meanings of sexuality and eroticism, as well as, by its very appearance, documentation of journalism's commitment to voyeurism of eroticized

violence. Public displays of punishment and execution generally disappeared in the 19th century but gradually reappeared in the 20th. One of the most famous examples was the photo of Ruth Snyder's 1927 electrocution which filled the entire front page of New York's *Daily News*. In mid-1994, tabloid show host Phil Donahue was approached by a man convicted of murder who wanted Donahue to broadcast his execution as a way of warning about the dangers of child abuse. Donahue filed suit to do so but was turned down. In September, 1995, Texas joined several other states in allowing homicide victim's families to witness executions of those convicted of the murder; officials referred to it as "therapeutic" and "healing." Such displays, aside from their entertainment or erotic value, are meant to affirm the reality and seriousness of the crime and the power and legitimacy of governing institutions.

46. Ostrom 1989. Bass and Davis (1988:50), trying to emphasize the severity of trauma suffered by abuse victims (forgetting that they have suggested that any utterance of a victim be taken as fact), said, "Many adult survivors are compulsive liars." A significant accusation by National Socialists in their campaigns against homosexuals was that homosexuals not only were constant liars but they also believed their own lies. Heinrich Himmler defined this as "mental irresponsibility," adding it to the list of psychological criteria used to authorize the elimination of troublesome sexual interests (Fraenkel 1973:217f).

47. A member of the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography, Dietz was also mentor to FBI agent Kenneth Lanning and the development of his "profile" of the pedophile (1986).

48. *Sexuality Today*, vol 11, number 17 (March 7, 1988), pp. 1-2; Farrall, personal communication, May 10, 1988.

49. Armstrong 1990. Feminist dogma falters when confronted with the wide variety of man-boy relations. Armstrong authored an anti-incest book that helped configure the hysteria (1978).

50. This is part of the "three strikes you're out" mania that swept the country in the late 1980s into the 1990s. Bortnick reports (1995:257, 261) that in California about three-fourths of those sentenced to life for a third felony were non-violent offenders usually committing petty crimes or drug possession.

51. A 1980's expression popular with the military set was, "Kill em all, let God sort em out," a slogan seen on bumper stickers, t-shirts, and ammo boxes.

52. Vachss 1985b. Vachss became more vehement as time went on: "laws [such as those in Washington state] offer our only hope against an epidemic of sexual violence that threatens to pollute our society beyond the possibility of its own rehabilitation" (1993). Bass and Davis (1988:348) and Alice Vachss (1993:281) also condemned attempts at "understanding."

53. Ostrom 1989. Ironically, by the early 1990s, things had come around again so that at least one individual, oblivious to the history of her own profession, proclaimed that "It's a new concept to attempt to rehabilitate them" (Eliza May, head of the Texas Interagency Council for Sex Offender Treatment [Smith 1992]). Attempts to "rehabilitate," however, were measured by their severity.

54. LaBrecque 1987:34. LaBrecque's book dealt with Livingston's psychological collapse under the stress of the FBI's anti-pornography activities which attempted to find an organized conspiracy of pornographers. Many of the agency's indictments failed because of the absence of such subversion, and the frustration may be one of the reasons that such political energy was transferred to a construction of the pedophile in the early 1980s by the FBI.

55. Judd 1990. Thus anyone convicted, charged with, or even merely claiming to be a pedophile would be liable for indeterminate incarceration; though initially ruled unconstitutional, in June, 1997 a conservative U.S. Supreme Court upheld such laws. Other states tried to institute laws against pedophilia, that is, making it specifically illegal to "be" a pedophile, a logical extension of older anti-homosexual laws which were aimed in the same direction.

56. Schanberg 1982. Most of the sex charges against the individual were later dropped, though he still had to serve time for flight to avoid arrest, even though the charges themselves were unsubstantiated (personal communication, June, July, 1993).

57. Merknor 1990, believing FBI opinions; Anonymous 1992c. There was considerable confusion between sexist belligerence among youth and consensual sexual activity; the former was used as an excuse to prohibit and punish the latter. A widely publicized case in June, 1997, was of a 19 year old male who impregnated his 15 year old girlfriend. He was convicted of sexual assault of a child and his name entered into the national sex offender registry. Bewildered citizens wondered,



"How could this happen?" in reports by equally mystified journalists. Wanting to marry the young woman, he received 2 years probation and sought the governor's pardon.

58. Jensen and Jewell 1988:17, 15. Brody (1990) claimed researcher Thore Langfeld's "symptoms" of "perversions" can be seen in 3-5 year olds, but I have been unable to find anything that corresponds to this in Langfeld's published works, and Brody did not respond to inquiries. A precursor of "predisposition" was the legal doctrine of *mala fama* in which a pre-existing "odious reputation" or the "ill repute" of the accused was sufficient to allow officials to apprehend and interrogate, often with torture. "Predisposition"—like its relative, the "profile"—simplifies a wide variety of associations, affects, and motivations of complex human behavior. Part of its popularity is because the word is a term of invariance, stability, inherency, and essence, all untroubled by the fluctuations of past and present and undaunted by the threat of the future. Users of the word magically acquire these properties to add to their authority and use it to steady themselves. Such ideas have been contested in the social and psychological sciences for some time, with varying success.

59. Wittles 1948; Anonymous 1990a. Alice Vachss apparently believed castration involved removing the penis and seeing this as ineffective, she remarked, "as if removing a body part could change what someone is, as if they wouldn't just use Coke bottles or broomsticks instead" (1993:221).

60. Anonymous 1984a. This particular case received national attention because the man sentenced to chemical castration was an heir to the Upjohn pharmaceutical company, makers of the infamous Depo-Provera.

61. Crewdson 1988:205. In fact, no physician could be found who would perform the operations; see Vollmer and Boyer 1983.

62. Carolyn Huebner in Cuba 1984. Martin and Haddad (1982:44) themselves indicate a willingness to assist if any pedophiles feel suicidal—assist with the suicide, that is. Crowley said she was filled with rage and hate, and often fantasized about killing Michaels (1990:91). Her book is a document of this state of mind, and she remarked how surprised she was at her own feelings.

63. Media General-Associated Press poll taken in November, 1984. A poll published by *Parade* newspaper magazine supplement for April 18, 1993, reported 87% of their respondents in favor of the death penalty. In late 1984-early 1985, Bernhard Goetz became a popular idol because he shot several youth who approached him demanding money or asking for a cigarette, depending on the version believed (he was acquitted of attempted murder in 1987). His act added to the favorable view toward vigilantism in the mid-decade.

64. Crewdson 1988:252; this is the last text of the book, emphasis in the original. A popular bumper sticker in the late 1980s, at least in Texas, read simply, "Because I'm the Mommy" or, less often seen, "Because I'm the Daddy."

## CHAPTER 8

1. Manshel 1990:66. Hollingsworth saw "An enormous propaganda machine...dispensing clouds of fog," fed by "increasingly organized rumor mills" (1986:241f). She dismissed the term "witch hunt" as a "lunatic fringe slogan" (p. 405). Accusations of witch hunting were rare until mid-decade, and then generally reserved for local events such as the McMartin case. There was little "media derision" because journalists were an intrinsic part of the panic.

2. Thomas 1991:75. Karen Hutchins, therapist and officer of the "Travis County [Texas] Society for Investigation, Treatment, and Prevention of Ritual and Cult Abuse," said Satanists "have infiltrated the legal, medical, and law enforcement professions" (Cartwright 1994:102).

3. An untitled Reuter's dispatch, dated December 28, 1982, in the Nexist™ database. Such self-awareness is extremely rare and its inclusion in a filed report even more so.

4. Not only was little research done, significant directions were deliberately ignored. In one such case, a reporter from KXAN-TV, complaining that she was "tired of the media getting blamed for everything," claimed she was only seeking an "understanding" of the issues. I gave her leads to more comprehensive data and findings, but in the resulting broadcasts the sources were ignored. The script was preconstructed; the reporter could not afford to follow them up because such information

would have negated the view the station was promoting as uncontested fact. This institutionalized ignorance is present throughout all of journalism. The profession attracts and selects for individuals who have commitments not to research and empirical verification but to show business. The spurious claim for “understanding” is a standard tactic used only to gain access to people’s lives so that appropriate bits may be extracted and used to support preconceived story angles. What is most interesting here is the amount of energy spent in maintaining that ignorance and the extent to which individuals and institutions will go out of their way to protect the insulated purity of their views.

5. Hicks 1991a:53. An observer at the seminar, Hicks noticed the book had an International Standard Book Number and publisher’s name and was able to obtain a copy in a few days.

6. Terry 1987:xi. He emphasized his potency by predicting that “people will die as a result of this book” (p. xii).

7. ILIC 1980:5, 35, 78. They *really* loved feeling “underground” and “undercover;” see Chapter 3, “Undercover Approaches” (pp. 77-127).

8. ILIC 1980:89, 80. The phrase “close encounters” was popularized by the 1977 film of that title. The idea of extraordinary contact with aliens was carried into the construction of youth-adult sexual relationships but given a negative twist; see Sonnenschein’s 1983 article title.

9. ILIC 1980:90f. Several applicants asked specifically if the boys were aware of possible sexual relationships and expressed concern that some boys may not desire or be ready for that. The Commission again implied the fictional boys were desiring of sexual contact. The Commission also had inquiries about the camp from boys (pp. 91, 94ff).

10. ILIC 1980. Ms. Michael Sneed of the *Chicago Tribune* collaborated with the Commission by passing on a name of a man she said had knowledge of sexually active boys and men, youth prostitutes, and holders of child erotica collections (ILIC 1980:115); she also contributed to the inflation of the seriousness of the “The Delta Project” with her testimony at Senate hearings in 1977.

11. Jackson and Persky 1982:148. It was illegal in Canada to encourage individuals under 18 to have sex, and illegal to encourage those under 21 to have gay sex.

12. Jack O’Malley noted that a prior record plus membership in a pedophile organization was enough to obtain a search warrant (“Commissioner’s roundtable,” *Customs Today* 20(4):6-15, 35, 1985).

13. Stanley 1988; Kuznik 1988. See also Dentinger 1989, and the exchange between Chief Postal Inspector Charles R. Clauson and Lawrence Stanley (*Playboy* 36[2-February]:45-46, 1989). Stanley’s article won an award from the Free Press Association, but Hechler (1990) tried to cast doubt on its legitimacy, implying Stanley was not as “disinterested” as journalists such as himself.

14. The Post Office logo is a soaring eagle, but was replaced by editorial cartoonist Pat Oliphant in early 1992 with a rat in a Gestapo uniform. Activists had been trying to attract media attention for some time but were ignored. In mid-1996, the Postal Service returned to entrapment, targeting gay men. There were no challenges from journalists, and reporters and officials justified their entrapments by saying that only “predisposed” individuals had been captured.

15. Portions of Comfort’s sexually explicit and soliciting letters to Zangger were published in *Playboy* 36(2-February):46-47, 1989. The text here is from a 1986 letter by Comfort on the same stationery sent to Zangger and others.

16. Howe 1990, Andriette 1992. Hicks cited this case without mentioning the “plot” was not only just a fantasy but constructed in large part by the police; Hicks relied on newspaper accounts for his information, a serious mistake, as he documents in his own book (1991a:60). Raschke referred to the case as if it were an actual conspiracy. He placed even more credit with the police, representing them as merely watching the men to prevent any act until proper arrests could be made, done just in the nick of time according to his narrative. “In the end,” Raschke wrote melodramatically, “the power of evil, no matter how it might be sanitized or rationalized by its apologists, did not prevail. Another God seemed to have been keeping watch on this occasion” (1992:408). His only source of information apparently was a single newspaper article by Womack (1989).

17. The book *Red Dragon* and its film, *Manhunter*, the book and film, *Silence of the Lambs* (Harris 1981, 1988), and others continued to glorify the FBI. From 1993, *The X-Files* (Fox) showed the FBI warring against high-tech, extra-terrestrial, or occult forces, often using personality and behavioral “profiles.” This was at a time when in the real world the FBI was coming under increased

criticism for their part in the slaughter of the Branch Davidians (including about 15-20 children), and the alleged entrapment of Muslims to place blame for the World Trade Center bombing case.

18. After a suitably suspenseful pause, we are told that what they found were some Polaroids of the kids and men having sex (Martin and Haddad 1982:68). Somewhat disappointing in terms of detail, but when sex is the subject, use of the imagination is encouraged as opposed to the eagerness to supply graphic details of violence, especially when the trophy is not as sensational as was advertised. Linedecker gave us such examples as "infants with broken arms and legs," faces swollen from beatings, "stomachs distended with malnutrition," "tiny bodies lacerated by rat bites," "skin blistered and peeling on pudgy fingers deliberately burned with cigarette lighters," and so on (1981:18).

19. Eisler 1985. Rabinowitz noted on *48 Hours* ("The End Of Innocence," CBS) that it was nearly impossible for Kelly Michaels to get a lawyer to defend her; her initial public defender neglected to provide any allowance for appeal. Many lawyers were known for assisting the prosecution of their clients by taking a case and then preparing no defense at all. Gardner noted in one case lawyers offered on a contingency basis to defend children who were supposed to have been abused at a day care center, and "offered to provide 'validators' who would verify that sex abuse did indeed take place" (1991:42). A few attorneys with sincere beliefs in democratic principles and in the face of tremendous hostility did take on defense cases and performed as best they could.

20. Frank Osanka and Lloyd Martin used such displays in the late 1970s, Ann Burgess was known for her slide shows (1981, 1982), and FBI agent Lanning liked to include visuals as part of his witnessing. It became standard for print and broadcast media to include displays. Nathan and Snedeker cite a January 1985 series in the *Bakersfield Californian* that claimed child sex pictures were being made in Kern County and featured a photo which appeared to be a bundle of the visuals, despite the fact that none were ever discovered (1995:99). This may be purposeful deception but the presentation is also genre-driven, the stage setting for articles designed as entertainment, not information.

Dr. William E. Gordon, prosecution expert in several trials, remarked while viewing slides of the McMartin children's anuses and vaginas in court that he had the biggest collection of slides of children's anuses in California which he liked to show. The McMartin slides were taken by Childrens Institute International physician Dr. Astrid Heger many years after the alleged abuse; on this basis she claimed *all* the children at McMartin had been molested (Eberle and Eberle 1993:106, 142). Gordon had been ordered to cease evaluations and testimonies about alleged victims because of his manipulations during interviews and discarding evidence favorable to the defense in other cases (pp. 48, 108, 340). Nathan and Snedeker 1995 have more on child savers' obsessions with children's genitals and anuses.

21. Many authors used this, from Walters (1975) on, although as we noted, some of the "myths" and "facts" change place. Hagans and Case (1988) use the device of "Reality checks" throughout their text, and while they say they don't mean to tell the reader what to think, they insist that these "realities" are "norms" derived from scientific research, presented to dispel misinformation. There is constant reference throughout Hollingsworth's book to the children's stories as the "truth," and to any other version as a resistance, destruction, or contempt of "reality," of which parents and prosecutors were the sole agents (1986:406).

22. The same week, Cable Network News broadcast a special, *Breaking the Silence: Survivors of Incest* and repeated the show after *Scared Silent* was shown. KXAN-TV (Austin, Texas, NBC) advertised their cartoonish 1992 series, "Child Lures," as "unprecedented," apparently as unaware of the last dozen years of journalism as they were of the data and complexity of the issues.

23. Much was made of the participation of Arnold Shapiro of the *Scared Straight* documentary and the "reality TV" series, *Rescue 911*.

24. Wynne 1992a. This has always been the basis of journalism, some being more overt about it than others. In premiering a news show, *The Turning Point*, ABC advertised the program as "A new kind of storytelling. It feels like a movie. But it's real!"

25. Another defensive apologetic appearing at the same time was by David Hechler (1988), also a journalist.

26. Earl 1992. In contacting Arthur Spitzer and Ruth Harlow of the American Civil Liberties Union, Earl found a reluctance their part to criticize "proactive" police programs, especially against pedophiles.

27. *Myers v. Morris*, 810 F.2d 1437 (8th Cir. 1987); Appeal Justice Ross. My emphasis; there seems to be some doubt as to whether or not this act is ethical and legal for prosecutors. Nathan and Snedeker (1995) give a good summary of 1980s legal transformations.

28. Nathan and Snedeker 1995 offer detailed documentation of the cases, and one of Michaels' attorneys, Robert Rosenthal, took on work for the Fusters (1996).

29. The frequent close association from the mid-1970s on of conservatives and liberals has been mentioned before. Yankelovich (1981) noted that the Moral Majority was supported by many "traditional liberals," particularly on children's issues.

30. *Morality In Media*, 26(7):1, 6, 1987. The recruitment of McCall could just as easily have been described in the language of the pedophile's seductive tactics, but instead *Morality in Media* gave us a heroic (and reproductive) narrative of the founding. The group also sought younger individuals. In mid-1988, much was made of 14 year old celebrity Erin Chase (NBC's *Aron's Way*, and cartoon voice for Charlie Brown) when she became a CLEAN Teen spokesperson (*MIM* 27[5]:4, 1988). Another movement began in 1993 called "True Love Waits." Teens and preteens signed pledge cards promising to abstain from sex until they marry the individual with whom they will spend the rest of their life. Gay youth were not included.

31. Feldman 1993:231. After praying for guidance Feldman hears an ethereal voice telling her she's done a good job (p. 249). Nathan and Snedeker cite Eileen Treacy speaking to children in the Kelly Michaels case: "God gave me a special blessing. ... God gave me the blessing that I am able to listen and I help kids... I go to tell people how the children feel" (1995:147).

32. DeMott 1980. The phrase was quoted by the anonymous *Time* author (1980). Some years earlier (1969:12), DeMott made an relevant (though unoriginal) observation that this country's difficulties can be attributed to "obliviousness, [a] habitual refusal to harry private imaginations into constructing the innerness of other lives." See also note 99, below.

33. Leo 1981. The article carried as its illustration the cover of the sex education book, *Show Me!* (McBride and Fleishhauer-Hardt 1975), which in late 1982 became subject to "child pornography" laws and was quickly taken out of circulation by St. Martin's Press. O'Brien (1983) used Leo's article as a major argument against sexologists she saw promoting youth-adult sex and violating society's "sacred taboos."

34. A 1977 *Penthouse* article by Philip Nobile included some evidence that positive incest relationships can occur, but in the face of criticism, he retreated, saying he had "surrounded this information with a bodyguard of opinion condemning the idea" (Nobile 1990c). Hicks, a serious opponent of irrationality, noted that because of his challenges to the hysteria, he had been accused of being a Satanist. Hicks defensively stressed he was not a "child molester" or cult member, and he supported "vigorous prosecution" (1991a:12). Despite acknowledging that there is a variety of sexual relationships between youth and adults, Nathan and Snedeker collapse into period clichés toward the end of their book. They depict the youth as disabled, and propound that "Sex between children and adults...is but another symptom of this society's most profound political-economic inequities, inequities that foster authoritarianism and neglect by fathers against dependents, adults against children, and rich against poor" (1995:252), a classic liberal remark on the same intellectual and political level as seeing homosexual desire as perversion. They suggest a number of (necessary) bureaucratic reforms, including reviewing all convictions, but there is no suggestion of instituting criminal penalties for prosecutors, police, social workers, psychologists, and others.

35. Herman 1981:3; 23. Herman erased the presence and contributions of Cornelia Christenson, an associate of Kinsey for many years and a principal investigator and Senior Staff member at the Institute. Her remark denigrated women who served as research staff at the Institute, and neglected the many progressive women with whom Kinsey and others frequently consulted. I can remember from 1966-67 several consciousness raising groups of women helping develop questionnaire items for an Institute study of college youth. The "men's magazines" featured popular presentations of theory and research that had been going on in the professions for some time, and ironically became one of the few platforms for liberal views of sex. Herman (1992) continued to believe that criticism of the abuse hysteria was criticism of feminism itself.

36. Masson 1984. Alice Miller had suggested as much in the 1981 German edition of her book, and in her 1984 "Afterword to the American edition" was more specific about her reasons for Freud's theoretical reversals. I can remember hearing the idea circulating in the early 1970s among some graduate student feminists; see also Peters 1976.

37. Correspondence from Bruce Hopping to *Los Angeles Times* (October 8, 1987), to David McWhirter (October 12, 1987), to Charlie Shively; to *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* (July 20, 1987). McWhirter withdrew support without explanation after personally inviting Sandfort; Shively's academic department withdrew sponsorship and the Gay and Lesbian Student Union withdrew their funding contributions. *Sexuality Today* offered a brief summary of Sandfort's evidence (referred to as "contentions") and called for comments (vol. 11, #13, January 11, 1988, p. 1). Several responses were received by the newsletter confirming Sandfort's data, but editor Suzanne Prescod printed only one response, a trite harangue by therapist Wendy Maltz (vol. 11, #14, February 8, 1988, pp. 4f).

38. The authors evaluated Kinsey according to Lanning's (1986) FBI profile of pedophiles, including such interpretations of Kinsey's behavior as: he sought "access" to youth, he collected and made "pornography," and he promoted the acceptance of the idea of youth-adult sex as normal and healthy (Reisman and Eichel 1990:203ff).

39. Reisman and Eichel 1990:46. This scenario came from their reading of Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin (1948), Chapter 5, "Early sexual growth and activity," pp. 157-192. "The Nine" were nine of Kinsey's subjects who had had sex with boys, some of whom kept records on a total of 317 preadolescent males, observed in self masturbation, sex with other boys, or with adults (p. 177). It is quite clear that not all of the boys had sex with adults, or even with other people. Given Kinsey's sometimes confusing use of samples, some of the data in some of the tables come from adult recall—though Kinsey early on recognized the fallibility of sexual memory. Further, Kinsey realized the youngsters were "a somewhat select group."

...more or less uninhibited boys, most of whom had heard about sex and seen sexual activities among their companions, and many of whom had had sexual contacts with one or more adults. Most of them knew of orgasm as the goal of such activity, and some of them, even at an early age, had become definitely aggressive in seeking contacts. Most boys are more inhibited, more restricted by parental controls. Many boys remain in ignorance of a complete sexual response until they become adolescent. (p. 177)

Kinsey instructed a number of people in the kind of record keeping his study called for, including parents who volunteered to observe their children as they (from infants on up) explored their own genitals and sexualities; in some cases the youth gave their parents reports of their sexual behavior and the parents related this to Kinsey. I saw nothing at all while I was at the Institute, nor was it ever stated by any of his associates I worked with that Kinsey had or ever wanted children purposely stimulated for his research. While appreciative of some experimental approaches, his methodology was based on the observation of naturally occurring behavior.

Kinsey loved to construct continua, and the one with six types of preadolescent orgasms (pp. 160f) is based on adult observations of 169 boys. This sample (another switch) is based on a mix of sources, an unknown proportion of which may be from adult-youth sex. He does not supply age data since he was only interested in constructing a typology. It's useful, but it's not a particularly good one. The categories are not discrete, and individuals are known to have different kinds of orgasms and mixtures of responses. Some boys reported tears ("especially among younger children"), weeping, or sobbing (p. 161, 177), though the exact emotional context is unspecified; some may have been tears of joy as other histories have stated. Convulsing and even "violent cries" (p. 161) are common at all ages in orgasms. Some reported "collapse" (another common event after orgasm), and some reported fainting but the implication is that it is only occasional in some individuals (especially females they say).

40. Herman (1981:16) said Kinsey minimized the importance of what she called "child sexual abuse" (i.e., all adult-youth sex). Kilpatrick said Kinsey knew that "incest, sexual abuse, and child molestation were far more widespread than anyone had known [but] de-emphasized these findings" (1987:176, 1992). Kinsey and his colleagues were working during times of sexual panic fomented by the press and the FBI, and the publication of their works (1948, 1953) coincided with the beginnings of the Cold War and its fanatic hunt for subversives and perverts. The FBI monitored Kinsey and his

colleagues, feeling his work threatened to liberalize sexual attitudes of the day (Sonenschein 1987b, from documents obtained by Dan Tsang). The authors began receiving professional criticism over sampling from consultants even as their work was in progress throughout the 1940s, but given the limitations of their resources, the historical situation, and their methodological training, they maintained their sampling procedures. Under those circumstances it was the best anyone could have done, and though others, including Institute staff, were more than cognizant of the empirical limitations, the quantitative and qualitative data remained the best available for many years. In the mid-1960s, Institute staff began a short-lived program to reapproach human sexualities using social rather than biological science methodologies.

41. Bisticas-Cocoves 1985b. The Supreme Court upheld Georgia's laws against oral and anal sex ("sodomy," felonies punishable by up to twenty years in prison) in *Bowers v. Hardwick* 478 U.S. (1986). Unshielded by any privacy considerations as well, the laws supposedly applied equally to heterosexuals but the decision was taken as permission to continue anti-gay pogroms.

42. Many branches of science were affected during this time, such as the rise of "creationism," an assertion that the Biblical story of creation should be taken literally and could be proven empirically. The movement tried with some successes to have the doctrine taught in public schools as fact or as an "alternative theory" to evolution. A biology textbook published some years later still carried the methodology: "If the conclusions [of science] contradict the Word of God, the conclusions are wrong no matter how many scientific facts may appear to back them" (Pinkston 1991:vii).

43. Hayden 1991:294ff. She offered the same explanations for the lack of proof that Stratford did in her discredited book: no bodies are found because Satanists either eat them or bury them, then dig them up, then bury them, then dig them up, and so on; no pictures or videos are ever found because they are locked in the private "vaults" of pedophile collectors; Satanist cops and judges conspire to destroy and conceal evidence; etc., etc.

44. As the view of homosexuality began changing from traditional sexological and psychiatric views, a conservative reaction appeared claiming (somewhat correctly) a liberal bias was redefining "homosexuality" (Sagarin 1968). Later, as the field began shifting back to its original roots, Elias (1979:71) observed that the work of William Simon and John Gagnon was at that time "a notable exception to what I see as a disturbing tendency toward lack of academic responsibility in interpretations of...human sexual conduct."

45. Epstein's study was announced in the popular press (Goleman 1988b) but had no effect on journalists' continued support of pro-abuse positions; the experiment appeared as a brief professional paper in 1989. This sort of study has been done before, and when it appears it usually produces an amusing backlash of academic indignation over "ethics."

46. Thomas 1991:212. The quotation is from Kinsey, *et. al.* 1953:121, a position that was then and continues to be supported by cross cultural data. Kinsey's passage is also negatively cited by Judith Reisman, Herman (1981:16), and Kilpatrick (1992:13).

47. Green 1993. The reviewer (Kristin Luker [1993], professor of sociology and women's studies at Princeton) offered a clumsy retort, saying, "neither do we have reliable data to suggest that [youth-adult sex] does not." The sociologist concluded that "we seem to be at the threshold of a new era in the study of sexuality." To those of us who have been in sex research for some years, her remarks are both amusing and incorrect. Green's view of NAMBLA as "extreme" represents a measure of his conservatism, his ignorance of the organization's activities and positions, or both.

48. Kilpatrick 1986:240. These same words appear in the book publication of her study (1992:116). Among her findings was that "adult functioning scores of women *with* childhood sexual experiences were not significantly different from those of women *with no* childhood sexual experiences" (1986:239; 1992). Excepted were those who had had "abusive, forced, guilt-producing, harmful or pressured" relations.

49. Raschke 1992:105, 124, 301, 402. His usual source of information in this work was newspaper articles.

50. Russell 1986:21. What she means by "bigotry" is the recognition of data that refutes the idea that all intrafamilial sex is assault and traumatizing. Specific training in interviewing and taking sex histories is done as a matter of course, emphasizing a dispassionate taking of data, often in a way that the interviewer, as John Gagnon once told me, "acts as if [respondents] are really telling us something."

51. From Sexton's 1989 paper for the Eighth National Conference on Child Abuse and Neglect, "Gaining insights into the complexity of ritualistic abuse."

52. Abel was a prosecution witness in the McMartin case whose testimony was based on his supposed ability to detect pedophiles, though his methodologies were placed in doubt. He combined individuals attracted to 2-3 year olds with those attracted to 13-14 year olds—but this was not a problem Abel insisted (Eberle and Eberle 1993:317).

53. For "epidemics," see Anonymous 1981, *Child Protection Alert* 1985:6, Foley 1987:15; for "holocaust," see Densen-Gerber 1981:9 Barnaba 1982:109. O'Brien was especially insistent that the problem was "growing" (1983:8, 19, 21, 23, 24, 26, 31, 121f). In January, 1996, The Centers for Disease Control reported that death from infectious diseases was up 58% from 1980, a steady climb through the 1980s of not only AIDS but of several resistant bacterial strains.

54. Brody 1990, drawing these conclusions from reviewing the work of Money and Lamacz 1989.

55. ILIC 1980, and Donegan 1993a, the latter citing testimony of a former prostitute who said (incorrectly) that there was an increased use of children in sexual media.

56. Geyer 1992, Leo 1984. With this comment about "letting" behavior become public, Geyer conveniently ignores the morality of her journalism colleagues whose livelihood depend on exposés based on real, distorted, or fabricated events and statements.

57. Soon-Yi said people should not become "hysterical" because she was "not a retarded little underage flower who was raped, molested and spoiled by some evil stepfather—not by a long shot" (Geyer 1992). "The Sixties" was easy, and necessary, to blame for all social ills, and it was a period of consciousness conservatives never wanted to see happen again. An anonymous (1993b) editorial in the *Wall Street Journal* saw similar causes, and even provided a specific date for the fall: August, 1968, when protesters battled both the Chicago police and the Democratic Party. The editorial said there was a "dive into extensive social and personal dysfunction" by marginalized people "who don't understand the rules, who don't think that rules of personal or civil conduct apply to them, who have no notion of self control." The editorial was reprinted in the *New York Times* (March 30, P. D-24) and elsewhere under the title, "The decline of self-restraint." Raschke, an academic historian, saw "The Sixties" as responsible for all contemporary ills, especially those involving youth; he thought youth gangs had their roots in "the social violence and political turmoil of the late 1960s" (1992:383). Medved saw the poisoning of child-parent relations originating specifically in the years 1965-1969 (1992:279; 155).

58. O'Brien 1983:118, 120f, 123; Raschke 1992:117f, 126, 128f, 219ff, 277f, 282, 344f, 403. Raschke said liberals were merely "enlightened libertines" (p. 220).

59. Thomas 1991:49, 254, 163f. Hollingsworth felt defense attorneys in child abuse cases were part of a conspiracy of "child liberationists" (1986:241).

60. Vachss 1985b. Interestingly, while Vachss' novels target the pedophile as the most insidious evil, he stated in this article that "for many of our children, the family continues to be the most dangerous place in America." His view does appear to be supported by data, although in the late 1980s and early 1990s, being murdered by one's peers rose in competition for the honor. Not mentioned is the placing of children at risk by reckless driving. A woman arrested in San Antonio, Texas for drunk driving while her two children were in the car was charged with "child endangerment," but the charge was later dropped because the children were said not to be in "immanent danger."

61. This case was not widely publicized. Accounts appeared in tabloids featuring the unusual and bizarre, and hence carried little credibility (Anonymous 1992w, in a newspaper tabloid supplement), or referred to only as a passing note of the isn't-it-a-crazy-ol-world genre (Ringle 1992, under the flippant heading "No Fun Allowed"). Most states protect their agents by granting social workers and others immunity from civil and criminal charges.

62. Hollingsworth 1986:345. She even cited a text from VOCAL's first Newsletter (October, 1984) which stated that "The suspicion that VOCAL is a refuge for guilty child abusers remains active in the media and in the minds of reporters" (p. 346); Hollingsworth then did exactly what it was said journalists did. VOCAL, by no means a liberal group, had no quarrel with condemnations of youth-adult sex; they were only upset that people were accused "unjustly." VOCAL should not be

confused with a Catholic organization supporting abuse accusations against clergy founded in 1991; "Victims of Clergy Abuse Linkup" (VOCAL) later went by "The Linkup" or "Link-up."

63. Summit 1987a. After a visit from VOCAL's lawyers, Summit retracted the comment (*VOCAL National Newsletter* 2[6]:8, 1987). In August, 1987, Summit was given the "Distinguished Service Award" by a group deeply grateful for his contributions to their careers, the American Association of Sex Educators, Counselors, and Therapists.

64. McCall 1984a. Parallel texts of the period involved the reproductive capacities of teenagers, especially poor teens. Marian Edelman, President of the Children's Defense Fund, used the same rhetoric to tie youth sexualities, vulnerability, and poverty together: "every 67 seconds, a teenager has a baby," and "every 53 seconds, a child dies due to poverty" (1991). Donna Shalala, Secretary of Health and Human Services, wrote "Ann Landers" (1994b) claiming that "Every 104 seconds a teen-aged girl gets pregnant." Shalala saw abstinence as the solution to teen sex and pregnancy, and she urged substitutive "healthful activities such as sports, art programs, and jobs."

65. Martin and Haddad 1982:34, 32. The watch-the-skies line is cried at the end of the original *The Thing*. The paranoia was not new to the 1980s, nor was it solely derived from the 1950s anti-communist panics. In one of the previous sex hysterias, Pollens wrote that sex crime was everywhere: "It reaches down to the home of our best friend and next door neighbor, and we may even find it lurking in a corner very close to our hearth" (1938:22f). "Sex crime" at that time included homosexuality.

66. This "propaganda" caused a great deal of uneasiness. One man was accused that he "not only had sex with [a 16 year old] but recruited the boy to write literature for an organization" (Anonymous 1983d). Most groups published newsletters or magazines, as well as pamphlets and fliers detailing political positions or documenting relationships. Crewdson (1988:96f) said the Paedophile Information Exchange published *Maypie* and *Minor Problems*. That should read *Maggie*, which the group did publish, but *minor Problems* (the correct typography) was published independently and irregularly from 1984 (after PIE's suppression) as a children's rights newsletter by Mick LaCarpa until 1987; he died in 1989.

Beginning in the early 1980s, Asian "sex tours" became more commercially organized and were popular with Japanese and European males, and more covertly with Americans. While a few mid teens could be seen, almost all of the prostitutes were women in their late teens and early twenties. Ehrlich (1993) insisted that "clandestine pedophile networks," including NAMBLA, are usually at the bottom of international child prostitution (also Martin and Haddad 1982:24; Moorehead 1990). Donegan (1993a) claimed Third World children became sex slaves to international pedophile organizations, though he cited the statement of a police officer in Cyprus ("a major international distribution center for young prostitutes," said Donegan) that "most of the complaints are fantasies." Little attention was paid to the existence of substantial indigenous cultural support of cross-generational relations; a number of Philippine townships resisted the brutal moral cleansing campaigns of their government, viewed as extensively corrupt (cf. Mydans 1989). In 1994, to keep from being rejected from United Nations advisory status, the International Lesbian and Gay Association (ILGA) expelled NAMBLA (along with a couple of other groups) under pressure led by U.S. Senator Jesse Helms who attached an amendment to a bill decreasing UN funding until all agencies had been cleansed of any group which "promotes, condones, or seeks the legalization of pedophilia, or which includes as a subsidiary...any such organization;" the ILGA demanded a loyalty oath from its members verifying that they do not "support pedophilia."

67. In mid-1984, some 300 books, articles, and other documents comprising the entire library of the group were seized, although no charges were ever filed. Not all of the material was returned and there is no record of what has happened to the remaining books and articles.

68. Rueda 1982; Anonymous 1984b; Emmerman 1985a; Anonymous 1987c. Donald Wildmon, Executive Director of the National Federation for Decency, said (1985:154) the National Coalition of Gay Organizations "has officially supported the Man Boy Love group since 1972," a typical example of 1980's interest in accusation over accuracy; NAMBLA was founded in December, 1978. Many NAMBLA members do not see the organization as a pedophile group or themselves as pedophiles; quite a few identify as being attracted to males from mid or late teens on into adulthood and separate themselves from those attracted to preteens. Others (men and women) belong solely for political reasons.



69. Janus 1981:202, based on erroneous news accounts. See Mitzel 1980, North American...1985.

70. Press accounts focused on the authorities' abduction claim and excluded the runaway's complicating "fun" (Anonymous 1982f; Anonymous 1983a).

71. *Chickenhawk*, was "controversial" because, though largely governed by journalistic aesthetics, it showed much more clearly than any previous public report NAMBLA's philosophy and the political and personal risks members endured. The clip of Leland Stevenson supposedly "cruising for young boys" is actually part of a larger narrative, interrupted when he goes to a convenience store to do some shopping. Stevenson and the camera see a boy and a couple of girls playing with a public phone and they go over to talk. The kids tell how to get the phone to ring itself. The face of the boy in *Chickenhawk* is blocked out, possibly to spare the boy any abuse from the police or social workers. The scene was entirely by chance and *America's Most Wanted's* use of the clip, with the blocked out face device and its divorce from the context of the film, tried to attribute predatory illicitness to a very unremarkable and chance encounter. The kids asked Stevenson not to tell about how to get the phone to ring, and Stevenson says, "It'll be our secret." The show showed only Stevenson's remark about the "secret," using the cliché to promote an illusion of villainy.

Other visual techniques further document the propagandistic intent of Walsh's show. They use Lewis' mug shot and close in on his eyes with sinister music in the background, his face overlaid on scenes of boys playing games in an arcade, as if Lewis, with beady eyes, is watching. They also use visuals of NAMBLA *Bulletin* covers, articles, and photos with young men's faces blocked out. One is the cover of the May 1994 issue (vol. 15, #3), showing a nude male climbing into a canoe; there are no genitalia in the original picture but the area is blocked out in the program to give the impression that the picture is "pornographic." Another photo used in the show is a set from a collage of advertising photos showing men and boys together; these are commercial ads but the program blocked out a boy's face (June 1994, vol. 14, #4, pp. 16-17).

Lewis attended a few NAMBLA chapter meetings but was not well-regarded by members and subsequently had little or nothing to do with the organization. *America's Most Wanted* for March 4, 1995 proudly reported on Lewis' arrest. Captured with him was a 15 year old young man who, Walsh said disappointedly, "refused to cooperate with police."

72. Stevenson had been more "media friendly" than most NAMBLA Board members, but other spokesmen gave numerous interviews, press conferences, and appeared on various talk shows. The false claim of a "rare" interview meant only to boost the heroism and potency of the reporter and to depict the organization as evasive and secretive. Karem approached Stevenson saying he was the show's producer and wanted to give NAMBLA a chance to clarify their position against their forthcoming program on two men who supposedly abducted and killed a boy, one of whom was said to have had NAMBLA "material." He told Stevenson that NAMBLA would get a "fair shake" on the show (Stevenson's words, personal communication, January 10, 1995). The resulting show was clearly not as specified, and out of two hour's worth of tape done over a two month period with Stevenson, only a small fraction was shown, only that which fit the combative design of the show, showing Karem in heroic poses.

73. Other documentation of press treatment can be found in North American...1985 and Mitzel 1980. Good documentation of similar sensationalism was also done by the Canadian magazine *Centerfold* (vol. 3, #3, February/March, 1979) on the 1978 political trial of *The Body Politic* for the 1977 article, "Men loving boys loving men," by Gerald Hannon; cf. Jackson and Persky 1982.

74. January 13. On January 16, KRON again reported that "NAMBLA advocates sex with children as young as three years old." No observers were able to tell where this age figure came from, but they misunderstand journalism's purpose which is to entertain, and in cases such as this, to shock and infuriate; the text or image need not be real.

75. Harris 1992. Echols' provocation was not very original and the accusation was not new to NAMBLA. During the similar police-media collaboration surrounding the Etan Patz disappearance a decade before, New York and Massachusetts police said that a photo supposedly resembling Patz was one of many intended for a NAMBLA catalog of boy prostitutes and was presented as true without question by reporters (Raab 1982; Schwartz 1982a, 1982b). Echols was wanted for violation of parole for an unspecified conviction and was later arrested. When asked by a reporter from the *Bay Area Reporter* to explain why the police were looking for their "infiltrator," John Dann hung up

(Botkin 1992b). Echols' epilogue to his book (1991:304-331) contains his account of his NAMBLA infiltration and his view of pedophiles as mass murderers. The manuscript was the basis for the 1989 television movie of the same name.

76. They, like the Illinois Legislative Investigating Committee, loved the thrill of undercover heroism, and again stress the "hidden camera" on the January 14 broadcast and the "undercover camera" on January 16. They also used a hidden camera to sneak pictures of the *NAMBLA Bulletin* in a gay bookstore. The bookstore owner said all KRON had to do was call or ask to take pictures, but they didn't (Botkin 1992b), it being more exciting for them to imagine they were in the depths of a nefarious underworld.

77. Many letters are written by men recalling their own positive sexual experiences with adults when they young, some by men who have had or were then having relations with youth, and a few are written by young people who have had or were then having affairs with adult men. Most are joyful accounts of relationships, but few, except the television journalist, saw them as "smoldering."

78. Viets 1992. This turned out to be a brochure made for an upcoming NAMBLA convention, comprised of tourist information taken from visitor bureau data. The *Bulletin* has never has a "how-to" feature or set of instructions, though like many sexual interests in dispute, has had essays on the ethics of relationships.

79. KRON-TV, January 13, 1992; Botkin 1992a. The San Francisco Library System generally held fast against denials of the rights to assemble and of free speech, although they have since begun posting upcoming meetings a week in advance and saying that "Librarians would occasionally stroll in to monitor what was going on" (Hoover 1992a).

80. Morse 1992a. While some older teens were hustling in San Francisco, as has always been the case, there were no "children selling their bodies." But for journalism, dramatic imagery takes precedence over accuracy.

81. Ehrlich (1993) also indulged in this demagoguery, saying with shock and surprise, "Some of NAMBLA's top members have respectable jobs," repeating the names and places of employment.

82. The three stations documented here, KRON, WNBC, and KXAN, are NBC affiliates and may or may not have represented overall network news policy. But the situation in local news generally had become so embarrassing that the *American Journalism Review* ran a series of short comments responding to the question, "Why is local TV news so bad?" under the heading, "Bad News" (vol. 15, #7, September, 1993, pp. 18-27). They included "Production over coverage" by Paul Steinle, "No investigative reporting" by Joseph Goulden, and Howard Kurtz's "The tabloid style"—all applicable to the productions mentioned here.

83. Fletcher 1991:143f. Fraenkel believed that in authoritarian cultures, this attribution of superior and mystical power comes from a lack of self-esteem on the part of those who attribute awesome powers to their superiors and their sacred texts; Jews and homosexuals in National Socialist Germany were said to have extraordinary senses and abilities (1973:245).

84. Linedecker 1981:114, without naming the group or offering documentation, though he was probably referring to The Rene Guyon Society to which such a requirement was often attributed, incorrectly as usual.

85. MacFarlane 1985:46, 52. During World War II, there were occasional accusations of sexual molestations in day care centers, but there was not the belief in far-ranging conspiracies with all the paranoid elaborations seen in the 1980s and 1990s; see Perrett 1973:34f.

86. Cartwright 1994. On the other hand, many believed that pedophiles will start Satanic cults "as a cloak" just to have sex with teens (Kahaner 1988:216, Hoffman 1989).

87. Linedecker 1981:32; 182, passim; Anonymous 1977c; Schanberg 1982; O'Brien 1983:116f; Fletcher 1991:139, 145.

88. KTVU-TV, San Francisco (1985) newscast, citing an unnamed "investigative New York magazine;" transcript from a viewer. Many felt that this broadcast was a simple-minded reaction against doubt that had begun to appear in early 1985 about the validity of the "missing children" frenzy. The day before the newscast an article appeared in the *Los Angeles Times* that, while supporting the campaigns against abduction, had to admit that the figures were "overstated" (Spiegel 1985).

89. Raschke 1992:347, 1993:xviii; Kahaner 1988:249. There were frequent claims that child erotica and youth prostitution were overseen by organized crime, but no evidence has ever been presented.

90. Garcia 1989. Neither before nor after each article was there ever any other news coverage of the supposed network, nor have reports from other locales supported the assertions.

91. Thomas 1991:48. Ehrlich (1993) believed in the same scenario, but insisted to the contrary that the women and children were kept in Asia.

92. Stratford (1988:201) said that a 1981 Witches International Coven Council meeting in Mexico proposed infiltrating preschools and Big Brother-Big Sister programs, to "bring about personal debt," remove prayer from schools, "teach about drugs, sex, freedoms" [sic], to challenge authority, and to legalize drugs and erotica. The "Letters" originated in a fundamentalist Christian publication (John Frattarola, "America's best kept secret," *Passport*, 1987), and have been exposed as another fraud (Lyons 1988:149f, reprinted pp.179-181; Carlson and Larue 1989:102).

93. Boyle 1994:72, referring to a 1987 deposition given by Donald Wolff, legal advisor to Big Brothers/Big Sisters. Boyle used two examples, both refuting his own assertion, but continued to imply that NAMBLA (founded December, 1978) was active throughout the 1970s.

94. Clyde David, U.S. Postal Service Inspector, in Hutton 1989. An extensive subdiscourse developed, adding conspiracy upon conspiracy, on how, once infiltrated, these organizations themselves engaged in cover ups. Most prominent were the Boy Scouts (Boyle 1994) and the Catholic Church (Harris 1990; *The Boys of St. Vincent*).

95. Associated Press wire, New York, November 14, 1984. In June, 1984, a bill was introduced in Parliament that would have made it illegal to even discuss adult sex with minors unless it was condemnatory in view, and made it illegal for members of pedophile organizations (whether pedophile or not) to possess any written material about adult-youth sexual relations.

96. Linedecker 1981:123. It's a point she had been making for several years (Densen-Gerber 1977b, 1981); somewhat out of step, Wildmon felt this to be a homosexual plot (1985:153f).

97. Crewdson 1988:243. This may have reflected a reaction to a growing line of thought that declared, in partial agreement with conservatives, that sexual representations, textual or visual, carry explicit and implicit ideologically based values and meanings. Gays and lesbians used this to argue that homosexual erotica can speak affirmatively to their personal and cultural identities, and many sexual freethinkers argued for the iconic value of sexual representations (cf. Duggan and Hunter 1995).

98. Janus 1981:205f. The phrase was in Walker's response (1979) to Thorstad's call (1979) for support and sexual liberation. It was also referred to by a delighted John Leo (1981), and by Edward Eichel and J. Gordon Muir (Reisman and Eichel 1990:213). There was a fundamental split in the gay and lesbian communities over NAMBLA and youth-adult sexual affairs, one that has yet to be fully documented (cf. Califia 1980b). Many outside gay communities encouraged this division; Schanberg (1982) urged "decent homosexuals" to denounce "this aberrant group." While critics pointed to Walker's piece in *Gay Community News*, the paper was one of the very few in the late 1970s and early 1980s to carry a number of striking testimonies of individuals who had had productive erotic relations with adults when they were youngsters (one was in fact on the same page as Walker's piece but was ignored by all: Michaels 1979). There were also statements by those who realized (in various degrees) the uses to which the schism was put. Thorstad felt that the effort to "sanitize" the gay liberation movement, as represented by Walker, had largely succeeded (personal communication, September 5, 1991).

99. Schanberg 1982. This denial of sympathy for the deviant was advanced at the same time pedophiles were accused of lacking sympathy with their victims; Andrew Vachss remarked that "the essential quality of evil...is a lack of empathy" (Rovner 1987).

100. Leo 1983. The last part of this wonderful sentence—"the systematic exploitation of the weak and immature by the powerful and disturbed"—was used as a caption to Leo's article photo, one of the police escorting a runaway (said to have been kidnapped). It was one of those rare but delightful slips of intent wherein the intended accusation became self-incrimination.

101. Jacobson 1983. See O'Keefe (1985) on "fear arousal" campaigns, and Kaminer 1995 for associations with 1980s feelings of victimage. A Cable Network News poll reported May 21, 1994,

reported that even though violent crime was down 9% from 1981, 88% of the interviewees felt crime was at an "all time high."

102. Ehrlich 1993. There is of course never any documentation in these short polemics, and the veracity of police information is always highly suspect. I have never seen a document directed to pedophiles as such, although I have seen guides that circulate in Libertarian and Survivalist circles. Some are financial guides for individuals and couples retiring overseas, others are guides to setting up networks of overseas bank accounts, and some include information on obtaining new identification. There is also information circulating on obtaining political asylum abroad.

103. Leo 1983. Later anthropological research disqualified this sort of simple-minded ethnocentrism.

104. Hey 1987, quoting Presbyterian minister Jerry Kirk, founder and President of the National Coalition Against Pornography. When Senator Jeremiah Denton (R-AL) started to say that liberal influences might be responsible for making pedophiles "sick," he stopped in mid-sentence and insisted that the issues were neither liberal nor conservative; "I think it's just common sense," he said (p. 109, *Child Witness Protection Act: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Juvenile Justice, Committee on the Judiciary* [1985], United States Senate [99th Congress], 1986). This theme of political unanimity, along with "common sense," was present early on. Densen-Gerber felt herself to be a liberal, but said, "Common sense and maternal instinct tell me that these abuses are not a question of freedom of speech and press" (1977b). In an earlier statement, she made the same points ("The First Amendment isn't absolute," continuing, "I do not think there are two sides in abusing a child. I do not want to listen to these games. I do not want to listen to them being played while the American family is falling apart" (1977a:263, 270).

105. Goodman 1977. Delighted with these remarks, so soon after the defeat in Vietnam, the government reprinted her column in *Sexual Exploitation of Children: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Select Education, Committee on Education and Labor*, pp. 348-349, United States House of Representatives (97th Congress), 1977.

106. The war imagery was common and reflective of the times (Davis 1985, Thornton 1986). At the 1992 Republican National Convention, Pat Buchanan affirmed that there was being waged not only a cultural war but a religious war as well, this at a time when Christian Serbs were engaged in their "ethnic cleansing" of Muslims in the former Yugoslavia.

107. Cable Network News, May 17, 1993. The March 1, 1995 *Oprah Winfrey Show* featured Nesler on a program devoted to parents who had killed the alleged abusers of their children. Nesler was sympathetically presented, and Winfrey made the point throughout the show that while she didn't recommend killing, "it's one of the greatest miscarriages of justice that you are behind bars. [To audience] Something is wrong here! Don't you feel something is wrong here?!" The audience applauded. The show featured weeping parents and supposed victims. Winfrey was indignant that anyone accused of molestation would get slight sentences, said judges need to "understand sexual abuse," and cried that adult-youth sex is the "killing and robbing of the *spirit* of these children!"

108. See Mones 1991, Kever 1992b. In 1991 the Texas legislature called for the identification for possible clemency of those women who killed and used a defense of domestic violence. Illinois freed several women convicted of killing their allegedly abusive husbands or boyfriends (Anonymous 1992u, Anonymous 1994b).

109. Though not widely acknowledged, some of these murders may be tied to an extraordinary rise in rates of juvenile homicide since 1984; Anonymous 1992t, Larsen 1993. Similar assaults at that time were shootings of doctors who performed abortions; one was shot in March, 1993, and another shot in August, 1993. A Catholic priest in Alabama tried to run an ad urging the killing of doctors who performed abortions as "justifiable homicide" (CNN *Headline News*, August 16, 1993). In July, 1994, a physician and his escort were killed by an anti-abortionist; he was sentenced to death.

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WP = *Washington Post*

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# INDEX

- 20/20* 116, 192  
*48 Hours* 210  
*60 Minutes* 123
- Abbott, Denny 81  
Abbott, Sherry 121  
abduction (*see also* "missing children") 29-30, 32, 51, 79-85, 105-106, 114, 171, 175-176, 178, 191-192, 200, 206, 216-217  
    mall 30, 80-82, 84  
    by aliens 195  
    by parents 31, 82-85, 191, 206  
    of blond blue-eyed children 29-30, 80, 86, 102, 175, 192  
Abel, Gene 77, 102, 117, 155, 166, 190, 196, 200, 214  
Abel, Gene and Nora Harlow 86, 91, 102, 194, 201  
Abrahams, Andrew 189  
Abrahms, Sally 82  
abuse defense 181, 219  
abused-become-abusers theory 42-43, 90, 120, 124, 196  
academics 163, 213  
Achtenberg, Roberta 173  
*Adam* 83, 196  
*Adam: His Song Continues* 83  
Adam Walsh Resource Center 81  
addiction 20, 91, 93, 96, 108, 146  
adolescent pedophile (*see* pedophile, adolescent)  
adult in sexual child role 61  
Aellen, Richard 15  
*Airplane* 194  
*Alice, Sweet Alice* 183  
Allbeury, Ted 28  
Allen, Ernie 84-85, 178, 191  
Allen, Ray 144  
Allen, Steve 17, 71  
Allen, Thomas 127  
Allen, Woody 167  
*America's Most Wanted* (*see also* Walsh, John) 84, 93, 171, 216  
American Association of Sex Educators, Counselors, and Therapists 215  
American Civil Liberties Union 145, 168, 206, 211  
*American Journal* 180  
American Library Association 186  
American Medical Association 109  
Anderson, Rosalie 116  
Anderson, Sherwood 5, 7-9, 12-13, 15-16  
Andriette, Bill 205, 209  
*Angel* 28  
Anshaw, Carol 71, 74, 188-189  
Anz, Archie 94, 195  
Applegate, Christina 28  
Armstrong, Louise 142, 207  
Armstrong, Robert 53  
*Asphalt Jungle, The* 183  
Atlanta child murders 10, 80  
Attorney General's Commission on Pornography 142, 162, 196, 207
- Baby Sex* 199  
Bail, Kit 143  
Bainton, Roland 116  
Baker, Dorothy 1440  
*Bakersfield Californian* 210  
Barr, Rosanne 180  
Barrett, William 199

- Barry, Kathleen 101, 195  
 Barry, Lynn 168  
 Barrymore, Drew and Todd Gold 198  
 Bartimus, Tad 102  
 Bartley, Nancy 198, 200  
 Bass Ellen and Laura Davis 104-105, 131, 135, 196, 204, 207  
 Battelle, Phyllis 82  
 Batts, Sharon 37-38, 186  
 Baudrillard, Jean 163  
 Baugh, Jack and Jefferson Morgan 80, 191  
 Baxter, Cathy 172  
 Beardsly, Paul 191  
 Becker, Judith 155, 166, 196  
 Behar, Ruth 195  
 Berg, Tom 200, 202  
 Berlin, Fred 90-91, 138, 194, 200  
 Bernard, Frederic 195  
 Best, Joel 30, 187  
 Big Brothers/Big Sisters 176, 218  
 bisexuality 14, 184  
 Bisticas-Cocoves, Marcos 213  
 Blackwell, Elizabeth 200  
 Blair, Wendy 130, 138, 194, 200, 202, 204, 206  
 Bliss, Eugene 203  
 Bloch, Robert 30  
 Block, Lawrence 21, 23, 27, 72, 184  
 body transformation 39-40, 47-48, 61, 118  
 Boles, Jacqueline and Philip Davis 191  
 Borsos, Robert L. 145  
 Bortnick, Barry 207  
 Botkin, Michael 172, 217  
 Bouissac, Paul 10  
 Bowers, Michael 162, 213  
 Boy Scouts of America 86, 176, 200, 218  
*Boys of St. Vincent, The* 218  
 Boyle, John 105, 116, 121  
 Boyle, Patrick 91, 102, 117, 176, 190, 200, 218  
 Bradshaw, John 115  
 Braga, Joe and Laurie Braga 99, 196-197, 203  
 Brainwashing 13-14, 31, 42, 80, 85-86, 118-119, 157, 200  
 Brandon, Jay 12-13, 18, 34, 442, 44, 51, 58, 61, 66, 67-68  
 Bratun, John 133  
*Breaking the Silence: Survivors of Incest* 210  
 Breault, Marc and Martin King 1449  
 Brecher, Edward 196  
 Bremer, Janis 143  
 Brennan, Patricia 75  
 Brody, Jane 96, 98, 208, 214  
 Brown, Mareva and Wayne Wilson 141  
 Brown, Rita Mae 11  
 Browne, Gerald 35  
 Bruno, Anthony 56, 71  
 Buchanan, Edna 61  
 Buchanan, Pat 219  
 Buckley, Peggy 136  
 Buckley, Ray 136  
 Bullard, Charles 198  
*Bump in the Night* 75  
 Bundy, Ted 78, 193  
 Burgess, Ann 120, 161, 193, 210  
 Burke, Thomas 12, 52  
 Burkett, Lynnell 195  
 Busby, Roger 26  
 Butler, Sandra 143, 165, 167, 199, 203  
 Buttafuoco, Joey 106-107  
  
 Cable Network News (CNN) 190, 192  
 Cage, Richard 155  
 Califa, Pat 218  
 Campbell, Ramsey 31  
 Campbell, Robert 6, 27, 35, 43-45  
 Carkeet, David 9, 28  
 Carlo, Philip 14, 25, 29-30, 35, 38, 45, 56, 59, 69, 73, 185-187  
 Carlson, Dale 173  
 Carlson, Peter 203  
 Carlson, Shawn and Gerald LaRue 218  
 Caro, Dana 175  
 Carpenter, Edward 200  
 Cartwright, Gary 78, 94, 190, 204, 208  
 Catholic Church 57, 197, 218  
 Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) 152  
*Ceremony* 184  
 Chacko, David 189  
 Chase, Erin 211  
 Chase, Samantha 31  
 Chastain, Thomas 35  
*Chicago Tribune* 76, 82, 189, 194, 197, 209  
*Chickenhawk* 171, 216  
 child pornography (*see* pornography, youth)  
 child prostitution (*see* youth, prostitution)  
 child as savior 65  
 child, sensual descriptions of 46-49, 187  
 Child Welfare League of America 108  
 Childhood Sensuality Circle 170  
*Child's Cry* 58  
 Chowchilla California kidnapping 80  
 Christenson, Cornelia 211  
 Clark, Mary Higgins 6, 12, 18, 30, 71  
 Clauson, Charles R. 209  
 CLEAN Teens 157, 211  
 Cline, C. Terry 17, 21  
 clowns 9-10, 53, 86, 112, 183-185, 190, 197  
 Cognata, Roger 119

- Cohn, Anne 155, 198  
 Cohn, Bob 77, 89, 149  
 Coleman, Lee 164  
 Coleman, Loren 9  
 Collins, Glenn 77, 102, 139  
 Collins, Jackie 27, 72  
 Comer, James 202  
 Comfort, Calvin 151, 209  
 computers 35, 86, 186, 192  
 confession 61, 106, 126, 128, 134, 154, 197, 203  
 consent 117-118, 159, 200  
 conservatism 2, 17, 93, 157, 177, 179, 188, 190, 211, 213-214, 218  
 conspiracy 8, 10, 28, 34, 82, 89, 142, 148, 157, 159, 164, 167, 175-176, 178, 199, 207, 214, 217-218  
 Conway, Thomas 144, 166  
 Cooney, Caroline 32, 185  
 Cooney, Judith 96, 124  
 Corll, Dean 78, 190  
 Country Walk case (*see also* Fuster) 79, 96, 99, 129, 175, 191, 195/196  
 Crane, Caroline 11, 23-24, 47, 72, 183  
 "creationism" 213  
 Crewdson, John 87-88, 91, 93-94, 96, 102, 106, 108-109, 120-121, 129, 145-146, 155, 166, 168, 174, 177, 184, 190, 194, 196-197, 199-201, 208, 215, 218  
 crime (*see also* organized crime) 50, 52, 68, 76, 122, 166, 178, 219  
 cross-dressing 14  
 Crowley, Aleister 149  
 Crowley, Patricia 97, 107, 132-134, 193-194, 198, 202, 204, 208  
 Crumley, James 8-9, 64  
*Crusaders, The* 78, 102, 115, 153, 192, 199  
 Cuba, Nan 103, 127, 175, 197, 208  
 Cullen, Ken 196  
 cults (*see also* ritual abuse, Satanism, brainwashing) 8-9, 14, 31-32, 80, 85, 176, 184, 197  
 Curry, Bill 141-142  
  
 Dann, Joe 172, 216  
 Dannemeyer, William 157  
 Darger, Henry 190  
 Darnton, Nina 107, 157, 167  
*Daughter of the Streets* 28  
 David, Clyde 218  
 Davis, Bart 28, 59  
 Davis, David 144  
 Davis, Jeff 219  
 Dawson-Brown, Claire 99  
 day care centers (*see also* Country Walk, McMartin, Little Rascals, Micheals, Kelly) 28-29, 31-32, 134, 156, 175, 195, 204, 217  
 Deady, Patrick 200  
 "Dear Mr. Jesus" 37  
*Death of a Centerfold* 199  
 decadence 14, 52  
 Dee Schofield Awareness Program 195  
 degeneracy 14, 90  
 DeLange, Christine 87  
 DeMott, Benjamin 159, 211  
 Dennis, Everette and Michal Sadoff 148  
 Densen-Gerber, Judianne 116, 122-123, 145, 153-154, 160, 167-168, 277-178, 196, 218-219  
 Dentinger, John 209  
 Denton, Jeremiah 219  
 Dettlinger, Chet 191  
 developmental theories 117, 158-159, 200  
 Dietz, Park Elliott 141, 207  
 DiNova, Betty 102  
 dirt 6-7, 52, 89  
 disease 63, 97, 166, 198  
 disguise 8-10, 24, 62, 88  
 Disney, Doris Miles 9, 11, 16, 24, 50-51  
*Do You Know the Muffin Man?* 185  
 Dobbys, Whitney 149  
 Dobyms, Robert 199  
 Dodd, Christopher 196  
 Dodson, Susan 6, 8, 16, 24, 38, 63-64, 70, 186  
 dolls, "anatomically correct" 130, 136, 203  
*Don't Touch My Daughter* 183  
 Donahue, Phil 207  
 Donegan, Craig 214-215  
 Donoghue, Quentin and Linda Shapiro 197  
 Dorner, Marjorie 11-12, 15, 27-28, 56, 62, 64, 70, 73, 183-184  
 Dostoevsky, Fyodor 11, 14, 18  
 Doyal, Otis 119, 192  
 Dretzka, Gary 59, 71  
 drugs 15, 25-26, 28, 30-31, 35, 79, 96, 114, 156-157, 175  
 Duberman, Martin 201  
 Duggan, Lisa and Nan Hunter 218  
 Dukes, Jim 175  
 Dutton, Charles 90, 144-145, 148, 166  
 Dworin, William 78, 101, 115, 118, 175, 195  
  
 Earl, John 127, 211  
 Eberle, Paul and Shirley Eberle 130, 136, 190-191, 210, 214  
 Ebert, Roger 189  
 Echols, Mike 78, 170, 172, 216-217  
 Edelman, Marian 215

- Educate People/Protect Innocent Children (EPPIC) 191
- Eftimiades, Maria 106, 197
- Egan, Timothy 143
- Ehrlich, Paul 177-179, 215, 217-219
- Eisenberg, Leon 160
- Eisler, Isaac 210
- Elias, Veronica 213
- Eliasoph, Nina 76
- Elkind, David 107
- Ellerbee, Linda 84-85, 196
- Emmerman, Lynn 86, 94, 106, 108, 119, 194, 197, 215
- Epstein, William 163, 213
- Ewing, Charles 190
- exhibitionism 14
- Exorcist, The* 202-203
- Extremities* 189
- Face on the Milk Carton, The* 185
- Farmer, Steven 104
- Farrall, William R. 142, 207
- Fasick, John G. 127
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) 16, 78, 82, 102, 152, 185-186, 188, 190, 192-193, 207, 209, 212
- Feldman, Gail 133, 158, 202, 204, 211
- female pedophile (*see* pedophile, female)
- feminism 1-2, 37, 69, 119, 143, 154, 160, 165, 177, 184, 188-189, 193, 197-198, 207, 211-212
- Fiedler, Leslie 195
- Fielding, Joy 31, 44, 50, 52, 56, 71, 73
- Fimrite, Peter and Dan Reed 141
- Find The Children 83, 196
- Finklehor, David 131, 161-162, 199, 204
- Fish, Albert 77-78
- Fisher, Amy 86, 106-107, 197-198
- Fisher, Mary 122
- Flagg, Fannie 11, 69
- Fletcher, Connie 78, 87, 91-93, 99, 145, 153, 155, 201, 217
- Foerstel, Herbert 186
- Fonolleras, Lou 126, 128, 131-132, 203
- Fontana, Vincent and Valerie Moolman 90, 116
- food associations 47-48, 53, 187
- forbidden chamber motif 9, 99, 183, 195
- forensics 76, 130, 146, 184, 190, 197-198, 203
- Forster, E. M. 13
- Forward, Susan and Craig Buck 92
- Foster, Jodi 183
- Foster, Peg 103, 129, 132, 203
- Fox, James and Jack Levin 23, 201
- Fox, Robert 119
- Fraenkel, Heinrich 193, 207, 217
- Frank, Anthony 151
- Frederickson, Renee 104-105, 196
- Freud, Sigmund 160, 164, 212
- Frey, James 28, 31, 184
- Friedman, John 138
- Frontline* 77, 173, 199, 205
- Fuller, Kathleen Coulborn 198
- Fuller, Samuel 73, 189
- Fuster, Frank and Ileana Fuster 156, 211
- Gacy, John Wayne 9, 78, 94-95, 167, 183, 190, 193-194
- Gagnon, John and William Simon 128, 213
- Gaines, James 201
- Garcia, Victor 119, 192, 218
- Gardner, Richard 210
- Gargan, Edward 203
- Garland, Nicolas 18, 38
- Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation 173
- Gay Community News* 177, 218
- Gehr, Richard 188
- Geiser, Robert 88, 92, 117, 121, 169, 193, 197, 201
- Gelman, David 185
- Gerassi, John 88
- Geyer, Georgie Ann 167, 214
- Giarretto, Henry 120, 138, 206
- Gibson, James 188
- Gilgun, Jane 86
- Gill, John 31
- Gillen, Michele 153
- Glass, Nancy 180
- Godfather, The* 7, 183
- Goetz, Bernhard 208
- Goldberg, Jacob and Rosamond Goldberg 90, 93, 124
- Golden Child, The* 30
- Goldsmith, Larry 194
- Goldstein, Richard 198
- Goldstein, Seth 201
- Goleman, Daniel 120, 161, 201, 213
- Goodman, Ellen 179, 197, 219
- Gordon, Margaret and Stephanie Riger 76
- Gordon, Sol 77, 86, 91, 96, 146, 195, 203
- Gordon, William E. 210
- Gosch, John and Noreen Gosch 192
- Gow, Haven Bradford 199
- Grant, Christine 118, 193
- Grant, Shauna 199
- Grant-Adamson, Lesley 15, 43
- Gratteau, Hanke and Ray Gibson 196
- Graves, Peter 194
- Green, Larry 76
- Green, Richard 164, 213

- Greenberg, Nathan 194  
 Gregg, Sandra 127, 148  
 Greven, Philip 184, 191  
 Grice, Julia 8, 11, 14, 18-20, 27, 29, 33, 37, 39, 42, 44-47, 50-51, 53, 63-64, 184-187  
 Groth, Nicolas 88-89, 161, 197  
 Gutcheon, Beth 26, 30, 43, 45, 48-52, 185, 187
- Hagans, Kathryn and Joyce Case 103, 128, 210  
 Hale, Ellen 84, 103, 206  
 Halpern, Jay 18, 31, 40  
 Hammer, Joshua 119  
 Harlow, Ruth 211  
*Harper's* 141  
 Harris, Michael 218  
 Harris, Scott 216  
 Harris, Thomas 184, 209  
 Hartman, Paul 151  
 Hastings, Beverly 20, 30  
 Hawkins, Paula 83, 171  
 Hayden, Torey 78, 88, 125, 136-137, 149, 157-158, 162-163, 168, 202, 205, 213  
 Hechler, David 143, 168, 201, 209-210  
 Heger, Astrid 194, 210  
 Helms, Jessie 215  
 Hendricks, Bill 197  
 Henry, Joseph 192  
*Herald Examiner* (Los Angeles) 212  
 Herget, Grace 116  
 Herman, Judith 105, 117, 159-160, 204, 211-213
- hero  
 as seducer 66-67, 188  
 courageous 149-150  
 crusader 68  
 descends to underworld 149-152, 172, 217  
 defender 64  
 disgusted 152-153  
 divine agent 71, 158, 180, 211  
 executioner 70, 180  
 mystical abilities 60, 157  
 rescuer 65, 165  
 sensitive/perceptive 59, 126, 165-166  
 sexually attracted to youth 60-61, 64  
 suffering 61, 68-69, 120, 202  
 truth-bearer 154-155, 165, 210
- Herr, Mark 86  
 Hersey, John 186  
 Hess, Gary 169  
 Hewitt, Gary 205  
 Hey, Robert 114, 192, 219  
 Hiatt, Fred 201  
 Hicks, Robert 9, 127, 209, 211
- Hillman, Donald and Janice Solek-Tefft 87, 92-93, 96, 102, 120, 124-125, 130, 136-138, 167, 193, 196, 205  
 Hilton, Isabel 185  
 Hinds, Michael 135  
 Hoffman, Edward 205  
 Hollingsworth, Jan 87, 96, 99, 121, 149, 155, 164, 169, 175, 191, 195-197, 203, 205, 208, 210, 214  
 homosexuality (see also youth, gay) 20, 25, 35, 43, 52, 59, 62, 88, 93, 95-96, 124, 127, 145, 157, 162, 167, 190, 193-194, 199-200, 206-207, 213, 215, 217-218  
 female 12, 16, 21-22, 145, 173, 184-185, 218  
 male 12, 15-16, 29, 124, 152, 173, 184, 200, 209, 218  
*Honor Thy Father and Mother* 181  
 Hoover, Ken 173, 217  
 Hopkins, Ellen 205  
 Hopping, Bruce 212  
 Horn, Virginia 119  
 Howe, Robert 209  
 Huebner, Carolyn 105, 127, 175, 197, 208  
 Hunter, Robin 72, 185  
 Hutchins, Karen 208  
 Hutton, Jim 77, 91, 94, 99, 117, 145, 155, 195-196, 218  
 Hyde, Margaret and Lawrence Hyde 175, 190-191
- I Know My First Name Is Steven* 217  
*I Spit On Your Grave* 189  
 Illinois Legislative Investigative Committee 88-89, 115, 119, 122-123, 150, 162, 193, 199, 201-202, 209, 214, 217  
 incest 160, 168, 173, 211-213  
 indeterminate detention 144, 155, 162, 190, 207  
 infantilization 37, 186  
 Ing, Dean 13  
 Ingram, Paul 133-134, 203-204  
 Institute for Sex Research (see also Kinsey, Alfred) 160, 211, 213  
 International Gay and Lesbian Association 215  
*Invasion of the Body Snatchers* 50, 100  
*Investigative Reports* 116, 193-194  
*It* 183  
 Izzi, Eugene 56, 58, 68, 73, 189
- Jackson, Ed and Stan Persky 150, 209, 216  
 Jackson, Michael 79, 191  
 Jacobson, Jane 218  
 James, Bill 12, 16, 23, 33, 60  
 James, Henry 65

- Janus, Sam 78, 86, 124, 135, 170, 177-178, 190, 192, 194, 200-202, 216, 218
- Jarriel, Tom 116, 192
- Jennings, Gary 21, 26, 38, 43, 184-185
- Jensen, Steven and Coralie Jewel 88, 138-139, 141-143, 145, 165-166, 195, 208
- Johnson, Adelaide and S. A. Szurek 202
- Johnson, Don 200
- Johnson, Sandy 36, 52
- Johnson, Vernon 205
- Johnston, David 192
- Johnstone, William 28
- Jordan, Mary and Dale Russakoff 195
- journalism (see news media)
- Joy, Robert 101
- Judd, Ron 207
- Justice Files* 85
- Kagan, Daniel and Ian Summers 196
- Kahner, Larry 218
- Kaminer, Wendy 115, 218
- Kantrowitz, Barbara 83
- Kaplan, Gerald 96
- Karem, Brian 93, 171, 216
- Kareny, Shari 127, 202
- Karkabi, Barbara 198
- Katz, Jonathan 173
- Keating, H. R. F. 31, 38, 184
- Keller, David H. 144
- Kellerman, Faye 7, 27, 35, 45
- Kellerman, Jonathan 7, 15, 21, 24, 28, 44-45, 51, 55, 60, 63-67, 71-72, 183, 189
- Kelley, Jack 115, 193
- Kelly, Beth 193
- Kelly, Robert 136, 205
- Kelman, Judith 11, 13-18, 24, 28, 33, 36, 38, 41, 52, 55-56, 58, 67, 70, 186-187
- Kemp, C. Henry 117
- Kenedy, Betsy 199
- Kennedy, Janice 102, 116
- Kern, Louis 188
- Kern, Stephen 198
- Kever, Jeannie 219
- Kids Don't Tell* 75
- Killacky, Brian 108
- Killer Klowns From Outer Space* 184
- Kilman, Lawrence 171
- Kilpatrick, Allie 164, 212-213
- Kilpatrick, James 188
- Kimberley, Nick 188
- Kincaid, James 180
- King, Marsha 97, 141
- King, Martin 149
- King, Stephen 50, 183, 189
- Kinsey, Alfred 161-162, 164, 199, 203, 211-213
- Kinski, Natassia 200
- Kirk, Jerry 192, 219
- Kirschenbaum, Carol 120
- Klass, Polly 84
- Klein, Carole 125
- Knapp, Becky 82, 169, 191
- Koenig, Laird 6, 38, 183
- Koresh, David 149
- Kornberg, Marvin 107
- Kortum-Stermer, Jeanie 120
- Kraft-Ebing, Richard von 197
- Krebs, Sandy 136, 204
- Kritsberg, Wayne 104-105, 197
- KRON-TV 172-173, 216-217
- KTVU-TV 217
- Ku Klux Klan 28, 35
- Kullijian, Harry 157
- Kürten, Peter 77
- Kurtis, Bill 194
- Kuznik, Frank 209
- KXAN-TV 79, 97-98, 115, 148-149, 192-193, 210, 217
- LaBrecque, Ron 207
- LaCarpa, Mick 215
- Lance, Mary 101, 195
- Landers, Ann 81, 88, 195
- Lane, Roger 61
- Langfeld, Thor 208
- Lanning, Kenneth 86, 99, 190, 192, 198, 207, 210, 212
- Larsen, Peter 219
- Larson, Bob 196
- Laumann, Edward 187
- laws perceived inadequate 55-57, 71-72, 148, 155
- lawyers 56, 64, 69, 153, 155, 164, 214
- Lazara, Daniel 202
- Lear, Frances 202
- Lehrer, Alex 174
- Lenne, Gerard 189
- Lennon, Bill 194
- Leo, John 160, 174, 177, 179, 206, 211, 214, 218-219
- Leonard, John 177, 179
- Levy, Leonard 116
- Lew, Mike 137, 149, 167-168
- Lewin, Michael 37
- Lewis, Claude 87, 95, 118, 175, 193
- Lewis, Dorothy 201
- Lewis, Matthew Gregory 25
- Lewis, Stephen David 171, 216
- liberalism 1-2, 28, 38, 50, 55, 57, 72-73, 93-94, 125, 152, 157-160, 167-168, 174, 177, 185, 193, 197, 211, 213-214, 219
- Life* 148

- Lightfoot, Bill 149  
 Lindsey, David 43, 184, 188  
 Lindsey, Robert 86, 175, 196  
 linear reasoning 1, 43, 108, 162, 200  
 Linedecker, Clifford 77-78, 94-95, 115-117, 122, 125, 127, 144-145, 148, 153, 174, 177, 187, 190, 200, 202, 210, 217-218  
 Link-up, The (*see* Victims of Clergy Abuse Linkup)  
*Little Girl Who Lives Down The Lane. The* 183  
*Little Ladies of the Night* 27  
 Little Rascals Preschool 136  
 Livingston, Pat 144, 207  
 Lloyd, Robin 123, 201  
 Lochte, Dick 21, 28, 30, 34, 60  
 Lorre, Peter 77  
*Los Angeles Times* 134, 161, 172, 190, 204, 212, 217  
 loss 50, 52  
 Love, Keith 95  
 "Luka" 186  
 Ludwig, Jerry 30  
 Luker, Kristin 213  
 Lyon, Greg 172  
 Lyons, Arthur 10, 184, 218
- M* (film) 77  
 MacFarlane, Kee 106, 121, 130, 136, 141, 197, 203-204, 217  
 MacFarlane, Kee and Jill Waterman 130, 161, 175, 203-204  
 Machen, Arthur 40  
 mad scientist motif 185  
 Madonna (Madonna Louise Ciccone) 113-114, 198  
*Magpie* 215  
 Mahalco, Dan 196  
 Malcolm, Janet 160  
 Malkowski, Karen 84  
 Maltz, Wendy 104, 197, 200, 212  
 Manaois, Orlando 200  
*Manhunter* 209  
 Manshel, Lisa 79, 89, 90, 103, 126, 128-129, 131, 134-135, 137, 153, 155, 191, 193-194, 203, 208  
 Mark, Mary Ellen 206  
 Marris, J. J. 11, 20, 57, 62  
 Marriott, Michael 79, 101, 137  
 Martin, James 14, 16, 29, 31, 42  
 Martin, Lloyd 100, 186, 196, 210  
 Martin, Lloyd and Jill Haddad 85, 93-94, 98-99, 102, 116-117, 124, 153, 169-170, 178, 193-195, 208, 210, 215  
*Mary Jane Harper Cried Last Night* 58  
 Masson, Jeffrey 160, 212  
 Masterson, Graham 8, 31, 52, 189  
 Maupassant, Guy de 12, 18, 24  
 Maupin, Armistead 12  
 May, Eliza 207  
 Mayo, Joe 82  
 McAleer, John 189  
 McArdle, Sara 128  
 McBain, Ed 7, 25  
 McBride, Will and Helga Fleishauer-Hardt 211  
 McCall, Cheryl 96, 140, 169, 193, 196, 206, 215  
 McCammon, Robert 183  
 McCarthy, Kevin 50, 100  
 McConnell, Mitch 122, 167, 200  
 McDonald, Cherokee Paul 7, 14, 16, 18, 26-27, 33, 38, 71, 73, 189  
 McGee, Melinda 173  
 McGivern, William 7, 15-16, 20, 23-24, 38, 43, 53, 60, 68, 72  
 McGrath, George 126  
 McMartin Preschool 2, 81, 116, 128, 130, 136, 141, 185-186, 191-192, 194, 197, 203-204, 208, 210, 214  
 McWhirter, David 212  
 Medved, Michael 107, 214  
 Meese, Edwin 114  
 "Megan's Law" 191  
 Melzer, Peter 174  
 Merkner, Susan 207  
 Mertz, Steve 6, 18, 25, 45, 68, 71-73  
 Meyer, Peter 190  
 Michaels, Ian 218  
 Michaels, Kelly 79, 89-90, 97, 103, 107, 126, 128, 131-132, 135, 153, 193-194, 203, 208, 210-211  
 Millar, Margaret 5, 11, 16, 63  
 Miller, Alice 212  
 Miller, John 173  
 Miller, Mary Susan 108  
 Miller, Nancy 192-193  
 Mills, D. F. 32, 65, 185, 199  
*minor Problems* 215  
 "missing children" (*see also* abduction) 10, 30-31, 52, 78-79, 82-84, 155, 217  
*Missing Children Report* 83  
 Mitzel, John 216  
 Modleski, Tania 75, 189  
 Mones, Paul 219  
 Money, John 77  
 Money, John and Margaret Lamacz 198, 214  
 Montecino, Marcel 189  
 Mookerjee, Ajit 189  
 Moon, Keith 188

- Moorehead, Caroline 215  
 Moores, Susan 118, 194  
 Moorse, Rob 197  
 Moral Majority 211  
 Morality in Media 157, 211  
 Morgan, Hal 81  
 Morgan, Marabel 205  
 Morris, Kathleen 156, 161  
 Morse, Rob 177, 217  
 Moseley, Ray 76, 78, 190, 194  
*Mother's Revenge, A* 189  
 Mothers Against Sexual Abuse 196  
 multiple personalities 41, 133, 204  
 Murphey, Warren 189  
 Murphy, James 174  
 Mydans, Seth 215
- Nabokov, Dmitri 17  
 Nabokov, Vladimir 7-9, 12-13, 16, 20, 25, 29, 43-44, 184-185  
*Naked Kiss, The* 189  
 naming 61-62, 64, 94  
 Nathan, Debbie 85, 190  
 Nathan, Debbie and Michael Snedeker 199, 203, 210-211  
 Nathanson, Bernard 199  
 National Center for Missing and Exploited Children 79, 84, 191-192  
 National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect 194, 204  
 National Coalition Against Pornography 192, 219  
 National Commission on Libraries and Information Science 186  
 National Committee for the Prevention of Child Abuse 155, 198  
 National Federation for Decency 215  
 Nazism 28, 113, 207, 209  
 necrophilia 15, 35, 113  
 Nelkin, Dorothy 159  
 Nelson, Barbara 76  
 Nelson, Bryce 130, 194  
 Nelson, Joan 159  
 Nesler, Ellie 180, 189, 219  
*Never Take Candy From A Stranger* 18-20, 40-41, 51, 57  
 never-get-older motif 27, 49, 75, 98, 185, 195  
*New York Times* 161, 171, 180, 214  
 Newcott, William 116, 118, 170  
 Newman, Judith 137, 205  
 news media 52, 76-77, 80, 82, 86, 88, 96-97, 101, 104-105, 115, 119-120, 129, 134, 140-141, 148-149, 151-153, 158, 161, 170-174, 178, 182, 192-195, 197-198, 201-204, 206, 208-210, 212-214, 216-217  
*Newsweek* 29, 185  
 Newton, Michael 28, 31, 45, 55, 59, 63, 65, 70  
 Nicholson, David 188  
*Night of the Juggler* 183  
*Nightmare* 59  
 Nin, Anaïs 11, 14  
 Nobile, Philip 162, 211  
 Nordan, Robert 31, 49, 187  
 Norman, John 88  
 North American Man-Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) 35, 82, 141, 144, 149, 164, 170-174, 176-180, 192-193, 206, 213, 215-218  
 Northrup, Robert 151  
 nostalgia 49  
 nudism 108, 198
- O'Brien, Shirley 77, 86, 93, 120-121, 125, 138-139, 145, 167, 192, 194-196, 199-202, 206, 214, 217  
 O'Conner, John 172  
 O'Hara, Michael 108  
 O'Keefe, Garrett 218  
 O'Malley, John D. "Jack" 77, 126, 152-153, 164, 167, 174-176, 178, 209  
 O'Rourke, William 7, 26, 27  
 Oates, Joyce Carol 14, 184  
 Obregon, Eneldelia 79  
 Odean, Kathleen 82  
*Off the Minnesota Strip* 191  
 Olshe, Richard and Ethan Watters 196, 198, 203-204  
 Okami, Paul 163  
 Oliphant, Pat 209  
 Olsen, Jack 31  
 Olson, Marlys 81  
 organized crime 25, 27-28, 114, 175 218  
 Osanka, Frank 153, 210  
 Ostrom, Carol 91, 94-96, 139-141, 206-207  
 Otto, Linda 83, 196  
 Owen, John 177
- Paedophile Information Exchange (PIE) 170, 177, 215  
 Pagnozzi, Amy 197  
 Palmquist, Al 118, 123-124, 158, 191, 201-202  
 Pamfiloff, Glenn 120  
 parental abduction (*see* abduction, by parents)  
 parental instincts 157  
 Parker, Robert 26-29, 31, 60, 184, 188  
 Patz, Etan 78, 82, 85, 171, 178, 185, 216



- Paul, Charlotte 30
- Pearson, Richard 59, 71, 189
- pedophile (*see also* victim)
- abuses animals 38, 190
  - adolescent 144-145
  - arrogant 32-33, 93-94, 176
  - blackmailer 38, 79, 86, 89, 119
  - comic figure 8
  - compulsive talker 88, 150, 193
  - domineering 12-13, 37, 93, 106, 194
  - female 21-22, 87, 193
  - gender confused 7-8, 14
  - guilt-ridden 5, 8-9, 91, 183
  - hate-driven 5-6, 10-12
  - hedonist 14, 34, 95-96
  - highly intelligent 13, 17, 24, 33, 88, 152
  - hypersexual/insatiable 18-20, 26, 89, 95-96, 98, 172
  - immature 5, 93
  - incurable 71-72, 141-142, 145, 168
  - insane 6, 11, 16, 20
  - kidnapper 6, 8, 11, 13, 17, 30, 43, 84, 152, 175, 185, 216
  - killer 6, 9, 11, 13-14, 16, 20, 23, 30, 33, 43, 77-80, 85, 148, 152-153, 170, 175, 185, 190, 192-193, 216-217
  - loner 88
  - low self-esteem 93
  - manipulative 12-13, 86, 89, 91, 139, 194
  - narcissist 11-12, 14, 33, 91, 93-94, 96
  - obese 5, 7-8, 12, 26, 89, 96
  - obsessive-compulsive 97
  - pornographer 7, 14, 98, 163, 175-176
  - promiscuous 93, 95, 97
  - propensity for sociality 88, 94
  - rationales as error 33-35, 94, 177-178
  - retarded 5-6, 16, 33
  - sadistic 6, 15-16, 18, 20-21, 78
  - socially inept 5, 93, 183
  - sociopathic 11, 94
  - subversive 149, 170, 174, 176
  - torturer 13-14, 21, 23, 78
  - underworld 59, 78, 88, 97, 148-150, 174
  - wealthy 24, 34, 51, 80, 88, 179, 183
- pedophiles
- are everywhere 88, 100, 169, 193
  - claim oppression 34-35, 94
  - claim to love children 33-34, 150
  - killed 65, 71-73
  - number of 76-77
  - seek child-related jobs 8, 86, 176
  - seek progressively younger victims 101, 166
  - should be castrated 145, 208
  - should be killed 34, 69-70, 145, 180, 208
  - spread AIDS 97, 172
- Pendleton, Don 70
- Penrose, Barrie and Simon Freeman 199
- Peoria Journal Star* 81
- Percy, Walker 21, 26, 44, 56, 60
- Perrett, Geoffrey 217
- Peters, David 98, 103
- Peters, Joseph 121, 212
- Peterson, Richard 133-134
- Petrisko, Peter 183
- Philadelphia Inquirer* 95, 116
- Philpott, Diarmuid 172
- Pienciak, Richard 87, 96, 101-102, 105, 115, 137, 148, 195
- Pierson, Cheryl 181
- Pinkston, William, Jr 213
- Pinocchio* 29
- Plante, Edmund 42
- Platt, Anthony 158
- Plauche, Gary 180
- Playboy* 98, 209
- Polanski, Roman 200
- Pollens, Bertram 144, 194, 215
- Pomeroy, Wardell 203
- Pooley, Eric 188, 212
- "pornography" 44, 54-55, 68, 98, 121, 162, 176, 199, 207
- youth 14-15, 26-28, 31-32, 35-36, 42, 44-45, 50, 86, 98-99, 103, 114, 123, 152-154, 168, 170, 174-176, 179, 195-196, 198-199, 210, 218
  - visceral reaction to 45-46, 61
- Postman, Neil 107
- "post-traumatic stress disorder" 41
- Powitzky, Robert 77, 102, 108, 145
- "predisposition" 17, 41, 62, 145, 155, 199, 208-209
- Prendergast, William 117, 196
- Prescod, Suzanne 212
- Prescott, Peter 188
- Pressley, Elvis 185
- Priest, Bob 116, 194
- Prine, John 200
- "profiles" 99, 108, 155, 166, 188, 193, 208-209, 212
- prosecutorial immunity 156
- prosecutors (*see also* lawyers) 58, 67, 126, 129, 153, 156, 164-165, 197, 203, 211
- Purdue, J. C. 173
- Purl, Linda 27
- Puzo, Mario 40, 183

- Quindlen, Anna 197  
 Quinn, Michelle 180
- Raab, Selwyn 186, 216  
 Rabinowitz, Dorothy 103, 128, 210  
 Rabun, John 79  
 Racketeering Influenced and Corrupt  
 Organization Act (RICO) 68, 188  
 Raeburn, Paul 159  
 Rais, Gilles de 77  
 Ramirez, Richard 78, 193  
 Randall, Bob 21  
 Raschke, Carl 80, 103, 114, 117, 165, 175,  
 177, 199, 205, 209, 213-214, 218  
 Rat, Mickey 53  
 Ray, Robert 7, 11, 13, 44, 63-64, 69, 184  
 Reagan, Ronald 83, 183  
 recanted complaints 130  
 recanted confessions 190  
 "recovered memories" 2, 104-105, 127,  
 131, 133, 147, 196, 198, 203-204  
 Reeve, Christopher 75  
 Reform All Child Sexual Abuse Laws  
 (RASCAL) 191  
 registration of sex offenders 84, 141, 155,  
 206  
 Reisman, Judith 161-162, 213  
 Reisman, Judith and Edward Eichel 161,  
 212, 218  
 religion 61, 66, 80, 115-116, 127, 134, 158,  
 189, 191, 205, 211, 219  
     Christians 31, 37, 65, 117, 123, 134,  
     144, 158, 177, 197, 200, 204, 206,  
     218  
     Jews 217  
 Rene Guyon Society 35, 170, 195, 217  
 Reno, Janet 156  
*Rescue 911* 210  
 Reynolds, David 185  
 Rhodes, Elizabeth 118, 194  
 Richardson, Samuel 25, 195  
 Richardson, Valerie 173  
 Richetti, John 188  
 Riddle, William 95  
 Ringle, Ken 214  
 "rings" 14, 24, 28-29, 31, 34-35, 78, 82, 84-  
 85, 88, 120, 149, 161, 163, 174-176,  
 193, 215  
 Ringwald, Molly 195  
 Ritter, Bruce 36, 121, 123, 179, 196, 201-  
 202  
 ritual abuse (*see also* Satanism, cults) 9, 16,  
 32, 65, 78, 103, 112-114, 125, 129, 133,  
 136, 149, 156, 158, 162-163, 166, 184,  
 186, 190, 204
- Roberti, John 93  
 Robins, Natalie 186  
 Rooney, Rita 79, 114, 170  
 Rosen, Marion 30  
 Rosenberg, Howard 191  
 Rosenfeld, Alan 101  
 Rosenthal, Marilyn 80  
 Rosenthal, Robert 211  
 Ross, A. S. 82, 190, 195  
 Ross, Jonathan 154, 206  
 Rossetti, Stephen 116  
 Rothman, David 158  
 Rovner, Sandy 59, 189, 218  
 Rowland, Rhonda 97  
 Royko, Mike 140-141, 206  
 Rueda, Enrique 215  
 runaways (*see also* "missing children,"  
 abduction) 27, 29-31, 36, 39, 80, 83,  
 123, 186, 192, 200  
 Rupert, James 201  
 Rush, Florence 93  
 Russell, Diana 165, 213  
 Russell, Newton 179  
 Russier, Gabriel 193  
 Russo, John 186  
 Rutherford, Brett 186
- S.L.A.M. 82, 95, 191  
 sadomasochism 15-16, 20-22, 27, 35, 43,  
 78, 115, 152, 184-185, 188, 192  
 Sagarin, Edward 213  
 Salholz, Eloise 142, 202  
*San Antonio Monthly* 197  
*San Francisco Examiner* 82  
 Sandfort, Theo 161, 212  
 Sanford, Linda 79, 88, 91-92, 120, 129,  
 131, 135, 144, 196, 199, 203-204  
 Sangster, Jimmy 21  
 Sapir, Richard 189  
 Satanism (*see also* ritual abuse, cults) 2, 10,  
 27, 31-32, 65, 68, 78, 82, 85, 97, 114,  
 116, 118, 133, 149-150, 158, 162, 166,  
 175-176, 183-185, 190, 192, 195-196,  
 211, 213  
 Sauer, Richard 43  
*Save Our Streets* 192  
 Savitz, Edward 97, 195  
*Scared Silent* 103, 154, 206, 210  
*Scared Straight* 210  
 Schanberg, Sidney 144, 175, 178, 207, 218  
 Schatzman, Morton 199  
 Schechter, Harold 77-78  
 Schepher-Hughes, Nancy 85  
 Schlafly, Phyllis 196  
 Schumann, Karen 177

- Schutz, Benjamin 12-13, 15, 23, 26-27, 31, 38-39, 41-42, 54-55, 57, 68, 188
- Schwartz, Jerry 216
- science redefined 131-134, 158-163, 204, 213
- scientists attacked 159-161, 163-165, 174
- secrecy 8-9, 19, 24, 35, 53, 63, 88, 97, 119, 163, 172, 176, 216
- Sedgewick, Eve 187
- seduction 85-86, 157
- Seitz, Amy Sue 82, 143, 191
- Sennott, Charles 121, 201-202
- serial killer 23, 62, 153, 185, 193, 201
- Serrill, Michael 201
- Sessums, Kevin 180
- Sewell, Elizabeth 200
- Sexton, Daniel 166, 214
- sexual abuse defined 103
- sexual child (*see* youth, sexual)
- Sgroi, Suzanne 130
- Shagan, Steve 29
- Shakes the Clown* 10
- Shalala, Donna 215
- Shapiro, Arnold 155, 210
- Sharpe, Ivan 141
- Shattered Innocence* 199
- Shattered Trust: the Shari Karney Story* 202
- Shengold, L. L. 199
- Shields, Brooke 47, 117
- Shively, Charlie 212
- Shuman, Wendy 82
- Signorielli, Nancy 76
- Silence of the Lambs* 209
- Silent Shame, The* 161
- Sills, Edward 205
- Silva, Mo 142
- Silver, Steve 95, 142
- Simon, Roger 122
- Simpson, Brian 121
- Sinclair, Marianne 200
- sleaze 52-55
- Smith, Amy 192
- Smith, Mark 102, 108, 143, 207
- Smith, Phyllis 77, 143
- Smith, Tim 139
- Smoke, Stephen 20, 23
- Smooth Talk* 184
- Smucker, Philip 201
- Snedeker, Michael 190
- Snuff* 185
- "snuff" films 15, 26-27, 31, 78, 114, 185
- Snyder, Jake 99
- social workers 57-58, 153, 165, 168-169, 203, 211, 214
- Soman, Shirley 78-79, 87, 115, 137, 158
- Something About Amelia* 119
- Something To Live For...* 195
- Sommer, Rhoda 202
- Sonenschein, David 213
- Sonnenschein, Allan 91
- Sontag, Susan 106, 197
- "soul murder" 115-116, 180, 219
- Sowell, Thomas 168
- Speight, Richard 6, 20, 43, 50, 53, 57, 71, 73
- Spencer, Judith 133, 204
- Spenser, Ross 72
- Spider-man 9, 20, 24, 28, 38, 43, 55, 66, 183, 188
- Spiegel, Claire 217
- Spiegelman, Arthur 149
- Spillaine, Mickey 56, 62, 69
- Spitzer, Arthur 211
- Spitzer, Neil 191, 196
- St. Elsewhere* 70
- Staats, Linda 191
- Stanley, Lawrence 199, 209
- Star 80* 199
- Startford, Lauren 98, 112, 116, 118, 134, 158, 176, 196, 200, 213, 218
- Stasio, Marilyn 188-189
- Staves, Susan 47
- Steege, Mark 143
- Stein, Benjamin 179
- Steinberg, Lisa 37, 186
- Steinberg, Sybil 54, 59, 188
- Steinem, Gloria 117, 193
- Stevenson, Leland 171-172, 216
- sting operations 150-152, 155, 167
- Stratten, Dorothy 199
- Straub, Peter 15, 42
- Street Love* 28
- Streets* 28
- Striever, Whitley 6-7, 9, 11, 13-16, 20, 23, 31, 33, 38, 42-43, 46, 48-49, 53, 72, 183, 187
- Stroessner, Alfredo 185
- Stewart, Edward 35
- Sudden Impact* 189
- suicide
- pedophile 12
  - victim 110, 114, 122
- Summit, Roland 77-78, 86-87, 96, 136, 140, 145-146, 161, 169, 190, 201, 205, 215
- Sun-Times* (Chicago) 122
- Sutherland, Beau 94
- Sweeney, Joan 120, 161
- Symons, Julian 189
- Tanenbaum, Robert 31

- Tarte, Robert and William Holm 9  
 terrorism 28, 72, 185, 189  
 Terry, Maury 149, 209  
 therapy  
   for pedophile 56, 134, 138-143, 145,  
   165, 188, 190  
   for youth 104-105, 128, 130-131,  
   134-136, 138, 165-166  
*They've Taken Our Children* 191  
*Thing, The* 215  
 Thomas, Gordon 85, 101, 114-115, 126-  
 127, 152-153, 164, 170, 175-176, 178,  
 190, 202-203, 208, 213-214, 218  
 Thomas, Joyce 101  
 Thompson, David 151  
 Thompson, George 185  
 Thorne, William G. 127, 202  
 Thornton, Mary 219  
 Thorp, Roderick 23, 26, 28, 34, 57, 64-65  
 Thorstad, David 218  
*Three Men and a Cradle* 189  
*Three Men and a Baby* 75  
 Thürmer-Rohr, Christina 101, 143, 189  
*Time* 123, 159-160, 178, 201, 211  
 time bomb motif 44, 98, 121  
 Timothy, Ray 192  
*To Die of Love* 193  
 Trager, Oliver 195, 199  
 Treacy, Eileen 205, 211  
 Trudgill, Eric 137, 200  
 Tucker, Kerry 81  
 Turbak, Gary 80, 82  
*Turning Point, The* 210  
 Tuska, John 189  
 Twitchell, James 184  
 Tyler, R. P. "Toby" 99
- United States Customs Service (*see also*  
 O'Malley, Jack) 152, 186  
 United States Postal Service (*see also*  
 Comfort, Calvin) 151, 185-186, 209  
*Unspeakable Acts* 191  
 Unterwager, Ralph 164
- Vachss, Alice 58, 106, 127, 144, 190, 195,  
 200, 207-208  
 Vachss, Andrew 7-9, 11, 15, 17-18, 27-28,  
 30-33, 35, 38, 41-43, 45, 54-59, 62-63,  
 65, 68-69, 71-72, 74, 121-122, 140, 142-  
 143, 145-146, 165, 168, 185-189, 207,  
 214  
 Van Buren, Abby 98  
*Vancouver Sun* 141  
 Varley, John 13-15  
 Vaughn, Robert 191  
 Vega, Suzanne 186
- victim  
 asexual 38, 47, 118, 121, 124, 202  
 automaton 86, 118  
 defective 92, 106  
 from faulty family 51, 92, 107, 124  
 guilt-ridden 118, 130, 135  
 infant 101-102, 115, 171, 199  
 instincts 38-39, 45, 118, 130, 186  
 lacks religion 106, 197  
 lacks self-esteem 106, 118  
 never lies 128-129  
 obese 109  
 permanently damaged 116-117, 120,  
 134, 137, 200, 203-204  
 powerless 120  
 psychologically traumatized 40-41,  
 115-117, 120, 123, 131, 188, 200  
 self-destructive 41, 109  
 size difference 7, 37, 39, 46  
 sociopathic 41-43, 122, 124  
 symptoms 109-111, 129  
 victims, number of 102-103, 129, 169  
*Victims* 189  
*Victims for Victims* 189  
 Victims of Child Abuse Laws (VOCAL)  
 164, 169, 214-215  
 Victims of Clergy Abuse Linkup 215  
 Victor, Jeffrey 87, 190, 192  
 Vieira, Meredith 93, 102, 198  
 Vietnam war 68, 188, 219  
 Viets, Jack 217  
 vigilantism 71, 77, 122, 146, 149, 174, 189,  
 203, 206, 208  
*Violated* 12, 18, 183  
 Volkman, Ernest and Howard Rosenberg  
 91, 99, 103, 148-149, 170, 176, 179, 199  
 Vollmer, Ted and Edward Boyer 208  
 von Werlhof, Claudia 101  
 voyeurism 14, 206  
 Vukich, Joe 133
- Wagner, Geoffrey 188  
 Wal-Mart 191  
 Walker, Nancy 177, 193, 218  
 Walkowitz, Judith 198  
*Wall Street Journal* 214  
 Wall, Bernard 116  
 Walsh, Adam 78, 82-83, 191  
 Walsh, John 82, 84, 155, 171, 192, 216  
 Walters, Barbara 200  
 Walters, David 134, 210  
 Watson, Russell 115, 161, 167, 190  
 weapons culture 68, 188  
 Weber, Don 126  
 Webster, William 148

Weesner, Theodore 8, 12, 15, 17, 19-20, 27,  
36, 43, 50-51, 54, 59, 65, 68-69, 187

Weinstock, Ruth 192

Weller, Sheila 197-198

Welles, Patricia 15, 19, 23-26, 43, 51-52,  
55, 60, 69, 71

Wertham, Fredric 77

*When the Bough Breaks* 183

*Where Are the Children?* 183

White, Allen 173

White, Kate 200, 205

White, Mitch 196

White, Pat 171

"white slavery" 65, 80

Wilde, Oscar 195

Wildmon, Donald 215, 218

Williams, Wayne 80, 167, 191

Winfrey, Oprah 145, 219

Winn, Marie 107, 167

Wishon, Philip and Bruce Broderius 192

"witch hunt" 149, 208

Witches International Coven 218

*Without A Trace* 185

Wittles, David 87, 90, 93, 144-145, 148,  
166

WNBC-TV 173, 217

Wohl, Agnes and Bobbie Kaufman 199

Wohl, Carla 153

Wolf, Leonard 77

Wolfenstein, Martha and Nathan Leites 189

Wolman, David 9, 27, 30, 186

Womack, Anita 209

Women Against Pornography 103

Wooden, Kenneth 78, 85-86, 102, 192-193,  
195-197

Wright, Lawrence 133-134, 203-204

Wynne, Robert 155, 210

Yankelovich, Daniel 211

Yanoff, Morris 80

youth

denies abuse 127-128, 131

gay 211

interrogation of 127-128, 130, 132,  
203

prostitution 14, 26-28, 31, 36, 42, 80,  
85, 89, 101, 103, 122-123, 170,  
175, 186, 193, 196, 201, 215, 217-  
218

protective of adult lover 89, 119-120,  
127, 201-202

sexual 14, 17, 21, 40, 42-43, 47, 92,  
108, 112-113, 117, 119, 121, 124-  
125, 132, 137, 178, 193, 195, 197-  
198, 200, 202, 205, 212, 215

violence 121-122, 190, 214, 219

Zangger, Russell 151, 209

Zaphiris, Alexander 135

PEDOPHILES ON  
PARADE  
Vol. 1:  
**THE MONSTER  
IN THE MEDIA**

**THE BOOK:** Using data collected over a decade, this volume documents popular ideas of adult-youth sexual relations from the mid-1970s into the 1990s, a period now known as the child sexual abuse hysteria. Looking

critically at both fiction (including film) and journalism, core elements of villains, victims, and heroes are drawn out and shown to be interconnected. Sources widely distributed as well as those inaccessible to others are examined and tied to a variety of products and processes of American culture to yield the most complete and in-depth study yet available of this crucial period and issue.

**During the 1980s, conceptions of the child molester and the child victim were based on simplistic or incorrect assumptions, incomplete or skewed data, and distorted by personal and institutional biases. The result has been an irrational panic extracting high costs financially, personally, and socially.**

"Central to the language of the period are the labels 'pedophile' and 'pedophilia.' Like the words 'homosexual,' 'heterosexual,' or 'pornography,' these are not empirical terms that describe stable, eternal, inherent, and universal forms or contents. They are the names of culturally grounded Western 19th century anxieties and aspirations for power, disturbances that still distort thinking and behavior well past the point of buffoonery. ... Despite all of the near-fanatical efforts to instill an idea of 'The Pedophile,' the concept remains specious. Since the objectivist or categorical approach has proven to be as embarrassing as it is destructive (it is ludicrous to try to speak of 'The Heterosexual' or of any of the other old homogeneous simplicities as a unified and distinct configuration of motives and behaviors), the continued forced use of such language is based in other concerns, usually psychological, economic, or political." -- *From the Introduction*

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