

https://dspace.org/

Children, Pathology and Politics:Genealogical Perspectives on the Construction of the Paedophile in South Africa

Bowman, Brett

2006-11-17T10:51:47Z
http://hdl.handle.net/10539/1856

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

Children, Pathology and Politics: Genealogical Perspectives on the Construction of the Paedophile in South Africa

Brett Bowman

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by thesis in the field of Psychology.

University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 2005

ABSTRACT

Through an analysis informed by the genealogical method as derived from Foucault (1980a), this study examines the discourses and material conditions that have produced the South African paedophile. Archival texts and contemporary discursive matter are critically analysed against the backdrop of the material conditions of political possibility with which they intersected to construct the paedophile of the South African present. The study traces constructions of the paedophile as a relatively innocuous nuisance in a selected sequence of past historical periods through to the recidivism, sexual malice and aggression that define its contemporary characterisations.

In South Africa, practices such as surveillance and disciplines the likes of demography and psychology became integral to the effective management and regulation of a distinctly racialised population. It was precisely through these forms of apartheid governance and power that the conditions for the emergence of the paedophile in South Africa were produced. This early paedophilia threatened the future purity of South African whiteness and therefore the integrity of the apartheid state. The racialised constructions of sexuality of the time precluded the assimilation of blackness into the discursive matrix of paedophiliac desire.

The impending collapse of apartheid signalled the reconstitution of black children. While apartheid constructed black children as posing a fundamental threat to white hegemony, discourses beginning in the mid 1980s repositioned them as vulnerable victims of apartheid itself. It was from within these discourses that child sexual abuse (CSA) as a public health concern began to crystallise. Paedophilia however, remained a powerful component of this burgeoning discourse. Locating blackness within the fields of discipline and desire, in turn produced the material conditions for an ever-expanding net of paedophiliac suspicion. This new biopolitical dispensation affixes the paedophiliac crime to all in its scope, such that the symptomatic desire of the once peripherally pathological paedophile can now be insinuated into the fantasies and practices of all of the citizens of a recently "liberated" and democratic South Africa.

DECLARATION

I declare that:

Children, Pathology and Politics: Genealogical Perspectives on the Construction of the Paedophile in South Africa

is my own, unaided work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated by means of complete references. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the field of Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university.

Signed this _____day of_____2005

_____

Brett Bowman

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my sincere thanks and gratitude to the following people:

- My supervisor, Derek Hook, whose incisive reading and critical vision helped give form to an amorphous collection of historical whispers. Your commitment to this project has been beyond anything I could have imagined.

- Norman Duncan, for your support, belief and mentorship. You are an inspirational academic. Your principled dedication to the academy and steadfast belief in people is truly humbling.

- Susan van Zyl, for your patience, advice and powerful intellectual presence. Thank you for believing in me and supporting this study.

- Mohamed Seedat, for allowing me to follow my passions and focus my energies.

- Martin Terre Blanche and Alex Butchart, for their instructive comments and valuable suggestions.

- Nichola, for your incessant questioning, generous belief and seemingly infinite wisdom. Without your understanding and support, I could not have finished this journey.

- My mother, Margaret, whose love, support and encouragement has sustained me. You have believed in me always.

- My brother, David, who shares my need to "question everything" and constantly cast off the shackles that constrain our visions of ourselves.

- My father, Alan, who invited me to move beyond my comforts.

- Clinton, an unforgiving intellect. Your friendship has changed my life forever.

- John, for teaching me to see through illusions.

- Michael, for your steadfast and unwavering belief.

- Michelle Pickover of Historical Papers at the University of the Witwatersrand, for her exceptional patience and assistance.

- Miriam Mamatela, for fielding my endless, anxious calls.

You have all helped to make this study possible.

A special word of thanks to the University of the Witwatersrand for its merit scholarship, without which this work would have remained just a yearning.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT ..... **i**

DECLARATION ..... **ii**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ..... **iii**

TABLE OF CONTENTS ..... **v**

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES ..... **xi**

CHAPTER 1: THE PLAGUE OF PAEDOPHILIA **1**

1.1. Introduction **1**

1.2. Paedophilia: an elusive object of study **5**

1.3. Materials **7**

1.4. Chapter Outline **7**

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY **12**

2.1. Challenging the paralysis of Textual Play **12**

2.2. Towards a Genealogical Method for the Analysis of Discourse **13**
2.2.1. The History of Effective History 15
2.2.2. Excavating the Genealogical Method: Archaeology 15

2.3. The Explanatory Utility of the Genealogical Method **17**
2.3.1. Descent and Emergence 18
2.3.2. Presentism and Finalism 19

2.4. The Primary Targets of a Genealogical Framework **20**
2.4.1. Objects and Bodies 20
2.4.2. Power 20
2.4.3. Truth and Power 23

2.5. The Dual Components of the Genealogical Method **24**
2.5.1. Foucault and Discourse 24
2.5.2. The Exclusionary Mechanisms of Discourse 25
2.5.3. The Reclamation of Discourse 27
2.5.3.1. Reversal: Event versus Creation 28
2.5.3.2. The search for discontinuity: Series versus Unity 28
2.5.3.3. The perimeters of specificity: regularity versus originality 28
2.5.3.4. Towards exteriority: Conditions of possibility versus Signification 29

2.6. Moving beyond the confines of the text **29**

2.7. The Method.....30
2.7.1. Data 31
2.7.1.2. Data Limitations.....33
2.7.2. Analysis.....33

2.8. Conclusion 34

CHAPTER 3: IN PURSUIT OF CHILDHOOD 35

3.1 Then and Now, Now and Then: The Infantile Body 35
3.1.2. Disrupting the trajectory of childhood.....36
3.1.2.1. The Birth of the Types of the Child 37

3.2. A Brief History of the Practices of and over the Child.....39
3.2.1. Three Historical Discourses of the Child.....39
3.2.1.1. Children as the Embodiment of Original Sin.....40
3.2.1.2. The Mechanical Child.....40
3.2.1.3. Humanism and the Child as Innately Good 41

3.3. Practices.....41
3.3.1. Child Labour 41
3.3.2. Children and Sexuality: Its speak and its practice 42

3.4. The Victorians 44
3.4.1. Early Evolutionary Theory and Children.....45
3.4.1.1. Children and the promises of healthy propagation.....45
3.4.1.2. Children as Polymorphous Perverts.....46

3.5. The Child of the Present: Sacred Citizen of the World.....47
3.5.1. The Highly Individualised Child Body.....47
3.5.2. Modern Children.....47
3.5.3. The Centrality of the Child in modern Discourse.....48

3.6. The Child as a Preoccupation for the twentieth century 49

3.7. Conclusion 49

CHAPTER 4: MODERN SEXUALITY AND THE SPECIFICATION OF THE PATHOLOGICAL PAEDOPHILE 51

4.1. The Rejection of the Repressive Hypothesis.....51
4.1.1. Confessions of the Flesh: Discourses Demanded 52
4.1.2. The Administration of Sex.....52

4.2. The Perversions as Objects of Medico-legal Speech.....56

4.3. The Birth of a Perverse Race 57
4.3.1. The Danger of Child Sexuality.....58
4.3.2. From the *Vita Sexualis* to the *Modus Operandi* of the Pervert 58

4.4. The Breeding Grounds for the Perversions 59
4.4.1. Confessions as data 61
4.4.2. Degenerates 62

4.5. The Violation of Children as a Rampant Pathological Crime 63
4.5.1. The Moral Decay of the Violator of the Child 64
4.5.1.1. From Moral to Legal Transgression 65
4.5.1.2. The different types of early Paedophile 68
4.5.1.3. The Non-Psychopathological Paedophile 69
4.5.1.4. The Psychopathological Paedophile 69

4.6. Psychoanalysis and the Paedophile 71
4.6.1. Perversity as a Non-Psychopathological Phenomenon in adults 72
4.6.2. The Freudian Paedophile 73
4.6.3. An element of descent: The waning of degeneracy 73

4.7. The early Diagnostic Systems 74
4.7.1. The DSM-II: A Brief mention of the Paedophile 74
4.7.2. Proliferation and Further Individualisation of the Paedophile in Diagnosis .. 75
4.7.3. The Mentality of the Individual with Paedophilia 77

4.8. Diagnosable Paedophilia of the Present 79

4.9. Conclusion 79

CHAPTER 5: THE JURIDICAL JOURNEY OF THE PAEDOPHILE 81

5.1. Paedophiliac Practice and its Permutations in Ancient Greece 81
5.1.1. Age 82
5.1.2. Social Status 83
5.1.3. Patriarchy and Hubris 84
5.1.4. The Nature of the Pederastic Act: An Indifference to the Person 85

5.2. Using All We Have: Punishment and Regulation of the Paedophile 87
5.2.1. Opposition to the illegality of paedophilia 88

5.3. Contemporary Legislation and the Paedophile as a Dangerous Individual .. 89

5.4. The Emergence of Legal Prohibition under the Law in South Africa 89
5.4.1. Criminal Law and the Protection of girls 90
5.4.2. The Extension of the Law 92
5.4.3. The Illegality of the Paedophiliac Act 93
5.4.4. The Legal Innocence of the Victim 94

5.5. The Criminal status of the Contemporary South African Paedophile 95

5.6. Conclusion 95

CHAPTER 6: THE CHILD IN THE ORDER OF WHITE GENERATIONAL SUCCESSION (1944 – 1976) 97

6.1. Notes on Method 97
6.1.2. The Specific Structure of the Analytic Frame 98

6.2. South African Genealogies: "Race" against Time 99
6.2.1. South African Demography 99
6.2.2. The White Way Forward: Discourses of Whiteness and the Future 103
6.2.3. The Chosen Children 103

6.3. An Unpronounceable Crime 105
6.3.1. Early legal practice and paedophilia 107

6.4. Children in the Clinic 110

6.5. The Psychiatric Production of a Local Paedophile 113
6.5.1. Anatomies of Monstrosity 114
6.5.2. Gazing on and Gazing Back 116

6.6. Making a Nation 119
6.6.1. White papers: Securing investments in childhood 120
6.6.2. Healthy Children 121
6.6.3. Breaking biopolitical rules 122
6.6.4. The Politics of Purity 124

6.7. The different discursive types of early South Africa children 126
6.7.1. Birth 127
6.7.2. Illegitimate children 129

6.8. Apartheid, Desire and Children 132

6.9. The First Formal Profiles 133
6.9.1. Medico-legal exchanges in the Paedophiliac Crime 134
6.9.2. The Entrenchment of Family and Medicine in the Regulation of the Child 136
6.9.2.1. South Africa and the Micropolitics of conception 137

6.10. Conclusion 139

CHAPTER 7: ENEMIES OF THE STATE (1977 – 1989) 142

7.1. Guarding Childhood 142
7.1.1. Fabricated Hygiene and Healthy Children 143

7.2. States of Emergency 146
7.2.1. Ideal Children and their Predators 147
7.2.2. Portrait of the South African Paedophile 148

7.3. The Paedophile as "Abnormally Normal" 153

7.4. South African Rights of the Child 159

7.5. Apartheid power personified: The emergence of the 'traitor' Paedophile . 160
7.5.1. Monsters and Madmen 165

7.5.2. Satan Incarnate 166
7.5.3. The House of Horrors 168

7.6. The Enemy Within 170

7.7. Paedophilia: Personification of Social Threat 172

7.8. Conclusion 174

CHAPTER 8: THE FIGURE OF THE PAEDOPHILE IN THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA (1990 – 2001) 176

8.1. Paedophilia and Public Health in South Africa 177
8.1.1. From Violent Threats to Vulnerable Victims 178

8.2. An explosion of psychopathic paedophiles 179
8.2.1. Recidivism and National Registers 180

8.3. Black Ghosts in a White Land 182
8.3.1. Colonised Children 183

8.4. Broad Lines of Suspicion 184
8.4.1. Familiarity and Fantasy 185

8.5. The Democratic Development of a New Paedophilia 188
8.5.1. Sexual reign of terror 189
8.5.2. Warped Women 193
8.5.3. The limits of discipline: Child Paedophiles 194
8.5.3.1. Children as Victims, Children as perpetrators 195

8.6. Public Health Attention 196

8.7. The specification of the Black paedophile 198

CHAPTER 9: POLICING THE FUTURE 201

9.1. The Paedophile as a Bio-political Prisoner 201

9.3. Strange but Familiar 205

9.4. Political Hierarchies of Value 207

9.5. The Paedophile as Beyond Rehabilitation 208

9.6. Perverse Implantations and Potentialisation of the Paedophile 211

9.7. Further Research 213

9.8. Final Comment 215

REFERENCES 216

APPENDICES 240

APPENDIX A: 240
SOUTH AFRICAN MEDIA SOURCES 240

APPENDIX B: 241
ASHTON AND PARSON' TEETHING POWDER 241

APPENDIX C: 242
YAWN FOR 1962 242

APPENDIX D: 243
SEXOLOGICAL EXAMINATION. 243

APPENDIX E: 253
THE MANY FACES OF THE PAEDOPHILE 253

APPENDIX F: 254
EVIL SIGNATURE 254

APPENDIX G: 255
INSIDE THE HOUSE OF HORRORS 255

APPENDIX H: 256
DIAGRAMMATIC SKETCHING OF THE HOUSE OF HORRORS 256

APPENDIX I: 257
PEOPLE'S BANK BILLBOARD ADVERTISEMENT 257

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

Figure 1. Reported Sexual Crimes against Children in South Africa 1996 – 2000 2

Table 1. Crimes against children reported to the CPU 1994 – 1998 3

Table 2. Articles Indexed by Paedophilia in PsychINFO 1927 – 2004.....3

Table 3. Articles indexed by paedophilia in Sabinet, 1988 - 2004.....4

Table 4. Media sources for articles indexed by paedophilia in SA Media 240

> Experience has taught me that the history of various forms of rationality is sometimes more effective in unsettling our certitudes and dogmatism than is abstract criticism (Foucault, 1990e, p. 83).

CHAPTER 1: THE PLAGUE OF PAEDOPHILIA

1.1. Introduction

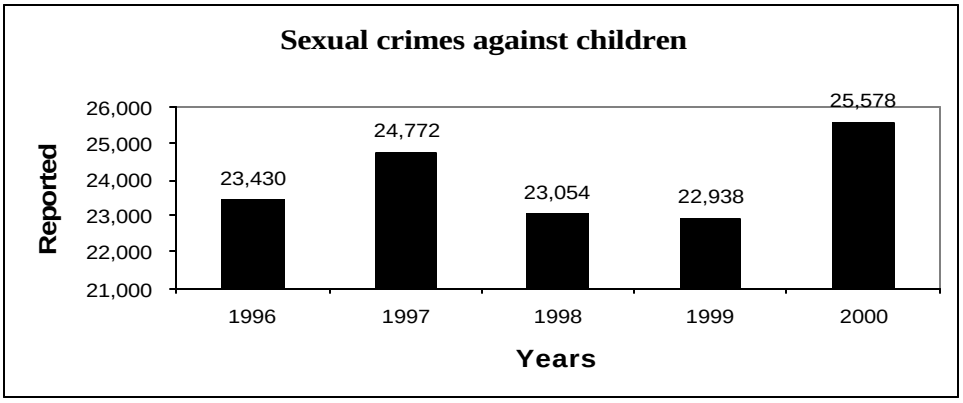
Paedophilia as both a criminal practice and a mental disorder has become a frequent and voluble topic of discussion in popular as well and academic circles. Child abuse, child molestation, paedophilia and child sex crimes have firmly staked their claims as social crises that in turn demand unrelenting attention and intervention under most modern notions of the health (both mental and physical) of the general public. Such is the topical pervasiveness of paedophilia in the "public mind" that it demands definitive spaces in global medico-legal speech. Paedophilia has in this forum been declared both "the public health problem of the decade" (Glaser, 1997, p. 1) and a scourge of epidemic proportions. Indeed paedophilia has been analogously compared to a range of devastating pandemics and has been implicated in causing "more misery and suffering than any of the great plagues of history, including the bubonic plague, tuberculosis and syphilis" (p. 1). In short, paedophilia has emerged as a global medico-legal problem that commands vast public attention.

Indicators of the incidence and prevalence of adult-child sex are alarming. The figures (however significant) do depend on the scope of the definitions used (Runyan, Wattam, Ikeda, Hassan & Ramiro, 2002). Studies that rely on retrospective reporting by adults indicate a childhood sexual abuse prevalence rate ranging between 1 percent (under the narrow definition) and 19 percent (under broader definitions) in the sampled populations (Runyan *et al.*, 2002). Aggregated international estimates of the prevalence of paedophilia are reported to be 20 percent amongst women and 5 to 10 percent among men (Finkelor, 1994). These prevalence figures are dwarfed by a number of studies conducted in South Africa. These studies have reported varying rates of paedophiliac incidence. Levett (1989) established an average sample prevalence of 43.6 percent for acts that included both contact and non-contact

paedophilia. Collings (1997) found a sexual contact prevalence of 34.8 percent in his sample of 640 female undergraduates. A study conducted by Madu & Peltzer (2000) found that 54.3 percent of the 414 schoolchildren surveyed had been the victims of child sexual abuse. In another study by Madu (2001) 26.5 percent of a sample 722 undergraduate students indicated that they had been involved in a defined aspect of paedophiliac action. Police statistics also show a dramatic increase in *reported* cases of child sexual abuse. The challenges inherent in the collection, categorisation and analysis of such data have been well-documented (Dawes, Borel-Saladin & Parker, 2004, p. 176).

Aside from clinical and community surveys of the kind cited above, police data are one of the few available indicators of national prevalence. According to the Crime Information Analysis Centre (CIAC) of the South African Police Services (SAPS), sexual crimes against children rose from 24 430 in 1996 to 25 578 in 2000. Unfortunately, both managers of the CIAC database insisted that quality information on the national prevalence of sex crimes against children is unavailable before 1994. This was confirmed by the superintendent of the Child Protection Unit of the SAPS. I have thus consulted this limited dataset to establish the national prevalence of sex crimes against children after 1994. Statistics prior to this date have been cited in various articles. I have consulted these articles where appropriate, throughout the analysis. Police data (rape, attempted rape, sodomy, incest and indecent assault of a minor) extracted from the CIAC for the period 1996 – 2000 are represented by figure 1 below.

Figure 1. Reported Sexual Crimes against Children in South Africa 1996 – 2000 (n = 119,772)



Source: CIAC, SAPS

Child rapes reported to the Child Protection Unit (CPU) of the SAPS rose from 7 559 in 1994 to 15 732 in 1998 (Pienaar, 2002). All crimes against children reported to the CPU are presented in table 1 below. Alarmingly reported cases of child rape increased by 108.1% during this period. Reported cases of sodomy increased by 50.5% and incest by 18.6% from 1994 to 1998 in South Africa.

Table 1. Crimes against children reported to the CPU 1994 – 1998 (n = 161 263)

CRIMES	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Rape	7559	10037	13859	14723	15732
Sodomy	491	660	893	841	739
Incest	156	221	253	224	185
Indecent Assault	3904	4044	4168	3902	3744
Act 23 of 1957	1094	1121	1160	904	804
Attempted Murder	213	244	283	255	324
Assault GBH	1905	2727	3841	3686	4022
Assault Common	3246	3768	4502	4179	4267
Abduction	743	805	1184	962	1034
Kidnapping	906	978	946	1126	1220
Act 74 of 1983	2694	3499	3805	3633	3755
Public Indecency	753	833	944	1432	1526
Total	**23364**	**28842**	**35838**	**35867**	**37352**

Source: Pienaar, 2000

Paedophilia has also shown a marked increase as an academic object of psychological study. The PsychINFO database contains some 881 articles indexed by paedophilia. The index begins in 1927 with a single article on paedophilia.

Table 2. Articles Indexed by Paedophilia in PsychINFO 1927 – 2004 (n = 881)

Year	Frequency	Percent
1920 - 1929	1	0.1
1930 - 1939	4	0.5
1940 - 1949	3	0.3
1950 - 1959	8	0.9
1960 - 1969	14	1.6
1970 - 1979	93	10.6
1980 - 1989	164	18.6
1990 - 1999	373	42.3
2000 - 2004	221	25.1
Total	**881**	**100.0**

This is strongly contrasted by the 51 articles on paedophilia presented in the database for the year 2003. This year on year increment on global academic discourses on paedophilia is represented in table 2.

Table 3. Articles indexed by paedophilia in Sabinet, 1988 - 2004 (n=824)

Year	Frequency	Percent
1988 - 1993	29	3.4
1994 - 1999	374	45.5
2000 - 2004	421	51.1
Total	**824**	**100.0**

This increase is also evident in the South African context where all South African articles indexed by paedophilia and captured by the Sabinet database from 1988 to 2004 show dramatic yearly increases. These increases are presented in table 3.

Media coverage of paedophilia in South Africa has also witnessed an exponential increase. In fact, from 1990 to 2004 media publications devoted to the subject have presented a veritable discursive explosion. An analysis of the SA Media database reveals 772 articles on the subject of paedophilia published between January 1990 and August 2004 (See appendix A). Increasing popular discourse on paedophilia has thus proved a substantial characteristic of the South African media during the past decade. What factors have accounted for the marked increase or explosion of discourses on paedophilia? How and why has paedophilia become a subject of increasing interest to scientific and popular publications? In short, when and how did discourses on paedophilia become significant objects of knowledge for South Africa?

Using the genealogical method and theoretical assumptions afforded by Michel Foucault (1980a), this thesis analyzes paedophilia as both an instrument and effect of power. Using the genealogical method implies extracting and organising various historical materials in order to disrupt the mainstream historical discourses that guarantee the "nature" of an object in the present. The primary aim of the method is to re-inscribe the history of an event, an object or a concept in the present such that their familiar and commonplace constructions are estranged. This process of knowledge estrangement permits an analysis of the changing characteristics and indeed "natures" of paedophilia and the paedophile as an effect of production and fabrication rather than drawing on explanations that articulate paedophilia as a consequence of cultural and or moral "discovery".

1.2. Paedophilia: an elusive object of study

As Jenkins (1998) argues, defining paedophilia as the object of study is not without its problems and limitations. The term is strategically used to specifically describe sexual relations between adults and children but due to its changing forms and constructions in discourse, has come to be used interchangeably with other descriptors such as child sexual abuse, child rape and child molestation. In essence, these terms represent discrete constructions of sexual relations between adults and children. The generic term paedophilia however represents a *psychological* definition of such relations and refers not only to the enactment of such relations but also to a "state in which an individual is predisposed to use children for his or her sexual gratification" (Finkelor, 1986, p. 90). This thesis is concerned with the construction of the figure of the *paedophile* within the overarching and broad discursive features that constitute constructions of child sexual abuse, child rape and child molestation. Understanding the extraction of this figure from the above range of discourses is imperative to the project because it defines its scope. The project does not explicitly undertake a genealogy of what has inclusively termed child sexual abuse (CSA). Rather, the study is interested in extracting constructions of the figure of the paedophile and the act of paedophilia from the discursive field of adult-child sexual relations.

It is precisely the tensions inherent in defining adult-child sexual relations that point to the changing discourses and practices that *present* these relations as amenable to a genealogical analysis. Despite these tensions, paedophilia can be characterised by four defining elements. Firstly, paedophilia is illegal. Secondly, paedophilia points to a psychopathology of the perpetrator. Thirdly, paedophilia is regarded as an infringement of the norms of modern sexuality. Lastly, paedophilia as a description of adult-child sexual relations represents a violation of the "natural" order of modern childhood. Acknowledging these defining elements of paedophilia provides the starting point of an historical analysis of paedophilia as a generic descriptor of adult-child sexual relations. In this sense, the various considerations in outlining a definition of the paedophile present problems that guide the general analysis of the thesis. Outlining the scope of the thesis thus immediately throws the analysis into the genealogical terrain through the provision of a number of research questions.

What are the key events, which best seem to influence and determine the construction of the child in South Africa across the years 1950-2000? What are the nuances, precedents and transformations, which come to alter and reorganise representations of the child across this period, and in what ways, if at all, do these differing constructions impact on how we ultimately come to know the South African paedophile? These questions come together to form the central research question of the thesis. This question is:

> How did discourses of the law, discourses of psychopathology, discourses of sexuality and discourses of the nature of the child come to produce the figure of the paedophile in South Africa?

The first step of the genealogy was to "outline the problem" (Butchart, 1999, p. 59). The central question did this work. The framing of the above research problem understands the four elements that characterise paedophilia as being historically contingent. Each of these elements imply other questions that outline genealogical problems such as, when is it first possible to speak of the paedophile as a describable entity under the law, under medicine (psychopathology), within transgressions of modern sexuality (perversity) and with reference to the child?

Once the problem had been outlined, the study attempted to explore the circumstances of the emergence, transformations and permutations of the paedophile in discourse (Butchart, 1999). In short, the study examined what Foucault (1981) terms "the historical conditions of possibility" (p. 56) for the production of the South African paedophile.

Having re-inscribed the historical conditions out of which the paedophile in South Africa was produced, the analysis offered new and disruptive understandings of the emergence of it. Thus through a genealogical analysis of a short snapshot of South African history the knowledge that produced paedophilia and the practices that perpetuated the power of this knowledge was revealed.

1.3. Materials

Global discursive data on the psychology of paedophilia was sourced from the PsychINFO database. The short snapshot of South African discursive history takes the form of an extended corpus of academic texts, newspapers, photographs and advertisements over 50 years of South African history. The texts produced before 1978 were manually extracted from the Johannesburg library and the Historical Archive of the University of the Witwatersrand and University of South Africa. These archives bias the early materials to the then province of the Transvaal and the cities of Johannesburg and Pretoria in particular.

As Jenkins (1998) found in his study on the changing concepts of child molestation in modern America, the density and distribution of materials is also temporally skewed. By this, I mean that both the number and density of materials sourced from the corpus grew exponentially from 1944 – 2001. In this sense, the volume of materials analysed before 1988 is substantially less than the period thereafter. Texts published after 1978 were extracted from the Sabinet database as described in table 3 above and therefore constituted a more nationally representative sample. So the data corpus is constituted by texts extracted from manual archival searches, database queries and conventional reviews of academic literature devoted to describing and explaining paedophilia and paedophiliac practice in South Africa. A detailed elaboration of the corpus is provided in the methodology section of the thesis.

1.4. Chapter Outline

In *Chapter 2*, the Foucaultian genealogy is formally introduced as an appropriate method of response to the questions articulated in this introduction. The guiding question outlines the four main areas of concern (the law, the child, sexuality and psychopathology). The chapter then proceeds to frame a genealogical understanding of these concerns as historically contingent. The chapter then elaborates on some of the assumptions that underlie the Foucaultian method of genealogy in order to substantiate its use as a powerful analytic form from which to analyse both discursive and extra-discursive matter. Here Foucault's pivotal methodological paper, the *Order*

of Discourse (Foucault, 1980a) is carefully discussed, paying special attention to the development of a Foucaultian genealogical method. The data collection methods as well as the scope and limitations of the corpus of the study conclude the chapter. The next three chapters attempt to systematically investigate the genealogical movement of the child, psychopathology, sexuality and the law respectively. These chapters can in no way be viewed as a form of literature review because they are components of the genealogical conditions that produce global and South African possibilities for paedophilia.

Drawing on the work of Ariès (1973), C*hapter 3* begins with an attempt to construct the child as a historically contingent object. The notion of childhood as a relatively recent historically emergent phenomenon forms the basis for a critical analysis of the constructions of the child as a necessary object of desire for any current construction of the paedophile. A brief characterisation of both representations of childhood and its practices lead the argument into a discussion of the past and present sexualities of children. An examination of Victorian children and their problematic sexual space is then undertaken as a passage into an articulation of the discourses and practices that construct the equally problematic sexual spaces of the contemporary child. The primary objective of the chapter is to make use of various fragmentary historical discourses to evidence the *historically contingent* and *socio-politically* dependent "nature" of the modern category of childhood.

Chapter 4 is devoted to investigating the changing historical constructions of psychopathology and its relationship to discourses of sexuality by briefly focusing on Foucault's (1990a) understanding of the emergence of sexuality as first a moral and then scientific concern. This brief discussion leads into an interrogation of the early moral grounding of the discourses that constructed the paedophile as understood by Krafft-Ebing (1939). These discourses will be then be juxtaposed to the clinically-grounded classifications and explanations of the paedophile offered by Freud (1991a) some years later. The relationship between morality, pathology and perversity in the past and present discourses of the paedophile informs the central discussion of the chapter that traces emergence of the proto-paedophile from the past moral decay of the seventeenth century "pervert" to the clinically diagnosable paedophile that is

replete with its own literature base. In so doing, it hopes to destabilise the seemingly timeless pathological component of paedophilia.

The role of the state and its various legal apparatuses in relation to the legislation, policing and sentencing of perpetrators of paedophilia is the primary concern of *Chapter 5.* The chapter makes use of examples gleaned from ancient Greece to argue for a historically contingent basis to what is commonly understood as the illegality of paedophilia. Finally, the current legal status of the paedophile as a dangerous individual is addressed with special reference to the criminality of the paedophile in South Africa. Having traced the conditions for the possibility of paedophilia in global historical discourses the thesis then proceeds with an application of these conditions to a customised reading of the emergence of the paedophile as a construction in South African discourses. The next three chapters are dedicated to extending the genealogical reading and analysis work already begun in the preceding chapters to the South African context.

Chapter 6 organises its historical focus on South Africa between 1944 and 1976. These early texts appeared to introduce the emergence of paedophilia as a vague and in some cases unpronounceable crime. The race[1] and age of the child of this period is carefully qualified and are defined as key factors for its discursive role and function. The purity of the white child as juxtaposed to the inherent savagery, promiscuity and undesirability of black children (as understood through the frame of apartheid racism) is then highlighted as a political feature of apartheid South Africa. This focus on the political pursuit and construction of childhood purity leads to the birth of a peculiarly popularised South African child in the post 1950s era. The parallel paths of the increased subjectification of white children and devaluation of black[2] children and how each contributes to the consolidation of the paedophile as a knowledge object of

[1] I make reflexive use of the term race and its associated apartheid categories such as black and white throughout this study. In keeping with writing a history of the present, I make use of these terms in this study. To guard against the risk of presentism (see chapter 2), I do not place these terms in inverted commas and following the precedents set by other critical histories that include race amongst their objects of study (see Butchart, 1998; Hale, 1998), neither do I capitalise them. When these terms do appear otherwise, I am indicating that they were problematised by the time and contexts in which they occurred. In no way do I accept these categories as essentialist descriptors. Indeed, I use the study itself to problematise them because the analysis exposes the specific discursive and ideological functions of these constructs within the changing dispensations of South African governance.

[2] The term "black" refers to all people designated as "non-white" under apartheid nomenclature, unless otherwise indicated.

the South African social and medical sciences is highlighted. In fact, as the chapter argues, increased population surveillance and the adjacent rise of the child as a medical object were indispensable to the proliferation of constructs of the paedophile at this time. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the extension of the child and the paedophile as largely medical constructs into the macropolitical conflicts that characterised apartheid South Africa in the 1970s.

The discursive differences between black and white children in South Africa lead *Chapter 7* into a discussion on the ways in which race seemed to underwrite various constructions of paedophilia between 1977 and 1989. Acts of paedophilia involving white children and adults were more easily apprehended by the social sciences. Indeed whiteness appeared to be a definitive feature of constructions of paedophilia at this time. The sexual maltreatment and abuse of black children by black adults was less visible to these discourses. Adult-child sex in black communities did not seem to attract significant disciplinary or popular attention until very late in the 1980s where such action became increasingly located in the discourses of public health and child sexual abuse (CSA). Accounting for these differences in constructed causes and consequences of paedophilia in South Africa leads the chapter into an explicit analysis of the relationships between patriarchy, race, sex, community and citizenship in apartheid South Africa. This discussion is extended to an analysis of the ways in which these relationships intersected global psychiatry and new diagnostic systems as they were appropriated in apartheid South Africa. This analysis points to the political function of the paedophile as a failed protector of idealised Afrikaner values and by implication a traitor to the apartheid project. This construct was exemplified by a national moral panic that gravitated around the infamous Gert van Rooyen case in the late 1980s. The next chapter begins with a discussion of this case.

Chapter 8 focuses on the years 1990 – 2001 and on the case of Gert van Rooyen in particular. It begins by analysing the bulk of texts devoted to describing/constructing him, his physical phenotype, his mentality and his practices. The analysis draws on the study's theoretical precedents and analytic commentaries to account for what appears to be the pinnacle of emergence of the paedophile in South Africa. This case emerging on the cusp of dramatic political change in South African governance is

articulated as representing a crisis for Afrikanerdom and its survival. The paedophile becomes an enemy of the state and a severely pathological and psychopathic object in discourse. The years following the case witness a "transformation" in politics as the state moved from apartheid to democracy. The apparent dissolution of governance along racial lines led to an extension of value to black children. As black bodies moved from a threat to the public into the core of the public itself, so public health discourses began to detect and document widespread CSA amongst them. The figure of the black paedophile was to be extracted from these discourses towards the concluding years of the 1990s.

The discussions in *Chapter 9,* the final chapter of the thesis, attempt to draw together and extend on the various arguments formulated throughout the work. Its focus is on punctuating those points in the history of the paedophile that dismantle the South African paedophile as a concrete, fixed and knowable object in discourse. The chapter concludes by discussing the implications of the resultant and rearranged knowledge productions of the paedophile offered by the thesis by resisting foreclosure and therefore inviting new re-readings of the very domain of which it is a part. The final chapter thus provides a synopsis of the counter-knowledge of the paedophile developed throughout the thesis. In so doing, it participates in the Foucaultian struggle against the ahistoricity of knowledge and knowledge production, so often overlooked by the social sciences.

> Genealogy is gray, meticulous, and patiently documentary. It operates on a field of entangled and confused parchments that have been scratched over and recopied many times (Foucault, 1980a, p. 139).

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

2.1. Challenging the paralysis of Textual Play

Providing an alternative account of the emergence of the paedophile in South Africa requires a methodology that is both "patiently documentary" and aware of its "presence in the analytic field" (Butchart, 1998, p. 9). Using the genealogical method thus entails considering method as a form of knowledge production, that is, a discourse in and of itself, presenting with the same productive powers as the very discourses with which it engages. This method may be derived from the post-humanist theory of power and knowledge developed by Foucault (1980a). The directive or primary work of genealogy is to regard an object (in this case the paedophile in South Africa) as an emergent product of discursive, material and historical relations. In this manner, the method does not attempt to stabilise a discursive object but rather to rethink it, and in so doing to *problematise* it.

This chapter has three primary objectives. Firstly, the chapter will outline the theoretical assumptions upon which genealogy is based. Secondly, the chapter will provide an account of genealogy as a Foucaultian method best placed as a tool for a critical analysis of the emergence of the paedophile in South Africa and in turn the production of a critical and therefore effective history of the paedophile. The last objective will highlight the strengths of the genealogical method that guard against the critical shortcomings of the academically popular discourse analytic techniques it has been accredited with inspiring (Mahon, 1992). The final section of the chapter will argue that the genealogical method, while taking the form of a critical commentary and analytic critique is also integral to the production of a counter-knowledge that is able to circumvent the dangers of conventional remembering in the present.

2.2. Towards a Genealogical Method for the Analysis of Discourse

The genealogical method pays attention to that which conditions, limits and institutionalises *discursive formations* (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982). A discursive formation refers to concepts and statements, which are intelligible together, "how those statements were organised thematically, which of those statements counted as serious, who was empowered to speak seriously, and what questions and procedures were relevant to assess the credibility of those statements that were taken seriously" (Rouse, 1996, p. 93). For Foucault (1980a) a critical interrogation of the history of phenomena (in the case of this research the paedophile as an emergent deviant transgression of sexual norms against children) contests an understanding of history as occurring linearly. The intention of genealogy is therefore to provide the potential for the writing of an alternative historical account of those objects and discourses, which appear 'ahistorical'. For the genealogist however there are no fixed essences, or underlying laws and no metaphysically guaranteed finalities. The genealogy focuses on discontinuity rather than the presumption of history unfolding in a presumably preordained or inevitable way.

This project is informed by the genealogical approach by rejecting an uncritical account of the history of paedophilia. In so doing, it rejects forms of analysis that locate the illegality, psychopathology, perversity and transgressions against modern children that define paedophilia as being the inevitable outcomes of an evolving sexual morality or advancing scientific paradigm. This project seeks rather to examine the institutions, the formations of knowledge, historical conditions and popular discourses that interacted to produce the paedophile of today.

Foucaultian Genealogy is in some manner a re-theorisation of an analytic system developed by Nietzsche (1967). Foucault (1980a) acknowledges his own theoretical appropriation of aspects of the *Genealogy of Morals* (1967) for the effective historicisation of social phenomena in perhaps his most pivotal methodological essay. In *Nietzsche, Genealogy, History* (1980a) Foucault, begins to outline the tenets of his own genealogical or effective historical method. He asserts that the pitfalls and fallacies inherent in the methodologies of traditional history may be summarised as

follows:

1. That words have kept their meanings over time
2. That desires still point in a single direction.
3. That ideas retain their logic.
4. That the world of speech and desire has known invasion, struggles, plunderings, disguises and ploys. (Foucault, 1980a, p. 139)

Foucault's somewhat figurative points of critique of traditional historical method form the foundations of a counter-method for the critical investigation of the history of phenomena. Besides a focus on the mutability of ideas, concepts and systems of logic, the genealogical method emphasises the significance of a *lateral* search for data. Foucault insists that the genealogy must seek out evidence and information "in the most unpromising of places, in what we tend to feel is without history - in sentiments, love, conscience, in instincts; it must be sensitive to their recurrence, not in order to trace the gradual curve of their evolution, but to isolate the different scenes when they are engaged in different roles" (p. 140). The different roles that the paedophile has played during the short course of its history may account for the various (and elusive) ways in which it has been (and is) defined. Rather than seeking out the *essence* of the paedophile and grappling with the most appropriate definitions of his/her acts and traits, the genealogical method focuses on precisely the latitude of the various constructions and definitions of paedophilia. The different scenes and roles of the paedophile in different discourses and varying historical conditions are the parameters of this genealogical study.

The *modus operandi* of the genealogical method then concerns *breadth* as a means for the elucidation of the intricate relations, both *continuous* and *discontinuous* in the scattered polymorphous meanings of texts and practices. Whilst the traditional historian may draw inferences from a single salient historical episode, the genealogist requires "a vast accumulation of source material" (Foucault, 1980a, p. 140). The vastness of the material serves to provide instances of continuity and discontinuity and therefore manifests the historically mutable nature of the object under investigation.

2.2.1. The History of Effective History

The appropriation and elaboration of the genealogical method under Foucault (1980a) is not without a history of its own. Indeed, the method marks a methodological (and to some extent ontological) shift in the manner with which Foucault engages the writing of history to account for the historical paths of extant social phenomena. The formal structures for the writing of effective histories by Foucault is characterised by both inconsistencies and similarities between two methodologies he was to term *archaeology* and *genealogy* in his engagement with the history of systems of thought (Dean, 1994).

2.2.2. Excavating the Genealogical Method: Archaeology

The archaeological method developed in the earlier writings of Foucault is "a form of history that suspends the norms of particular disciplines or established sciences as the filter through which to treat particular bodies of knowledge" (Dean, 1994, p. 30). The utility of such a method is particularly germane to the human or social sciences because of "their immersion in other non-scientific, political and ethical discourses, and the close relation between their contents and a whole range of institutional practices and the wider social and political field in which they are located" (p. 30).

The archaeological method provided the analytic engine for Foucault's early reassessments of madness, medicine and the sciences of man (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982). Archaeology locates its analytic power in its potential to disintegrate the internal homogeneity of knowledge systems through exposing "the points at which a discursive practice becomes unified into a single system" (Dean, 1994, p. 31). To this end, archaeology may be understood as an analysis of the limitations, interfaces and inconsistencies that are glossed over in the service of the production of continuous and impregnable discourses (Foucault, 1997).

Archaeology is not therefore bound to the precepts and epistemologies concerned with the history of formal discursive practices (such as science), instead it takes as its objects less formalised statements and truth claims. The method is thus equipped to

disentangle the internal conditions through which a phenomenon has come to be formed, legitimated and subsequently regarded as an entrenched and unequivocal component of "reality". Archaeology as method therefore enables both the technologies and delimitations of a knowledge formation to be contingently inscribed. This in turn serves to divest knowledge of any claim to meta-physical or supra-historical privilege. Archaeology is therefore primarily concerned with the "rules" and conditions that delimit veridical knowledge (Foucault, 1980a).

Despite its potential to expose the conditions under which social phenomenon came to be regarded as formal and impregnable constituents in systematising and rapidly formalising discursive formations, the archaeology did not adequately address the micro-physics of *knowledge production*, that is its *narrowness of* scope appeared to *constrain* its explanatory efficacy. Archaeology presented as a form of *cartography* or a system that described the contours of knowledge that underpinned social phenomena (Merquior, 1991). While the archaeological method provides an invaluable and intricate charting and mapping of the constituents and conditions of knowledge formation, it fails to extend its account beyond a description of the *internal* conditions and limitations of that knowledge system. It does not adequately address the productive capacities of power acting both *within* and *between* discourses and material technologies in the fabrication of knowledge and knowledge's objects.

In short, archaeology is a useful preliminary tool for describing and mapping the context and conditions of the object of study but proves an insufficient method for *explaining* the emergence and form of both the context and conditions of that object. Archaeology provided the boundaries and constraints of a knowledge formation but could not adequately illustrate the *productive* (as well as the repressive) capacities of power (Butchart, 1998). For this, Foucault required the conceptualisation of a methodology that took the relationship between power and knowledge as its central focus. It required a "way of linking historical contents into organised and ordered trajectories that are neither the simple unfolding of their origins nor the necessary realisation of their ends (Dean, 1994, p. 36).

So for studies that resist explaining historical emergence as the inevitable outcome of global necessities, moral imperatives or natural evolution, the genealogical method presents as a valuable analytic guide. In this study, where illegality, perversity and pathology of the paedophile resisted explanation pseudo-naturalistic guidelines, the genealogical method provided the most utile theoretical perspective. Understanding the South African paedophile as both an instrument and effect of power and attempting to *explain* both its emergence into the historical conditions of possibility and continued effect as knowledge and instrument of power locate this study firmly within the Foucaultian genealogical tradition. In the follow sections, this claim to explanatory utility is elaborated.

2.3. The Explanatory Utility of the Genealogical Method

Genealogy is most starkly contrasted to traditional history in that it does not seek depth as a marker for truth. Its data pursuit is lateral rather than vertical because "it seeks the surfaces of events, small details, minor shifts and subtle contours" (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. 106). In understanding the paedophile, traditional history might ascribe sex with children as symptomatic of an unsophisticated or primitive morality. This understanding may in turn justify the assumption that paedophilia is a universal pathology and a trans-historical criminal practice (DeMause, 1998). Such a standpoint might presume that history is unravelling toward the realisation of its moral imperative toward the protection of children. Effective history (genealogy) critically interrogates this presumption. Genealogy disregards the traditional search for truth below the surface of events. Instead, genealogy is like an overview of the terrain under study. It intends to ascend above rather than below the object that it analyzes.

This dismissal of depth has important implications for the human sciences in general and psychology in particular. This is most pronounced in psychology where theories of pathology are articulated around the history of the subject. Indeed, much psychology assumes that the origin of pathology will be revealed if the interpreter (psychologist) is able to attain deep chronological insight into the early history of the pathological subject. The tasks of certain forms of clinical psychology are to trace historical depth in order to explain the surface conditions (symptoms) of their

subjects. In strong contrast, the task of the genealogist is "to destroy the primacy of origins and of unchanging truths" (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. 109). Rather than look to the discovery of original truth, the genealogist seeks to identify the field of power in which truth is produced. The genealogical approach thus acts in opposition to traditional psychological methods by searching laterally for the points at which and by which pathology was constituted. The punctuation points of genealogy include subjection, domination, resistance and conflict in the constitution of knowledge/power. In this way, the genealogist must dismiss morality and other meta-physical concepts as explanations such that he may reveal in their place a material base, a clash of wills and combatant relations of power.

2.3.1. Descent and Emergence

Genealogy has as its imperatives the study of the dynamics of descent and emergence. In tracing descent, the genealogist does *not* search for *continuity.* The genealogist rather uses descent as a means of "discovery, under the unique aspect of a trait or a concept, of the myriad events through which - thanks to which, against which - they were formed" (Foucault, 1980a, p. 147). An analysis of descent therefore does not seek to re-appropriate history. Rather, it desires to "identify the accidents, the minute deviations - or conversely, the complete reversals - the errors, the false appraisals, and the faulty calculations which gave birth to those things that exist and continue to have value for us" (p. 146). An analysis of descent therefore allows us to trace discontinuity by showing a series of reversals, ruptures and contingencies that underpin the historical object or event in question.

Foucault understands emergence as something quite different from an indicator of origin. The "origin" is debunked as being a metaphysical invention in and of itself. Rather emergence should be conceptualised as a moment of an outcome or a salient product in a network of opposing and clustered forces. Emergence should not be considered as finality or an end point in historical process, rather emergence should be viewed as being produced through a clash of forces. Tracing the emergence of objects that reside in the present does not assume the logic of linear necessity. Rather isolating points of emergence requires the identification of "substitutions,

displacements, disguised conquests, and systematic reversals" (Foucault, 1980a, p. 151). Emergence is neither the end product nor the teleological task of history.

The emergence of the category of the paedophile therefore has no unilateral path. It occurs as the result of struggles within the interstices between networks of violence and endlessly specific forms of domination and production. The question of the research is therefore not an enquiry into the truth of the paedophile. It does not seek its essence at the metaphysical origin of its history. The question leads the method to search the trail of the minutiae of institutions, material conditions and discursive formations that battled for the space into which the modern paedophile in South Africa was born.

2.3.2. Presentism and Finalism

Writing a history of the paedophile of the present requires a further caveat against *presentism* and *finalism*. In accordance with the genealogical method, the research is not attempting to understand paedophilia and its past in terms of the knowledges of the *present*. Rather the imperative of the study is to understand the *emergence* of the paedophile and contemporary knowledges of the paedophile through a critical reading of the discursive and extra-discursive features of the *past*. In so doing, the study attempts to avoid the error of presentism or imposing the epistemologies of the present onto the workings of the past. Finalism is also avoided in this form of history writing, "This is the kind of history which finds the kernel of the present at some distant point in the past and then shows the necessity of the development from that point to the present" (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. 118).

Succinctly then, the objective of this study is not an attempt to discover the underlying truisms or laws governing paedophilia nor is it the reading of present interests, institutions and politics back into history. The prerogative of writing a genealogical history of the paedophile is to describe the contemporary paedophilia as a contextual, historical and discursively governed enterprise and to specify, "where it arose, took shape and gained importance" (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. 119).

2.4. The Primary Targets of a Genealogical Framework

2.4.1. Objects and Bodies

As mentioned above the shift from archaeology to genealogy as Foucault's (1980b) preferred historical method was largely precipitated by a need to accurately account for the central *problematisations* of his later works. These texts beginning with *Discipline and Punish* (1991) and the three volumes of the *History of Sexuality* (1990a, 1992, 1990b) sought to develop an *analytics* of power. The body was a central element in the development of these genealogies (Armstrong, 1983). While the genealogical method often takes the body as its privileged focus, we should not limit it merely to the corporeal object-effects of power. Just because a given research focus such as that of the paedophile offers no immediately obvious bodily element does not mean that we should forego the genealogical frame.

The genealogical analysis insists that the object of investigation "is never found but always fabricated by the analytical technique" (Butchart, 1996, p. 103). This fabrication is never exhausted and operates to invent and then survey across the most minute detail of its objects. Genealogy places its objects (including objects of knowledge, human bodies, and morals) at the centre of the struggle between myriad configurations of power. In this sense, genealogy allows for the specificities of certain practices to be investigated on their own terms, outside of what might be termed totalising or meta-narrative understandings of the objects under investigation. Genealogy is therefore aimed at countering the totalising tendencies of conventional historical methods. Genealogy must make us uncomfortable. It must avoid the totalising tendencies of history to recognise our undisturbed selves in the distant past. Perhaps most importantly the genealogical approach must threaten our assurances that our objects of study, along with *ourselves* are unfolding toward a comfortable or progressive end.

2.4.2. Power

For the genealogy to effectively "do its work", a discussion on Foucault's re-

theorisation of power is needed. Foucault attempts to circumvent the problems that characterised two precedent conceptions of power in post-enlightenment thought. Both conceptions are embedded in sociological theory. For Foucault, attempting to characterise modern power involves a theory of power that differentiates modern power from the way power has been conceptualised in classical sociological theory.

A critical point of reference here is what we may loosely refer to as a Marxist conception of power. Marx insisted that power in modernity is indivisible from the existence of a "capitalist mode of production" (McHoul & Grace, 1993, p. 62) and therefore struggles in modernity are primarily determined by social organisation around capital. The Marxist hypothesis thus emphasises the oppressive role of power embodied through the bourgeois class oppression of the proletariat. Power for Marx was defined by an *oppressive* or *negative* function.

The second delimitation on the functions of power, which dominate late western, thought are associated with the writings of Weber who asserts that in opposition to "traditionalism" (McHoul & Grace, 1993, p. 62) modernity presents itself as an evolved epoch of reason. The evolution of scientific practice and the subsequent elevation of the capacities of reason have resulted in the production of depersonalised systems of bureaucracy that have, under the auspices of the nation state, appropriated oppressive bourgeoisie functions. Again, this theory on power insists that power implies a form of oppression and repression. Both these treatises on power consider power to operate on macro-material levels. For these hypotheses, power may be possessed and used in the oppression of those who do not possess it. It is this understanding of power that genealogy seeks to reconsider.

For Foucault (1991), power in modern societies is characterised by historically unprecedented mechanisms for *social control* and *regulation.* Power in modern societies shows novel preoccupation with the management, administration and regulation of both social and individual *life.* This articulation of modern or disciplinary power gravitates around modern conceptions of life and population. It is for this reason that Foucault argues to against the reducibility of power to macro "monuments" or structures. As Butchart (1996) explains:

> In short the concept of disciplinary power refers to a type of force that is productive and illuminating, a form of power that cannot be held or seized, but instead suffuses each and every relationship to manufacture multiple objects of knowledge. (Butchart, 1996, p.103)

Because disciplinary power is characterised by a microphysical force that regulates and controls life, the body is one of its central sites of visibility. Bodies and their modes of reproduction, labour and utility define the economics of disciplinary power. Therefore, disciplinary power understands the body as an object that is not merely floundering around a core of economic production but is indeed both an instrument and utensil of production itself. Antithetical to sovereign or monarchical conceptions power, disciplinary power permits time and labour, rather than merely wealth and commodities, to be extracted from bodies. Power in this sense may be successful in accounting for the rigorous systems of work and economic production in a period of history when bodies are accorded an unprecedented set of "rights" and "freedoms". As we shall see in the forthcoming analysis, different bodies are produced in the service of various discursive contexts. It is sufficient at this point to indicate that Foucault's re-theorisation of power emphasises its *productive force*. It is a theory of power concerned with microphysics and serves to illuminate the processes by which *power produces subjects* and *objects.* Genealogy as methodology thus attempts to demonstrate and articulate the invisible processes that point to the productivity of disciplinary power.

Furthermore, in traditional forms of power the system was organised around the pinnacle of the sovereign. The king or monarch were far more individualised and marked as spectacularly different from the general mass beneath them. However in modernity or more specifically in the operations of modern or disciplinary power:

> individualisation is descending, as power becomes more anonymous and more functional, those on whom it is exercised tend to be more strongly individualised; it is exercised through surveillance rather than ceremonies, by observation rather than commemorative accounts, by comparative measures that have the norm as reference. (Foucault, 1991, p. 192)

Surveillance is one way that disciplinary power ensures its productivity. Establishing norms as reference points across vast populations somewhat defines modern systems

of discipline wherein "the child is more individualised than the adult, the patient more than the healthy man, the madman and delinquent more than the normal and non-delinquent" (p. 193). Under disciplinary power, individualising mechanisms are inverted towards specifying the first of each pair.

Conventional psychological research into ostensibly psychopathological objects is typically marked by endeavours to discover "origins" of deviancy. In this way, the productive force of power is often overlooked. The conventional psychological researcher does not often come to think about the historical emergence of his/her question. The researcher is infrequently forced to ask how it is even viable for them to pose a particular question at that specific point in history. Not acknowledging the historicity of knowledge often allows objects of investigation to assume a trans-historical form. In this way, much psychological research on paedophilia *assumes* the paedophile to be trans-historically valid. Studies of this kind assume paedophilia as a knowledge object to have been silenced or marginalised forceful historical repression (DeMause, 1990; Lyell, 1998). This form of analysis colludes with repressive theories of power. For as Foucault (1991) warns:

> We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms. It "excludes", it "represses", it "censors", it "abstracts", it "masks", it "conceals". In fact power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth". (p. 194)

Thus we cannot assume that the verity of our social scientific objects extend beyond time and place. The genealogist must acknowledge that an object of knowledge does not emerge, descend or disappear outside of power. For the genealogy, the ostensible search for truth or essence is *always* an analysis of the operations of power.

2.4.3. Truth and Power

> Truth isn't outside power, or lacking in power: contrary to a myth whose history and functions would repay further study, truth isn't the reward of free spirits…the privilege of those that have succeeded in liberating themselves. Truth is a thing of this world: it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraints. (Foucault, 1980d, p. 131)

Truth and power are therefore not combatants in an oppositional struggle. Under the genealogical approach, they are complementary conditions for the construction of reality. If (as is the case with this project) the microphysical operations of power are to be revealed then a formal study of discursive practice is required. A genealogy is concerned with the *discursive* or systems of signification that construct a phenomenon *and* the practices that solidify the reification of those discourses.

> Power creates itself in concrete practices, analyses should address power not at its formal centres in society (which are simply forms of concentration within a generalised force field) but at its extremities...those points where it becomes capillary. (Butchart, 1998, p. 32)

It is because power may be addressed in concrete practices that Foucault (1980a) considers genealogy (rather than archaeology) to be a preferred historical method of rigour. Genealogy cannot provide an effective analysis of power without grappling with the materialisation of power through the discursive and those associated practices from which it cannot be divorced. A formal genealogy must therefore concern itself with discourse and the extra-discursive material conditions of possibility that produce, perpetuate and sustain discursive formations. Although this thesis draws on the discursive as primary textual sources an analysis of the material conditions or extra-discursive practices running within and parallel to these discursive sources are concurrently interrogated. Thus, this genealogy constantly vacillates between instances of the discursive and the extra-discursive in its explanatory journey.

2.5. The Dual Components of the Genealogical Method

The Foucaultian genealogy is constructed upon a number of theoretical concepts and philosophical assumptions. Perhaps the most important of all of these concepts is Foucault's understanding and articulation of the forms and functions of discourse.

2.5.1. Foucault and Discourse

For Foucault discourse refers to "well-bounded areas of social knowledge" (McHoul

& Grace, 1993, p. 31). Knowledge is constituted by systems of constraint and production specific to an historical delimitation of possibility. “In any given historical period we can write, speak or think about a given social object or practice, only in certain specific ways and not others” (p. 31). A discourse would then be “whatever constrains - but also enables - writing, speaking and thinking within such historical limits” (McHoul & Grace, 1993, p. 31). These inhibitory and productive mechanisms operate to produce “knowledge” or construct objects. These are inseparable and always constitutive of one another. Discourse is generated and sustained or mutated through their persistent intercessions.

2.5.2. The Exclusionary Mechanisms of Discourse

The constraining function of discourse results from systems of exclusion, which operate both externally and internally to it. External to the systems of discourse that are uttered by the speaking subject are three exclusionary mechanisms. These constraints and privileges are formations that seek to either prohibit or encourage the utterances of their content. Foucault notes that the most rigorous enmeshment on a discursive grid of prohibition is consolidated at the intersection of sexuality and politics. The opposition between madness and reason is the second form of external exclusion in discourse. It is found most frequently in the dialogues between the mad and the doctor. This constraint on discourse is significant to the current project as the paedophile of the present is constructed atop the discourse of madness. This deviant is both sexually aberrant and psychologically disturbed and so requires a learned ear to discern the aetiology of its madness. The third mechanism of exclusion is an opposition between truth and falsity – an opposition that seems to define modernity (Hook, 2001). One example of this is the way that modern discourses are primarily concerned with naturalising themselves as unassailable truths.

Exclusion does not only occur as an external means of discursive production since “discourses themselves exercise their own control” (Foucault, 1981, p. 56). The commentary, the author and the discipline are all internally located mechanisms of exclusion in the production of discourse. These forms of exclusion act to classify order and distribute discourse. Exclusion occurs within these internally configured

systems.

Commentary acts as a form of recitation or repetition of the central texts of a particular society. Commentary in this sense, rearticulates the discourses of religious, juridical, literary and scientific texts through differentiating their authorship but never redefining their position in power. In this sense, we must treat all texts on paedophilia as primary sources of data and not differentiate primary and secondary texts within the field of power. Authorship is another means to exclusion. It is through the ascription of "fictitious" meaning to the real history of the author that discursive unity is manufactured. In short, this internal constraint excludes all possibilities of the "chance-elements" of discourse through the connecting of a discursive utterance with an historical identity.

The third internal principle of exclusion is the discipline. The work of the discipline is opposed to both the principles of the commentary and the author. The discipline at least purports to desire the generation of new knowledge and not simply to rediscover antiquated statements of knowing. A discipline requires the constant and systematic formulation of new propositions. However, these propositions must fulfil the strident conditions that the discipline requires for their ratification. For a proposition to be validated by a discipline it must "address itself to a determinate plane of objects", "use conceptual or technical instruments of a well defined type" and "be able to be inscribed on a certain type of theoretical horizon" (Foucault, 1981, p. 58). The discipline thus restrains and ultimately "pushes back a whole teratology of knowledge beyond its margins". (Foucault, 1981, p. 60). This is unmistakably so in the case of the fabrication of the paedophile, where (as the analysis will illustrate) knowledge forms that served to undermine the authority of the disciplines of psychology and psychiatry were effaced as potential threats. The researcher is therefore required to search for absent or marginalised discourse within a particular discursive context. This allows genealogical research to reclaim the very discourses that have been effaced, silenced or erased.

2.5.3. The Reclamation of Discourse

The genealogical approach may be easily dismissed as an analysis of signs if it does not include thorough investigations of the practices, social structures and institutions to which the discourses ally themselves. In this study, such insights are extracted from a broad analysis of the social practices, institutions and technologies that "coincided" with the discursive production of the paedophile in South Africa. The historical chapters of the thesis attempt to provide an analytics of discourse and practice that in are in themselves part of the historical conditions from which the South African paedophile emerged.

Vigilance against producing merely an analysis of signs is a crucial methodological priority for Foucault and one that deserves reiteration here. Although text-based or discursive analyses have become virtually a growth industry in research psychology (Hook, 2001), they contain some critical shortcomings in view of their capacity to account for the historical productions they attempt to analyse. In this respect, if we are to follow Foucault, it is imperative to realise that the materiality of the world along with its powerful significations are enmeshed in the productions, resistances and transmissions of power. To this end, Foucault (1981) insists on:

> A refusal of analyses couched in terms of the symbolic field or the domain of signifying structures, and a recourse to analyses in terms of a genealogy of relations of force, strategic developments and tactics...the history that determines us has the form of war rather than that of language: relations of power, not relations of meaning. (Foucault, 1981, p. 64)

In order for the relationship between materiality and discourse to be unveiled and in so doing provide an advanced account of power, Foucault (1981) outlines four analytic concepts which may be deployed when examining phenomena. These are worth emphasising as means of circumventing the areas of weakness in many instances of discourses analysis as a research method in psychology.

2.5.3.1. Reversal: Event versus Creation

Genealogy must reveal the structure of a discourse as being one point in a broader network of discursive events, thereby eschewing the metaphysics of an unprecedented, singular moment of creation. *Discourse as event* demands the consideration of discursive phenomena as being embroiled within a network of institutions, social structures and other discourses. Such a consideration strengthens the explanatory power of any discursive analysis.

2.5.3.2. The search for discontinuity: Series versus Unity

Contrary to traditional histories, the genealogy emphasises *discontinuities* in historical formations. Points of discontinuity provide inroads into discourses that were in transitory phases prior to their unification and homogenisation. In deploying the search for discontinuity, Foucault (1981) subverts common or intuitive notions of the inevitability and linearity of historical "progress". Rather than assuming an overall discursive unity, we must instead operationalise a sense of discourse as working in lateral arrangements or in series.

2.5.3.3. The perimeters of specificity: regularity versus originality

The principle of specificity overcomes the tendency to produce a "general reading" of discourse. It is likewise useful in foregoing the assumption that discourse is decipherable through the mere general unpicking of its significations. Foucault repeatedly insists that the world is not reducible to certain "textual markers" (Foucault, 1981, p. 67) but that the interplay between the discursive and its contradictory or supplementary material practices should be the concern of any analysis. Here we should focus on the particular physicality and precise materiality of discursive practices (Hook, 2005). What likewise needs to be emphasised is that a thorough and ongoing genealogical analysis that engages the particularities and localisations of the object-event in question will yield an explanation that resides outside of the realm of mere signs.

2.5.3.4. Towards exteriority: Conditions of possibility versus Signification

An effective analysis must "not go from discourse towards the interior, hidden nucleus ..." (Foucault, 1981, p. 67) or attempt to decipher what lies at the kernel of the "inner meaning" of a set of significations. Rather the exterior of the discourse, its limits and its possibilities should be investigated, avoiding the scope of the commentary as being limited to that text itself. This is the problem of textual relativism, where any reasonably supported textual interpretation will hold as well as any other. A critical and effective analysis of discourse must therefore move towards the periphery the text. An effective critical analysis heads away from the heart of signification towards the delimitations or "surface" conditions of possibility of the discourse under examination.

This work deploys *neither* conventional quantitative nor qualitative methodologies. The method deployed in the analysis of the subject matter attempts at a fundamental level to both "fragment the unitary and set in motion the immobile" (Butchart, 1998). Both quantitative and qualitative methodologies elevate to primacy their objects of analysis and in so doing ignore their own function and presence within the analytical field. Their analytical results thus come to appear as given, that is independent of the analytical procedures that generated them (Armstrong 1990). In short, quantitative and qualitative methods produce explanations that are anachronous. The two most potent methodological (analytic) tools deployed in the circumvention of this problem are *descent* and *emergence*. Descent attempts to fragment the unitary and disrupt totality such that no object of analysis may appear timeless and essential. Emergence traces the entry into popular discourse the very objects with which it engages. Genealogy therefore insists that power is a positive and creative force that "produces reality [and] that produces domains of objects and rituals of truth" (Foucault, 1980a, p. 192).

2.6. Moving beyond the confines of the text

While text-based analysis is concerned with a careful and critical reading of the *text*, genealogy requires specific external reference points to supplement and strengthen its

critical reading. Therefore, we cannot regard genealogy merely a symbolic exercise. The texts of this corpus are not read to extract the repressed secrets of themselves. Rather they are read as sections of a discursive map, with their parameters pointing to materiality, practices and other discourses. Whilst the data of this genealogical analysis are primarily textual, the genealogical platform that underpins this research demands that these texts be inserted back into the material and discursive realms from which they were jointly produced. The methodology therefore demands a critical engagement with the both signs and the material and thus commands an exterior scrutiny that searches for power within both the discursive and the extra-discursive crevices in the production of the modern paedophile in South Africa.

Perhaps the most significant methodological short falling of text-based analysis in its reduction of the analysis to text alone is the possibility of reproducing the very elements analysed (Burman & Parker, 1993). To guard against this we must focus our analysis "not simply [on] that which translates struggles or systems of domination, but as the thing for which and by which there is struggle" (Foucault, 1981, p. 52). If we disavow the productive discursive capacities of the analysis of a discourse, we immediately risk collusion in the discursive workings of that object of analysis.

2.7. The Method

Although the thesis makes use of the genealogical method for analysis it does in some way deviate from the template provided by such works as Foucault's *History of Sexuality* or Butchart's *European Constructions of the African Body* in that it explicitly acknowledges that its method is derived from rather than based on conventional Foucaultian genealogical works. This derivation translates into reading all texts as both instruments and effects of power but it makes use of selected historical readings in the service of plotting the genealogical trajectory that informs its most central arguments. This analytical framework is thus operationalised to respond to the central research question posed in chapter 1.

So, rather than proceeding with a conventional genealogy that does not respond directly to a definitive research question, this analysis is "thrown" into genealogical terrain via the central question of the research. This does not mean that certain texts should be

considered secondary or primary. On the contrary, the analysis calls for all texts to be subjected to the same genealogical principles. This analysis however uses key "events" in the birth of the field of paedophilia as genealogically-based arguments for an explicit analysis of South African discourses and practices. In analysing these key events, the study (in accordance with the principles of genealogy) investigates these component discourse-objects, as part of the tracing of an emergence of the paedophile in South Africa. These coordinates (the child, the law, sexuality and psychopathology) are motivated in as much as they are nodal points of institutional practices and knowledge through which the figure of the paedophile has emerged. Each is in effect corresponds to a set of codifiable "knowledge effects" of social science practice, which genealogy takes to task. Thus, the genealogical framework attempts to understand these discourses, these nodal points of institutional investment, practice and construction. These principles hold as genealogy is explicitly opposed to the knowledge-effects of social science (emphasis on both "knowledge" and "effects") and hence this is a completely warranted part of thesis. Thus, this genealogical framework attempts to understand these discourses:

1. As being implicated in the historical dynamics of descent and emergence.
2. As being formations defined within both discursive and extra-discursive modalities of power.

Discourses of the law are theoretically critiqued using the theoretical underpinnings offered by Foucault (1990a, 1990b, 1990c, 1990d, 1992). Discourses of the child will be interrogated by Ariès (1973). Constructions of psychopathology and its relationship to sexuality and perversity will be examined by Foucault (1990a, 1990b, 1992), Krafft-Ebing (1939) and Freud (1991a, 1991b, 1991c). This is in no way to uncritically integrate the work of these authors in question. Foucault and Ariès offer a crucial set of historical juxtapositions, which enable us to set childhood (in particular) in historical motion. The work of Krafft-Ebing, Freud and others by contrast offers us a set of examples of how aspects of rudimentary paedophiliac acts received certain (historical) social scientific codification. These are not discrete categories but inform a panoramic and (genealogical) response to the research question.

2.7.1. Data

All data in the study are considered primary. The data takes many forms. These forms

include newspaper articles, formal academic publications, forensic documents, court transcripts, medical examinations, advertisements and photographs. The newspaper articles after 1978 were sourced from the SA Media database, which only houses indexed articles published in all South African newspapers and magazines from this date. The manager of the SA Media database housed at the University of the Orange Free State advised that the only means to accessing pre-1978 media reports on paedophilia would require manual searches in University and library archives. Given that the historical range of analysis begins in 1950, an extensive media search of selected newspaper articles published before 1978 and archived in the Johannesburg Library, University of the Witwatersrand and University of South Africa was undertaken. This search was manual and therefore cannot claim to be comprehensive. It involved searching *The Rand Daily Mail*, *The Star*, *Pretoria News, The Post*, *City Press, The Sowetan* and *Drum Magazine*[3] in alternating 3-month cycles from 1944 to 1978 for articles pertaining to the *paedophile*. These articles were complemented by a search of all articles indexed by *paedophilia* in the archives at the national museum of the South African Police Services. These manual searches prejudice the data volume for the period 1944 – 1977. The availability of other news media following 1977 as indexed in the SA Media database does however provide more nationally representative data.

The second major source of data was the PsychINFO database of academic publications. This database contains all publications relevant to *the psychological study* of the paedophile and begins its range in 1927. To further specify this corpus of constructions of paedophilia to South Africa, the Index to South African Periodicals (ISAP) and the Sabinet database were consulted. South African advertisements and photographs were sourced from popular publications such as the magazines and the newspapers from the SA Media database described above. Again, this strategy is not without its problems, as some articles, advertisements and photographs may not have been captured. However, the consultation of these three databases provided a substantial corpus of media and academic constructions of the paedophile both internationally and in the South African literature as required by the genealogical

[3] Some of these titles changed during the 50-year period analysed.

approach.

2.7.1.2. Data Limitations

In accordance with the problems of defining the modern paedophile (see 1.2.), many of the varying definitions of the paedophile could account for some texts having remained beyond the scope of the databases from which the texts and archival data were drawn. This is perhaps symptomatic of the discursive contingency of the paedophile as a knowledge object. The uneven distribution of the data also attests to the paedophile being an "object under construction". The exponential increase in the population of the corpus over time is thus treated as an indicator of the discursive form of the corpus rather than a limitation to it. Another limitation concerned representing the corpus. While the genealogy requires a vast collection of materials for analysis, it cannot insist on the collection of *all* appropriate texts. The genealogical project is therefore always selective and cannot claim a kind of comprehensive representivity. Such, one might argue is the integral limitation of genealogy. The corpus is however always available for re-reading and new analysis. This potential implies new genealogies of the paedophile and so provides the "field of entangled and confused parchments" that can be scratched over and recopied again.

2.7.2. Analysis

In summary, the analysis is guided by the four methodological principles delineated by Foucault in *The Order of Discourse* (1981). The discourses are constantly analysed under the lenses of the principles of *reversal, specificity, discontinuity and exteriority.* These characteristics of discourse are perpetually *contextualised* by a constantly shifting reference to the external exclusionary mechanisms of discourse. Analysis is primarily concerned with the identification of formations of similarity and difference. To this end, the genealogical method probes further than organisational matrices. It searches in accordance with the principle of specificity for conditions of regularity rather than origins of difference and similarity. Vigilance against the possible threat of textual relativism and its danger of rewriting and therefore acting in complicity with the discourse under interrogation is provided by the genealogical methodology.

2.8. Conclusion

This analysis may in many respects read as different to many other examples of social scientific analysis. This is easy to account for, in that it has combined the basic instrumentation of an analysis of signs with the somewhat higher-order conceptual, methodological and or epistemological agendas of Foucaultian genealogy (1980a). In this sense, the analysis will be less concerned with the specific subjects, objects and contexts of singular or isolated texts but with tracing in evermore-refined terms, the overall outline of the far greater discursive and material structures of the South African paedophile.

> A magnificent blonde child – how much peace there is in that phrase, how much joy and above all how much hope. (Fanon, 1986, p. 189)

CHAPTER 3: IN PURSUIT OF CHILDHOOD

The child is the object of desire for the paedophile. Without the child as it is currently constructed, the criminal transgressions of the paedophile are inconceivable. The physiology, psychology, legal status and sexuality of the modern child together produce a child that is prohibited from being the object of adult sexual desire. The construction of the child as a form of sexually relational taboo has however been contested throughout history. The body, the mind and the sexualities of the child have travelled a considerable and disjointed path to the present. The histories of these elements of the child reveal a series of discursive reversals, incompatibilities and impasses. This chapter addresses these embattled discontinuities and the discursive chasms that divide the children of the past with those of the present. The chapter is based largely on the platform of the historical work established by Phillipe Ariès, which it seeks to develop. The chapter attempts a critical historical analysis of the discontinuous and often incompatible significations and practices of children. The purpose of such an undertaking is to illustrate that the categories, the objects and the subjects of the child and childhood may be *denaturalised* and therefore exposed as historically constituted discursive forms.

3.1 Then and Now, Now and Then: The Infantile Body

Children and childhood appear as natural categories and objects of the modern world. Differences in the bodily proportions and characteristics of children render them easily distinguishable from their adult counterparts. It is the body of the child that "empirically" attests to the overt differences between children and adults and "confirms" the verity of the category of childhood. Children however are historically constituted objects and as such, are subject to the discursive strategies out of which they were born. To illustrate this I will undertake an examination of alternate constructions of childhood at a set of key points in European history. Exploring and analysing these constructions compels us to rethink our present articulations of

children. In doing this I make particular reference to the work of Phillipe Ariès, Sigmund Freud and James Kincaid.

The modern child appears, self-evidently, a discrete and distinctive developmental category with its own inherent age specific qualities and properties. Further analysis reveals however that these "natural" features are historically based and have unfolded in gradually disjointed forms" (Ariès, 1973). Various points in the history of childhood exemplify the manner in and by which children were constructed. The contemporary child body, with its own distinguishing features and developmental properties appears to be a relatively recent phenomenon. Pre-Renaissance artistic depictions reveal that children differed from adults not in the totality of their forms but merely in *scale*. The child body therefore contained all the characteristics of its adult counterparts; it was only in the twelfth century that childhood began to warrant its own distinctive codes and conventions of representation rather than simply replicating the portrayals of adults.

The bodies of medieval children in historical depictions appear "deformed" when contrasted to present day children. "A painter would not even hesitate to give the naked body of a child, in the very few cases when it was exposed, the musculature of an adult: thus in a Psalter dating from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, Ishmael shortly after birth has the abdominal and pectoral muscles of a man" (Ariès, 1973, p. 31). What are we to make of these "misrepresentations"? It seems at least that for these early periods of history childhood was not a pivotal category for representation. Perhaps more simply put, artists "did not dwell on the image of childhood, and that image had neither interest nor even reality for them" (p 32). Indeed, prior to the twelfth century, to use Ariès' phrase, representation "did not know childhood" (p. 31).

3.1.2. Disrupting the trajectory of childhood

This absence of childhood in the past is sharply contrasted by the deluge of child imagery in the present. Although visually reproductive technologies were limited in pre-modern historical periods, depictions and portrayals of the child were often

conspicuously absent as a distinctive human category in them. This stands in strong contrast to modern practice in which the imaging of children and the photographic documentation of a family's children is an almost defining element of family life. The family album is a clear case in point. It is saturated with snapshots of the early childhood of its members, a veritable repository of childhood representation. A glance from the thirteenth century to the twentieth century thus reveals a polarity. It is the task of the following section to engage with the processes that may account for this reversal in the representational value of children.

3.1.2.1. The Birth of the Types of the Child

Following the discovery of childhood (Ariès, 1973) in the early thirteenth century, certain forms of the child recognisable to modernity began to appear in cultural representations. The miniature "adult" child was diffused through the production of a number of child types. Aspects of these types began to settle certain of the conceptual parameters of the modern western child. The first of these was the child as angel. This relationship between child and angel remains a potent thematic association underwriting many notions of childhood. Children are constantly assigned the roles of "little angels" in both formal documents and everyday speech.

The emergence of a second type of child gained impetus in the fourteenth century and remains an important cultural signification. Indeed, the Gothic period announced the arrival of perhaps the most saturated of all instances of infantile motifs, the image of the naked child. The nakedness or nudity of the child is inextricably bound to notions of divinity, vivacity and veracity in its earliest configurations (Ariès, 1973). In this historical configuration, the naked child was constructed as qualitatively different from the nude adult; nudity was assigned the role of intrinsic innocence in the former, a more sensually aware and potentially erotic fascination in the latter.

The life-giving capacities of children were formalised in many paintings of the fourteenth century where the soul of the depicted child was naked and sexless (Ariès, 1973). The association between the figure of the child and thematics of a life-giving vivacity permits for a series of unconventional juxtapositions spanning the archive of

a trans-historical (and trans-geographical) childhood. One may suggest that fourteenth century artworks that consider the sex of the child to be in some manner life-giving are reflected in the practices of modern South Africa. Not only are children murdered for their *muti* (medicinal) value but it is their genitals that are considered the most curative of their body parts. This has been even more pronounced in post-apartheid South Africa where sex with children as a mythical cure for HIV/AIDS has resulted in the "virgin cure myth" (Bowley & Pitcher, 2002; Jewkes, Martin, & Penn-Kekana, 2002; Meel, 2003; Pitcher & Bowley, 2002).

The trace of this construction can be discerned in the early nineteenth century European child, by which time, the "malformed" and "misrepresented" child, had become a human category in and of itself.

> The child became one of the characters most frequently found in the anecdotal paintings: the child with his family; the child with his playmates, who were often adults; the child in a crowd, but very definitely spotlighted in his mothers arms, or holding her hand or even piddling; the child among the crowd watching the miracles or the martyrdoms, listening to sermons, or following liturgical rites such as presentations or circumcisions; the child serving as an apprentice to the goldsmith or some other craftsman or the child at school, an old and popular theme which would go on inspiring paintings up to the nineteenth century (Ariès, 1973, p. 35).

The child henceforth possessed its own physiology, physiognomy, taxonomical and perhaps most importantly its own subjective space. The medieval child had meandered from its inconspicuous and humble discovery, towards its pivotal place in a contemporary cultural milieu in which it firmly translated the couple into a family. We might conclude that by this point the child had indeed become a moniker for family. The child became the discursive site for a binding of individuals into families and then communities, an important member of society, who seemed to play somewhat of a cementing role not only in consolidating a familial community, but in joining past (or current) people and places to potential relations with the future. In fact, it was from the early nineteenth century that a focus on the nature of children and an associated concern with ways to improve their well-being grew to become important concerns of our society. We now conceive of childhood as a highly eventful and unique period of life. This is a period of life that is thought to lay an important

foundation for the adult years and is thus, considered a staggered developmental stage, a stage that must be treated as categorically distinct from adult periods of life (Santrock, 1999). This is only possible if we acknowledge that the child had seceded from its early depictions by the beginning of the twentieth century, and become an autonomous and highly specific category of representation and signification. These significations have thematically included the representation of the child as cementing (and therefore characterising) constructions of the family and community and as symbolic of curative potential and as conduits to divine innocence. These different representations also implied a variety of forms by which the child was managed, regulated and disciplined.

3.2. A Brief History of the Practices of and over the Child

In as much as representations of the child have undergone various transformations, so too, have conventions that dictated the correct behaviour of adults over children and of children over themselves. Child rearing practices, including education and discipline have journeyed across a vast spectrum of sanctioned possibilities. From advice focussed on the breaking of the will of the child in the service of his soul to anti-disciplinarian (Spock, 1958) or permissive parenting approaches, child - rearing practices appear to have been as diverse as the various representations of children.

3.2.1. Three Historical Discourses of the Child

In accordance with the emergence of a diverse set of child types in representation, institutionalised discourses and their adjoining practices competed for the domination of both the body and subjectivity of the child. Santrock (1999) identifies three such discourses. It is important to note that whilst this discussion attempts to exact a predominant period for the emergence of each of these discourses, the discourses often coexist, overlap and compete with one another. In essence, “there are [in relation to childhood] continuities between images at different times [and] many conceptions reverberate in powerful ways today” (Burman, 1994, p. 53).

3.2.1.1. Children as the Embodiment of Original Sin

Children of the middle Ages, argues Santrock (1999) were understood to be born into and therefore embody original sin. The child body was a receptacle for evil and required an "exorcism" through rearing. The interaction between child and adult was redemptive, with the adult offering salvation to the child through a compendium of disciplinary practices. In accordance with the understanding of the child as a sinner, practices whereby the evil of the child could be corrected or at least contained were common (DeMause, 1990). This child was in constant need of discipline. The inherently amoral potential of infancy was persistently in need of castigation and punishment. It was through the "breaking" of an immoral child that its soul would be granted salvation and the fight for the soul of the child therefore witnessed a renewed impetus. High infant mortality rates in this period probably accounted for the need for a "religious morality, with a focus on preparing children for death" (Burman, 1994, p. 51).

3.2.1.2. The Mechanical Child

The seventeenth century precipitated the construction of the child as *tabula rasa* or blank slate. This discourse countered the discourse of original sin by arguing that children are not innately bad as they acquire their characteristics through experience (Santrock, 1999). This discourse appeared as revolutionary for it emphasised the role of the parent or caregiver in the formative functions of the child. The child as a blank slate appears to extend into and beyond post World War I constructions of the child where *tabula rasa* became "mechanical" (Burman, 1994). The child became an almost mechanised template of response to its environment. This construction demanded that only positive experiences befell the child so that earlier emphases on hereditary predispositions were supplanted by the application of behaviourist tenets to the rearing of children. Although the schooling of children would only attain formality in the mid eighteenth century, the education of a child was a driving concern for the seventeenth century. Teaching time was to be devoted to the child within the family (Newson & Newson, 1974). A greater focus on the environment and experiences of the child emerged as thematic of this period.

3.2.1.3. Humanism and the Child as Innately Good

In opposition to the construction of children as innately evil, Jean-Jacques Rousseau posited the innate goodness of the child. He advocated that the child should be permitted to grow up naturally without much interference from adults and parents (Santrock, 1999). “In contrast to evangelical doctrines of original sin, this model upheld the innocence of the child, the proximity of children to nature, and their freedom from contamination with the ugly lessons of civilisation” (Burman, 1994, p. 53). In a discursive reversal from the doctrine of child as sinner, the corporal punishments so avidly advocated by the discursive formations surrounding the evil child were denounced as ineffective and potentially malign influences on the modern child. This “anti-disciplinarian” approach gained favour through Spock (1946) who insisted that corporal punishment is detrimental to the general health of the child (Stern & Gould, 1955).

3.3. Practices

These three discourses produced a discontinuity of child-rearing and regulation practices. For the sake of brevity, we will examine the differing ways by which the labour and sexuality of the child were shaped by historical context.

3.3.1. Child Labour

The child labourer, a common and formerly indistinguishable part of the general labour force was called into question by the picture of the child as particular susceptible to the pollutants of the adult world. This drove a new morality that separated the way that children were understood in the economic sectors of society. However, as Burman (1994) argues, this “moral” debate over the conditions of child labourers had less to do with the “spiritual” abuse of children than with fears of unruly and potentially undesirable activities of children that were made possible by an independent income. The legal removal of the child from the labour market paved the way for new coercive practices by which the threat of child lawlessness could be contained.

> This was achieved through the introduction of compulsory mass schooling, linked to a theory of child nature which presented the initial state of the child as ignorant (thereby disenfranchising their community and street knowledge) and positioning the working-class child as in need of education and socialisation (Burman, 1994, p. 54).

In as much as the removal of children from the labour force appeared to relieve the sector of appalling working conditions and general exploitation, the advent of formal schooling served as a coercive mechanism, in that it compelled children into being financially dependent on adults.

> The reconstruction of the factory child through the prism of dependency and ignorance was a necessary precursor of mass education in that it helped prepare public opinion for shifts in the child's identity (from wage labourer to school pupil), for a reduction in income in working class families (as a result of the loss of the child's earnings), and for the introduction of the state into childrearing practices. (Hendrick, 1990, p. 46)

From representations to practices, alternate historical constructions of childhood force us to question the verity of the way in which we understand our children. From the above examples, we see the role that constructions of childhood have in anchoring certain political forms of society; the role of the child and the discourses that emanate from such a figure perform an intrinsic function within a broader social system.

3.3.2. Children and Sexuality: Its speak and its practice

The relationship between children and sex in modernity is a highly charged and massively problematised site of exchange. This potentially uncomfortable and often inflammatory coupling has not always exhibited such characteristics. Speaking, acting and practicing sexuality with a child has witnessed many a historical reversal.

The diary of the physician of Henry IV provides ample textual evidence that serves to debunk commonplace 'ahistorical' notions that child-adult sexual relations have always been taboo. In this diary, we see children making obscene gestures, coarse jokes and frequently displaying their genitals in a prurient manner (Ariès, 1973).

As opposed to modern western notions of childhood sexuality, which consider the sexual organs of the child to be the private preserve of the child itself (and perhaps its immediate minders), the genitalia of children in the sixteenth century were not desexualised as objects beyond possible involvement with adult sexuality. The genitals of children could serve as objects of public humour and even games during this period. In an example cited by Ariès (1973), a young Louis XIII frequently exposed his genitals to the court and even demanded the oral stimulation thereof. Such actions were greeted with amusement. Although a description of a regal (and therefore somewhat exceptional) child, this excerpt offers valuable insight into the differing discursive features that informed the sexuality of the child during this historical period.

How do amusing oral to genital sexual acts involving adults and a child in the eighteenth century become a flagrant molestation and sexual infringement on the rights of the child in the twentieth century? The discourses that invest and construct the body of the child within the discursive domain of a privatised and subjectively owned sexuality have produced an almost incompatible child body in the present.

The naked child is constantly glimpsed in the modern world (through advertising and mass media). However, these significations are constructed as the pastoral antitheses of adult nudity and sex. Its nudity must remain a pastoral signifier, a symbol of natural innocence. The sexuality of children became a focal interest towards the beginning of a Victorian age. Pedagogues, parents and doctors, appropriated the once amusing and fatuous sexuality of the child in an attempt to regulate the both precious and perilous potentials of the sex of children (Foucault, 1990a). The genitalia of children, in both their stimulation and display became strictly taboo as they could (and would) “efficaciously contribute to [societal] preservation and splendour” (Rosario, 1999, p. 139).

Together with a re-articulation of the role and function of the infant arose new forms of scholastic disciplinary practice that further altered the sexual regimes of children. Expurgated classics were required when teaching children. A significant change occurred at the Jesuit colleges of the late eighteenth century by which specific

corporal regulations had to be upheld when administering such a punishment. The amount of child flesh exposed whilst administering a caning was heavily demarcated and "just enough skin was to be exposed as was necessary to inflict the punishment but no more: *non amplius* (Ariès, 1973, p. 107). The amount of skin, the regulated nudity and the decrees governing the act of caning itself point towards the metamorphosis of the child. Not only had the child become far more important in subject status, more angelic, more pure (each of which implicitly confers trauma on the paedophiliac crime) but more in need of protection. Such values and practices of a re-constellated childhood are in fact, directly related to this genealogy, which is specifically dedicated to an examination of the emergence of the particular figure that takes the child as their object of desire. More simply put, these kinds of discursive changes begin to denote the formation for the conditions of possibility that would in turn render the discursive category of the paedophile conceivable.

In short, a discursive metamorphosis of children between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries produced a child familiar to the present. The changes to the legal and economic statuses of the child that took place between the nineteenth and twenty-first century with regards to labour and utility in an economic sector, together with the sexual constructions of the child of the nineteenth century with its inhibitions and taboos, produced children recognisable to the early twenty-first century. It was in the eighteenth century (Foucault, 1980c) however that sexuality is believed to have experienced a fundamental shift in construction. The Victorian period seems to be a crucial pivot in understanding the reversal in the construction of childhood described in the preceding sections. This punctuation point in the history of childhood consolidated the puritanical passage of the post-seventeenth century child (Kincaid, 1992).

3.4. The Victorians

The dawn of "Victorianism" announced a new dispensation of sexuality. This era witnessed a "discursive explosion" (Foucault, 1990a, p. 5) on sex under the guise of a regime dedicated to the sanitisation of sex and sexual speech. The child was thought

to have been a perilous sexual entity demanding regulation and containment; discourses around the sexual lives of children increased steadily.

3.4.1. Early Evolutionary Theory and Children

The proliferation of the study of "man" in the early nineteenth century constructed new and "enlightened" understandings of children. The improved technologies of science including anatomy and physiology revealed that the bodies of children and adults were distinct not only in size but in composition (Darwin, 1975). This medical gaze discovered the secrets of bodies with a particular focus on their latent reproductive capacities. The child represented a concrete challenge to the evolving sciences of the time because it implied a latent sexuality or "sexuality in waiting". Discussions of the pleasure potential of children were complicated by Darwin's evolutionary and by implication theories of procreation (Darwin, 1975). The body of the child contained no organic means to reproduction and therefore required and promised no propagation. That the child body held no immediate promise for the capacity to perpetuate the species necessitated a new set of discourses on the child's relationship to sex. With the focus on the legitimate and "natural" reproductive capacities of the body held firmly in place by the burgeoning exploits of physiology and anatomical study in science, the sexuality of children became a problem for medicine. Although "nothing that was not ordered in terms of generation or transfigured by it could expect sanction or protection (Foucault, 1990a, p 4), children were identified as having a sexuality that *promised* reproduction. Children therefore necessitated special study so that this potential propagation could be effectively protected and regulated.

3.4.1.1. Children and the promises of healthy propagation

Indeed, the infant became the focus point for the study of human development. The *Biographical Sketch of an infant* was published in 1877. Darwin attempted to differentiate human children from animals in the text and in so doing located the child as an especially important base from which the science of development could be undertaken. The sexuality of the child however, became especially important to the researchers of the Victorian era. These researchers devoted significant portions of

their time to understanding what was to become known as the *invisible sexuality* of Victorian children. Acton's *The Functions and Disorders of the Reproductive organs* bears textual testament to such endeavours. These researchers asserted repeatedly that in "a state of health no sexual impression should ever affect a child's mind or body" (Acton quoted in Marcus, 1974, p 12). It is here that we see the gradual discursive separation into the two "naturally" mutually exclusive categories of childhood and adult sexuality. It is from this standpoint that we will be able to grasp the modern link between the enactment and overexposure to sex (on the part of the child) and an almost inevitable response of trauma and psychopathology. For Acton, sexuality was not only a pathological part of childhood but contaminated the very category of childhood itself. For "in healthy subjects, and especially in children brought up in the pure air and amid the simple amusements of the country, perfect freedom from, and indeed total ignorance of, any sexual affection is as it should be the rule" (Acton quoted in Marcus, 1974, p 15). Thus, the children of this time had no proper place in the domain of sexuality via their physiology or psychology. Only an intrusion of pathology or an unruly infringement upon environment would explain an unnatural association between children and sex.

However, the twentieth century heralded the arrival of newfound constructions of childhood sexuality by Freud's (1991a) cardinal assumptions. Contrary to the beliefs of his age, Freud (1991a) posited the child as an absolute embodiment of human sexuality. Freud insisted that children could be led into "all kinds of sexual irregularities" (p. 109) and believed them to be innately polymorphously perverse.

3.4.1.2. Children as Polymorphous Perverts

This position compelled a revision of the status of the child as a sexual entity. However, this strand of psychological argument had a varied and complexly dynamic effect on the ideas of its theoretical followers. The rise of the childhood of innocence most marked by the eighteenth century brought with it a set of discursive features that operated to stratify adults from children. Freudian theory of the child seemed to expose the inconsistencies of such formerly "lucid" stratifications. These discourses melded the innocence of childhood with the hedonism of adulthood and in turn further

problematised the role and function of the child body. This convoluted, confusing and often ambiguous discursive relationship between children and sexuality extends into the present. Despite these often-contradictory constructions, one central western argument holds and that is; the sexuality of the child and the adult are different and mutually exclusive.

3.5. The Child of the Present: Sacred Citizen of the World

The discourses that served to individualise the child so vehemently in the Victorian era, continue to construct the infantile body as a paramount social concern in contemporary global and South African discourses. This section shall examine the general discursive constructions of the children of the present, emphasising the macro and micro political implications thereof.

3.5.1. The Highly Individualised Child Body

From advertising billboards (see appendix I) to a set of discrete rights for its protection (UNICEF, 1990), the modern child is an especially important feature of the social world. It appears that children are considered to be amongst the most significant citizens of the world as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in which the United Nations assert that the period of childhood is "entitled to special care and assistance" (UNICEF, 1990). The emergence of childhood as a particularly important discursive sector has been accompanied by special or discrete practices concerning it. Indeed Rose (1991) argues that "childhood is the most intensely governed sector of personal existence" (p. 121).

3.5.2. Modern Children

The modern child has become a figure upon which great attention is fixed, containing within it an inventory of possible threats to its inalienable rights.

> The modern child has become the focus of innumerable projects that purport to safeguard from physical, sexual, or moral danger, to ensure its normal development, to actively promote certain capacities of attributes such as intelligence, educability and emotional stability (Rose, 1991, p. 121).

This is a relatively recent position for the child. This new development has brought with it a multitude of contradictory constructions around the rights of the "young citizen" (Rose, 1991, p. 122) of the world. Although they were beginning to gain civil liberties and social rights, modern children did (and do) not have the right to participate directly in the decision-making systems of political power (Rose, 1991). The rise of the significance of childhood had demanded a social infrastructure that constructed the child as requiring a set of special legislations, which accorded it vast civil protection, yet deprived it of a vote and a political voice. Paradoxical or not, the intersection of both micro and macro political trajectories of the discourses of the child had by the late twentieth century risen from relative obscurity to a point of political elevation.

3.5.3. The Centrality of the Child in modern Discourse

The centrality of the modern child in representation and practice (as frequently expressed through mass media and cultural concern) could be considered one of the many markers of modernity. Kincaid (1992) argues that the modern child commands a type of cultural preoccupation that has almost hypnotic features. Therefore, "in this century, children and their wares and their bodies are put on display so often that parenthood has become largely an extended series of watchings" (Kincaid, 1992, p. 363). The iconography of the children in the present is often bound up with imagery of the naked child. This nakedness is pervasive in mass media yet is always considered, in accordance with early Christian representations, asexual. Kincaid (1992) argues that child nudity in advertising points to a particularly problematic erotic in modern depictions of the child. It is in this space, where naked bodies and sexual overtones operate apparently unperturbed by the contradictions that they mark, that the child body becomes a site for special erotic investments. The naked child is no stranger to contemporary South African advertising, where the genitalia and buttocks are often revealed in most infant commercials (See appendix I). This naked child as an exemplar of pastoral innocence inhabits a strange erotic space on the television screens of the modern consumer.

Whilst this form (the naked child) is not novel (having appeared in the fourteenth and fifteenth century) it does indicate an ambiguity around the relationship between the child and the erotic. This ambiguity remains unresolved in the twentieth century.

3.6. The Child as a Preoccupation for the twentieth century

The twentieth century has been proclaimed the century of the child (Cunningham, 1995). This century witnessed new legislation, education and scientific dedication to an exploration of the philosophies of the child and childhood. The century's "overriding aim was to map out a territory called childhood, and put in place frontier posts which would prevent too early escape from what was seen as a garden of delight" (Cunningham, 1995). In 1909, the empirical study of childhood was mandated by United States Congress. This mandate culminated in the adoption of a dedicated order for the child (UNICEF) under the United Nations in 1946. This new focus on childhood brought with it growing specialisations in diseases and medicines specifically for children (Cunningham, 1995). Compulsory schooling and the entrance of the child into the domain of early and formal education accelerated the degree to which the sciences of the child gained data and generated norms.

3.7. Conclusion

This chapter has traced the discontinuous history of the category of childhood, as we know it today. I have attempted to show using various historical examples that our understandings of the modern child as a citizen, as legal entity, as psychological subject and physiological object of study cannot be separated from a the broad political fields out of which it emerged. Furthermore, the chapter has shown us that the production of a distinct set of differences between adults and children is a comparatively recent historical phenomenon. Practices such as child labour and relational child sex were common features of the category of childhood only two centuries ago. The differentiation of children from adults was defined by two primary processes. The first concerned an elevation of the child to an especially important figure in modern life. The second constructed this important figure as precious, fragile and vulnerable. Through these simultaneous installations, the child was accorded a set of unprecedented rights to protect its newfound status. This status provides the

discursive space for child-desire. The strange otherness of the child carries with it an irresistible allure to further knowledge and this allure demands constant attention, monitoring and checking. Moreover, the particular puritanical forms of this otherness demand a complicated set of adult-child relations. The child is vulnerable but powerful, sacred but everywhere and sexualised but relationally non-desirable. Tracing the child from historical obscurity through to its thematic saturation as an object of innocence, divinity and elevated difference has provided us with a number of the conditions of possibility that will allow the figure of the paedophile to emerge. It is through this critical interrogation of the history of childhood that the child as the unsanctioned object of desire for the paedophile becomes firmly embedded in the discursive production of its transgressor; we can only "know" this latter figure if we first "know" the discursive constituents of childhood.

CHAPTER 4: MODERN SEXUALITY AND THE SPECIFICATION OF THE PATHOLOGICAL PAEDOPHILE

Before being foregrounded as imperative objects of enquiry by the human scientific classification systems of the mid eighteenth century, sex and sexuality were considered objects to be best addressed by philosophical, moral or ethical systems rather than strictly *scientific* "targets" This objectification of human sexuality produced many figures that had not been concerns for earlier systems of thought. The problematically sexual child and the paedophile are two such figures. It is in the three volumes of *The History of Sexuality* that Michel Foucault (1990a, 1992, 1990c) explores both the emergence and perpetuation of sexual perversions as objects of knowledge. This chapter has three primary aims. Firstly, it attempts to provide a brief overview of the emergence of sexuality as an effect and instrument of modern power. Secondly, it traces the specification of the paedophile as a knowledge object from these discourses. Lastly, it examines the constitution of the paedophile as a medico-legal entity that was both subject to the domains of the human sciences and the modern state.

4.1. The Rejection of the Repressive Hypothesis

Perhaps the most significant contravention of conventional understandings of the history of sexual practice is the Foucaultian refutation of the repressive hypothesis. Foucault shows us that conventional understandings of sexuality as the focus of an ongoing repression in eighteenth century are in fact flawed. Rather than a silencing of sex, there was a gradual accumulation and multiplication of *coded* sexual discourses that referred specifically to both the objects and practices of sexuality. Gradually these coded speech acts acquired coded procedures of transmission. The institution of the confessional was one such discursive procedure through which the multiple and cryptic discourses on sex and sexuality were demanded.

4.1.1. Confessions of the Flesh: Discourses Demanded

The confessions of the subject contained both the capacity to multiply and define sexuality. More important however "was the multiplication of discourse concerning sex in the field of exercise of power itself: an institutional incitement to speak about it, and to cause it to speak through explicit articulation and endlessly accumulated detail" (Foucault, 1990a, p. 18). This incitement to an endless speech on sex is significant in that it precipitated a distinctively modern inventory system by which aspects other than the act itself were regarded as imperative components of the sexuality of the subject. The institutionalised confessional demanded not only the expression of the sin of sexuality to another, but imposed upon the subject a system by which self-examination was mandatory. The confessional demanded articulation of the various insinuations of sex, of its murmurings and in turn its overt actions. The minutiae of the sexuality of the subject were especially important, these included the "insinuations of the flesh: thoughts, desires, voluptuous imagery, delectations, combined movements of the body and the soul; henceforth all this had to enter, in detail, into the process of confession and guidance" (Foucault, 1990a, p. 19).

4.1.2. The Administration of Sex

Once the incitement to speak about sex had been successfully implanted in the social body, administration of such confessions became imperative. The confessional, which originated in the doctrines of Catholicism, might have remained merely a component of Christian spirituality had it not been appropriated by other relay mechanisms. Psychology remains an integral part of the various disciplinary technologies that incite confession. Such accountings of sexuality emerged as a paramount concern for an emerging selection of techniques and institutions at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The production of various institutionalised discourses on sex attempted to somewhat sever the topic of sexuality from its traditional ecumenically-led moral analyses. This endeavour moved sexuality from its moral frame into the "rational" disciplines in order to classify, taxonomise and generally subject sexuality to a rigorous "scientific"

knowledge base. Sexuality became a component of disciplinary utility; through the appropriation of confessional techniques, an emergent social science began its analysis. These analyses (as they do today) took the form of prevalence studies, specifications, correlations and hypothesis testing.

This production of sexuality in turn necessitated a review of technologies of social regulation, utility and optimisation. Sexuality "became a police matter" (Foucault, 1990a, p. 24). Enforcing such management became the task of the law and its statutes and clinical medicine with its rapidly widening knowledge base.

A revision of the governance of the population from the end of the eighteenth century may hence be linked to a diffusion of possible sexualities that were indivisible from the manner through which modern populations were organised. As the boundaries of the modern state became evermore refined, so the sexual practices of its population and its life processes assumed significant political importance.

> Sex provided a linkage point between two centres of the regulation of modern life, over which (modern) disciplinary power acted. The governance of sex provided a powerful linkage point between "the physical body as a biological organism, and the population of a living species-body. (McHoul & Grace, 1990, p. 77).

This new governance of sexuality Foucault (1990a) terms *Biopower*, a centrally modern formation of power, which took sex and sexuality as its pivot. The human sciences spearheaded the consolidation and organisation of this form of power. Psychology, medicine and demography seized sex and sexual subjectivity as "an object of social concern and governmental manipulation" (Merquior, 1991, p. 120).

4.1.3. Biopower

This new dispensation of life-power comprised two basic forms. The first centred on the body; its disciplining, the "optimization of its capabilities, the extortion of its forces, the parallel increase of its usefulness and its docility, its integration into systems of efficient and economic controls" or as Foucault puts it "an *anatomo-*

politics of the human body" (1990a, p. 139). This element of life-oriented power concentrated on the productivity and optimal functionality of the individual body in service of a social order. The structure of this social order was discernibly different from prior dispensations of political power; for the first time governments perceived that, the citizenry did not only comprise of sovereign subjects or different forms of kinship but that those living within its borders constituted a "population". This "population" was the target of the second for of biopower, which demanded a precise means of measurement and regulation. From out of this new perception emerged new sciences. The science of demography emerged and was concerned with a range of newly constituted variables such infant mortality, population growth and the reproductive capacities of the subjects of the state (Armstrong, 1986). These variables were extended into other sciences that attempted to address their description through a refinement of their causes and consequences. At the centre of these particular concerns for the initiation, perpetuation and regulation of life was sex. Crucially, these newfound schematics of life demanded detailed and systemic accounts of the sexual practices of the population. Sexuality was foregrounded as an imperative aspect of the growth, power and economic potential of the state. Indicators of this potential included birth-rates, the age of marriage, legitimate and illegitimate births, the precocity and frequency of sexual relations, the effects of unmarried life and contraception (Foucault, 1990a).

The detailed descriptions of individuals and their sexual practices were understood in terms of the incipient features of a new sexual economy, into which every minuscule sexual utterance of the population were to be recorded and documented for later analysis. The entire spectrum of sexuality appeared to be the target for observation under this new sexual dispensation. Sexuality thus became a prime concern for an interdisciplinary measurement of the nation and its people. It is through this sequence of modern social organisation that the sexuality of the population (ascertainable from the individual) became a concrete and significant object of nineteenth century knowledge. The micropolitical techniques of surveillance came thus to work in conjunction with the macropolitics of the state (Dandeker, 1990).

As Foucault demonstrates in much of his later work, sex as a discursive object came to be incessantly produced and reproduced through the thorough mechanics of medicine, and psychiatry, in particular and the law. Medicine fixed its gaze upon sexuality in an attempt to "discover the aetiology of mental illnesses, focusing its gaze first on "excess", then onanism, then frustration, then 'frauds against procreation', but especially when it annexed the whole of the sexual perversions as its own province" (Foucault, 1990a, p. 30). From a police matter, the sexuality of the population became the prerogative and domain of scientists. Through its pledge to uncover the aetiological links between sexuality and reproductive regulation, these scientists began a project of invention and production, whereby the "dissection" of each patient could be translated into a case and then a case history.

Against and within the nexus of the administrative governance of sexuality, discourses and practices of a newfound hygiene were being operationalised. Informed by modes of Darwinian evolutionism, population hygiene was appropriated as a eugenic indicator and in turn as a measure of the health of the nation-state population (Donzelot, 1980; Jenkins, 1998). Population hygiene extended beyond a regulation of disease and other elements that threatened life; rather, it focussed on sexuality as the mechanism through which life could be created. Reproduction and the thus the propagation of life became a crucial component of a society that was compelled to both think and speak about sexuality as the *quintessence* of its existence.

Although criminal justice had, for a long while been interested in the sexual misdemeanours of the population, it gained a renewed interest in crimes associated with the sexuality of the perpetrator. The law therefore increased its scope to cover previously 'petty' offences and 'minor' indecencies. A renewed emphasis on formerly 'insignificant' perversions came to be placed on sexuality (Foucault, 1990a). It developed technologies for the screening "the sexuality of couples, parents and children, dangerous and endangered adolescents - undertaking to protect, separate, and forewarn, signalling perils everywhere, awakening people's attention, calling for diagnoses, piling up reports, organising therapies" (Foucault, 1990a, p. 31).

4.2. The Perversions as Objects of Medico-legal Speech

Among the proliferation of discourses on sex and sexuality, anomalous or "deviant" sexuality cases, came to be particularly emphasised. Deviant sexuality became an escalated target of regulation and control by both legal and medical discourse. Foucault argues that two significant discursive operations were crucial to this production. Firstly, medicine annexed perversity to illness; secondly, the law arranged a legal repertoire that linked perversity to criminality. The possibilities for such an extensive vocabulary had been developed in the maelstrom of the discursive explosion on sex in the nineteenth century (Foucault, 1990a). Each new case however awakened new knowledge, new nomenclature and witnessed an incessant recourse to the sexuality of the individual for the making of both prognoses and diagnoses. The issue of deviancy is crucial here, indeed, the proliferation of discourses on sex "took the form principally of medical and psychiatric discourses on 'deviant' and marginal sexualities" (McNay, 1992, p. 95) in their unceasing attempt to articulate the aetiologies of socially (sexually) problematic subjects.

Each new gaze upon the sex and perils of sexuality of the body appeared to produce new perverts. With each new invention followed a rigorous medical and legal implantation of warning and danger into the social corpus. Together medicine and the law provided a norm against which all other sexual practices could be measured. This norm initially took the form of "marital obligation". Other than the marital relation and its strictures about the practices of its sex, the "rest" or other forms of sexual practice remained vague, confused and nebulous. It was the category of the "rest" that was marked as a critical target for the medicine and the law of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

4.2.2. The "rest"

The law and the human sciences had, by the end of the nineteenth century produced an inventory of violators to the marital obligation. These included extramarital relations, adultery, rape, incest, sodomy and masturbation. In pre-nineteenth century courts, the selection, apportioning and punishment for these crimes was primarily

decided by the degree to which they deviated from the matrimonial relation; rather than how they may have counted as acts of perversion in and of themselves. By the early twentieth century however, the perversions became scientific and legal objects that could be assessed and scrutinised without reference to an act that threatened the institution of marriage (Foucault, 1990a). This nexus of biopolitical concern, surveillance and study resulted in an intensified surveillance and recording (production) of perversity. Peripheral sexualities that had remained outside the field of the obligatory scrutiny of heteronormative monogamy were now compelled to confess themselves. These "perverse" sexual practices were elevated to the level of viable objects of study.

In the law, the formerly amorphous grouping of sexual crimes began to be sectioned and diffused. Criminal practices such as rape and adultery were separated from *perversions* such as necrophilia. These crimes were regarded as discrete criminal enterprises, each requiring unique treatments and protocols (McNay, 1992). In certain instances, sexual transgression became a divergent criminal act. These perverse actions were transmuted from moral infractions into sex crimes.

4.3. The Birth of a Perverse Race

Through the symbiotic discourses of the law and the human sciences, the libertines of the past became sex criminals by the end of the nineteenth century. The sexualities of formerly insignificant perverts were clustered into a collective that required special study and a nomenclature of its own. It was within this biopolitical melting pot that the category of the paedophile was slowly being constituted. The most highly targeted biopolitical threats were of precocious children, ambiguous schoolboys, dubious servants and educators and cruel or maniacal husbands and lastly but most importantly men with bizarre impulses (Foucault, 2003). This fledgling collection of perverts quickly matured into a specific taxonomy of individuals. Through the "study" of the pervert and his incomplete sexual acts, an entire regimen of normative sexual congress was prescribed by medical discipline (Foucault, 1990a). Two figures emerged as particularly important in the production of the perversions. They were the "men with bizarre impulses" and "precocious children" (Foucault, 1990a). We have discussed how the child became an imperative cog in the machinery of modern power

through the articulation of its ambivalent relationship to sexuality. Like men with bizarre sexual impulses, the sexuality of children was considered a dangerous threat to the mandates of biopower.

4.3.1. The Danger of Child Sexuality

The sexual pleasures of the child were inscribed by medicine as "props" or latent secrets. The sexuality of children was elusive and so at all points of possible manifestation of the sexuality of children, "traps were laid for 'compelling admissions'; inexhaustible and corrective discourses were imposed; parents and teachers were alerted" (Foucault, 1990a, p. 42). This involved the implementation of increased child surveillance and perpetual policing mechanisms. The perpetual potential of the child for sexual "malfunction" acted to initiate and perpetuate the proliferation of possible avenues for undiscovered sexual practice. The sexuality of the child contributed to the proliferation of sexual discourse by acting as an anchor site for the incitement of sexual concern, guidance and strategising within the family. Constant sexual sentry of the child thus appeared to be an attempt at the elimination, or at the very least regulation of infantile sexuality, but instead, resulted in the perpetuation and elaboration of discourses of perversity. Men with bizarre sexual impulses became a common feature of this field of surveillance. These libertines (not yet paedophiles) were apprehended by the law and increasingly individualised by the human sciences.

4.3.2. From the *Vita Sexualis* to the *Modus Operandi* of the Pervert

As Visker (1995) points out, the discovery of the perversions is not to be interpreted as a sudden shift of attention to things long tolerated which were suddenly condemned in the interest of promoting a privileged model of sexuality. Rather, it was intimately related to the formation of the nation state and relied heavily on the rudiments of biopower that were already in place. Sexual perversions were the products of various modern regulatory technologies insisted upon by biopower and activated within the individual. The pervert's historical development became a significant individual case and its history an invaluable scientific object. Amassed case histories allowed experts

to extract the elevated the sexuality of the pervert/criminal out of the details of his juridical infraction and extrapolate within broader epistemological parameters. This gave rise to pervert as a personage, a past, a case history, and a childhood, in addition to being "a type of life, a life form, and morphology, with an indiscrete anatomy and possibly a mysterious physiology" (Foucault, 1990a, p. 43). By the end of the nineteenth century, the pervert had been afforded a *genus* and a *type*. Never is this specification clearer than in nineteenth century taxonomies of sexual deviation where Krafft-Ebing's zoophiles and zooerasts, Rohedler's auto - monosexualists; and later, mixoscopophiles, gynaecomasts, presbyophiles, sexoesthetic inverts, and dyspareunist women abound (Foucault, 1990a).

The paedophile featured amongst the inventory of nineteenth century psychiatry. Law did not overlook his crime; his confession, regulation and explanation was shared between medicine and the legal system. The paedophile became a noteworthy and perhaps doubly individualised pervert, for his crime in its form and especially in its object (the child) were super-significant elements in proliferating discursive networks around sexuality. The proto-paedophile emerged from out of the former categories of the libertine, the pederast and the imbecile with lascivious tastes. An increased medical focus on the nonrelational sexuality of children ensured that any pervert "caught" near the child was doubly problematic. Thus, the paedophile arose unimpeded to assume a criminal and psychopathological profile of great medical intrigue. An intrigue of course exaggerated by all the attention with which his object – the body of the child was imbued. It was the status and value of the child that rendered the paedophile a heinous criminal and a "madman", amongst the general and yet distinct insanity of the other perverts.

4.4. The Breeding Grounds for the Perversions

Measuring and describing the family unit was an imperative building block for what is now an integral part of demography, which is itself an important component of population surveillance. Population surveillance was not however without a political agenda. Surveillance of the population typically retains an explicit political intention, a biopolitical engineering of the populace. In this respect, surveillance of perversion

was intensified, not only because of the possibility of criminal infraction but also because of the obvious threats such acts implied to population growth factors. Sexualities hence became an important target for social control. Sexology, psychoanalysis and psychiatry, spearheaded a scientific movement devoted to the distillation of the truth from human sexuality (McNay, 1992). These sciences committed themselves to the study of the sexual aberrant as a means to access what remained a central concern of their existence as disciplines; norms and the elusive nature of human sexuality.

Human science was dedicated to the pursuit of truth and simultaneously seemingly obsessed with studying sexuality. This presented as somewhat of a paradox for the human sciences, which whilst grounded in describing the heterosexual (marital) relation as the norm, produced a multiplication of perversions, which had illustrated the prolific deviations from this norm. In essence, it had provided both a "biology of reproduction, which developed continuously according to a general scientific normativity" and "a medicine of sex to quite different rules of [this] formation" (Foucault, 1990a, p. 55). While the former concerned itself primarily with the biological processes of reproduction in plants, animals and humans, the latter began a process of voluminous quasi-moral resistances to a "rationally grounded" study of human sexuality. Scientific discourse on sex in the nineteenth century was faced with a bind that continues to beleaguer it. On the one hand, it is forced to eject the moral undertones on which it was grounded. On the other it cannot escape re-inscribing in scientific discourse, elements of the morality with which it has always "known" human sexuality.

Sex then, as an experiential order of physical pleasure, collided with the social structures of law and with the social scientific injunction to produce the truth. This injunction becomes the unstable mid-point between the orders of pleasure and law, a mid-point previously occupied only by moral order. This situation allows for the continual slippage between social scientific and religious ways of knowing. It is for this reason that Foucault prioritises the role of truth in the modern ordering of sexuality.

> The essential point here is that sex was not only a matter of sensation and pleasure, law and taboo, but also of truth and falsehood, that the truth of sex became something formidable: in short that sex was constituted as a problem of truth (Foucault, 1990a, p. 56).

Sex as matter of truth therefore assured science of its objectives, a human scientific "will to knowledge" which, at each point of its logic risked slipping into categories of the moralising judgement it had helped to replace. The main tools in the collection of this truth became surveillance, surveys, clinical interviews and case histories. All of these means were based on the rite of confession.

4.4.1. Confessions as data

The confession has become a scientifically credible technique for the production of sexual truth. The technology of confession is emphasised here for the simple fact that confession pervades the everyday discursive exercises of sexuality: without this technology, the perversions would not have attained the measure of specification that characterises them today. Not only do confessional practices provide science with its data but they are also the predominant means through which the confessor the possibility to be judged, forgiven, punished, sentenced and ultimately "rehabilitated" biopower (Bernauer & Mahon, 1994). In the structure of the modern confessional however, the utterance of an act committed is insufficient; the single confession must be accompanied by connections to the sexual act. These connections must point directly to a broader set of dispositions, attitudes, orientations, to the "inevitability" of a personality structure or "object-choice" of desire. This is markedly so in cases of paedophilia, where the amassed force of the law and medicine demand a full and detailed history of the perpetrator. In paedophilia particularly, "[i]t is no longer a question simply of saying what was done - the sexual act - and how it was done; but of reconstructing, in and around the act, the thoughts that recapitulated it, the obsessions that accompanied it, the images, desires, modulations, and quality of the pleasure that animated it" (Foucault, 1990a, p. 63)

The sexuality of the subject came increasingly to be treated as a sign of health and or illness. Sexuality was attributed to a vast network of causes for maladies; *the*

degeneration of races was a primary aetiological explanation for sexual anomalies. Such degeneration always implied a latency of sorts, a fundamental cause of which the subject t could never be aware. Foucault furthers this argument, insisting that historically the human scientific scrutiny of sexuality proceeded on the assumption that sex was almost always hidden from the subject himself biopower (Bernauer & Mahon, 1994). This was essential to a "depth surveillance" of sexuality. This entailed not only the assumption that the confessor's recounting should be critically assessed and scrutinised by the objectivity of an expert listener, it also insisted on an awareness of the latency of sexuality as foundations for later (adult) sexuality. It was for these reasons that the expert typically relied on decipherment of the sexual aetiology of the subject (see for example Howells, 1983). Decipherment included a regression to childhood and its problematic sexual episodes, to those points where the sexuality of children and adults intersected. This field regarded sexuality in both adults and children as potentially problematic; the combination of these variables held an absolutely pathological potential and hence could be apprehended as a fundamental thereat to biopower (Bernauer & Mahon, 1994).

4.4.2. Degenerates

The specification of a sexual disposition would hence be followed by a series of corrective procedures through which sexuality could be regulated in the mid-nineteenth century. These "orthopaedics" indicated a shift by which scientific discourses successfully transferred old moral categories in adapted and less than explicit forms and thrust them into the ambit of medico-legal intervention. This new domain insisted that there were always heredity factors involved in any sexual pathology. Heredity, in conjunction with an examination of venereal disease implied a biological responsibility unprecedented in prior regimes of sexuality: "not only could sex be affected by its own diseases, it could also, if it was not controlled, transmit diseases or create others that would affect other generations" (Foucault, 1990a, p. 118). Of all the developmental stages of human development, childhood was marked as the most critical to an identification of the dynamics of degenerescence through sexual encroachment. "Psychiatry…but also jurisprudence, legal medicine, agencies of social control, the surveillance of dangerous or endangered children, all functioned

for a long time on the basis of 'degenerescence' and the heredity-perversion system" (Foucault, 1990a, p. 119). The emergence of the basic and as yet underdetermined outline of the figure of the paedophile at the end of the nineteenth century was thus a culmination of the volatile discursive doubling of the sexuality of the child and the constant threat of human degeneration and not as DeMause (1991, 1998), Gray-Fow (1986), Schultz (1979) and Glaser (1997) assert, the opportunistic discovery of an "age-old" problem. During the course of this early emergence, the lines of potential degeneration of the paedophile were sought everywhere but were most forcefully brought together in formal neurological theory in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Porter, 1991). This new neurology of degenerescence gave way to formal taxonomies that consolidated the emerging discourses that linked bad to mad.

4.5. The Violation of Children as a Rampant Pathological Crime

Amongst the earliest formal texts that attempted to provide a classification system of sexual aberration was the *Psychopathia Sexualis* (Krafft-Ebing, 1939). The publication of the book in Stuttgart in 1886 was symptomatic of the increased use of scientific method to explain madness via the medium of sexuality. The text devoted a full portion, under its fifth section, to an interrogation of the status of the subject who commits a violation of individuals under the age of fourteen. It is prefaced with a short statistical section, which attempted to substantiate the "sad fact that sexual crimes are progressively on the increase in our modern civilisation" (Krafft-Ebing, 1939, p. 499).

Of these burgeoning sex crimes, "immoral acts with children under the age of fourteen" (Krafft-Ebing, 1939, p. 498) were considered to be the most pervasive. This was based on data gathered from the French courts where "sexual atrocities on children were but 1-13 of all cases tried before the criminal forum from 1826-30, but 1-3 during the period of 1856-60" (Krafft-Ebing, 1939, p. 499). The violation of children warranted special mention (as opposed to the many other immoral acts glossed over in the volume) as it was considered to be severely deleterious to the "health" of the society that Krafft-Ebing (1939) studied. This early qualification of the

pathological nature of such an act is of vital importance to the current study. It is therefore necessary to examine the explanatory systems used to account for the increase of these "early violations of children" (Krafft-Ebing, 1939).

4.5.1. The Moral Decay of the Violator of the Child

Krafft-Ebing offered two central explanations for increases in "child violation". He assumed the position of the moralist to explain the frequency of the crimes and took objection to the apparent historical decline in the severity of punishment (Krafft-Ebing, 1939). As a medical investigator, he understood the deluge of paedophiliac acts to:

> stand in relation to the predominant nervous condition of later generations, in that it begets defective individuals, excites the sexual instinct, leads to sexual abuse, and, with continuance of lasciviousness associated with diminished sexual power, induces perverse sexual acts. (Krafft-Ebing, 1939, p. 500)

These constructions are perhaps not as foreign as they seem to modern accounts. The "moralistic" suspicion suggests that the perpetration of paedophiliac action stands in relation to a leniency in reprimand and punishment; a standpoint predicated upon the understanding that the paedophile may be remedied through effective policing and punishment. This understanding paves the way for the possible moral rehabilitation of the paedophile under state legal apparatus. Thus, the paedophile is in some sense indicative of what is wrong with society. This early contextualisation of the paedophile as symptomatic of a society whose values and traditions are under threat results in the emergence of a paedophile that, rather than being a scapegoat or a cause of such social crises, becomes a repository for such threats.

Rather than being fixed as the cause of the moral decay of a modernising society, the paedophile is viewed as an emblem and integral component of this decline. This paedophile was a product of an urbanising, morally decadent adult population, whose stresses induce character defection and prurience; they are in effect polluted, perverted urban adults whose corruption, invariably leads to the violation of the sacred (pastoral) child. Within the terms of Krafft-Ebing's depiction, conurbation is implied as a general cause of paedophilia: the "attacks on children are more frequent

in large cities, whilst those on adults, especially rape, occur more often in the country" (Krafft-Ebing, 1939, p. 500). In a triumph for the degeneracy discourses of the time, the figure of the paedophile was constructed as a polluted predator characterised by "physical decadence and psychical degeneration" (Krafft-Ebing, 1939, p. 500). Disruptions in cognitive or moral functioning as causes of paedophilia are common elements in many etiological explanations today (Howard & Caslin, 1999). Essentially, today's aetiological explanations do not simply extend those of Krafft-Ebing. Rather they point to a variety of cognitive, neurological and social deficits but express these in new ways. These explanations make up a sizeable portion of the literature (Abel, Becker, & Cunningham-Rathner, 1984; Bumby, 1996; Drake, Ward, Nathan, & Lee, 2001; Gudjonsson, 1990; Malesky & Ennis, 2004; Martin, 1999; Ward, 1999; Medlin, 1996; Marshall, Hamilton, Fernandez, 2001; Tierney & McCabe, 2001). In these studies, deficit proxies for deficiency while in the case studies of Krafft-Ebing, an analytics of degeneracy provided the diagnostics rule of thumb.

4.5.1.1. From Moral to Legal Transgression

These cases in the *Psychopathia Sexualis* prove illuminating in how they play up the specificity of the kinds of knowledge by which these aberrant sexual perpetrators were conceivable. Perhaps even more significantly, the first formal inventory of sexual pathology pointed to the paedophile not as a highly differentiated figure but as a special case of sexual aberration (Storr, 1974, Gacono, Meloy & Bridges, 1998; Canter, Hughes & Kirby, 1998). Not only was the case study of the paedophile a relatively new phenomenon, but the minutiae of the content pointed to the way in which the very contours of men with bizarre impulses were being traced. The role of pederasty is here crucial.

> *Case 173*. Pederasty with a child. On 8th April 1884, at ten o' clock, a.m. While X. Was sitting in the street, holding a boy of eighteen months on her lap, a certain Vallario approached and took the child from X. Saying he was going to take it for a walk. He went the distance of half a kilometre, and returned saying that the child had fallen from his arms, and thus injured its anus...At the place where the deed was done V. Confessed his horrible crime, and, at his final trial acted so strangely that an examination of his mental condition was made. (Krafft-Ebing, 1939, p. 465)

The above description illustrates the manner by which a "libertine" was transformed into a "profileable" criminal sexual deviant. This deviant would become, in turn, the template of the figure of the paedophile. Put bluntly: the law, mental examiners and the confession of the pederast were each in and of themselves, constituents in the production of the paedophiliac act that they purported to investigate. Each segment of the case's institutional construction, via the law and medical psychology, appeared to carve from the description it offered, a justification for its presence. From the pederast's strange behaviour in a court of law to an "examination of his mental condition", the case study began a process of fabricating the figure of a person who resembled their crime before committing the crime itself (Foucault, 2003). Together these discourses made a special case or individual from the act. Their operation proceeded along the lines of by objectifying a suspect via action. The objectification thus secured the articulation of the individual to a broader class of those who had acted similarly. This provides a "profile" – a body of knowledge through which a set of prognostic predictions and judgements could be made. This discursive movement, secured in the movement from act to category proved to be powerfully recurrent in the historical passage of the paedophile. Examining the history and documenting the determinants of the subjectivity of the perpetrator of the immoral act was productive of a consolidating disciplinary power that decontextualised the crime in favour of an individualisation of its perpetrator.

This process of individualisation allowed psychology and the law to declare their own specific authority over the act and its perpetrator. The case study acts as an elementary psychological profiling of a problematic subject. It serves to describe formally, a series of linked events from the history of a suspect, which of course contains a vast array of other events. In so doing, the case study *problematises* that action and produces a "visible" aberration. Its narrative structure in other words, its arrangement of the data of the individual's life, is part of what produces the paedophile. It is this arrangement rather than a single aberrant act that proscribes the figure of the paedophile. This is most powerfully articulated in the extract below.

> He had impressed the prison attendants as being an imbecile. V., aged forty-five, mason, defective morally and intellectually, dolichomicrocephalic; narrow deformed facial bones; the halves of the face and the ears asymmetrical; brow low and retreating; genitals normal. V. Showed general

> diminution of cutaneous sensibility, was imbecile, and had no ideas. He lived in the present, had no ambition, and did nothing of his own will. He had no desires and no emotional feeling. He had never had coitus. Nothing more could be ascertained about his *vita Sexualis*. Proofs of intellectual and moral idiocy, due to microcephaly; the crime was ascribed to a perverse, uncontrollable sexual impulse. Sent to an asylum. (Krafft-Ebing, 1939, p. 465)

In the late nineteenth century, differentiation took the form of an aberrant *vita sexuales* or sexual appetites along with the "life forces" of the paedophile. This kernel of the subject of early psychiatry required an in-depth analysis and description of both the body and the mind of a sexual perpetrator (Foucault, 2003). An emphasis on the body informed much of the early development of a case history of sexual deviance. The paedophile of this time was undoubtedly *individualised* through sexual aberrance but it was his body rather than his psychology that rendered him visibly deviant and in need of intervention. Given that an aberrant or dysfunctional body type was the fundamental indicator of paedophiliac desire, it is unsurprising that science at this time began to scan the body of the paedophile for all manner of visible anomalies. Rather than abstracting morality from deviance, the body of the paedophile quite literally *embodied moral* deviance. Through this gaze, the paedophile became an integral part of a broader project that studied the biology of crime. Krafft-Ebing's paedophiles however remained degenerates and deviants rather than complicated criminals. As anatomical and physiological explanations began to lose credibility, psychology and psychiatry increased their aetiological scope with reference to the paedophile. This increased *psychologisation* of the perverse perpetrator did not however mean a complete renunciation of earlier moral aetiological frameworks. Rather this process "was merely the superficial consequence of a more obscure, more deeply embedded operation - an operation by which madness was [scientifically] inserted in the systems of moral values and repressions" (Foucault, 1987, p. 73). The localisation of pathology as psychology allowed for far greater regulation and control of "mad" individuals in that this new "site" was far more variable and far more abstract. Indeed, an innovative range of diagnostic possibilities underpinned these early constructions of the aetiology of the paedophile.

4.5.1.2. The different types of early Paedophile

Under early constructions of the paedophile, children could "consent" to sex with an adult (Krafft-Ebing, 1939, p. 552). "Consent" in this respect would clearly remain an ambiguous category, at least in as much as it assumes the element of mature, informed adult judgement. There were two types of paedophilia for Krafft-Ebing. The first referred to a type of paedophilia in which the perpetrator was not pathological. The second type regarded the perpetrator as having exclusive sexual impulses for children. This paedophile could not resist sex with children and was not opportunistic but pathologically driven to the child as his sole object of desire. This is what Krafft-Ebing termed the *paedophilia erotica*; an unmitigated form of psychopathology in which an adult that could not perform sexually at all, without the presence, real or imagined, of the child. In late eighteenth century Western Europe, the paedophiliac act appeared to be contingent on the violation of propriety rather than an act focused primarily on the violation of the child as an invariably damaging action. Conceding to consent by the child suggested a weakness of character and moral fortitude. Unless the child consented to sexual congress, the adult would be understood to be a mere violator of propriety or an opportunistic molester of a different and fetishised object. In essence, the crime of paedophilia was not an infringement on the rights of the child but an act of moral impropriety. Raping a child on the other hand implied just another form of threat to the sanctity of the marriage relation.

To engage in any form of sexual activity outside of this relation indicated a moral disintegration, which was primarily informed by degeneracy (Krafft-Ebing, 1939; Lombroso, 1968). Child rapists (much like all rapists) were characterised as "imbeciles, paretic, and senile dements" (Krafft-Ebing, 1939, p. 552), they were "usually young men, who lack[ed] courage or [had] no faith in their virility" (p. 552). Categorisation of the act therefore seems to depend more on the psychological status of the perpetrator than simply on the basis of the violation of the child. Thus, the focus of the crime was on the perpetrator rather than its object. Whilst the *rape* of a child was the result of "temporary excitation" produced by alcohol, the *violation* of the child was the result of an adult that was not "of full virility and mentally sound" (Krafft-Ebing, 1939, p. 552). Both were paedophiliac acts but they each had their own

very different aetiologies. In cases that were the result of temporary excitation, the paedophile was non-pathological.

4.5.1.3. The Non-Psychopathological Paedophile

Various contingent factors determined the status of the violator of the child. Of these, the most decisive was the ability to indulge in a normal adult sexual life. Strange or bizarre objects for sexual gratification did not imply pathology if the subject could otherwise enjoy "normal" sexual tastes.

> [In] debauchees who have tasted all the pleasures of normal and abnormal sexual pleasures with woman - the only motive for its infamous act can be found in a morbid psychical craving to create a novel sexual situation and to revel in the shame and confusion of a child victim. A subordinate motive may be sexual impotence with the adult seeking a new stimulus in the extraordinary coitus with an immature female. If virility also fails in this instance, sexual contact with boys is very likely resorted to, especially in the form of pederasty. (Krafft-Ebing, 1939, p. 552)

The non-psychopathological paedophile indulged in violations of the child for either macabre or sadistic motivations or due to psychical impotency. The common culprits in this form of paedophilia included nursemaids, tutors, governesses and libertines. These non-pathological paedophiles had merely "suffered shipwreck in the sphere of morality and potency" (Krafft-Ebing, 1939, p. 554) and were rescued from pathology by their *eclectic* rather than *exclusive* sexual tastes. In these cases, the paedophile was not sexually attracted to children. Rather, their sexual episodes with children were the result of some or other form of moral deficiency and or sexual impotency.

4.5.1.4. The Psychopathological Paedophile

The paedophile classified as psychopathological was commonly a victim of a series of "acquired mental weakness" (Krafft-Ebing, 1939, p. 554).

> In addition to the aforesaid categories of moral renegades and those afflicted with psychic-moral weakness - be this congenital or superinduced by cerebral disease or episodical mental aberration - there are cases in which the needy subject is drawn to children not in consequence of degenerated morality or psychical or physical impotence, but rather by a morbid disposition, a *psychosexual perversion*, which may at present be named *paedophilia erotica*. (Krafft-Ebing, 1939, p. 555)

The psychosexual perversion as an aetiology for paedophilia defined Krafft-Ebing's *paedophilia erotica*. This diagnosis represented the pinnacle of pathology across the continuum beginning with a sexually wayward libertine and ending with pure paedophilia.

> The individual afflicted is tainted. The affection for immature persons of the opposite sex is of a primary nature (quite in opposition to the debauchee); the imaginary representations are…abnormal…and are very strongly indeed marked by lustful feelings. The libidinous acts - if you exclude the one in which virility was present - consist only in immodest touches or manustupration [sic] of the victim. Nevertheless, they adduce the gratification of the subject, even though ejaculation is not attained (Krafft-Ebing, 1939, p. 557).

Under the discourses of 1886, the rape of a child did not condemn the perpetrator to eternal pathology. Such an act in the present implies a line of pathology that spreads both backwards into the history of the perpetrator and forwards into the future life of both the perpetrator and the victim.

It is perhaps through the discursive development of a sexually untouchable child that the paedophile became eternally pathological and was therefore in a constant state of recidivistic potential. Beginning in the early eighteenth century, the increasingly problematised sexuality of the child locked the paedophile into an eternal predisposition to act again. The paedophiliac act was explained through the character of the actor who commits it, whilst the paedophiliac character was acquired through the act. This case of circularity informs the logic by which contemporary paedophiles are incessantly monitored. Acts and categories of personhood are conflated by discourses of pathology such that it becomes difficult to separate the deviant child sex crime from a whole category of perversity and personhood. Separation between the moment of fantasy in which the child is the ideal sex object and unavoidable predisposition to paedophiliac action appears equally as difficult. The circularity of modern constructions of the paedophile was not in place in 1886 and so Krafft-Ebing (1939) was thus able to separate these two categories just as he was able to divide the paedophile into the non-psychopathological and psychopathological types. Such divides are not for the most part practically operationalisable in the psychological diagnostic texts of today which insist that a sexual fantasy or act with the child is

grounds enough for at least the tentative diagnosis of paedophilia (American Psychiatric Association. Task Force on DSM-IV., 1994). As discourses of the child have increasingly privileged its status, so too, have the severity of the penal and pathological ramifications of the child sex crime grown incrementally.

Reviewing the *Psychopathia Sexualis* reveals a number of unfamiliar features. The *form* and not the *object* of the aberration is the most significant component in detailing its pathology. The violation of the child due to deprivations of normative sex does not constitute a psychopathological perpetrator of paedophilia. Violations of the child perpetrated by excesses or physiological damage may be described, as psychopathological but do not qualify as paedophiliac. The violation of the child by a perpetrator exclusively desirous of children without mitigating physiological or moral deficits may be regarded a pure paedophilia. For Krafft-Ebing then there are different kinds of paedophiles. Each one of these types has its own aetiology. There are some commonalities in each case. Firstly, the paedophiliac act refers to the character of its perpetrator and secondly all cases require psychological rather than penological correction. These possibilities for treating paedophilia seem to disappear in future constructions of the paedophile where new parameters for the paedophiliac act began to crystallise.

4.6. Psychoanalysis and the Paedophile

The value of the scientific study of childhood was amongst the many implications of Freud's *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* [1905] (1991) and The *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis* [1919] (1991c). These seminal works frequently contravened the Krafft-Ebing models and theories that described the *paedophilia erotica*.

For Freud, the perversion of the individual could not be explained by merely taking recourse to the psychopathological as qualitatively distinct from and mutually exclusive to clinically "normative" behaviour. Freud attempts to account for his observations of the deviations of the "sexual aim" (Freud, 1991a, p. 46) and the "sexual object" in his *three essays.* In so doing, Freud oppugned an entrenched

scientific and popular hypothesis concerning the sexuality of the child. In some ways, he blurred the well-established sexual divisions between adults and children at that time by asserting that human sexuality exists across its developmental stages. That normal sexuality did not necessitate a pubescent awakening of an in-built heterosexual reproductive aim problematised the erstwhile epistemology of both normative and non-normative sexual practices. Furthermore, Freud complicated the traditional diagnostic notions of psychopathology through an interrogation of the role of *degeneracy* in diagnosis. Degeneracy (as was described in the above section) was at this time, a mainstay aetiological theory for paedophilia. Freud unapologetically objected to explaining sexual deviancy through degeneracy by calling into question the "indiscriminate use of the word [degeneracy] in general" (p. 48). By critically interrogating "the fashion to regard any symptom which is not obviously due to trauma and infection as a sign of degeneracy" (Freud, 1991a, p. 48), he threatened the very foundations of former constructions of the figure of the paedophile.

4.6.1. Perversity as a Non-Psychopathological Phenomenon in adults

For Freud perverse sexuality was considered to occupy the plane of "normative" psychic sexuality but for an aberrant choice of sex object and aim(s). The intra-psychic functioning of perverts was structured similarly to their heterosexual non-incestuous adult counterparts. The form of their sexuality was however different. The essence of the perversions however "[lay] not in the extension of the sexual aim, not in the replacement of the genitals, not even always in the variant choice of the object, but solely in the exclusiveness with which these deviations are carried out as a result of which the sexual act serving the purpose of reproduction are put aside" (Freud, 1991c, p. 364). Therefore, for Freud the choice of a non-normative sexual object did not imply psychopathology.

> Perverse sexuality is as a rule excellently centred: all its actions are directed to an aim - usually to a single one component instinct has gained the upper hand in it and is either the only one observable or has subjected the others to its purposes. In that respect there is no distinction between perverse and normal sexuality other than the fact that their dominating component instinct and consequently their sexual aims are different. (Freud, 1991c, p. 365)

This separation of perversity from psychopathology formed the basis of an argument

by which paedophilia was constructed as a *perverse crime* rather than a *psychopathological action*. The perversions therefore did not necessitate intra-psychic disturbance or psychopathology. For Freud the location of the sexuality of the pervert fell within normal psychic functions, deviating only in the forms of its object(s) and aim(s). Thus, a Freudian examination of perversion indicated it to be neither a sufficient nor a necessary object for psychopathology. By contrast, it would seem to be both for contemporary constructions of paedophilia.

4.6.2. The Freudian Paedophile

The child of 1905 had seemingly not yet emerged as being anything other than an inappropriate sexual object choice, analogous to the inappropriate sexual object of the homosexual (Weeks, 2000) . This empty significance of the child as sexual object was to undergo intense transformation and was to become a potent signifier for paedophiliac psychopathology in the future. In sharp contrast to Krafft-Ebing's findings, Freud insisted that paedophilia could not be ascribed to insanity and "that disturbances of the sexual instinct among the insane do not differ from those that occur among the healthy and in whole races and occupations" (Freud, 1991a, p. 60).

The critical point here is that Freud could conceive of the paedophile as a child-lover. His paedophile could live, work and love normally. The only exception to this otherwise normal way of life was the paedophile's choice of a child as a love object.

4.6.3. An element of descent: The waning of degeneracy

For Freud the breakdown in the moral fabric of the individual could not be classed as a cause for any state of mental illness. While Kraft-Ebbing remarked that paedophilia was a symptom of a society in degeneration, Freud concurred with assertions of Bloch [1902] (1947) by insisting that "loosenings like these with the tie of the sexual object, have occurred from time immemorial, in all periods known to us, among all peoples, the most primitive and the most civilised, and have occasionally obtained toleration and general recognition (Freud, 1991c, p. 348). Therefore, for Freud although the paedophile could be classed as statistically "abnormal" due to a relatively unusual

choice of object, he need not be psychopathological. Freud's paedophile was perverse in the sense that the targets of paedophiliac desire were not reproductive. However, this did not necessarily imply any weakness or illness in the paedophile. The diagnostic space for a non-pathological love for children rapidly disappeared and was nowhere to be found in the mainstay diagnostic texts of some 20 years later. Likewise, the conflation of "abnormal" and psychopathological would go on to ensure that few sexual oddities/eccentricities could ultimately be viewed beyond the suspicion of pathology.

4.7. The early Diagnostic Systems

The second edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical manual followed the release of the lesser-cited first edition in 1952. The texts represented the first official taxonomy of mental disorders of the American Psychological Association (APA). The second edition represents a formalised copy of the first and proves to be a sufficient source for the examination of early psychological diagnostic systems. The American Psychiatric Association receives veritable support from Mental Health Professionals in South Africa. The Diagnostic and Statistical Manuals (DSMs) of the American Psychiatric Association are therefore sufficient discursive sources from which to analyse the paedophile as a diagnostic construct.

4.7.1. The DSM-II: A Brief mention of the Paedophile

The paedophile of the DSM-II was represented by a single word but was unquestionably a psychopathological figure. The classification was defined under the Personality Disorders and other non-psychotic mental disorders. Under the collection methods of the DSM this aberrant individual represented an outlier to the sexual norms of the 1950s. Norm collection, data representivity and population surveying were all essential elements to the production of this text. This "new" surveillance method points to the increasing net of population surveillance and paedophilia's inclusion under personality disorders is telling. Through a diagnosis that was directed toward personality, it became increasingly difficult to separate the person from his sexual act. The "sporadic aberration" mentioned by Freud [1905] became (in the

DSM) an entire personality profile by which separation of person and act was increasingly untenable. However, paedophilia was classed with other forms (Gebhard, 1965) of sexual deviation (sexual sadism, sexual masochism and voyeurism) and was not yet an autonomous form of deviance. The paedophile was not a discrete priority for the second diagnostic text of the APA in 1968. It was merely a minor deviation in the sexual underpinnings of the otherwise healthy personality.

> The category [sexual deviation] is for individuals whose interests are directed primarily towards objects other than people of the opposite sex, toward sexual acts not usually associated with coitus, or towards coitus performed under bizarre circumstances as in necrophilia, paedophilia, sexual sadism and fetishism. Even though many find their practices distasteful, they remain unable to substitute normal sexual behaviour for them. This diagnosis is not appropriate for individuals who perform deviant sexual acts because normal objects are not available to them (APA, 1968, p. 44).

Each of these disorders was described as deviations irrespective of their *pathological* objects of desire. The objects of the paraphilias become increasingly greater determinants for their classification in later texts.

4.7.2. Proliferation and Further Individualisation of the Paedophile in Diagnosis

From a brief mention in a subsection under the personality disorders in the DSM-II of 1968 (Davison & Neale, 1974), paedophilia became a diagnostic category in and of itself in the DSM-IIIR of 1987. This difference was marked by greater spatial allocation, level of explanation, description and apparent density of knowledge in the third revised manual of the APA. Each of the sexual disorders contained a number of descriptive-explanatory paragraphs devoted exclusively to the sexual disorder itself but it was paedophilia that was by far the most densely elaborated of all these "newly" constituted sexual disorders.

> The essential feature of this disorder is recurrent, intense, sexual urges and sexually arousing fantasies, of at least six months duration, involving sexual activity with a prepubescent child. The person has acted on these urges, or is markedly distressed by them...People with paedophilia generally report an attraction to children of a particular age range, which may be as specific as within a range of two years...Some people with pedophilia are sexually attracted only to children (exclusive type), whereas others are sometimes attracted to adults (nonexclusive) type)...The person may limit his activities to

> his own children, stepchildren, or relatives, or may victimize children outside of his family (APA, 1987, p. 284).

The paedophile had in the space of one hundred years since Krafft-Ebing's original diagnostic text, attained a considerably more detailed and encompassing pathological profile (Groth, 1980, 1982). The former caveat against making the diagnosis of paedophilia in the absence of normal objects had disappeared. Although the category was subdivided into the exclusive and nonexclusive types, reminiscent of Krafft-Ebing's distinction between the non-pathological and the pathological paedophile, both strata were considered manifestations of a mental disorder. This distinction is far removed from the theoretical potential for a non-psychopathological paedophile advanced by both Krafft-Ebing (1939) and Freud (1991a). Here it is worth briefly noting a point of slippage in the above APA text. Insisting that the "essential feature" of the "disorder" of paedophilia is "recurrent…sexual urges and fantasies"; the text alludes to the prospects of actual sexual activity in the subordinate clause "involving sexual activity", a qualification which remains somewhat ambiguous (actual physical contact, activities with children which take on a sexualised dimension with explicit nudity?) The following sentence loosens the connection between sexual actual, explicit acts and fantasy further by noting that the paedophile has "acted on those urges, or is markedly distressed by them" seemingly indicating that personal vexation by the nature of one's own inappropriate fantasies of children is enough to qualify one as a "paedophile".

This relatively new and elaborated global study of the paedophile was productive of a number of special journal issues and books that sought to highlight what had come to represent the most controversial interaction between children and adults (Araji & Finkelor, 1985; Bagley, 1983; Finkelor, 1985; Steele, 1984). A special issue of the *Journal of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry* in 1989 began with an editorial that explicitly highlighted the controversy surrounding the psychology and penal treatment of the paedophiles that were being "discovered" around the world (Terr, 1989). These calls for knowledge coverage resulted in the production of an exponentially growing corpus of academic articles on paedophilia in the literature (see table 2). Paedophilia became the most recognisable category of the paraphilias (Ferguson, Lynskey &

Horwood, 1996; Runyan 1998). Paedophilia as a diagnosis that formerly emphasised limited violent potential was transformed by studies that linked paedophilia to sexual aggression and homicidal behaviour (Canter, Hughes & Kirby, 1998; Gacono, Meloy & Bridges, 2000; Klevens, Bayón & Sierra, 2000; Lanyon, 1986).

Other studies focused on a precise mapping of the identity structures of paedophiles (Hudson, Ward & McCormack, 1999; Hudson & Ward, 2000; Tardif & Van Gijsehem, 2001; Ward & Keenan, 1999). These descriptive studies were supplemented by analytic studies that focused on establishing the aetiological pathways for paedophilia (Finkelor, 1979; Conte & Shore, 1982). These studies pinpointed the aetiologies of paedophilia across the conventional range of inappropriate behavioural arousal (Crawford, 1979; Laws & Foote, 1981; McConaghy, 1998), cognitive deficiency (Hudson & Ward, 2000; Murray, 2000, Oberholser & Beck, 1986; Travin, Bluestone, Coleman, Cullen & Mellela, 1986), neurophysiological dysfunction (Langevin, Wortzman, Wright & Handy, 1989; Langevin, 1993; Mendez, Chow, Ringman, Twitchell, & Hinkin, 2000) and early childhood abuse (Freund & Kuban, 1994; Haapasalo, Puupponen, & Crittenden, 1999; Suprikian, 2000). Other studies used plethysmography to track arousal levels in paedophiles (Rea, 1997; Laws, 2000). Together the premises of these studies constructed typical profiles of the paedophile (Begley & Nordland, 2001; Bell & Hall, 1971; Murray, 2000; Spiecker & Steutel, 1997). What this proliferation and consolidation of the paedophile in discourse indicated was that once peripheral paedophile was now its own genre of paraphilia (Furnham & Haraldsen, 1988). Furthermore, this special genre had steadily increased its surface area such that the paedophiliac crime has incrementally attracted a greater range of objects and profiles in the wake of heightened and more comprehensive lines of suspicious force.

4.7.3. The Mentality of the Individual with Paedophilia

> In DSM-IV, each of the mental disorders is conceptualized as a clinically significant behavioural or psychological syndrome of patterns that occurs in an individual and that is associated with present distress (e.g. A painful symptom) or disability (i.e. impairment in one or more areas of functioning) or with a significantly increased risk of suffering death, pain, disability or an important loss of freedom. (APA, 1994, p. xxi).

Degeneracy or moral decay was no longer part of the explanatory or diagnostic frame of the APA's (1994) DSM-IV. The language of morality was replaced by subjective experiences of distress and loss of freedom (McConaghy, 1994). This text produced a genderless and anonymous subject category for paedophilia through the reclassification of paedophilia from a category of person to a disease, or "disorder" in and of itself (APA, 1994). Although DSM-IV attempted to circumvent the allocation of disease to character, it simultaneously severed the disorder from a great possible of variety of subjects to a particular and well defined "disorder profile". By the same token, it effectively individualised those people who manifest the symptoms or syndromes of it (Yarvis, 1995).

Paedophilia now operated at the level of the individual *and* the breadth and abstraction of certain of its symptoms allowed for greater generalised application, hence for an increased diagnosis in populations formerly precluded from it. Psychopathology seemed to have been further abstracted from its former conditions of morality (in degeneracy) towards an equally abstracted and pervasive potential to locate itself inside of the individual and (by extension) the social corpus. These discourses have taken on a certain potential inclusivity. They have been "inclusivised"[4] and broadened into general diagnostic that are now applicable to a wider range of potential subjects populations. They are thus able to run over the careful aetiological and functional distinctions offered by Krafft-Ebing [1886] and Freud [1905]. The rule of these discourses is constructed in ways that allow for a degree of disregard between act and actor, action and desire and personality and event such that both have become agglutinated into a large and potentially inclusive category of the paedophile. Here we see discourse working ideologically in that it joins and unites certain contradictions of a social, scientific or epistemological nature, such that they do not register as contradictions, but rather flow together in a smooth explanatory narrative of deviance.

It appears then that the psycho-moral utterances of Krafft-Ebing, which lock the

[4] This neologism refers to the increasing scope of the diagnosis of paedophilia formalised in the DSM-IV. The new diagnostic criteria of this manual allowed for a greater inclusion of subjects that had hitherto been excluded from such diagnoses.

deviant individual into a category of moral deviancy, have been reconstituted as purely "psychological" concerns in the modern discourses of the DSM. These concerns are in a way constructed in a way, which problematised the individual desiring subject as pathological when in essence they represent a challenge to the dictates of the norms of society, to what counts as normality within its parameters. A recognised social abnormality; and no value judgement should necessarily apply to the notion of the statistically "abnormal", is comprehended not within the terms of deviance, but rather as a disorder, a pronounced psychological problem, a psychopathology. It will become largely impossible in the future – indeed in the "future" that is our present, to speak reasonably of a paedophile who is psychically healthy, who is non-pathological, despite being abnormal.

4.8. Diagnosable Paedophilia of the Present

The DSM-IV further elaborated and expanded the profile of the "individual with paedophilia" offered by the DSM-III through an insistence on the *recurrence* of paedophilia as a new criteria for diagnosis. In so doing, it insisted that the paedophiliac act could no longer be an isolated incident, nor could it be separated from the potential future actions and personality of the perpetrator (Moody, Brissie & Kim, 1994). There can be no paedophiliac act, which is not necessarily repetitive. Furthermore, the perpetrator of the child sex crime in the DSM-IV is genderless. This differs from the male perpetrator described in the DSM-IIIR. This is another example of the way in which paedophilia has been discursively "inclusivised". It has increased its discursive domain, from a gender specific and temporally contextual mental disorder to a potentially ominous and pervasive sexual disorder. This represents a marked departure from the specific populations outlined by Krafft-Ebing (1939) and Freud (1991a).

4.9. Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the paedophile as an "inconspicuous" form of madness, in the late part of the nineteenth century, had by 1994 acquired a visibility which appeared to dominate the paraphilias and in so doing generate unprecedented cultural concerns. The paedophile had, during this time, graduated from a specific type of

action, to a broad range of individuals. Formerly deviant, these individuals now comprised the potential *psychology* for the perpetration of this criminal child sex act. An emphasis on paedophiliac fantasy as a dangerous (and invariable) precursor to a perpetration of a child sex act is clearly denoted in the current diagnostic systems of psychopathology. This discursive movement seems to have been able to shatter the confines of context specific aetiologies and diagnoses whilst still insisting on the dangerous personality-specific properties of a wide and inclusive population of individuals.

CHAPTER 5: THE JURIDICAL JOURNEY OF THE PAEDOPHILE

The sexual preferences and practices of the paedophile have come to be considered illegal and criminal within the parameters of South Africa's current legal system. Paedophilia has however under certain conditions and historical periods not been considered a violation of criminal and legal codes. So, while paedophiliac practices were intermittently condoned and tolerated in the past, the paedophile manifests as a reprehensible and criminal individual in the present. This chapter focuses on those social conditions and periods of history that illustrate the problematic relationship between paedophiliac practice and legality. The chapter therefore attempts to destabilise the contemporary criminality of the paedophile through invocations of the location of the paedophile within past and foreign legal frameworks.

Understanding the child as an object of desire within the discursive networks of sexual practice in ancient Greece serves to provide an account of a period in which children were regarded as being socially privy to the sexual advances of an adult. In this historical epoch, the child as an object and subject of sexual desire was not only tolerated but also condoned. Sexual relations with children were not immediately regarded as criminal actions, nor were they greeted with the contempt that awaits paedophiliac practice in the present. Rather than attempt an in-depth analysis of this historical period, the purpose of this chapter is rather – in line with the imperatives of the genealogical method - to *defamiliarise* present discourses and practices which come together in the uneasy discursive combinations of children, sexuality, morality and the law. In so doing, it substantiates the contingency of the discursive category of paedophilia and forces us to rethink the boundaries of the contemporary features of the paedophile.

5.1. Paedophiliac Practice and its Permutations in Ancient Greece

The Ancient Greeks permitted inter-generational sex and it was accepted by public opinion. This form of sex was not understood as paedophilia as we know it today. Rather, sex with children took a distinctive historical form. The most pronounced of these forms was pederasty, a form of intergenerational sexual contact between boys

and young men. The legal system that governed the sexual practices of the Greeks accommodated the practice of sexual relations between adults and children with the exception of specific infringements. That women and boys were regarded as being both comparable love objects indicates a stark difference between lawful desire in ancient Greece and the criminal practice of paedophilia in western modernity. A notable difference here is that the moral agency of children was a key variable in discerning the nature of the child-adult sex act (Halperin, 1990). The moral integrity of children (both boys and girls) was measured by ascertaining the degree to which they deferred their "sex-appeal". Boys or young men who were too easy or too self-interested (Foucault, 1992) were regarded with contempt and scorn. Although such boys were met with contempt, the law did not police their activities. Modern western laws, by contrast condemn sexual relations with children. What elements contribute to such condemnation and illegality? Furthermore, what are the central discursive differences that may account for such a reversal in our current understanding of the law and the paedophile?

5.1.1. Age

Intergenerational sexual relationships of Ancient Greece were the subject of moral investigations that appear to operate in direct opposition to such moral debates in the present. Although the basic legality of such a union was not considered problematic, setting an ideal age-limit on the boys concerned was the source of much controversy. Investigating the intricacies of such age-limits on child-desire reveals an overt *reversal* of present-day logic.

> It was expressed in different ways - as a problem of limit first of all: what was the age limit after which a boy ought to be considered too old to be an honourable partner in a love relation? At what age was it no longer good for him to accept this role, nor for his lover to assign it to him? This involved the familiar casuistry of the signs of manhood. These were supposed to mark a threshold, one that was all the more intangible in theory as it must have very often been crossed in practice and as it offered the possibility of finding fault with those that had done so. As we know the first beard was believed to be a fateful mark, and it was said that the razor that shaved it must sever the ties of love. (Foucault, 1992, p. 199)

The signs of puberty on the body of the modern child indicate a closer proximity to socially sanctioned sex than the prepubescent flesh of children. For the classical Greeks however, the onset of puberty in the child partner indicated a necessary termination of sexual relations. The body of the child was imbued with the potential for the experience and the attainment of sexual pleasure within the law.

5.1.2. Social Status

The social status of the boy as well as the degree to which it assumed a position on the dominant/submission continuum of the sexual relationship dictated the understanding of the act of pederasty. In essence, different types of children and actions were subjected to different treatments under the law. This is important because it alerts us to the manner by which the *child rather than the perpetrator* was the focus of the paedophiliac act. Why we may be tempted to ask, do we address this peculiar subtlety? The connection becomes obvious if we consider the different ways in which the different "races" of children in South Africa in particular are constructed. Children were stratified in ancient Greece and they are certainly stratified in South Africa. Our analysis must therefore take cognisance of the different definitions applied to different kinds of children at different periods of history. In ancient Greece, slave children were not considered to be of "good enough birth" for the child-adult sex and even though they were the exclusive property of their masters, they could not, technically speaking be raped in the eyes of the law.

Sexual relations with a child of good birth or free boys demanded a different set of precepts from the guidelines that governed pederasty with slave-children. The free child was not yet a free man and was thus understood to be in a state of "incomplete development" (Foucault, 1992, p. 216). This period of transition rendered the boy a potentially passive recipient of the sexual advances of a free man. The general populace of Athens generally regarded sexual passivity as shameful. Such shame was nullified by an understanding that the boy was not in fact a passive recipient of the patriarch but received him as part of the process of becoming a patriarch himself. Pederasty in this sense was considered a rite of passage. Stratification of class and social position played an integral role in defining the propriety of sexual relations

with children. Pederastic relations could not traverse the rigid social strata that constituted Athens.

5.1.3. Patriarchy and Hubris

While the law regarding pederasty in the state of Athens neither condemned nor policed the practice of pederasty, a variety of the basic variables making up such relationships were heavily scrutinised. Unlike the South African legal prohibitions on paedophilia that enjoy widespread social support, Athenian legal limitations on the practice of paedophilia were believed to be too strident by many of the members of the senate of the city.

The prosecution of an adult who sought a sexual congress with a child was not a possible legal exercise. However, the often-overlooked law of *hubris* provided a possible avenue for complaints. *Hubris* referred to the infliction of an insult or outrage on the patriarch of the family, and thus provided a possible conduit for legal action against any adult that had sought sexual congress with a child. Hubris provides an interesting point of study here, particularly in as much as it gives us a perspective on an ancient realm of law and contestation, which may well provided elements of discursive *descent* that inform the strict prohibitions against paedophilia in operation today.

Hubris was a term applied to any kind of behaviour in which one arrogantly flouted the law by treating other people without consideration of their own rights of citizenship (Dover, 1978).

The charge of *hubris* (in relation to the pederastic act in Athens) brought against an adult male could only be laid by the father of the child. The issue was not one of consent but rather referred to the collective dishonour that a pederastic union may bring upon the family. More specifically, *hubris* describes a charge of an action that resulted in familial dishonour due to its capacity to highlight potential or actual disparities in social power. A detailed analytics is implied here; every element and form of the sexual relation would have to be taken into account if the charge of hubris

were to be lodged against an adult. *Hubris* was thus not an ethical transgression but a very serious infraction of the law, with the protection of the honour of the patriarch as its main function.

5.1.4. The Nature of the Pederastic Act: An Indifference to the Person

The protection of patriarchy pointed to the most imperative directive of the law and that was the preservation of the purity of Greek society. The purity of the citizenry was not represented by whether the future *polis* had been sexually active or not, rather its focus was upon the manner by which these sexual relations had been conducted. These dangers threatened the order of Athenian patriarchal society and were inextricably bound to its fear of male sexual *passivity*, rather than a concern for the age of sexually active children.

> The chief of these dangers was the corruption of the future of the polis, represented by the male children of citizen families. Boys who, under certain circumstances, participated in sexual intercourse with men were believed to have acted for gain and to have adopted a submissive role which disqualified them as potential citizens. (Cohen, 1991, p. 181)

In ancient Greece, the pederastic relation threatened the integrity of the family and the patriarch. In modernity, the paedophile threatens the integrity of the child and is a dangerous individual that threatens society, albeit in a different way. What accounts for this danger? Whilst a direct comparison between the early democratic constitution of Athens and the democratic practices of the West is hardly tenable, the glaring disparities in their regulations and statutes regarding sexuality cannot be dismissed. Of these discordances, the legal status of the child in a child sex congress is perhaps the most obvious.

Sexual relations with children hence did not evoke condemnation due to their harmful potential to the child, nor due to the conception of the child as a vulnerable object, which could not be desired, but because of the difficulty in situating that child into the greater gendered dichotomies that governed all sexuality (Dover, 1978). Interestingly, the gender of the child and its relation to freedom – its own sexual or moral agency -

were paramount determinants for the legal nature of the sexual act and not merely the sexual act. The intricacies of the class, gender and consent of the child have disappeared from the juridical landscape in the present where an adult has perpetrated a criminal offence by any form of desirous sexual contact with children. The disappearances of these factors force us to examine the rules and formations under which our current laws operate. What discourses frame our legal governance of the child and what are their functions? Why are adult-child sexual relations of any kind in modern South Africa criminal? Furthermore, how did these early discourses regarding the social rank, class and age of the child and of the adult-sexual partner come to be played out in other contexts? What constitutes a "high-risk" factor within a given population is not universal. It changes over time and context. One particularly vulnerable "high-risk" element of modern biopolitical communities is the sexuality of childhood.

The most defining characteristic of this vulnerable population is the special sexuality of childhood. This sexuality is a territory that and adult just must not enter. The discrete sexuality of the child must therefore be protected. It must be protected from the "unquestionable trauma" and "inevitable danger" of contact with adult sexuality (Blumberg, 1978; Cassese, 2000; Doyle, 1992; Johansson, 2003). "We may even agree that it was [the child] who seduced the adult; but we specialists with our psychological knowledge know perfectly well that even the seducing child runs a risk, in every case of being damaged and traumatised by the fact that he or she has had sexual dealings with an adult" (Foucault, 1990d, p. 277). Importantly then, the imperative of the protection of the child in the law makes provision for the intervention of medical power. Not only do medical and legal knowledge merge to isolate a particularly vulnerable population (children) but this new knowledge form also delimits a population (Foucault, 2003) whose sexuality towards children renders them "dangerous". This danger does not require violence or even the act itself. It is a new kind of criminal. This crime may be committed without violence; it is the *attentat sans violence*.

5.2. Using All We Have: Punishment and Regulation of the Paedophile

There are of course many means of problematising child-adult sexual relations (Burchell & Milton, 1997). The possibility of violence, coercion and the bartering element of reward for sexual contact are all cases in point. Each of these offers an avenue of moral problematisations. Where certain instances of child-adult sexual contact contain none of the above elements (for example between two consenting agents, a boy of 15 and a young women of 21) law is posed with a problem. What is illicit in a relationship that transgresses a taboo without necessarily transgressing a moral boundary? If we can conceive of this hypothetical relationship existing in the absence of any significant imbalance of power, then how is the law to impose prohibition, especially if there is neither victim nor injury? It is for this reason that Hocquenghem (1990) argues that the contemporary criminalisation of the paedophile serves only to stress in a new way the traditional prohibitions on sexual relations taking place between minors and majors in the *absence of any violence, money or prostitution*. Foucault is again here useful to us because as he argues that the target of the law is not to punish offences but to provide protection for a "high-risk" or vulnerable population. "In other words the legislator will not justify the measures that he is proposing by saying: the universal decency of mankind must be defended. What he will say is: there are people for whom others' sexuality may become a permanent danger (Foucault, 1990d, p. 276). It is this sense that we may argue, as does Hocquenghem (1990) that paedophiles are criminals – people who commit outlandish sexual acts – that become perverts. These perverts are then defined by their criminal predispositions to act again. Here then the generation of intolerable monsters are recognised, produced and indeed strengthened by the arsenal of psychological, psychoanalytical and sociological theories (Hocquenghem, 1990).

This criminal is a criminal of taboo tastes. These tastes are so deplorable that legality and psychology allow for the disappearance of the act in favour of the search for the profile and nature of a perpetrator whose transgressive act can never be singular, whose perversity can never be limited simply to the past.

5.2.1. Opposition to the illegality of paedophilia

In the short history of the modern paedophile, only two significant organisations have publicly challenged the legal and ideological constraints on paedophilia. These were the North American Man-Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) and the René Guyon Society. Other paedophile information exchanges such as the Childhood Sensuality Circle (CSC), Pedophiliacs Anonymous (PAN), Pedophile Information Exchange (PIE) Pedophile Action for Liberation (PAL), Pedophile Alliance League (P.A.L.), The Lewis Carroll Collectors Guild & the Howard Nichols Society but NAMBLA and René Guyon have been the most publicly visible proponents of paedophilia (or what they often term intergenerational sex). Jenkins (1998) provides a detailed description of the origin and vision of these groups. I mention them here only to draw attention to points of resistance to the dominating discourses on paedophilia rife during the 1970s and 1980s and I do this only to highlight the absence of such organised pro-paedophilia lobbyists in South Africa.

The formation of NAMBLA followed a meeting of the Boston-Boise Committee in 1978 and protested against what it deemed to be harsh and irrational legal prohibitions on paedophilia in America. Together with the René Guyon Society, these two organisations were targeted by visible protests against paedophilia that began in Boston but increased in scope. With slogans such as René Guyon's "Sex before eight or it's too late", pro-paedophilia organisations were attacked in the academy, in civil society and through the media. While the formation of these groups did provide some measure of opposition to the prevailing legal and moral discourses of the time, they received very little (almost negligible) support (Jenkins, 1998). Perhaps the most powerful representative text of the movement was *Paedophilia: The Radical Case* (O' Carroll, 1982). Although published, the text, like the organisations that inspired it, was isolated "on the radical fringe of sexual and political activism" (Jenkins, 1998, p. 160). While this opposition is noteworthy is represented a minor discursive movement in America. What is interesting however is that the legal prohibitions on paedophilia have never been formally challenged in South Africa in this manner. In fact, not a single historical statute (of the type detailed below) that criminalised paedophilia was ever institutionally or publicly challenged in South Africa. In South Africa, the law

moved beyond understanding the paedophiliac act as punishable. It drew from the act a personality that was dangerous and needed to be regulated and punished.

5.3. Contemporary Legislation and the Paedophile as a Dangerous Individual

The discursive shift away from the act and the victim heralded the construction of a new kind of "dangerous" criminal. This shift is so powerful that even a single non-violent, fantastical act defines a whole profile of potential under the law. This differs significantly from previous historical episodes where:

> it was *acts* that the law concerned itself with. Certain forms of behaviour were condemned. Now what we are defining and therefore what will be found by the intervention of the law, the judge, and the doctor, are dangerous individuals". (Foucault, 1990d, p. 281, emphasis added)

Sexual relations between adults and children under the present legal framework criminalise the action and more fundamentally, the perpetrator involved. Through the scope of literature discussed above, it is evident that the legal status of the sexualities of both the child and the adult is discursively constituted. The discourses and material conditions that shape the criminal practice of paedophilia today gravitate around a danger at once psychological, social and biopolitical, a danger to the ideal hopes of our future society. How might we begin to understand the particular discursive dangers as they develop within the context of the law designed to defend South African society?

5.4. The Emergence of Legal Prohibition under the Law in South Africa

Tracing the emergence of the illegality of paedophiliac practice under South African Law is complicated by the varying colonial affiliations of South Africa at any particular time. The provinces of South Africa were subject to various colonial sovereignties throughout its relatively brief history. The laws governing a colony at specific points were therefore subject to the laws of imperial sovereignty. We cannot therefore provide a smooth analysis of the evaluation of anti-paedophiliac law in the country. Rather, this terse historical account attempts to provide a schematic for the development of legal prohibitions on paedophilia at the infancy of the legislation of

the republic. Doing this will allow us to match the emergence of this dangerous figure with a series of particular psychological, social, biopolitical anxieties that prove axiomatic of its order of social governance.

5.4.1. Criminal Law and the Protection of girls

The Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1893, instituted under the Governor of the Cape Colony, made explicit reference to the prohibition of sexual relations between adults and children.

> Any person who
> (1) Unlawfully and carnally knows or attempts to have unlawful carnal knowledge of any girl being of or above the age of twelve years, and under the age of fourteen years; or
> (2) Unlawfully and carnally knows or attempts to have unlawful carnal knowledge of any female idiot or imbecile woman or girl, under circumstances which do not amount to rape, but which prove that the offender knew at the time of the commission of the offense that the woman and the girl was an idiot or imbecile;
> Shall be guilty of a contravention of this section and upon a conviction will be liable to a fine not exceeding five hundred pounds, or to be imprisoned, with or without hard labour, for any period not exceeding five years. (Jackson & Tennant and, 1895, p. 3208)

The statute did not make provision for the sexual assault on young boys. Instead, the vulnerable child was consigned to bodies that lay outside patriarchy's particular concerns with the bodies of boys. In this sense, the law of this time regarded girl children as the most vulnerable targets of "carnal knowledge". Another striking feature of the act is the age delimiters that demarcated the child as a victim of the sexual crime. The girl child of this statute was considered to be over the age of twelve and below the age of fourteen. This stands in strong contrast to the norms of much Western society and South Africa where a female must be at least sixteen years of age to be able to consent to sexual intercourse. Surely, variability in the definition of childhood forces us to interrogate the elements that define our children?

The only mention of girl children below the age of twelve is contained in the statute subsection regarding prostitution. If any sexual act is committed upon "a girl under

the age of twelve years" (Jackson & Tennant, 1895, p. 3208), the perpetrator is liable to be "imprisoned, with or without hard labour, for any period not exceeding seven years" (Jackson & Tennant, 1895, p. 3208). The law at this time cannot conceive of a sexual union with a child being less than twelve years old outside of prostitution. However, it seems that younger children could be enticed or procured for the purposes of monetary gain. Unlike the child prostitute in Athens, this law only realises the culpability of the adult and so the moral or sexual agency of the children of this time was notably absent at this time.

In line with the inauguration of the "century of the child" in which the category of childhood became increasingly clarified in the fields of law, education, labour markets and medicine (Brown & Barrett, 2002) the next legal mention of the paedophiliac crime appeared in the colony of Natal in Act 31 of 1903. The age of the sexually prohibited body was twenty-one under this act, which extended the jurisdiction of the law over the sexuality of bodies by increasing its age scope.

> Any person who (1) Procures or attempts to procure any girl or woman under twenty-one years of age, not being a common prostitute, or of known immoral character, to have carnal knowledge, either within or without the Colony, with any other person or persons, shall on conviction, be deemed to be guilty of contravening this section of the Act, and shall be liable to be imprisoned for any term not exceeding two years, with or without hard labour. (Hitchkins, 1907, p. 4)

Again, this law applied to girls only and the procurement or prostitution of the infantile body was the only conceivable manner through which the child could be coerced into sexual congress. The pathological "interior" of the paedophile of the twentieth and twenty-first century was not the legal concern of early juridical scope. It was the child body *commodified* that was the concern of late nineteen and early twentieth century legal discourse in South Africa. The criminal profile of an exclusively child sex predator unmotivated by economic concerns but driven simply by the nature of their own desire had not yet surfaced in the eyes of the law. The child body as an object of desire and social anxiety was not yet a problem under this law and so neither was the figure of the paedophile. At this point in history, he was merely a common criminal with bizarre sexual tastes. The reference to the "he"; that is the

masculine pronoun is deliberate as the pervert is, for all intents and purposes, ever represented as male in the texts of this time.

Formal protection of the child, which had hitherto not been a primary concern for the law, was circumscribed as such by the Union of South Africa's *Child Protection Act* of 1913. It was within this act that the age of possible sexual consent by a present-day child was legally defined. The "child shall mean a person under the age of sixteen years and shall include infants" (Child Protection Act, 1919, p. 372).

> If any person having the custody, charge or care of a child causes or encourages the seduction, abduction or prostitution of that child or the commission by such a child of immoral acts, such person shall be guilty of an offense and shall be liable to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding two years. (Child Protection Act, 1919, p. 378)

Under the *Child Protection Act* of 1919, children could be violated by parents, seduced or used by them for the purposes of some or other sort of sexual transaction requiring remuneration requiring remuneration and men with the means to purchase them. The child as a *commodifiable* sexuality obviates the possibility of an act that takes place outside of any economically-motivated transaction and again points to the inconceivability of the act as motivated by desire alone. The status of the child as a commodity is shifted toward its present state of possible sexual predation approximately ten years later.

5.4.2. The Extension of the Law

The above smatterings of legal standpoints that prohibited sexual relations with children were consolidated under the legislature of the Union of South Africa in 1916. The *Girls' and Mentally Defective Women's Protection Act* replaced the *Criminal Law Amendment Act* in both the Cape and Natal colonies. The statute under the Union of South Africa revised prior age demarcations with reference to the vulnerable child.

> Every male person who has unlawful carnal connection with a girl under the age of sixteen years or who commits with a girl under that age immoral or indecent act or who solicits or entices a girl under that age to the commission of such acts shall be guilty of an offense and liable on conviction to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding six years

> with or without whipping not exceeding twenty-four lashes and with or without a fine not exceeding five hundred pounds in addition to such imprisonment and lashes. (Girls' and Mentally Defective Women's Protection Act, 1916, p. 6)

The ceiling age of the child was thus set at sixteen; the sexual partner in question should not furthermore be someone acting opportunistically in the solicitation of sexual acts with a child. Disclaimers regarding the possible consenting of the child were rebuked as "unlawful defences" by the act (Girls and Mentally Defective Women's Protection Act, 1916, p. 8). The impossibility of the sexual consent of the child in South Africa was therefore concretised by as late as 1916.

5.4.3. The Illegality of the Paedophiliac Act

The *Sexual Offences Act of 1957* defined the criminality of the paedophile, as we know it in South Africa. The original statute of 1957 did not recognise the possibility of a female perpetrator.

> Any male person who has or attempts to have unlawful carnal intercourse with a girl under the age of sixteen years; or commits or attempts to commit with such a girl or with a boy under the age of sixteen years an immoral or indecent act; or solicits or entices such a girl or boy to the commission of an immoral or indecent act shall be guilty of an offense. (Sexual Offences Act, 1957, p. 284)

The 1957 Act was amended in 1969 altering the age of the victims according to their gender. Boys were categorised as being unable to sexually consent to adults if they were nineteen years old or younger. The age for consent for females remained at sixteen years. Defence against the charge entered the Act of 1969 by a provision for the age of the perpetrator.

> It shall be a sufficient defence to any charge under this section if it shall be made to appear to the court that the person so charged was at the said time under the age of sixteen years if the offense was committed in respect of a girl; or the person so charged was at the said time under the age of nineteen if the offense was committed in respect of a boy. (Juta's Statutes of South Africa, 1999, p. 241)

Heterosexual intercourse could not be considered paedophiliac if the male perpetrator of the crime was of the same age or younger than the victim. Homosexual paedophilia could not be committed by a perpetrator of the same age or younger than the victim. So a perpetrator under the age of seventeen years could be found guilty of the violation of a female but not a male under the act of 1969. Nevertheless, the profile of the perpetrator of the paedophiliac act was being set upon a trajectory for blanket and absolute criminalisation of adult-child sexual contact.

The finalised and current version of the act criminalising sexual relations between adults and children was formalised by final amendments to the act in 1988. The significance of the amendment allowed for the possibility of a female perpetrator of the paedophiliac act.

> Any female who has or attempts to have unlawful carnal intercourse with a boy under the age of sixteen years; or commits or attempts to commit with such a boy or with a girl under the age of 19 years an immoral or indecent act; or solicits or entices such a boy or girl to the commission of an immoral or indecent act. (Juta's Statutes of South Africa, 1999, p. 241)

The perpetrator of the child-sex crime is male or female under the legislation. The legal system currently requires the victim of a paedophiliac relation to be sixteen years old or younger, in the case of an heterosexual act, while the victim is required to be nineteen years or younger in the case of an homosexual act. It would seem then that the most defining feature of modern legal constructions of the paedophiliac act is the universality of the innocence of the child as victims.

5.4.4. The Legal Innocence of the Victim

The child victim in the paedophiliac act is not considered to be in any manner subject to criminal proceedings. The child is always a victim despite the nature of their sexual interaction with adults. Even if the child behaves seductively and indulges in blackmail (Prins, 1982), the paedophiliac act overrides any culpability of the child. Contextual specificities such as possible seduction, violence or the lack thereof, the active and or passive roles of the encounter, are not possible defences against having

performed a paedophiliac act. The discursive divisions between the adult and the child are impervious to legal negotiation.

5.5. The Criminal status of the Contemporary South African Paedophile

Under the circumscriptions of the current law of South Africa, any sexual act committed by an adult upon a child is regarded as a criminal offense. Although the forms of these acts may differ in their legal descriptions, the criminal outcome remains consistent. The adult perpetrator of the paedophiliac act has come to be described in many forms: the child abuser, paedophile, pederast and child molester have all become conflated terms, which seek to describe the perpetrator of the paedophiliac act (Prins, 1982). Terms such as child sex offender, paedophile, child molester, have come to be interchangeable, in both academic literature and mass media (Engelbrecht, 1989; Finkelor, 1986; Lyell, 1998, These typically conflated terms provide us with the discursive constituents with which we attempt to describe the perpetrator of the paedophiliac act. These slippages point to more than just interchangeable words. The contexts in which they are used, and the rules that govern their usage at particular times, are essential to understanding their functions and their limits. These splintering terminologies used to describe the paedophile are however unified in their emphasis on the element of criminalised practice. As Jenkins (1998) argues, we must however pay careful attention to the varying uses of the terms. This is a central point in this study because the paedophile is not a pre-defined perpetrator but a discursive work "under construction". We cannot therefore impose a strict set of criteria on the discourses under examination; rather we must pay careful attention to conditions, limits and context of a definition (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982).

5.6. Conclusion

I have described in this chapter, the historical conditions of possibility for the arrival of the paedophile in South Africa in 1950. The historical juxtapositions offered in this chapter enable us to trace tentatively, a series of historical anomalies and apparent absences in the trajectory of contemporary discourses of the paedophile. The first of these regards a great deal of fluctuation in the age considered to be necessary for

consent or more simply put the threshold separating adult from child or the paedophiliac from the non-paedophiliac. This threshold appears to be largely arbitrary in nature. The second concerns the relative absence, for a significant historical period, of desire itself as a motivating factor behind the proto-paedophiliac act. Likewise, there is a relative absence of boys as the possible targets of proto-paedophiles. The fourth identification in this series of anomalies is the absence of any sexual agency within the child. Another anomaly identified concerns the graduation of the single paedophiliac act into broader discursive areas. Whereas previously it was possible to speak of an isolated single paedophiliac act with which the law would concern itself, now the paedophiliac act is always a single component of a broader spectrum of qualities. These include dispositions, personality, individual natures and profiles. Lastly, perhaps the most important absence is the discursive limit on voicing the possibility of genuine "child-love". It is not possible to speak of a love for the child that incorporates genuinely platonic and caring elements not reducible simply to psychopathological or merely selfish sexual demands. All of these anomalies and absences have been identified through the genealogy thus far.

The preceding three chapters have traced the genealogical trajectory of the conditions of possibility for the emergence of the category of the paedophile. We have traced constructions of childhood that make paedophilia a conceivable act. We have accounted for the ways in which the paedophile came to be characterised as a pathological pervert. We have described the variability in constructions of paedophiliac criminality under the law. We have exposed defining characteristics of the paedophile as discursive historically contingent and bound to the historical features of the time. In the next three sections, this trajectory is extended to the political context and discourses of South Africa between 1950 and 2000. In these sections I use continue the genealogical argument to analyse the specificities that produced the paedophile in South Africa. What form did the ideal child take in South Africa? Who constituted at risk or vulnerable groups? What type of danger did (and does) the paedophile represent? What type of treatments do we advocate for the paedophile? Answering these questions requires that we locate these genealogical perspectives within the context of South African specific discourses of children, sexuality, pathology and law.

> The works published in great numbers at the end of the eighteenth century, on body hygiene, the art of longevity, ways of having healthy children and of keeping them alive for as long as possible, and methods for improving human lineage…attest to the correlation of this concern with the body and sex to a type of racism. (Foucault, 1990a, p. 125)

CHAPTER 6: THE CHILD IN THE ORDER OF WHITE GENERATIONAL SUCCESSION (1944 – 1976)

6.1. Notes on Method

This analysis of the historical emergence of the South African paedophile will span fifty years. As illustrated previously, an analysis of the historical emergence of the South African child is a necessary object in the genealogical analysis of the paedophile. The analysis will therefore integrate this discursive relationship throughout its interrogations of multiple texts. Selected historical discourses will be examined through a critically Foucaultian genealogical lens. As indicated in the methodology section, the scope of the genealogical method is both vast and multifaceted; photographs, illustrations and advertisements will thus complement the predominantly textual sources. These appending discourses will be reproduced in the appendices of the thesis.

This genealogy performs its critical historical work primarily through the scrutiny and rearrangement of texts such that the totalities of our immediate history of childhood and paedophilia are fragmented, so that are certainties in this rendered unfamiliar. Structurally, both the arrangement of theory and its use in indexical juxtapositions lend themselves to the production of a genealogical argument.

The fundamental themes of thesis (the child, the legality and psychopathology of the proto-paedophiliac act) have already been subjected to a rudimentary form of genealogical analysis, at least in the sense of offering a set of differing historical theories of each. Rather than divorcing the data from the method, or social scientific knowledge from the order of critique being developed, genealogy seeks to construct an argument through the amassing of critical commentary obtained through a survey of various forms of discourse. Theoretical and empirical data alike are considered the

raw materials of the analysis. Whereas the preceding sections dissected many of the general epistemological conditions of possibility for the paedophile's "entry into knowledge", the following chapters focus on how this paedophile came to be constructed in South Africa. The emergence of the paedophile in South Africa is thus an event in the general genealogical formation of it. Unlike many discursive methods and studies, this thesis began its analysis with certain premises regarding its object of study. These premises have guided its genealogical lens throughout its interrogation of the paedophile and its emergence. The premises have now become the structural linchpins of the critical arguments of the thesis

6.1.2. The Specific Structure of the Analytic Frame

The data of this study comprises a variety of forms as is required by the genealogical method. The empirical analysis will begin with a preliminary interrogation of the discourses constructing the child, sexuality, psychopathology and legality over the historical period beginning in 1944 and terminating in 2001. Each discursive category will be examined over this period. Discursive crossovers are both inevitable and desirable Cases that report on an instance of paedophiliac action will provide nodal points at which to address the various intersections or contradictions of discursive themes as accessed by the preliminary analyses (presented in the preceding chapters). This framework allows for an engagement at the level of specific discourse analysis complemented by the vast explanatory power of the relational configurations of the broader discursive and material conditions of possibility over a historically selected period. This frame is not flawless. It is limited by access to the archive and the elusive definition of the paedophile itself. It cannot represent the full range of its data. Rather, it presents key texts in this range. These texts are selected to punctuate the premises of the general genealogical argument.

Here, a brief word on the nature of the textual evidence provided in the following chapters is required. Where possible I have attempted always to utilise emblematic examples that epitomise elements of a particular discourse. This has not always been easy, particularly in the historical period before the figure of the paedophile gained any real density as a public idiom of anxiety and concern. Even then, however, it is

less the case of isolated examples that I am utilising and more the case of prominent discursive figures that can be cross-referenced to similar patterns of knowledge prominent at that time. I have for this reason included a selective appendix of telling textual examples that resonate with the key exemplars I have employed within the following analysis sections.

6.2. South African Genealogies: "Race" against Time

It is particularly difficult to speak of a cohesive South African population. Colonial history and then apartheid divided groups of children and adults in South Africa along racial lines. This seems an obvious point but it is critical in understanding that racialised divisions implied dramatic differences in all aspects of life (Dawes & Donald, 1994; Worden, 1994). In fact, "Blacks", "White", "Coloureds" and "Asians" were each subjected to different forms of South African governance. This racial specification forces us to consider an encompassing genealogy as a particularly difficult task. Rather, we should examine the ways in which power intersected with "race" to produce subjects and objects in South Africa (Duncan, 2001). We must ask questions beyond "race" as a mere descriptor or characteristic of South African history. It will hence be necessary for us to regard "race" as a productive discursive force. We must therefore constantly explore its functions and productions within the chosen domain of study. For an adequate contextualisation of the historical material of the analysis, it will be necessary for me to begin this chapter with a series of historical observations concerning the biopolitical functioning of the apartheid state. It is only against such a backdrop that the textual material of the subsequent analysis may be properly understood.

6.2.1. South African Demography

The creation of a unified South African state in 1910 followed the precedent of other Western states and colonies by centralising its power base. A defining characteristic of this form of government was the activation and perpetuation of the science of demography.

In South Africa, the *Census Act* of 1910 sought to precipitate the first national census of the Union that would follow in 1911. The census was followed by the *Statistics Act* of 1914 that made provision for the establishment of the Office of Census and Statistics in 1917 (Pose, 2000). The precise political functions of these laws and institutions are best described by the apartheid definition of demography itself.

> Apartheid policies and practices politicised demography and demographic results more than in most other countries. As Mostert, Van Tonder and Hofmeyr (1988:59) have noted, the Afrikaans for demography (prior to the widespread use of the anglicism *demografie*) was *politiese wiskunde* "political arithmetic," a term that indicates the reflexive relationship that existed between population and polity in the country. (Moultrie & Timæus, 2002, p.2)

The early Censuses of 1911 and 1946 were far from comprehensive and the only pre-apartheid Census that included all "races" was conducted in 1936. These national Censuses were undoubtedly initiated to address the 'Urban Native Problem' (Posel, 2000, p. 122) and by extension the overarching anxiety about the "mingling of many races in South Africa" (Fagan, 1939). "Racial" mingling and its attendant South African anxiety were especially pronounced during the influx of Africans to the cities following World War 2. The pre-war statistical infrastructure buckled under these numbers and this led to a call for the revaluation of the manner by which South Africa practiced its political arithmetic. One of the key promises of the National Party campaign 1948 was the resolution of such racial anxiety, and adoption of scientific means of government that would enable a more knowledgeable and modern state to move towards these objectives. This promise was realised when the National Party came to power in 1948.

As is the case of the modern formulation of population surveillance through social scientific means, Apartheid government emphasised the social and economic benefits of an "all knowing" and centralised state. In a country that defined itself by its racial polity however, such benefits carried an explicitly racialised agenda. Race became one of the driving forces behind rejuvenated efforts to improve South Africa's quantitative population measurement technologies. The streamlining and improvement of statistical surveillance would ideally "keep each race in its proper place, economically, politically and socially" (Posel, 2000, p. 126). One of the pivots

cut across the political, social and economic compartmentalisation of the races of South Africa centred on the *procreative patterns of the population*. This pivotal focus translated into the development and modification of the hitherto unknown South African measurement technologies that would effectively preserve both white supremacy and white purity. The flipside of these goals was an anxiety about the unprecedented growth rate of the black population. In accordance with this guiding focus, the South African governmental surveillance machine affixed its primary focus on the two features of its preservation of white supremacy: the health and welfare of children and an attention to the sexual and reproductive activities of its populace.

The apartheid project turned its attention to a number of social and economic concerns by which both the sexual habits and the future generations of white South Africans could be monitored. The family, the school, the clinic and most importantly the sexual behaviours of its population became key points of scrutiny. The birth rates, death rates, racial ratios, migration patterns and sexual practices of South Africa hence became prime targets for broad state initialised surveillance. These governmental concerns soon came to be echoed in the popular culture of the time, particularly in the prevalence of racialised discourses centring on white childhood. Optimistic and protective discourses of white childhood are well captured in the newspaper articles, publications and visual representations that paralleled an intensified surveillance of white children as the future of the apartheid project. Protection and health optimisation of white children was recurring themes many of the works identified by the archival search. These themes were also reified through the featuring of children in the various political festivities of Afrikaner Nationalism. For example in republic day celebrations, children were dressed in historical costumes that implied the kind of idealised political and social identities it was hoped they would come to take on in the future.

The governmental methods associated with the attainment of such goals prioritised biopolitical procedures of counting and measurement. These tools of demography in turn exhibited a renewed interest in human biology. Demography seemed to "devise an '*anatomopolitics*' - a politics of the body - in conjunction with a '*biopolitics*' the planning of the population' (Merquior, 1991, p. 121).

The colonial history of South Africa was marked by laws that segregated the working, living and recreational spaces by race. The *Colour Bar Act of 1909* (Roberts, 1996) took these divisions further by "legally" dividing the population of the country along racial lines. This racial divide began to penetrate the micropolitics of sexuality through the *Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949* that outlawed marriage between the different population groups and the *Immorality Amendment Act of 1950*. The latter legally forbade sexual intercourse between racial groups. The act criminalised sexual intercourse between the race groups as an act of sexual indecency (Roberts, 1996). As part of the Nationalist demographic information collection imperatives, every South African was compelled to register within their imposed race groups as citizens of the country by the *Population Registration Act of 1953*. This law provided the government with both an enumeration of its population as well as the ability to divide its population by race.

These laws pre-empted a litany of statutes that divided amenities, residences and education by racial difference. The acts also precipitated a cycle of information generation by which the subtle differences and contours of the South African population were registered and analysed. The statistical systems that informed segregationist legislation would be able to predict the everyday activity profiles of the different population groups. In essence, these surveillance systems were mandated to scrutinise South African bodies at every point of the day or night and in every rural and urban space and across age cohorts and social strata. This was as Posel (2000) notes an ideal means to social re-engineering comparable in many respects to the mechanisms that defined Nazi governance in Germany. Like Nazi Germany, two fields were primary targets for state surveillance in South Africa. By constantly monitoring the racialised birth and death rates, labour capacities and migratory movements of the people within its borders, the South African government had to monitor both its future population and the sexual means to the production thereof. Heightened and formalised awareness of racial population differences therefore implied a raised and chronic concern for the children of the country and the sexual behaviours of the citizens of South Africa. These objects were the lynchpins around which the broad field of apartheid biopolitics gravitated. However, in a country directed at and protective of white hegemony some children were more important than

others.

6.2.2. The White Way Forward: Discourses of Whiteness and the Future

As suggested above, different coloured children were different typographies of body under the laws described above. Embedded deep within the overarching governmental concerns regarding the maintenance of a segregated society was the overt monitoring of "native" population growth. A careful scrutiny of the "natives" and their impending population growth emphasised the duty of the government to preserve whiteness through economic and socio-political regulation of a racially divided population.

> For these increasing numbers ways of making a living must be found. If the existing conditions continue, the native will become more and more integrated into the European economy. That this will give him a weapon of power need not be emphasised. ("Allowance Made", 1951)

The first level of the Nationalist agenda regarded the careful surveillance and analysis of the labour requirements of the country. This level required the government to perform a delicate balancing act. The key to maintaining the economy was to provide sufficiently cheap black labour to the requisite areas without risking a concentrated influx of "natives". Formulaic calculations were used to measure the risk of "native" surplus versus the relative white numbers of any given area (Posel, 2000). This form of regulation needed to occur in conjunction with an aggregated regulation of the social order itself. This form of biopolitical logic was present in every social sphere of South African life. It is in this light that we need to understand the racialisation of children in South Africa and the omnipresent discursive loadings of black children as "threats" to apartheid and white children as embodying the future hopes and promises of apartheid's biopolitical logic.

6.2.3. The Chosen Children

The emergence of children as "sacred" citizens of the world as discussed in earlier sections took a specific form in South Africa: white children were sacred, black children, by contrast were an indication of the future black population, which threatened white apartheid sovereignty. Different regimens of hygiene, health and

safety were advocated fore the different 'races' of the country. Therefore, while white children were constantly surveilled and prioritised for intervention by apartheid government policy, black children were also monitored and heavily regulated to counter a future perilous population.

The most obvious ways in which the distinction between the bodies of black and white children was played out was through their spatial separation. In an attempt to contain the permeable diseases of black bodies (and their offspring), pre-apartheid public health policy established the "Location" as a means to a more effective containment of the "Bantu" threat of disease to Europeans (Butchart, Hamber, Terre Blanche & Seedat, 1997). Early public health discourses emphasised the threat that black sexuality posed to the white children that were entrusted to black servants. Butchart, Hamber, Terre Blanche & Seedat (1997) cite the example of the "church native" whose wanton kisses would result in the transmission of syphilis to her white charge. This separation was more than just a spatial reorganisation of bodies; it divided black and white bodies into impure and pure spaces respectively. The sexual containment of black impurity as a threat to white purity was manifest in the pre-apartheid measures to protect whites from the outbreak of syphilis in blacks in mid 1920. Under the Public Health Acts of the time, "Bantu" males suspected of having syphilis were compelled to present for medical examinations at their nearest clinic. This was not a strategy that pursued the purification of the "Bantu" for the sake of his own health; rather, it represented an attempt to protect white purity from black promiscuity. This form of intervention was mimicked by the many black and child containment strategies of the apartheid government. These included separating black children from their mothers working in white suburbs to protect white children from their black counterparts.

The *Bantu Education Act* of 1953 promulgated racially divided education syllabi and amenities for black and white children. In fact, government spending on the education of black children was one tenth that spent on educating white children during 1970. This again indicated a government strategy that aimed to increase spaces between children of different races.

> Except for private schools, children may be educated with members of the same 'race', unless special permission has been received to attend a school of another 'race'. White children may be educated only in their official home language. The nature of white children's education in government schools is further prescribed: is to be 'Christian' and 'National', as defined by the government. (Burman, 1986, p. 5)

There can be no mistaking the implications of such a divide when this division is analysed against the template provided by the separation of the races for the containment of black impurity. In a country where the child was a special object for surveillance and intervention, racialisation of the value of children was particularly significant. There was an obvious hierachicisation of child rights: apartheid elevated the rights and stature of white children over their black 'countrymen'. It was this racial tension specified and produced paedophilia as a function of the realm of the idealisation of whiteness and white children under South Africa's apartheid past. Apartheid showed us that in peculiar histories 'some [white] children were more children than other children' (Crapanzano, 1985, p. 40). Never was this more apparent than in the construction of white children under Afrikaner nationalism in South Africa.

6.3. An Unpronounceable Crime

South African children of the Second World War bore both marked differences and unanticipated similarities to the child as it discursively constructed today. In a 1944 newspaper report on a misdemeanour in a Johannesburg, we begin to see the outlines of an improper figure that we know al too well in the present.

> Suburban police are searching for a European who has been passing as a school doctor and examining children at their homes in the absence of their parents. The man examined two children in Bertrams recently and reports have reached the police from several other suburbs concerning similar instances. The police believe the man to be the one who was responsible for the same type of offence about a year ago. ("Police Searching", 1944)

This "doctor impostor" is responsible for a feigned identity, for unsanctioned entry into "European" homes, for a set of undefined "offences"; the text however is unable to describe or articulate a crime. This text does however specify some interesting lines of impropriety: the action in concern was an "improper" medical examination. No

parental permission had been obtained; the parents are conspicuous by their absence. This small snippet cannot yet adequately *pronounce* this "crime" of a strange adult touching unguarded children; it does not yet have the language to do so. We are forced to make do with its signifiers. It falls to the Suburban police" to make explicit the motivations and parameters of this unpronounceable crime. The report does have some (missing) modern details. Importantly, both the ages of the children and the approximate age of the perpetrator are strangely absent. Only the *European* status of the perpetrator and the urban setting of his crime status provided any boundaries for this action. This is a child defined in relation to the medical, the domestic and the familial. The perpetrator stood in relation to a strange "type of offence" ("Police Searching", 1944).

The absence of detail and other informative characterisations of the contemporary report on a child offence invite us to "fill in the blanks". In 1944, this strange act merely marked the loose configuration of objects. It is of fundamental importance that this action has resulted in no injuries and no violence. Nevertheless, the trace of a crime required urgent police intervention. This example is but one of the very few articles published nationally in South Africa before 1950; it provides a whisper of the contours of an act that would lead to the public outcry of nationwide paedophilia in present-day South Africa.

The child that is not guarded by the adults of the school nor the home is the possible prey of other adults and as such may become the victim of a crime of "similar instances". A sexual dimension to the crime is never mentioned as the children are not molested but "examined", an interesting use of a medical term. Unguarded children could get up to all sorts of "mischief" at this time and many studies "found" that children that inhabited unguarded homes were prone to promiscuity (Kanner, 1960). In a study of children referred to psychiatric clinics due to sexual experiences with adults, Bender & Blau (1937) noted that such affairs were not always the result of adult coercion but "often the child is the initiator and seducer" (p. 505). Often these children came from poor homes and were the offspring of either indigent or "feeble minded" parents (Ackerson, 1942). What does the text tell us about the perpetrator? Three crucial elements defined this early perpetrator. The perpetrator is *male,*

European, and suburban and is seemingly driven to the repetition of such crimes.

What possibilities arose for the profiling of non-European offenders? Ethnographic studies of the time did not describe a 'Bantu' paedophile. In fact a pivotal study of "Bantu" sexuality conducted by Laubscher (1937) revealed that "the true paedophilic type where the child or adolescent is sought as a sexual… does not seem to occur" in "Bantu" populations (Laubscher, 1937, p. 271).

6.3.1. Early legal practice and paedophilia

Some four years after the Bertrams case and in the year that the National party was to announce its election victory by prohibiting inter-racial marriage through the *Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act*, an early instance of child assault was reported in Johannesburg. Leonard, Desreé and Dorothy Nortje were assessed by a caseworker at the department of child welfare on reports that the children had been abused and sexually aggravated by their parents. This example and others like it illuminate the manner by which paedophiliac events were apprehended by the discourses of the time.

> We have had a report to the effect that Leonard was badly ill-treated by his father on Friday, and that Desreé had been indecently assaulted by her father on Saturday (Steyn, 1948, p. 1).

Legal response to the indecent assault of Desreé did not take the familiar form of such responses in the present; no specialised forensic units were called to the scene of the crime, perpetrator was not immediately arrested and a specialist psychologist did not interview the children. Testimony from witnesses and medical examinations did however take place.

> On Sunday, it was noticed that Desreé walked with great difficulty. On examination Mrs. Groesbeek found that her private parts were red and swollen and looked as though she had been interfered with...When Desreé was asked what had happened, she said her father had done it. Mrs. Groesbeek did not report the matter to the police immediately. (Steyn, 1948, p. 1)

Much literature has been devoted to the problems of reporting acts of paedophilia to the police (Dawes, Borel-Sadin & Parker, 2004; James, Womack, & Stauss, 1978; Reddan, 1998; Smith, 1994). The terminology of this report is distinctive; the notion of "interference" sounds perhaps overly neutral by current day standards. Our terminology ranges in application from paedophilia to molestation but cannot accommodate "interference" as a descriptor of child sexual abuse. The term was however frequently used to describe acts in which the sexuality of the child was involved. The masturbating child was often admonished for "interfering" with itself at this time. Admittedly, indecent assault does accentuate a certain severity, although it fixes the act as one predominantly of violence rather than defining a traumatising sexual act. How does the notion of interference contrast with contemporary notions of abuse? What is being *interfered* with in the children of 1948? How are they *abused* in the present? Interference does not imply the trauma outcomes of abuse. This is not surprising given the absence of any psychological consultation in the report. Indeed, it does not even remotely address the possible pathology of this perpetrator. This action seems to below the scope of legal intervention; the intervention required is that of the children rather than any therapy or incarceration of the adult perpetrator.

> They had noticed that Mr. Nortje often took Desreé out and had removed her panties on several occasions. In view of the above information we do not consider it safe for the children to be returned to their father, who has now expressed his unwillingness to let Mrs. Groesbeek care for them any longer. We therefore recommend that Leonard and Desreé be admitted to the Boys' and Girls' homes respectively under detention order. (Steyn, 1948, p. 2)

This multiple sexual offender is not removed from his home, nor is he incarcerated in any way. Rather, the children are relocated under a detention order. There are elements of this response that could be considered appropriate by contemporary standards, that we recognise as "appropriate". The enforced spatial division between adult and child is a case in point. This spatial division takes the form of distancing the children from their parents and points precisely to the spatial anxiety that characterised modern organisations of the nuclear family and the disruptions to the polarities thereof. (Foucault, 1990a). Under such organisations of the family sexuality was crisscrossed within two primary relationships. These were the relationships between husband and wife and parents and children. For sexuality to be

uncomplicated and flow toward non-incestuous and heterosexual "normality" each of these poles needed to remain intact. This report was one of a variety of multiple representations of this sort.

Another case of paedophilia in 1949 was well documented in Johannesburg in 1949. The combined court transcripts and police affidavits record that F.P. Van Niekerk was arrested on October 16, 1949 for the alleged rape of two minors (State v. Van Niekerk, 1949). In this case, recourse to medical expertise is pronounced.

The testimony of the arresting officer (Detective Barthlomeus Burger) offers a description of the apparent motivations of Van Niekerk as an early paedophile. A series of photographs of Van Niekerk naked with another adult and two minors led to his ultimate arrest.

> On 16/10/1949 I proceeded to 105 Kitchner Avenue, Bez Valley accompanied by the Constable Maritz. On arrival there I found the accused in bed where I arrested him on charges of alleged rape. Accused was only warned but he gave an emphatic denial...I asked him if he had anything to say and his answer was that he read books. He did this so that when they [the children] grew up they would know what life is. (State v. Van Niekerk, 1949)

Perhaps the most significant detail of this case is the accused's defence of his actions; a sort of moral tutorship is offered as a means of preparing children for life. This particular position, the role of mentorship that bridges the world of children and that of adults (the schoolteacher, the priest and the caretaker are some examples) is one, which will become an increasing locus of concern and social anxiety in the decades to come. A reading of the entire affidavit reveals that they did not appear in court. They were not referred to any social worker or psychologist. In fact, the children disappear in legal discourse. There was no apparent quantification of damage to the children. Indeed, they are almost immediately removed from consideration. This is not an isolated observation. Various similar cases in the 1940s and 1950s pointed to the relative neglect of the children in building the criminal case. The primary targets of these court cases were moral impropriety and transgression not psychological damage and childhood trauma. Van Niekerk's main crime is that he violated a moral code, disturbed the sanctity of a pastoral relationship of guidance. This early paedophiliac

act is therefore first and foremost a *moral transgression* and a disturbance of social roles, an unsanctioned intrusion of adult knowledge and experience into the world of the child. As Foucault (1990a) asserts, it is a transgression of *morality* that pre-empts and animates both medical and legal discourses. In this sense, medicine must find on the body some form of violation in order to substantiate a moral transgression scientifically.

6.4. Children in the Clinic

Forensic examinations of children that were the alleged victims of rape were a customary medico-legal practice during this time although they did not feature significantly in the reporting of such acts such as those above. The medico-legal examination of children constitutes a large literature base today. The nature of the examination in 1949 makes for interesting reading as special protocols for the medico-legal examination of sexually abused children were only developed as late as 1987 in South Africa (Winship & Key, 1987). In fact, in 1949 no special distinction was made between forensic assessments of adults and children. The way in which this forensic examination was conducted is of significance in that it points to the particular manner by which forensic medicine produced its object of analysis. Such procedures tell us much about the instrumental functioning of the psycho-medical institutions at the capillary level of power. The excerpt below was extracted from the medico-legal examination that followed the allegations of the Van Niekerk children. The child is a *European, female adolescent* of 14 years. The report firmly states that upon first inspection there is no evidence of external injury and that the genitalia are normally developed. The Hymen is intact, is completely annular and is thrown into thick fimbriate folds" (State v. Van Niekerk, 1949). The reported first examination revealed no empirical evidence to suggest any "untoward" injuries to the child. This was inconceivable to the investigating officer who called for a second examination of the child.

> On Sunday 16/10/1949 at approximately 12 noon in the S.A.P. Labs, I examined Maud Lennon at the request of D/Constable Maritz in the presence of Mrs. Van Schalkwyk.
> (a)Well-developed European female.
> (b)Stated 16 years.
> (c)External Injuries: Nil

> (d)Genitalia normally developed. The hymen has an old posterior laceral tear. There is an excomasion of skin of the unctuous surface of the right labia, which is reddened and tender. On the right lip of the hymen externally, there is a slight degree of bruising. The vagina admits two fingers with ease. (State v. Van Niekerk, 1949)

A second examination of the child revealed "slight" injuries that can only be directly related to a sexual assault. Perhaps the point to be made here is that objective measures of such examinations become a crucial means of qualifying the damage of the assault. Medicine and law hence work together; it is only in the light of this reciprocal relationship that early South African productions of child sex crime came to be understood. Medical practice furthermore must subsequently provide the law with an objective and authoritative corporeal verdict on the body it surveys. The disciplinary effect of such reciprocation between law and medicine is, as Foucault (2003) has shown, are ultimately greater than the sum of its parts. Indeed this collaboration has a twofold effect. Firstly, it imparts a "scientific" objectivity to the law. Secondly, medical science is justified as a key component in regulating (governing) human bodies. This relationship perhaps underwrites the second examination of the child. In the above case, the law *must* find a trace of the crime on the crime on the body. An exhaustive medico-forensic analysis of the body is hence necessitated, including, today, a full inspection of the body, swabs of the interior, a full history taking exercise and an extensive psychological interview with that child (WHO, 2003). These protocols demanded medical/psychological technologies that "opened up" the child to medicine so that even the slightest irregularity could be "found". These technologies were not available to early examinations, but the underlying legal mandate to find an illegal trace on the body was clearly in place.

Based on the report and affidavits of the Van Niekerk case no infraction of the law had occurred. On initial examination, Mona Van Niekerk reveals no physical evidence of sexual "corruption" as required to prosecute rapists by the *Child Protection* Act. There is a crisis of damage here because there is a problem quantifying or qualifying the damage of an act whose implications appear to outweigh its physical infringements. This is by no means to ignore the element of bodily damage to the child. Moral rather than physical injuries, however, were implied as

being sufficient *cause* for *suspicion*. The violation of an as yet unlegislated but ethical code was sufficient grounds for police involvement because the discursive line separating the "precocious" sexuality of children from that of adults was *transgressed*. This crisis of damage is writ large in the Van Niekerk case, where no laws (of the time) were broken.

Physical injury will increasingly come to be supplanted by an abstracted disruption of the natural psychology and morality of childhood. While physical damage initially proves to be the anchoring point of the "sexual damage" done to children, it will only become a part component of the moral and psychological trauma that will come to characterise the paedophiliac act in the future.

Another significant element of the above examination is the presence of an accompanying adult. What role does this figure play? Is she there to comfort and provide familiarity to the child or to oversee the sexual examination of that child by the doctor himself? In both possibilities the accompanying adult was a recent addition to the practice of the forensic examination and an increased power of surveillance by which the doctor could be watched watching the child. In turn, the doctor could watch the adult watching the child: a criss-crossing of moral surveillances. This series of "watchings" ensured that the child remained perpetually protected from the transgressive adult-child desire that had resulted in the examination in the first place. This is especially important in an examination that "mimics" the paedophilic crime. In an examination in which the genitals of the child are key targets for discerning irregularity, desire must be wholly absent. This medical practice guarantees an indemnification from paedophilic desire. This act can only be remedial and medicinal. How is it then that doctors became prime suspects in the decades to follow? Certain elements of the medical examination at the hands of the district surgeon "mimics" a paedophiliac action but this physical penetration of the child remains both legal and healthy because it is on the side of biopolitics, not running counter to the imperatives of its governmental logic. Perhaps (at this point) the doctor's fingers lie marginally beyond the power of penetrating lines of paedophilic suspicion. These fingers lie beyond desire so the acts of the doctor cannot be indecent or immoral in any way. This point of comparison leads to an analytical insight. The (doctor's) touch to the

pubis of a child is protected by discourses of a necessary medicine; a similar act committed outside of medical practice is constructed as a crime. While the doctor operates under an oath that vows to maintain and protect life, the paedophile is accused of effectively compromising it. The presumptions of objectivity and science that protected the doctor from paedophiliac suspicion were rapidly receded following increased surveillance of medical practice concerning South Africa's children in the future. This was most pronounced in the 1990s where doctors too would become the locus of an inappropriate desire.

6.5. The Psychiatric Production of a Local Paedophile

Broadening lines of suspicion that began to include the doctor and other custodians of children in their construction of the paedophiliac profile illustrates the potent displacement of medical indemnity by discourses of child abuse throughout the latter half of the twentieth century in South Africa. Indeed adult population surveillance began producing paedophiles from a wide scope of adult life (Okami & Goldberg, 1992; Salter, 2003). From the indigent and the organically dysfunctional through to the sexually aberrant and the criminal, these personae were never completely erased; rather more and more suspicious personages were accrued and so that at the end of the twentieth century the paedophile "can be anyone" (Glaser, 1998, p. 4). Tabloid publications played a clear role in echoing this public anxiety by including politicians, priests, diplomats, financial advisers, teachers, social workers, doctors and judges amongst the range of possible paedophiles.

Archival sources reveal that parents were also included as prospective culprits in the increasing scope of paedophiliac suspicion. In each case reported by the media and tried in the courts, new pathological profiles were produced. The smattering of incest cases that came to the attention of the Johannesburg court between 1949 and 1955 illuminate the specificities of these productions. One such emblemical case was brought before the court on the 4th May 1949. This case is remarkable because the complainants were the parents of their children. Schalk Small (14) and Francina Small (13) were both accused of incest by their parents (State v. Small, 1949). Included in the inquiry form are criteria for the induction of any court case of that time. These

criteria provide some insight into what the legal system deemed important factors in the causal features of child sexuality. The information required included a profile of the family unit, which included queries into the number of children, family income, the nature of the house and so on. An in-depth history of each of the children was also provided. Analysis of the information (as provided by the court report) emphasised scholastic weaknesses and various other behavioural disorders as influences on the incestuous relations of the children. No further action was taken, as the indigence of the family as well as the "obvious" intelligence deficits of the children could not be remedied. These responses contrast strongly with the norms of many contemporary interventions into situations of this sort. No longer is sexual aberration confined to the poorest of houses and the intellectually deficient. A full range of social responses is advocated by the South African legal system. These include lengthy psychological investigations into the histories of children. Interestingly, the court did not require a forensic examination of these incestuous children. Although both children were younger than the child victim of the Van Niekerk case presented above, neither were subjected to a medico-legal examination of any kind. Clearly, no standardised protocols of intervention were yet in existence regarding an ostensibly paedophiliac crime, and although the children had sexual intercourse, no substantial age differential precluded notions of child abuse. Children who had intercourse with children could not be paedophiles under the clinical definition of the time. Moreover, children who had intercourse with other children were not subjected to physical examinations. Both victim and perpetrator escaped medico-legal intervention.

6.5.1. Anatomies of Monstrosity

Adults that sexually abused children were however subject to intense physiological profiling as if their actions were necessarily linked to a physical and organic dysfunction. Early psychiatric examinations of this paedophile (Appendix D) foregrounded this preoccupation with the body.

> Auricular orifice: nil
> Lobe of ear: nil
> Pubic Hair: present
> Perineum: present
> Anus: present (Freed, 1949, pp. 1-8)

Akin to Borges' list in the *Order of Things* (Foucault, 1996) these items perhaps seem, from the standpoint of contemporary medico-legal intervention, somewhat bizarre. In this checklist, the human anatomy of the paedophile is examined. Much as the body of victims was subjected to a medical gaze as means of substantiating its psychological impact, so the body of the paedophile is scanned for a biological means of substantiating, embodying the moral pathology in question. Surveying the body of the paedophile served to produce the paedophile as a passive object. So, although the measurement of an ear may appear an objective practice, "at each and every application it establishes, confirms, and reproduces the passivity, solidity and individuality of the silent body it surveys" (Armstrong, 1987, p. 70). Here then we have an example of Foucault's analytical principle of specificity: a focus on the particular physicality, the precise materiality of discursive practice. Moreover, we have here an example of the genealogical imperative to demonstrate how the body is directly involved in "a political field…to show how power relations invest it, mark it…force it to emit signs" (Foucault, 1991, p. 75). It was through the anatomical "charting" of the paedophile as a form of anatomical monstrosity that we are made privy to the productive forces of medical power. These procedures of scrutiny (in the above example) afford us insight into the scientific (psychiatric) limits of the aetiology of paedophilia at this time. Like the African bodies of Butchart's (1998) genealogy, the body of the paedophile is reified by the gaze of the doctor and by the objectification of the patient. Such practices transformed the paedophile from an abstracted (but human) degenerate to an empirically verifiable anomaly. The attempt as such is to fabricate the indisputable makeup of a morbid anatomy; to find a set of physical markers, a bodily core to the "monstrosity" of the actions of the paedophile. Such imagined anatomies of monstrosity take in a variety of odd physical observations and calibrations from a measurement of pubic height, pelvic girth, teeth, and ear lobes to the distribution of subcutaneous fat (See appendix D). In one respect, one is tempted to view such procedures as failed attempts to root the "monstrosity" of such figures in a set of physical coordinates. Crucially this failure will go on to impel a different order of "monsterisation"; that of a set of internal or psychological, rather than external organic attributes.

Surveying the body of the paedophile served a dual purpose. Firstly it appropriated the "value-freedom" of scientific discourse in order to write *medicalised* (or bodily causes) for the immorality of the perversion. Secondly, it was able to produce the paedophile as a passive subject. However, this body refused to reveal it pathology on its surface. This would engender a new realm of aetiological possibility that were soon to be "taken up" by other sciences (Foucault, 1994) that sought the origin and course of the pathology of paedophilia.

6.5.2. Gazing on and Gazing Back

The manner by which psychology, psychiatry and public health were provided a conduit to claiming the paedophile as an object of enquiry, description and reportage may be found in another psychiatric inventory of items in 1949. While the first inventory searched the body of the accused for signs of malformation or abnormality, the second cast its net over the history of the paedophile. Through a focus on the history of the subject, a psychological perspective promised to deliver the evidence for the *otherness* of the paedophile that biology could not discern or deliver. These included the nature of the first love of the subject, its relationship to siblings and the exact age of first sexual experience (See appendix D).

When the physiology of the paedophile stubbornly refused access to clinical medicine psychology was "invited" to locate the pathogenesis of this sexual *otherness*. Therefore, the first and second inventories of 1949 illustrate the fusing of the anatomical and psychological constructions of the paedophile. The inventory items devoted to history taking are further indicators of the intensification and *individualisation* of medical surveillance practices.

These items call for a comprehensive history of the pervert and point precisely to the kinds of early technologies of confession in South African psychiatry and other disciplines that "studied" the perversions.

> Heterosexual: yes
> Details of first conscious sex experience: age 12, female same age
> In love: Not

Feeling toward illicit sexual intercourse with a child: My only desire
(Freed, 1949, pp. 1-9)

The above items act as examples of the typical types of information that were required for the psychiatrist to make a diagnosis. These items sweep up and down the individual history of the paedophile to establish a narrative of sexual behaviour. It did not matter whether this event was "an accident or deviation, a deficit or an excess" (Foucault, 1990a, p. 65). Every detail was significant as each sexual event contained within it an explanation for perversity. The specification of the items was functional in both its form and content. The very practice of recording and documenting the utterances of the paedophile simultaneously enlarged the extant knowledge while, generating an ever more detailed set of norms against which individuals could be qualified as abnormal. The form of this confessional procedure foreclosed the possibility of any innocent or innocuous contents; the mere description of sexual preference or age of first sexual encounter became elements in a formal narrative structure whose outcome – the diagnosis of sexual abnormality – was confirmed from the outset. In short, the items compel a confession on their own terms. They constrain the range of possible responses so that the subject under examination cannot defy his constructs.

The many items (see appendix D) on the examination inventory constrain the paedophile to a confession of psychological and psychosocial dysfunctionality because they compel a psychologised consideration of paedophilia by the paedophile himself. Through simultaneously producing and then eliciting the sexual confessions of the paedophile, the psychiatry of the time created what Foucault was to term "docility". Simply put, docility refers to an effect of disciplinary power by which the subject comes to internalise the features of domination that define it (Foucault, 1991). By inventing, constraining and consigning the patient to a defining set of symptoms psychiatry succeeded in producing a patient that could only understand his history and his subjectivity by the expert aetiologies that were superimposed within and across his lifespan. This internalisation of docility manufactured a critical and inescapable link between a criminal act and its relationship to the "personality" of its perpetrator. Coterminous with the consolidation of psychiatric power was the production of a

psychogenesis of crime (Foucault, 2003). It is through this self-psychologisation of the paedophile that the act cannot be divorced from the entire category of the person who perpetrated it. In the case of the early paedophile, the individualisation of his crime could not be complete without an additional inventory that sought to "understand" the typography of a specific set of practices that occurred in tandem with perverse fantasy and action.

> Types of practices:
>
> 1. Pederasty, yes, age of occurrence, 17 years, and partner aged 35 years.
> 2. Fellatio, no, age of first occurrence
> 3. Mutual Masturbation, sometimes
> 4. Interfemoral coitus, never.
> Chief reason for present practices:
> Ever a feeling of guilt:
> (Freed, 1949, pp. 1-9)

Together the six sections of the psychiatric inventory (i.e. general description, family data, childhood, social life, occupational life and sexual characteristics) and interview fuse to fabricate a detailed definition and aetiology of paedophilic action. As paedophilia attains a level of facticity as an undeniable object of moral, legal and psycho-medical discourse, one is able to witness a set of biopolitical and disciplinary instruments working in tandem. As Armstrong (1986) reminds us all elements of human measurement, including the survey, the questionnaire and the interview seek to capture the essence of the confession. Indeed with "each methodological debate [we see] a fine tuning of the sophistication and detail of surveillance machinery (Armstrong, 1986, p. 72). Involved here is not only the objectification of the paedophile, their generalisation into a predictable profile of offenders enabled through the biopolitical measures (surveys, population studies) but also their subjectification, their individualisation (through interviews and singular case studies). Rather than capture the essences of paedophiles, the survey and the interview fabricate the subjective being of the "pathological" patient.

Through devices such as the inventories above, medico-legal interventions appear to have exerted a formative influence on the "objectivity" and subjectivity in South Africa. In an act of discursive invention and subsequent confirmation, medicine has

devised a psychology of an act that cannot be divorced from an entire psychology of the acting subject. Each item in the above inventory contributes to the construction of the sexual preferences, positions and moral characteristics of the paedophile. Psycho-medical inventories were not therefore passive vessels for data capture but powerful and productive surveillance technologies that in 1949 began to expand the category of the paedophile by extending its inclusivity. This surveillance machinery was especially effective in South Africa during apartheid; South African medical research during this time was characterised by an obsessive practice of counting (Posel, 2000). Data collection and analysis became the information base of an apartheid government driven by classification, taxonomy and segregation. The production of the paedophile in South Africa must hence be seen as an instrument and an effect of this form of governmentality.

6.6. Making a Nation

As is by now apparent, a South African study of perversion cannot effectively proceed without interrogating the impact not only of *race* in mid-twentieth century South Africa but of all the procedures of the apartheid state that produced and controlled such categories. Indeed anxious disseminations of projections of the (then) future black population of the country were common features of the South African media of the time:

> In the next 50 years, the percentage of natives in the total population of the union would drop, but there would be 10 000000 more natives than Europeans said Professor J.L Sadie...His estimate of the population in the year 2000 was 6150000 Europeans making up 23.3 per cent of the total; 16337000 Natives or 62.4 per cent; 2560000 Coloureds or 9.8 per cent and 1120000 Asiatics or 4.3 per cent. ("Allowance Made", 1951)

The differing reproduction rate of the races in South African society was not a secretive governmental concern. It was a pervasive South African anxiety. It then follows that different orders of bio-sexual scrutiny would be implemented to study the various population groups of South Africa.

6.6.1. White papers: Securing investments in childhood

Adjacent to the article above (in the same edition of *The Star*) we are able to witness a consolidation of the lines of definition that encircled the paedophile of Bertrams ten years earlier. The act once described as interference is now definitively reconstituted as an indecent act that is morally transgressive.

> Benoni. Thursday - Sentence of four months hard labour was passed in the Benoni Magistrates court yesterday afternoon on Theodoris Ernest Botha (38), Mowbray Avenue who pleaded guilty to committing immoral or indecent acts with two girls, one of six and the other of nine. ("Benoni Man", 1951)

Although this representation is similar in many respects to the earlier Bertrams example – no inflated tone of moral outrage is yet present – it is notable that both adjectives "immoral" and "indecent" are required to qualify the act in question. Accompanying this discursive shift is the confession of the perpetrator. The opportunity for denial was displaced by a full confession before the law. In the period of 10 years, a formerly silent crime can now be voiced. Importantly, hard labour and not formal incarceration was meted out as punishments for the crime. Another telling characteristic of the text is the specification of the ages of the children. This information was strangely absent in the preceding texts. Absent in previous examples, the provision of age is a telling marker for the burgeoning enquiry into the chronologically specific stages of childhood (Burman, 1999) that had made a profound impact on the practices that were scientifically sanctioned as appropriate treatments for the different ages of children. While the regulation of "native" labour and migration may have underpinned the initial propagation of the apartheid surveillance machinery, the South African child had fallen well within its scope. At the exteriority (Foucault, 1981) of this text (quite literally) lies the broader mechanism of state power from which the single episodic transgression on the sexuality of South African children could be drawn. Both of the above texts fuse at the limits of their commentary but the discursive perimeters that connect them are clear. Without a general specification of the population, we could not make sense of the transgression.

These specifications began to show the effects of a new dispensation of government

that by its own admission had embarked on a population measurement project. These effects took the form of grand segregationist policies but they could also be discerned in the everyday reporting of the popular press. The macro political effects of the National Party's emphasis were realised in the barrage of segregationist laws that followed its inauguration.

6.6.2. Healthy Children

Foucault notes of a European context (circa – 1890) where biopolitical discourses increasingly centred "on body hygiene, the art of longevity, ways of having healthy children and of keeping them alive for as long as possible, and methods for improving human lineage" (Foucault, 1990a, p. 125). The popular consciousness of white childhood reflected these concerns often in the most mundane of forms. This was certainly the case in popular advertising. Archival newspaper searches indicated many examples of adverts that offered products for optimising child health. Take for example the Ashton and Parsons' teething powder advert ("Really", 1951), featuring two white children (Appendix B).

> Your Infants Powders really are a boon to mothers and have the effect, which is claimed for them in easing and soothing babies when teething. I used them for all my family - nine children - and have now recommended them for my grandchildren. ("Really", 1951)

This advert is one of the many that graced *The Star* during 1951, where the child, its European lineage and reproductive health are emphasised. The visual and textual configuration of the advert indicated even only in a tacit form, the extent to which the institutionalisation of the importance of childcare to white generational succession. Advertisements such as the above emphasised lineage, ancestry and infant health in the white population. Laws guaranteeing racial population segregation had apparently located their primary target of intervention in the white child of South Africa. While all bodies were to be regulated and controlled through macro-racial divisions, white children informed the primary object of intervention for a micropolitical strategy that sought to maintain white racial hegemony. One such strategy to this end was the promulgation of the *Sexual Offences Act of 1957* that extended protection against the

sexual violation of the children of the republic. A newborn white child is emblazoned upon the front page of a 1962 newspaper ("Yawn for 1962", 1962). The New Year (Appendix C) was embodied by an old concern for the possible perils to whiteness and was epitomised by the frail infant in the arms of its mother. The New Year paper was replete with the customary announcements that concerned themselves with comparing native with white birth rates for the past year. Photographs, frequent citation of child populations with an emphasis on whiteness make for significant contrast to the relative dearth of representation of black children in the entire data corpus. Strangely, while an admittedly scant reportage of child sex offences had been present in the "white" newspapers of South Africa up to this point, there had been no extensive media coverage of paedophilia amongst the black community in South Africa. Searches for paedophilia, child sex crime, and child rape in township newspapers of the time yielded no results. No visible cases of black child rape were captured by these electronic and manual searches. The sexual "corruption" of white children as it appears in the white news media, always takes the form of the white male – there is no black paedophile to speak of in these texts. The threat is always implied as "coming from within" as if paedophilia becomes an act that could disintegrate a white South African future from the *inside*.

6.6.3. Breaking biopolitical rules

If population became a paramount concern for an early South African republic, then race and children were primary anxieties for a country fixated upon the heterogeneous racial mix of its citizens. The dynamics of a meeting between early South African discourses of the child and race had dire consequences for its speakers. The adoption of a coloured child by Frank Beecher and his wife in 1960 ("Fair-Haired Sister", 1962) was met with bitter challenges by South African race laws. In order to keep the child, the Beechers had to relocate to London "costing them their home that they had worked for in South Africa" ("Fair-Haired Sister", 1962). The family remained in the news, particularly for the fact that they adopted a white child as a sister for the coloured South African of four years old. It is through reports such as this – that received considerable - that much of the discursive potency of the child in the sixties comes to be invested with values of racial distinction and propriety. The

indiscriminate ideal potential of any "non-white" child was not a reality in racialised South Africa. "We have no regrets about what we did for Thomas, there would have been no future for him in South Africa" ("Fair-Haired Sister", 1962). Just as the possibility of remaining a "miscegenated" child in South Africa was nullified by a legal demand for the relocation of the Beechers, so discourses of race resist even the historical constructs of certain children as symbols of innocence. We should not slip too quickly over this point. So strident were the material conditions of possibility in apartheid South Africa that the birth of miscegenated children was a virtual impossibility: the discursive terms through which a cherished white childhood is affirmed will likewise permit no mixing of race. So significant is race to these texts and practices that the innocent and vitally important child is excluded from discourses of humanitarianism and familial integration by virtue of its *colour*.

This discursive resistance produces a hierarchy of moral and political values. A hierarchy of this form perhaps in some way accounts for the strange absence of the black paedophile. The hegemony of race in discourses of the child began to articulate a very specific and local formulation of the South African child body. Whiteness appears a particularly desirable characteristic of the child as this marker of anatomopolitics represented a broadly desirable racial ethic (biopolitics) of the nation. Put differently, one might venture that it is only white communities that have children; only white offspring fully qualify as existing within the parameters of childhood defined by the cherished political values of racial purity and goodness, of the generational succession of apartheid's favoured people. Indeed, to speak of the South African child was to express in age the *white* youth of South Africa citizenry. A racial prefix always accompanied other children that inhabit but did not comprise a part of this idealised South African population of childhood. Contrast the construction of the Beecher's coloured child with this concern for a missing white youth.

> A 14 year old Springs schoolboy, Donavan Locke Elliot, known to his friends as "Donnie" has been missing from his home...Donnie, the youngest of five children is about 5ft tall, of medium build and slightly muscular. He is fair, but has a slight tan. He has dark brown eyes, hair brushed back from his forehead and trimmed at the back and sides, large dark crown eyes, long eyelashes, a straight nose and good teeth. ("Boy Still Missing", 1962)

Perhaps the child is so painstakingly described so that he may be located or perhaps the laborious and highly detailed description of this white child indicates the distinctness (and at times even subtle eroticisation) of this particularly individualised white, South African child. This is a child who belongs as much to the community at large as to his family.

Children as monikers for the future of whiteness and purity in the South African apartheid state were consolidated popular constructs by 1962. We see this not only in the contents of advertisement but also in the regularity with which a thematics of childhood occurs in the news media of the time. Archival media sources were replete with constructions of white children as monikers for the future during the 1960s. Discourses of the early fifties and sixties clearly constructed and maintained a specification of the South African child within constructs of race, the future, hope and national purity. Discourses that concentrated their focus on lineage and longevity were complimented by a discursive regime that propagated essential child caretaking techniques, which insisted on proper white child hygiene and health.

6.6.4. The Politics of Purity

Another set of supplementary discourses constructed the already demarcated whiteness of children well within the rubric of purity. This purity is justified through discourses that firmly situate children as "the future" and therefore register them as agents of new and unmitigated possibility for a Nationalist white future. Many strategies are deployed for the reinforcement of the purity of the child. These strategies take the form of moral, ethical and scientific discourses, which both individually and sometimes collectively seek to naturalise the purity of the child and childhood. It makes an interesting exercise to read many popular adverts *symptomatically* in this respect – that is, not as a straightforward or necessarily blatant embodiment of the themes, but rather in the light of an insidious, moral activation. (Here too we should remember the Foucaultian injunction to eschew a prioritisation of the unity of a discourse in favour of an analytical attention to discourse as it is realised a "laterality" of forms). Take for example the discourses brought to the fore in an advertisement for an orange juice in 1962. Appeal to a specialised child is a key

discursive factor in the advert.

> Thirsty children are always asking mummy for "something to drink, please mummy." Today wise mothers open a can of Hall's Pure Orange Juice, and watch their children enjoy its tangy flavour. Mother knows that Hall's Pure Orange Juice is good for children too. She is well aware that oranges are full of Vitamin C - the vitamin that builds up resistance to infection. She can give her children the benefit of orange the whole year round. Hall's Orange Juice is pure natural juice. Packed ready to drink, it contains no preservatives - just a little sugar for sweetening. ("Children Enjoy", 1962)

Child raising is a charge that seemingly requires wisdom; it is the direction and facilitation of health; a pastoral vocation stemming from the basis of a deep emotional bond. Furthermore, one sees here a concern for what is pure, natural and nutritious will ward off the infections that threaten the well-being of children. The objects of white South African childhood here enter the service of commerce, although the moral rubrics within which white childhood is to be situated are very clearly present.

The white mother is indisputably the knowledgeable subject here: "Mother knows that Hall's Orange Juice is good for children, too" (Children enjoy", 1962). The mothers of children are however not the only authoritative subjects in the text. Science as a speaking voice (through references to vitamins and combating infections) emerges as the discourse constructing "the good". The introduction of elements of medico-scientific discourse acts as a verifier of good mothering practices, of good children and perhaps more broadly, good population control. We see here elements of a biopolitical pastoral where love, health and concerns for the future intersect with the influence of medical-scientific discourses.

Such discourses serve to construct the pure child as being a connected maternal and therefore social concern, an instance of communal racial propriety. The thematics of "familiality" or "familiness" introduces the advertisement and acts as a prelude to the pivotal function of its intentions to both naturalise its objects and locate them within the domain of familial concern. The dyad between child and mother is a powerful discourse that unremittingly *naturalises* the "good-life" of white South African children and draws them within the field of a shared racial/communal responsibility and custodianship. The text one might argue, acts *metonymically* by juxtaposing the

family (and the child in particular) with the naturalness and purity of the orange juice. As significantly, just as the advertisement places all consumers within a potential relationship via its product, so the broader discursive structure of which it is a part places all its white audience within a potentially custodial relationship to its whole population of children via its product of a reified white childhood. This childhood is an emblem of both racial purity and white generational succession. In so doing the text produces a child (and a family) of nature and purity and more importantly, it produces a shared responsibility, a sense of community as family, a familial dynamics into the protection and appreciation of all white children, who – whether your child or mine – represent and embody our (white supremacist) political future. A crucial point in our analysis is this awareness of the positioning function of such discourses, how they entail a set of relations that involves its audience – indeed to whom it delegates a para-familial responsibility. This structuring element cannot be underestimated; it is an absolutely vital procedure in generating an imagined community of whiteness, and along with it, a shared set of para-familial responsibilities and obligations to a biopolitical (communal) family of whiteness.

The white mother is indisputably the knowledgeable subject in the discourses at work in the Hall's' advert. "Mother knows that Hall's Orange Juice is good for children, too" ("Children enjoy", 1962). The mothers of children are however not the only authoritative subjects in the text. Science as a speaking voice (through references to vitamins and the combating of infections) emerges in the discourse constructing "the good". The introduction of scientific discourse acts as a verifier of good mothering, good children and perhaps more broadly, good population control. This advert was selected for analysis precisely because it illustrates the saturation of the science of population control in the popular discourses of the time. In essence, the advert is an exemplar of popular biopolitics. Thus, as early as 1962, the epistemological underpinnings of a racialised apartheid biopolitics had infiltrated the language and knowledge frames of popular media.

6.7. The different discursive types of early South Africa children

White infancy is further specified in particular discourses in the early nineteen-sixties.

The National Nutrition Research Institute for Scientific and Industrial Research "which [was] interested in drawing up mean standards of height and weight for all population groups in South Africa" ("Afrikaans boys", 1962) conducted a survey to establish the required infant anatomical information. The extract below emphasises the discursive collusion between the construction of the child and the intensely practiced demography of the time.

> The institute recently carried out a limited survey among European nursery school children in Pretoria. In all, 679 children in 15 nursery schools were examined. They were classified according to age, sex, English-speaking, Afrikaans - speaking, Jewish and other. ("Afrikaans boys", 1962)

Whilst children were singled out as salient citizens, audits of their subcategories were acknowledged as being of noteworthy governmental significance. Interestingly, the 'other' category did not include "non-white" children. The most flagged finding of the research was that "Afrikaans boys are slightly taller and heavier than English-speaking boys at three years...A child's height and weight are often important pointers to his state of health" ("Afrikaans boys", 1962).

As already discussed "health, sanitation, birth-rate, longevity and race" (Foucault, 1990a, p. 73) were primary concerns to modern governmentality. The above extract is an obvious example of the South African government's vested interests in the politics of its population. The types of children surveyed above indicate very clearly the demarcations and hierarchies of this newly governed population. The survey includes *all* South African population groups in the absence of the majority of its black children and produces an Afrikaans-speaking child as a physically larger and by implication healthier citizen of Apartheid South Africa. South African children are hence explicitly *hierarchised* in the form and functions of their bodies. Besides discovering population trends, surveys such as the type presented above produce citizens and knowledge objects for practice and policy. These productions may also be discerned in other textual sources.

6.7.1. Birth

One of the most widely disseminated and easily accessible representations of these

productions is the announcement column in the classifieds section of the newspapers that we read everyday. Births, deaths and marriages are announced in an especially dedicated column in most national or local newspapers. We would therefore anticipate a certain amount of historical variation in the construction of children to be manifest in such columns. Furthermore, we would expect to see an extension of many of the above themes. To this end, this announcement column was scanned across the decades that inform the sample of the study. Two examples of such historical variation are presented below.

> BOTMA - To Noeline and Willie a son, on Sun., 31st Dec 1961 at 12:10 am at Marymount, both well.
> BOYCE - To Neville and Gillian (nee Hope) a daughter at the Frangwen, on 31st December 1961
> ("Births", 1962)

In 1962, the social announcement of birth was a well-established practice for white South Africans. The child, the mother and the family name are all announced to the country as a set of discursive prerequisites for citizenship. The hospital and geographical place of birth further the specification of the entry of child and family into the framework of a nationally governed population. Consider now the contents of the announcement of the birth of two children in 2001.

> It's a Boy - FLOOD. To Michael, Helen and Lara, a little angel Christopher Michael on the 12/02/2001. Many thanks to Dr. Baker.
>
> It's a Girl - STERN/BLUMBERG. Ian and Suzanne are thrilled to announce the birth of their beautiful baby girl. Annabella Sylvie on the 2nd of March 2001. Thanks to doctors and staff at The Gardens Medi-Clinic. Congratulations to grandparents George, Heather, Fred and Pam.
> ("Births", 2001)

It is clear that the specification or individualisation of the newborn child had increased in both the familial and medical positioning of the child. The doctor and medicine as an adjacent object to birth is an emergent feature of the contemporary birth announcement. Alongside medicine, the child is placed in a larger familial lineage than in the announcements of 1960. These emergences are symptomatic of two events in the novel constructions of the child. Firstly, the child appears to have

become the domain of an extended institutional interest via medicine. In line with Foucault's (1990a) analysis, an increased medical presence in childhood is an indication of the key markers of governmental biopolitical concern and intervention. Naming the child (an absent feature of earlier announcements) points to the graduating lines of individualisation of children between the historical periods from which these texts are extracted. Moreover, we have a form of registration through which the child becomes – via the authority of such public significations – a member of the social and biopolitical community of white citizens.

6.7.2. Illegitimate children

While the management of white children within the "correct" practices of hygiene to ensure longevity was a primary concern for the apartheid government, the strange and exotic characteristics of urbanised African families and their children appeared to be taken up by a number of studies in the 1960s. A key study of the time was De Ridder's *The Personality of the Urban African in South Africa* (1961). This study aimed to measure the personality features of the urban African. This "urban African" was quite unlike the "raw" African that led a simple and natural life in rural South Africa. This African represented a culture in transition. The construction of the African urban child is tellingly different from their white counterparts during this time. As suggested earlier in this chapter, the offspring of black parents seem not to qualify as "children" within this political dispensation, certainly not in as much as "children" imply a certain social and moral purity. "Children" growing up in the confines of the squalid conditions of the townships could not but develop "a pathological attitude towards sex" (p. 33). This pathological attitude was responsible for the disregard for moral decency and virginity amongst young girls (Rip, 1960).

Urban African children were sexually aware at a very young age and brandished their sexuality to meet their own "filthy" ends (De Ridder, 1961). One of the key findings of the study was that the sexual relations of the urban African are characterised by "morally lax association, characterised by uninhibited primitivism and sexual licentiousness" (p. 160). The loose morality of these children and young adults in turn produce "illegitimate brats" (p. 33) of their own. Reports of the time calculated the

illegitimacy rates of children in Alexandra Township to be 38.92 percent of the population (De Ridder, 1961). These "brats" grow not knowing their fathers and continue the cycle of promiscuity (De Ridder, 1961). A far cry from the symbolic registration of white child citizens, black children exist in a state of double disqualification: neither fully citizens, nor fully children. The products of the loose morality and the sexual promiscuity that they were thought to embody; black "children", in sharp opposition to their white counterparts, were vagrants and delinquents. Owing to the dissolution and loose morality of their families, black children were irrefutably "illegitimate" (p. 33) citizens in apartheid South Africa.

Like Ariès' European children, South African European children came to flood representation in South Africa. In the *Rand Daily Mail* from the mid 1950s, white children were everywhere. They were announced in newspapers, there were portraits of white children in magazines and other popular media and they were the primary subjects of photographs in family albums. Whiteness was children and children embodied whiteness in apartheid representation. The purity and innocence of white children is a recurring motif in the data corpus of the 1950s.

This finding is not unprecedented in the practices of political representation. A proliferation of newspaper representation of the *idealised* French child followed the end of World War 2 in France. The photographic production of the post-war child in France appears in some ways to mirror the discursive functions of the centrality of the white child image in South Africa. In France, "the move from being a country in which the population was declining pre-war to one which would need to make up its numbers by reproducing at as rapid a rate as possible involved a transformation in attitude" (Hall, 1997, p. 115) towards children and childcare.

The exception in South Africa was the nature of the war. Apartheid South Africa had declared a race war that was to be fought on social, economic and political terrain. The apartheid white family was the safe haven of this childhood. It was no longer merely a system of relations. It became the guardianship of purity and innocence. It was entrusted with the transmission of European morality. It became a densely saturated and permanently beneficial environment that enveloped, maintained and

developed (white) childhood. The logic of this family extended into discourses of a para-familial whiteness that was made responsible for apartheid's hopes for white generational succession.

With the entrusting of the purity of the future of Afrikaner Nationalism in apartheid South Africa came the intensification of government and lay surveillance of white families. Families became a crucial biopolitical site for white lineage and white futures, a "management" model almost for the white population at large. Under this intensification of looking, counting and calculating the "invisible" and local power relations at work in the production of the child of desire for the South African paedophile were operationalised.

In a country in which the very moral fabric of white South Africa was being constantly constructed against a backdrop of racial threat Dr. Petrus Jacobus Olckers was found guilty in the Pretoria regional court of trying to commit an immoral act with non-Whites" ("Olckers found Guilty", 1962). This selected example illuminates the intersection between race and sexuality in apartheid South Africa. This text appears a conventional report on the contravention of the *Immorality Act*. Closer inspection however reveals how it reflects an understanding of the political hierarchies of values necessary to construct transgression in Apartheid South Africa. The non-white girls are ages six and nine respectively. Significant as this is, it does not make them fully reliable, or trustworthy so "the court would also be cautious in regard to the evidence of children - the girls in this case" ("Olckers found Guilty", 1962). A blatant transgression of the Sexual Offences Act had resulted in the arraignment of a doctor for an infringement of the Immorality Act. A transgression of race was far more important than the act of a paedophile. Olcker's crime is more that of violating the colour bar than of violating the sanctity of childhood. This is a transgression of race politics. Conversely, cases in which the children of a paedophiliac relation were white effectively *disqualified* their assailant as a *paedophile* and not (in the case of Dr. Olckers) a sexual deviant. This stands in strong contrast to the anxiety attached to cases of adult, cross-racial sexual intercourse. In these cases, the objects (of either rape or consensual sex) are adults and therefore command the distinct possibility of a "tainting" of the races through reproduction

(Hale, 1998). Discourses of race, desire and eugenic reproduction therefore intimately constructed the South African paedophile through the discursive, racial construction of his *white* victims. Discourses of race thus ensure that perversions may *only* be perpetrated against cherished objects. Paedophilia is *exnominated* as a crime against *black children* for no *future* is invested in *non-whites* under apartheid law.

6.8. Apartheid, Desire and Children

The relationship between the sex of the perpetrator and the victim was also an important qualifier for the construction of the paedophiliac act in apartheid South Africa. An exemplar of the different ways that sex mediated the child sex crime was encapsulated by an article that appeared in *The Star* on January 11, 1962 in which the entrenched profile of the sex deviant as necessarily white middle class male is challenged by the sex crime of a 46-year-old woman.

> A 46 year-old woman, Maria Magdalena Sofia Mara Rautenbach of Vereeniging, appeared before Mr. J.H. Munik in the Vanderbijlpark Magistrate's court today on a charge of abducting a 16-year-old boy. She pleaded not guilty. The boy, who was still at school last year, said that on October 3 his father took him to a nursing home in Johannesburg. It had to be established whether sun stroke he had two years before had affected his head which was sore, he said. Two days after, when he was discharged, Rautenbach came to fetch him. She had telephoned him every morning and every night while he had been in hospital. He said they had been intimate on several occasions. ("Charged", 1963).

From male predation to female nurturing, from male sexual assault to underage intimacy - a female act of heterosexual paedophilia produces an undefined space for knowledge production. Not only did this event signal a necessary change in the discursive construction of the vague outline of the paedophile, it also necessitated a change in the prosecutions of legal practice.

> Rautenbach took him to her home in Vereeniging and as he was not well, she told him to go to bed. He remained in bed for five days, and while Rautenbach's husband was away at night, they would have intercourse...I told her my father was going to lay a charge against her. She said if he did not drop the charge, we would both go to the river that Sunday and gas ourselves in a car. ("Charged", 1963)

New conditions of possibility and their attendant discourses had seemingly produced a new crime that precipitated new practices but the law received the act with an erasure of the sex crime. Rautenbach is charged with abduction, as the indecent assault of a male by a female is at this time is unprecedented in the news media representations reflected in the data corpus. The moral, psychological and spiritual condemnation that follows the "discovery" of male paedophilia is here momentarily displaced. The female paedophile is constructed within discourses of love bonds of a pseudo-maternal and then matrimonial sort.

> Under cross-examination by Mr. H. Slomowitz (for Rautenbach) he admitted that Rautenbach had urged him not to leave school after standard 7, but to complete standard 8, so that he might one day support her. He said that she had bought him a ring, and he had told his father that he was going to buy her one also. ("Charged", 1963)

Love and marriage, paternal affection and propriety are discourses that are not easily admissible to the profile of the male sex crime perpetrator. The element of a prospective patriarchal union in the form of marriage goes some way to *decriminalise* the paedophiliac act. The love of the female paedophile is the motivating factor for her actions; factors such as love and paternal mentorship can however, never supplant perversity as the primary determinant of male paedophilia. Discourses of gender, more directly, those of womanhood hence mitigate against the pathological nature of this example of a paedophiliac act committed by a female.

6.9. The First Formal Profiles

The informal questionnaires developed by psychiatrists at the request of the courts in South Africa were succeeded by the release of the second edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM II) in 1968. Although the text presents a formalised enunciation of the *sexual disorders*, it does not detail the object specific disorders so regimentally documented by its modern counterpart.

> The category [of the sexual disorders] is for individuals whose interests are directed primarily towards objects other than people of the opposite sex, toward sexual acts not usually associated with coitus, or towards coitus performed under bizarre circumstances as in necrophilia, paedophilia, sexual sadism and fetishism. Even though many find their practices distasteful, they

> remain unable to substitute normal sexual behaviour for them. This diagnosis is not appropriate for individuals who perform deviant sexual acts because normal objects are not available to them. (APA, 1968, p. 44)

The manual had wide distribution throughout South Africa and informed most aspects of psychological research and praxis. Most significantly, the text formerly exonerated individuals from pathology if normal sexual objects are not available to them (APA, 1968). This early understanding echoes Krafft-Ebing's distinction between the pathological and non-pathological paedophile. The rising discursive status of the child (globally and in South Africa) soon expunged this possibility of exoneration from any subsequent editions. Significantly, the release of DSM-II produced an agglutinated mass of perversions whose "interests are directed towards sexual acts not usually associated with coitus" (APA, 1968, p. 44). It was not until the release of the DSM-III in 1987 that coherent cases of pure paedophilia began to surface in the South African Psychiatric repertoire.

6.9.1. Medico-legal exchanges in the Paedophiliac Crime

Emergent cases of paedophilia prior to the sixties had been received without the magnitude of moral panic that was to characterise the rise of paedophilia in the eighties (Jenkins, 1998). Discourses of impropriety rather than criminality had been integral to an understanding of the paedophiliac offence before the 1970s. The early 1970s witnessed a reversal of this history:

> Mr. William Frederick Van der Merwe 19, of Ferre Street Bertrams was committed for a summary trial in the Rand Supreme court yesterday on charges of rape...There were five charges of rape against him and it was alleged that minor girls were involved in some counts. ("Youth", 1972)

The release of DSM II had served to consolidate the power of psychology as an expert adjunct to the legal system. In the above case, psychological testimony was required to substantiate the pathological (and recidivistic) features of a crime that had been the exclusive property of the law in earlier decades. This psychologisation was accompanied by an escalation of the legal status of the offence. Firstly, the case is held in the Supreme Court. Former cases were considered a regional matter while the

rape of a minor in 1972 requires nation wide legal attention. Secondly, the accused was incarcerated. This represented the most punitive of legal reactions to a paedophiliac event thus far.

Perhaps surprisingly, court recordings of the case suggest that constructions of pathology and criminality seem to be separable determinants of the crime. Expert psychological testimony pointed to certain key factors inherent in "the applicant's conduct" (p. 17) that militated against a diagnosis of psychopathy. The premeditation of the crimes as well as the number of rapes was indicative of the primary criminal rather than psychological motivations of the offences. For the perpetrator of the crime to be punishable by incarceration his sanity must be established: so while psychological examination was still crucial, criminality and pathology are separable, legal and psychological enquiries are not. This case therefore intimates a discursive battle between discourses of pathology and discourses of mere criminality in the construction of the paedophiliac act. The outcome of the case is telling in this regard. The judge announced that the accused "is an irresponsible young sexual criminal and nothing else" (The State v. Van der Merwe, 1972, p. 17). Criminality, irresponsibility and deviance, all archival discourses of historical paedophilia are reintroduced to establish the "enormity" (The State v. Van der Merwe, 1972, p. 17) of this offence of 1972. While the judge conceded that incarceration would be a suitable punishment for Van der Merwe's adult rapes, his corruption of minors "would warrant and justify and demand the ultimate penalty" (The State v. Van der Merwe, 1972, p. 18). This seminal case pre-empted a series of popular calls for the death sentence to be passed for the perpetration of paedophilia. Furthermore, the death penalty appeared to the most viable sentence because (according to psychological testimony) the child sexual assailant cannot be rehabilitated because the psychological trauma of his past (and potentially future) violations can never be fully undone. The judge in accordance with this view decreed that the death of this paedophile was the most effective means to public protection.

> My paramount duty in this case is to protect the public, and particularly young females, from the possibility of the accused doing exactly what he did when he had a suspended sentence passed a few months ago - and that is embarking upon a series of similar offences. The public is entitled to be protected. (The State v. Van der Merwe, 1972, p. 20)

From a regional small scale and petty offence, paedophilia is now regarded as a crime of enormity *against the public*. The parenthetical qualifier of the public was whiteness. In years to follow, the sexual "corruption" of South African childhood became a threat serious enough to warrant the death of its perpetrator. Black children in the squalor and prurience of the Township did not constitute this public and hence did not require this protection (Bunting, 1969). Protection of this white public and children as icons of its future and as the emblems of its purity were endemic to constructions of the paedophile for the next two decades.

6.9.2. The Entrenchment of Family and Medicine in the Regulation of the Child

As established above, the public was most often reducible to the family in apartheid South Africa. The family was entrusted with the safekeeping of apartheid's citizens and as Foucault (1990a) suggests the conjugal cell was the first node in a nexus of public health as a manifestation of disciplinary power. What did such a government advocate if this cell was miscegenated or corrupted?

While the discourses of earlier articles constructed the family as an integral component of medically guaranteed child health, the article below explores the construction of the child conceived out of a disturbance of the familial relation. Ironically, the abortion of a child conceived through rape or incest is guaranteed by a medicine that supported the "healthy" child-family relationship. Again, discourses of rape, population surveillance and control weaved together in forming the child body of the 1970s. The ethical debates of this time were clearly underpinned by the discursive features of earlier decades.

> Abortion must be legalised in the case of rape or incest, or if the life of the mother was endangered, a Ned Geref Kerk minister pleaded in Pretoria last night. He is the Rev. Henno Cronje who was addressing the Northern Transvaal Synod of the church. He said under certain circumstances abortion could be justified without contradicting Christian principles. He cited as an example a pregnancy that might result from the rape of a woman by a man of another race. ("Abortion after Rape", 1972)

Even the racial tainting of a white woman devalued the child *in utero.* So powerful were the racial markers on public health that miscegenation portended damage to the sanctity of the white populace as a whole. Unborn children thus took their places on the *hierarchy of racial categories* mentioned earlier in the analysis. It is through these "abortive" practices that the sexual proximity of blackness to whiteness was discursively (and practically) expunged. Racial concerns are therefore elevated above and beyond those of standard religious or moral principles. Legislation that permitted abortion following miscegenation soon followed in a practice that literally conveyed the ethic of the time. An abortion of the miscegenated child amounted to the protection of whiteness and guaranteed the perpetuation of purity. Indeed the duty of every Christian South African was to protect its lineage ("Abortion after Rape", 1972).

The reverend insisted that abortions should only be carried out in dire circumstances and should not bee seen as an effective means for population control. In apparent contrast to this, a report published in *The Star* based on commonplace abortion practices in China and India, suggested that abortion may be an effective regulator of populations ("Abortion after rape", 1972). In the new world order children could "cultivate the world" and so in 1972 children were constructed as predictors of population and indeed, of the longevity of a contested political system of white sovereignty.

6.9.2.1. South Africa and the Micropolitics of conception

In an article four years later, the child is the ultimate object of pursuit for infertile adults. Artificial insemination by a strange donor is another technology whereby the sacred familial environment of the child is sacrificed for the purposes of the production of the sacred child itself. A sequence of "biblical-biological" discourses collapses in the face of scientifically guaranteed institutions of conjugal sexuality. Of significance is the reinvention of a number of scientific discourses that ensure that the white child remains an elevated citizen of the South African population.

> A Unit of the South African Institute for Medical Research in Johannesburg has set up carefully controlled facilities to help childless couples have children

> through artificial insemination by donor. At the same time, a sperm bank is to be established where the semen of men who undergo sterilisation (vasectomy) can be stored deep-frozen, in case they change their minds and desire children at a later stage. ("Children for Childless Couples", 1976)

These new technologies of reproduction, it goes without saying, were not available to non-whites. The "carefully controlled" sperm banks and screening of donors ensured that the "races could not be mistakenly mixed" ("Children for Childless Couples", 1976) and that the family could not be compromised. While the sexual imperative for reproduction is replaced by the possibilities of genetic science, the familial discourse remains a modified feature of this new technology. Indeed, rather than transcending the dynamics of familial propriety – and thereby broader community/population propriety, these new technologies only affirmed the role of the child as a fulcrum of political values of whiteness.

> Unlike the case of the adopted child, parents are usually urged not to tell a child that he had been conceived in any but the normal way ...As the woman bears the child herself, there is no reason for anyone but the husband and wife to know. For this reason 'matching' will be important. Matching for looks is more difficult: so many genes are involved that a child may not remotely reveal its biological father. But every effort will be made to avoid glaring inconsistencies. (Children for Childless Couples, 1976)

Even these powerful scientific discourses could not supplant the powerful anchorage of the importance of family and racial community in white South Africa. Indeed, they strengthen them. Therefore, through an injunction to secrecy the unknown (but white) donor could still be the "biological" father of the child: a key example of the slippage between the familial community and the community of the white population. The political imperative behind bonding a political community of whiteness exceeds even the seemingly biological affront of the reproduction of children via the contribution of an unknown participant's semen. The text subtly introduces the language of *eugenics* through a naturalising discussion of "matching"; the very viability of such seemingly unnatural procedures points to a biopolitical prioritisation of the legacy of whiteness. The above texts of children are bound by discourses of race, population and family and by the slippage between "family" and whole "population".

Changing technologies such as artificial insemination and genetically led research led to South Africa's different bodies becoming categorised in different ways at the height of apartheid governmental policy. White English adults become understood as being genetically differentiable from their Afrikaans counterparts. This heralded a greater emphasis on the preservation of Afrikaner identity as a subset of eugenically oriented politics of white purity. Indeed "Afrikaans" bodies (adults and children) seemed to undergo radical reinvention through the forms of discourse that had so far leveraged the protection, preservation and propagation of whiteness in general.

6.10. Conclusion

This chapter has offered the first section of the historical analysis of the study. It has focused on the years 1944 to 1976. It opened with a series of historical observations concerning the biopolitical functioning of the apartheid state; without such a backdrop it would have not have been possible to adequately grasp the potency of the discursive loading of the threatened child as a cherished emblem of future and hope of a biopolitical family of whiteness.

As in the previous chapter, we may point to a series of historical anomalies and variations in the gradual construction of the threatened object of paedophilia (and the paedophile themselves).

Early reporting of the "proto-paedophiliac" act do not register a sense of psychological trauma and hardly even acknowledge the criminality of the event. Predominant euphemisms of "interference" and "examination" are here pertinent cases in point of an inability to articulate such events within a "vernacular of damage". When the terminology of physical abuse does come into play, such "proto-paedophiliac" acts are framed predominantly in terms of violence rather than in those of traumatising sexual action.

Gradually a priority of suspicion comes to be placed on the pastoral roles of teacher, minister, doctor and guardian. In other words, those roles that bridge the gap between the worlds of children and adults become increasingly problematic. Moreover, an

unsanctioned intrusion of adult knowledge into the world of the child comes to underwrite the nature of paedophiliac damage.

A series of bodily measurements and observations become key means of qualifying and substantiating the damage suffered by the child. While physical injury initially grounds the severity of the paedophiliac act, this comes to be gradually supplanted by a more abstracted disruption of the natural psychology of morality and childhood. Thus, a "crisis of damage" poses a problem for qualifying or quantifying the damage of an act whose moral implications outweigh its physical infringements.

The body of the paedophile was also subjected to the scrutiny of the medical gaze, scanned for a biological means of substantiating the moral pathology in question. We see here the failed attempt to root the "monstrosity" of paedophilia in a set of physical coordinates. This failure will go on to impel a different order of "monsterisation" which prioritises internal psychological rather than external organic attributions. In so doing, the paedophile's crimes are shifted from the domain of the contingent to the domain of the inevitable.

The paedophile eventually attains a level of social scientific facticity, becomes an undeniable object of moral, legal and psycho-medical discourse and practice. A variety of biopolitical and disciplinary technologies (the survey, the questionnaire the interview and the confessional) play their role not only in objectifying but also in subjectifying the paedophile. In so doing they do not simply identify or discover such a figure but rather, within established networks of human/social science knowledge and practice produce it.

The importance of "white generational succession" as a key theme of the longevity of white supremacist systems of apartheid governance plays a crucial role in popular representations of (white) childhood and in the prioritisations of issues of childcare and infant health.

The increasing racialisation of childhood means that miscegenation is construed as a major threat to the future of the white population. The miscegenated child comes to be

viewed as having no future in South Africa. While white children are powerfully individualised and come to belong to the white community at large as much as to their own families, black children are viewed increasingly as a threat to biopolitical whiteness and effectively are excluded from the status of childhood. This exclusion takes the form of a disqualification of childhood in as much as children presume a certain social and moral purity and political idealisation.

A familial dynamics is introduced into the protection and appreciation of all white children as embodiments of a white supremacist political future. We witness here a structure of positioning which generates an imagined community of whiteness and along with it a shared set of para-familial responsibilities and obligations to it.

By 1962, apartheid's political logics of race override virtually all other factors of judgement and evaluation: an instance of "inter-racial" violation is problematised more as a transgression of race than as a transgression of the sanctity of childhood. Similarly, the political imperative behind building a political community of whiteness exceeds even the affront of nature in the situation of the reproduction of children via the contribution of an unknown (white) donor's semen.

> During the early 1980's, doctors started to detect a greater than normal number of girls who had been sexually abused, mostly by family members…South Africa's nightmare had begun.

CHAPTER 7: ENEMIES OF THE STATE (1977 – 1989)

The apartheid system moved into a state of crisis in the mid 1970s. In the aftermath of the Soweto uprisings by black youth in 1976, apartheid sought to allay the fears of an anxious white populace. As all the above-mentioned discourses are an integral part of the biopolitical spectrum of South Africa, constructions of children would be expected to shift accordingly. The future of Afrikaner Nationalism depended on two interrelated strategies. Firstly, the state required macropolitical investments in the policing of segregation and an overt repression of an omnipresent "black peril" that was concentrated on the borders of the state (Butchart, Hamber, Terre Blanche & Seedat, 1997). This was accomplished through the mobilisation of conscripted white youth as soldiers on these borders. Secondly, the growing population of Africans in the country that had prompted attempts at greater statistical surveillance in the late 1960s appeared to be growing exponentially. In fact, the population surveillance technologies that were rooted to the formative years of apartheid could no longer account for the number of "Bantu" within its borders. Despite the amendment to the *Statistics Act* in 1965, the Bureau of Census and Statistics conceded that the scope of their coverage was limited and that their population growth figures were estimates at best. The future of Afrikaner Nationalism lay in the hands of its children. By regulating and monitoring its children, the apartheid state could effectively transmit its power from generation to generation. The state then increased its idealisation of the white children and "waged a carefully planned social, economic and political war on its own (black) children in the interest of maintaining white privilege" (Lockhat & Van Niekerk, 2000, p. 292). The state therefore further mobilised its most powerful weapon through increasing investment in Afrikaner childhood as the final rampart between itself and the black youth that threatened to topple it.

7.1. Guarding Childhood

It is important to emphasise here that resistance to apartheid during the 1980s was

concentrated in the locales of childhood. The 1976 uprisings had begun in the schoolyard and black schoolchildren were becoming significantly more active as agents in the anti-apartheid movement. This forced the apartheid government to patrol and police black youth even more intensely. Simultaneously, the Nationalist government increased its surveillance of white children to inform countermeasures to the rising perils of the black population. State run research bodies were instructed to acquire more and more information on the families, health and reproductive rates of white South African families.

7.1.1. Fabricated Hygiene and Healthy Children

Amidst the sovereign displays of a white military governing the "black peril" on the borders and in the townships was the unmistakable extension of disciplinary power in the suburban white areas of South Africa. While Soweto parents were told by Black Consciousness protagonists to rejoice for having given birth to black children who preferred to die from a bullet than swallow the poisonous education of apartheid subordination (cited in Readers Digest, 1988), white parents were instructed to allow their children to enjoy the health benefits of the summer holidays at the beach ("Summer Holiday", 1980). The 1980s produced a honed interest in the general health and well-being of South Africa's white children but in keeping with Butchart *et al*'s (1997) assertion, the subjectivity and living conditions of black children began to emerge as a human science consideration. The double gaze of a simultaneous sovereign policing and disciplinary studying of black youth began to mark a change in the construction of black township children during this decade.

The racialisation of the International Year of the Child in 1979 was a key event in this change. Although the government did not officially recognise the event (as it was excluded from the activities of the United Nation's general assembly at this time), the media expressed a visible interest in underscoring the importance of children in South Africa. Non – government organisations and public interest groups scheduled national seminars that bore the theme *The Child of Today is the World of Tomorrow* as early as 1978 (Ward, 1978). Despite these organisations pledging support to children of all races this was not the year of the black child ("This is not", 1978).

> His was a different world. He went back to the dark township streets, its overcrowded trains and houses and to his starving brothers and sisters who survive on garbage. ("This is not", 1979, p. 4).

The health and future of black children began to be articulated outside of the former constraints of political insurgency in fragments of popular and political commentary. These discourses gradually began to introduce the black child into the public health languages that had for at least 6 decades, been the exclusive domain of white children. As we would expect, these discourses began to resist the black child as an illegitimate citizen of South Africa. As was advanced in a letter to *Post* a prominent educationist and lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand forged in language what practice had made so abundantly clear.

> Regarding nationality this [is something the black child] has been robbed of. Although physically they are in South Africa, they are not considered nationals. The state robbed them of their nationality via appropriate legislation. They are aliens in their country of birth. ("This is not", 1978, p. 4)

A small cohort of health and education professionals at this time attempted to resist the sovereign structures that took black minors as the enemy, opting instead to reassert their status as citizens, as full "children", thus inscribing them into the same code of more subtle psychosocial surveillance as their white contemporaries. In essence, as early as 1978, the rudiments of what would become a wider project aimed at disciplining and subjectifying rather than objectifying and disqualifying black children could be discerned. At this time, however these rudiments did little to disrupt the domination of white children in public biopolitical discourse. White children still dominated public representations of health in the early 1980s in South Africa. Along with both the newly defined mental and physical indices of health, public biopolitical discourse introduced new constructions, new objects, speaking subjects and institutional referents for the discursive elaboration of childhood life in South Africa. Increasingly, children become celebrities under this new lens. From chess champions adorning the front cover of newspapers (Mann, 1980) to healthy siblings enjoying their summer holidays ("Summer Holiday", 1980), children become objects of public investment or differently put, tokens of the wellness and future of a broad biopolitical family of whiteness. As discussed in the previous chapter, in a gradual movement

between decades the responsibility for the health of children is entrusted from very specific guardians (the family and the school) to the white public sphere at large. This expansion of the responsibility of the white community for the well-being of children appears to draw largely on discourses of public health. Of these discourses, variables such as urbanisation and race contribute most significantly. So in 1980, residential planners had to take the impact of rapid urbanisation on the health of the child into account (Delport, 1980, p. 1).

Population density is not a foreign concern to highly urbanised areas of South Africa. However, while former decades have regarded population as a significant general focus, the geography of population was an imperative focus for an early eighties Apartheid government. Once again, South Africa's population seemed to pose some interesting spatial "problems" for the effectively racist administration of its people. Far from being a *bone fide* problem of population regulation, the population density *quagmire* presented disciplinary power with the spatial technology required for a more systematic and thorough surveillance of the neighbourhood and the activities of its residents (Robinson, 1991). Creating the capacity for an increased urban density thus simultaneously provided the apartheid planner with the opportunity to increase urban surveillance.

7.1.2. Protective Protocols and practices

The intensification of urban surveillance during this time was disrupted by an uncontrollable influx of black bodies. These "uncountables" (Posel, 2000) prompted an expanding body of literature devoted to teaching children to monitor themselves should their adult guardians fail in their duties to protect them from strangers or bodies that had escaped formal surveillance and control. In this way, white children were recruited into becoming "their own overseers, exercising power over and against themselves" (Butchart *et* al., 1997, p. 238). Children become surveyors of themselves and other children in the density of the urban populations. Therefore, the testimonies of white children were legitimised voices; a fact that contrasts powerfully with the situation in 1962 where child victims were not deemed trustworthy witnesses. The violation of laws and other civil improprieties could be relayed by children and state

action could be launched in response to these relays. As early as 1981 it is the complaints of children of a nude black girl on the beach which are provided in a newspaper as part of an account of "racial flare ups during the mixed beach celebrations of New Years day" ("An all-race Mix", 1981). The black child was forcibly removed from the beach. Even in the most public spaces, children were instructed to be constantly vigilant against strangers as threats to their safety. "Never, never trust a monster, even at a circus" ("Circus Monster", 1980) are the instructions of a 6-year-old child to her neighbourhood peers in an article that provided parents with a protocol for teaching children to be safe in the public spaces of childhood. In a manifestation of a state that epitomised sovereign power on its borders and townships and disciplinary power within its suburbs, children became not only the tokens of a nation in waiting , but also, the objects and subjects of a discourse that constructed them as being educable and having the capacities to identify threats to themselves. Perhaps it is therefore no surprise that the urban context became the hunting ground for the paedophile later in the decade.

Through an extension of disciplinary power, children had been co-opted as agents of their own surveillance. Recourse to adults was however necessary as this discourse insisted that they were unable to defend themselves against the "monsters" that threatened them. Nevertheless this co-option of children resulted in an extension of the surveillance of apartheid governance into spaces it had hitherto never been present.

7.2. States of Emergency

Another pivotal event in the history of apartheid in the 1980s was the declaration of a state of emergency by P.W. Botha in July 1985 (Marsh & Szanya, 2000). In a formal affirmation of apartheid, Botha pledged his continued desire to preserve Afrikaner hegemony in the republic. Just prior to this declaration Westcott (1984) conducted one of the earliest hospital-based studies of the sexual abuse of children at the Red Cross Memorial Hospital in Cape Town. The study included only 18 cases. In the same year of the declaration of the state of emergency, a pioneering article in the *South African Medical Journal* announced that child molestation in South Africa was finally being better recognised as a serious threat to the health of its children and the

country (Cohen, 1985). The article called for a multi-sector mobilisation of resources to fight this threat. This sector included doctors, lawyers, psychologists, and the police and indeed, children themselves. This article was perhaps a response to one of the earliest hospital based studies of the sexual abuse of children by Westcott (1984).

The institutional culmination of these discourses came in the form of the establishment of the Child Protection Unit (CPU) of the South African Police in 1986. The unit represented the first formal police service dedicated to the protection of children. While crimes committed by children still fell into the ambit of normal policing, the CPU was mandated to investigate crimes against children (Pienaar, 1996). This creation of the CPU indicated a centralisation and streamlining of state responses to the abuse of children. These responses were however focussed on protecting children from sexual predators. As becomes evident then, one of the less obvious outcomes of the 1985 declaration of the state of emergency was the emergency targeting of children by the state itself. For the first time in its history, South Africa had allocated and earmarked future funds to a specialised policing of sex crimes against children.

7.2.1. Ideal Children and their Predators

Against the backdrop of the politics of childhood in post-apartheid South Africa, cases of paedophilia exploded into the popular media and filled the court files (some of which will be discussed later) (Lasersohn, 1988; Strelitz & Riddle, 1992; State v. Whitehead, 1987). It was in late 1987 that the first extensive criminal cases, describing the paedophiliac act gained public attention. In that same year, the APA released the third edition of its DSM that signalled a marked change in global construction of the paedophile.

> The essential feature of this disorder is recurrent, intense, sexual urges and sexually arousing fantasies, of at least six months duration, involving sexual activity with a prepubescent child. The person has acted on these urges, or is markedly distressed by them...People with paedophilia generally report an attraction to children of a particular age range, which may be as specific as within a range of two years...Some people with pedophilia are sexually attracted only to children (exclusive type), whereas others are sometimes attracted to adults (nonexclusive) type)...The person may limit his activities to

> his own children, stepchildren, or relatives, or may victimize children outside of his family (APA, 1987, p. 284).

The paedophile had in the space of the hundred years (since Krafft-Ebing's contribution), attained a considerably more detailed and encompassing pathological profile. The former caveat against making the diagnosis of paedophilia in the absence of normal objects had disappeared. Although the category was subdivided into the exclusive and nonexclusive types, both strata are considered manifestations of a sexual disorder. This distinction is far removed from the theoretical potential for a non-psychopathological paedophile advanced by both Krafft-Ebing (1939) and Freud (1991a).

How did this global construction play itself out within the politics of white South African childhood and the increasing surveillance thereof? Many of the features of the construction of the paedophile in South Africa were evident in the series of cases reported in the media that "coincided" with the release of DSM-III. Such proceedings were covered in most of the daily English and Afrikaans newspapers of the time. The most publicised case was that of Benjamin Wentzel arrested for the indecent assault of minors in 1988.

7.2.2. Portrait of the South African Paedophile

The court called for an extensive psychiatric assessment of Wentzel from which the following excerpt was extracted. Here we have a family that functions as a primary unit of socialisation; early familial history is soon to become an indispensable component in how one accounts for the aberrations of the paedophile. Here we do not evidence the typical slippage between family unit and the biopolitical community of whiteness, if anything, one might argue, this family is to be blamed for failing its privileged offspring.

> His developing years seem to have been marred by physical and emotional violence, alcohol abuse within the family, physical and mental abuse, emotional and physical deprivation. One here refers to the deprivation of food, clothing, and shelter, emotional and physical abuse, namely sexual abuse both within and external to the family as well as battering. (Lasersohn, 1988, p. 3)

This paedophile as a product of a disturbed family differs from early constructions of the paedophile. Tracking the transcript makes for an interesting analysis of the way in which the history of the paedophile moves from a shadowy and indistinct outline to a rigid categorical form, which necessitates the involvement of an early troubled family history. Interestingly, this example takes the "inherited social environment" as an explanation for perverse action.

As mentioned previously, the archive of the South African paedophile remains largely cumulative of new discourses while retaining elements of its earliest utterances. In the Wentzel case, maladjustment, poverty and abusive circumstances are all themes drawn upon to explain the actions of paedophile. While these have featured as aspects of former accounts (notable as the contexts that fostered the degeneracy so prioritised by Krafft-Ebing), they here receive a new prominence and loading. The location of the source of the paedophiliac maladjustment of Wentzel is clearly that of a dysfunctional home environment. Moreover, we see here – far later than may have been expected – the emergence of an explanatory trend, one that problematises Wentzel's paedophiliac actions based on his *own troubled developmental biography*. This is a history to action line of causation that will increasingly become a necessary and indeed, unquestionable component in aetiological accounts of paedophiles from this point on. The traces however of the archival themes of physiological abnormality are still prominent features of the Wentzel case.

> Benjamin relates several incidences in which he was hit with objects or thrown against brick walls. The consequences of which are debilitating and irreversible. I here refer to hearing loss, pervasive brain damage, which is substantiated by the test that were applied to him, and by the fact that he was given a G5 discharge by the military. (Lasersohn, 1988, p. 3)

The damaged body of the socially maladjusted paedophile is highlighted once more. The body thus returns but only as a conduit to the psyche. Social scientific innovation of sorts is evident here: the paedophile is himself a victim; someone to whom much damage has been done; they have been the subject of "physical and emotional violence", of familial and mental abuse, of battering, of the deprivation of food, clothing and shelter. In a way, they too were once the precious children of the family of whiteness. This must have been the case; how else to maintain a sense of the purity,

beauty and hope of a white population? No "natural degenerates" could be admitted of such a grouping whose "racial hygiene" is beyond reproach. The only explanation thus is that the paedophile is made not born, a product of an abusive and deprived environment. Despite then a change in how the paedophile is being understood, they are now locked into an abused-abuser model of causation – a commitment to the hygiene of whiteness and a para-familial responsibility towards a community of whiteness is continued.

Paedophiles here are the outcome of social/familial deprivations and abuses; "we" thus need to take special care in our own parenting of children; our vigilance as dutiful parents must be redoubled. In a way, the discursive objects of the paedophile and child are entwined in a way, which accentuates and amplifies the discursive "nature" of each. For even in emphasising all that is aberrant and damaged in the paedophile, the status of the fragility and preciousness of the child is affirmed. The discourse circles back on itself; the paedophile was a child; dutiful parental care is required for childhood can be spoiled. By exaggerating both the threat of the paedophile to the child and the threat to a biopolitical community of whiteness both such objects of threat are reified as fragile and therefore in need of special measures of love, care, protection and indeed, of a particular order of preventative vigilance.

However, the apparently "normal" marriage of a paedophile however had not yet made a substantial claim to these archival profiles.

> Benjamin Wentzel married his current wife from whom he is now separated in 1985. His wife who he calls Polla had a daughter Nonny when he married her. It would appear that Benjamin found it very easy to care for and father this young child (Lasersohn, 1988, p. 5).

All through the Wentzel case a "marriage" between discourses of normality and aberration is deployed. Vacillating between discourses of normality and pathology means that the two are always necessarily related; they are co-present mutually dependent terms. Despite that, they appear to produce one another as increasingly distinct and different; there is from now on no "normality" that may not have its own attendant pathology nearby, no pathology, which lacks a context of normality.

Significantly, the nurturing qualities associated with *familial* discourses of the 1960s, as suggested above, are alive and well in the discourses constructing the pathology of a South African child sex offender. The role of the patriarch in the family of the 1980s was heavily problematised in this case.

> Mr. Wentzel notes that in their household it was common that both the girls would come to him whenever they were hurt or needed care...Mr. Wentzel does note that he often experienced closeness and warmth he received from Nonny as very satisfying. One is not here referring to sexual satisfaction but rather to physical warmth and closeness. (Lasersohn, 1988, p. 6)

Indeed no longer was it the case that even the most "normal" of relationships could be assumed to be pure of all suspicious of pathological desire. In fact, those adults closest to the child were to become prime suspects for paedophilia.

> On one particular occasion Nonny had come to him complaining that she was sore in the genital area. On this occasion Mr. Wenztel had picked her up and taken her to the bathroom where he had washed and cleaned her off...Subsequent to this young Nonny picked up a vaginal infection. This was established by a medical doctor who had examined her. It was determined that the possibility of the aetiology of the infection could have been due to manipulation of the genitals. (Lasersohn, 1988, p. 7)

Even the father's familial closeness with his child could not remove him from the lines of paedophiliac suspicion in this discursive period. Indeed, it is perhaps this closeness that seemed to pre-empt the inevitable "manipulation of the genitals" (Lasersohn, 1988, p. 7).

The patriarch as provider and was a common construct in apartheid South Africa (Mkhize, 2004; Russell, 1997). Indeed the father represented the bastion of the Afrikaner family. If the role of the mother (as explored earlier) was to instil correct modes of hygiene and health to the household then the role of the father was to protect and sustain such health within the family. By blurring these gendered coordinates, Wentzel came to represent an anomalous patriarch – a father that nurtured but did not protect the integrity of his offspring. If the father could not be trusted to fulfil his duties to family and state then the very integrity and longevity of both were jeopardised (Bunting, 1969). The failed patriarch became an indicator of potential

paedophilia by this line of logic. Multiple representations of the type above began to show that not only is maternal line of love, nurturance and biopolitical care required *apropos* the childhood of whiteness, so is a paternal obligation of moral regulation, protection and

Another case of paedophilia in 1989 captured popular attention through the local media that claimed to reveal a long repressed and undiscovered South African paedophile by providing "A Portrait of a Paedophile" to the South African public. The portrait was of Stephanus de Villiers in 1989.

In accordance with the institutional conditions of possibility underlying the production of paedophiliac subjects, de Villiers confessed to the integral role of his familial past in the formation of his paedophilia. "He was 19 when he first became involved with a young boy - his nephew. From then on almost always, his victims were mostly aged 9 and 12" (Maker, 1989, p. 5). In contrast to the discourses of child sex that make up the aetiological background for the paedophile in the representations of the cases in 1949, where paedophiles were classed as epitomising all that was morally bereft in society, de Villiers' "early upbringing was stable; he enjoyed a good relationship with his parents. His father was a police detective and his mother was a housewife" (Maker, 1989, p. 5). This history of this paedophile is shockingly normal. He could in essence share a similar history with most of the citizenry of the South Africa of that time. His court transcripts point to a demand for a comprehensive history of himself and his psychological life. This demand for an attention to detail, of trying to find some abnormality in normality, is a recent modern characteristic of descriptions of the paedophiliac crime. The details of the act itself prove insufficient in grasping its full ramifications, its real significance, the nature of its damage and its causes. The thoughts that surrounded, the images that accompanied the act and the obsessions that precipitated it were all required for the development of a profile of the paedophiliac subject and the paedophiliac act, each of which become an indispensable means of understanding the other. Constructing paedophilia as a psychopathology was an inescapable strategy for explaining perversion in an otherwise normal life.

> In court, he described himself as a loner. He had a wide circle of acquaintances but no closer friendships. He had never had a sexual

> relationship with a woman or a homosexual relationship with a man...In a psychologist's report read out in the court, it was said that De Villiers had a genuine attachment to the children. They were a very important part of his emotional life and his sexual perversion was not his motivation for his contact with them. (Maker, 1989, p. 5)

This text is an important indication of newly constructed sources of paedophiliac pathogenesis. Firstly, there is no attribution to aberrances of the body; the maladjustment is firmly psychological in nature. Secondly, the report constructs paedophilia as a sexual perversion that may co-exist with a genuine and asexual fondness of children. This discourse of the *child-lover* as possible paedophile set the stage for the deluge of cases in the 1990s that identified people who expressed a (formerly) sanctioned fondness for children as prime candidates for paedophilia.

7.3. The Paedophile as "Abnormally Normal"

The next widely publicised case of paedophilia in 1989 was significant as it represented the first piloting of a behavioural questionnaire designed to provide a prognosis of the paedophile. The first paedophile to be subjected to this questionnaire was Don Lamprecht, a popular Afrikaans television personality at that time.

Lamprecht's case relied upon a barrage of psychological assessments that attempted to address the prognostics of his condition. He was charged with the indecent assault of four under aged boys on the 31 January 1989 (State v. Lamprecht, 1989). The state requested a full psychological assessment of Lamprecht for the purposes of sentencing. The resulting text revealed both continuities and significant discontinuities from the psychopathological constructions that "described" the psychology of Benjamin Wentzel.

The text begins with a citation of the criteria of the DSM-III paedophile. It continues (through the evocation of other psychiatric sources) by insisting that "paedophilia is not a homogeneous concept" (State v. Lamprecht, 1989) and dismisses as myths the possibility for a scientific profile of the paedophile. This fragmentation of the paedophilic personality as a homogenous whole was a necessary psychological strategy. The strategy was born out of the need to reconcile former scientific

discursive constructions of the infrequent and indigent child molester to contemporary media reports that described paedophilia as pervasive and commonplace in South Africa. Under this reconciliation, paedophilia was splintered into sub-categories and special classifications of the act. In other words, although it was very much the case that a thorough diagnostic profile of the paedophile was being assembled, the paedophile would come to assume an entire character profile. This did not limit the characteristics of the paedophile being spread across the population in a way, which increased the surveillance and awareness of the possibility of paedophiliac urges even in the most unsuspected of places. Paedophilia is this manner is an awkward category used, in a disciplinary capacity, both to *individualise* its perpetrators (to mark them as sufficiently different) and to direct social attention to how it may exist within the most "normal" of places within the public sphere. Simultaneously then, the thoroughly individualised paedophile is someone the normal population cannot identify with (they are after all, pathological and perverse) and yet they are people with whom we must be immanently able to identify. This identification is made possible by the ages, roles in society and the very un-extraordinariness of paedophiles. The implicit disciplinary logic at work here seems to take the reflective form of "it could be you", or "it could be any normal someone close to you". To coin a more neoligistic phrase: paedophilia was potentialised[5]. Despite the preceding years of profile building and type specification, the paedophile became an inclusive category allowing for perpetration of the act by any adult at any point.

> Don Lamprecht does not easily fit into any of these categories, since he is not in any way aggressive, and seems to be able to relate to age-appropriate adults as well as to under-age youths. It may be appropriate to seem him as an adult of homosexual orientation who has paedophiliac tendencies. (State v. Lamprecht, 1989)

Construction of the deviant who (has certain) "tendencies" fixes paedophilia then, as a possible predisposition to act. This is a category, which must potentially pertain to all of us, not only the abnormal few.

Further assessments of Lamprecht's psychology were conducted through the piloting

[5] Potentialised here refers to a broadening scope of suspicion whereby formally innocuous acts and people were imbued with paedophiliac potential.

of a behavioural questionnaire. This questionnaire represented a modernised inventory of paedophilic constructs and makes for an interesting comparison with the tools described in the previous chapter. Comparing the inventory of 1940 with the sexological questionnaire of 1989 illustrates the altered and mutated forms of knowledge underwriting the possibility for the production of modern paedophilia in South Africa.

1. Is violence, coercion or pressure used on children?
2. Is there implicit coercion through the exploitation of any formal power relationships - such as teacher-pupil?
3. Promiscuity and uncaring exploitation of transient relationships in which the child may be passed on to others?
4. Is the sexual behaviour congruent with adolescent sexual behaviour?
5. Discouragement of heterosexual orientation?
6. Jealous possessiveness?
7. Failure to set normal boundaries and limits?
8. Moral Corruption? (State v. Lamprecht, 1989)

An updated and modernised surveillance technique, this inventory of 1989, refurbishes the "antiquities" of its predecessors. From the body produced by the questionnaire of 1949, to the emotive and moral profiles of a possible paedophile in 1989, discourse had successfully transformed a physiological monster into a psychologically monstrous person. Violence, coercion, exploitation, promiscuity, abuse of power, adolescent-fixation, homosexuality, jealousy and moral corruptibility became aetiological markers for paedophilia in 1989. In contrast to Freed's (1949) examination, no single item on this inventory points to an irregular physiology or biological anomaly. Moreover, the inclusion of risk factors across normal lines of everyday functioning points to precisely the differing constructions of the paedophile between 1949 and 1989. Under the technologies of 1949, the pathology of the paedophile was clearly marked by the irregularity of the act and the aberrant body of the pervert. The paedophile of 1989 by contrast, is not a biological monster but commits a monstrous act. The aetiology of this paedophile could not be found on his body but in his history. The features of this paedophilia could not be located in the forensics of the act so heavily scrutinised 40 years before, but in the psychology that underpinned the very act itself. This paedophile existed in a "normal" society and apart from the paedophilia that characterised his psychology; he could be any member

of that society.

This discursive strategy produced a push-pull positioning such that the paedophile was both a peripheral "monstrosity" and a normal human being. We have come a long way from the blatantly obvious and easily dismissed paedophile of Bertrams and even further from the manifest bodily and moral pathology of Krafft-Ebing's degenerates. This paedophile could be anyone. This discursive platform appeared to prepare a set of practices and constructions that would culminate in the location of the paedophile and its dangers as endogenous to communities. This monster was (and is) so dangerous precisely because resides between and within "normal" communities. These discourses point to the "discovery" of the paedophile as a monster that lives within and amongst us all.

7.5. White Prey, White Predators

All of the materials of the archive of the paedophile in South Africa denoted a single common feature. A feature of the profile of the paedophiles and the objects of their "predations" in Apartheid South Africa was their *whiteness*. This is a central component of the overall argument of this study. It appears that the apartheid government's emphasis on race-based population surveillance along with its notions of racial purity and the goal of securing a biopolitical future for whiteness were all integral to the production of an array of white perverts. The threat of paedophilia might effectively preclude reproduction and could possibly taint and traumatise the future of a white South Africa. Here one feels the temptation to reflect Foucault's (1991) assertion that the norm of a disciplinary population is often protected and entrenched precisely through the systematic production of deviances.

Of course, none of this is to imply that sexual relations between adults and children in the black communities were not recorded or described. Beginning in 1987 with the publication of correct procedures for the treatment of *child sexual abuse* (Winship & Key, 1987) the sexual abuse of black children became an object of study for medicine. This literature grew and continues to grow exponentially. Sexual relations between adults and children in black communities were however subjected to different codes

and diagnostic systems. Black violators of black children were abusers and rapists but never paedophiles. Paedophilia was always a white pathology and crime. The apartheid surveillance machinery trawled the townships and as the South African Defence Force policed black youth, they "discovered" all sorts of atrocities. The sexual abuse of children was one such atrocity in the making. Echoing the strange irregularities that characterised the early features of paedophilia as an anomaly of sexual behaviour in the 1940s and 1950s, black child sexual abuse gradually emerged into public consciousness in the late 1980s. For the first time a number of child sex abuse cases came to be reported in various black newspapers. Many of these cases were reported in the *Sowetan* towards the end of the 1980s. The abuser in many of these cases was however still the Afrikaner patriarch who was seen to be "interfering" with black children. One such example concerned the sexual improprieties of a white farmer and two young black girls. These children were not constructed in the same innocent manners of white victims of this crime. These black children had "accompanied the White man on various outings" ("Abuse Claim, 1988, p. 1) and were often "treated" to drinks at his house. In constructions similar to those of the early violators of white children, this perpetrator was fined and dismissed. By contrast, a 3-year jail sentence meted out to a paedophile that preyed on white children was being fiercely contested in Pietermaritzburg during the same year. Having committed 17 counts of indecent acts with white boys, this paedophile was required to undergo intensive psychiatric assessment and supervision. Psychiatrists, social workers and the public claimed that society was "not being adequately protected against sexual perverts" (Clarke, 1989b, p. 2).

Another example of the difference way in the discursive treatment of white and black perpetrators of child sex crimes was provided by two cases in which teachers were suspected of paedophiliac crimes. In August 1989, a Soweto headmaster was alleged to have sexually abused at least seven schoolgirls (Mtshali, 1989). In this case, rumours of the abuse had been rife throughout the school for some time but the case had not been reported because it seemed commonplace. Following a brief investigation, charges were dropped and the abuse continued. The confessions of the children had not translated into an appearance of this black abuser before the law. This outcome bears little resemblance to the outcome of a similar case in a white

Johannesburg school in which a 13 – year old boy told the court that his teacher had "played with his private parts that night while he lay in the sickroom (Du Tooit, 1990, p. 14). Another complainant, aged 14, said Mr. Stewart had looked into his pants. In this case, the paedophile was instructed to undergo a barrage of psychiatric testing and supervision during his incarceration.

The comparison of these cases highlights more than the racialised formation of psychopathology. The juxtaposition of the Soweto schoolmaster and white suburban teacher as paedophiles points precisely to constructions of paedophilia that were not constrained by discourses of race but produced in part by them. As black children came to be subjectified under the disciplinary power that had produced white children as vulnerable to predation, so gradually the black public were conceived as themselves vulnerable to a variety of child rapists and child abusers. The late eighties produced sporadic accounts of black child sex abuse perpetrators; importantly however, they could not be considered paedophiles, at least not technically. These black men had no histories and no pathologies; they were not accorded the depth of psychology necessary to have developed a full psychopathology. Buy a quirk of racist ideology that refused to acknowledge the full psychological existence of black subjects, their sexual crimes against children could only be qualified as acts of criminal violence, not of the full-blown psychopathology of the perverse paedophile. The black abuser was not a pathological pervert but an opportunistic predator who acted out the primal sexual urges that had underwritten the 'black peril" of earlier decades (Van Onselen, 1982).

The highly psychologised figure of the black paedophile could not be "discovered" because he could not exist in the townships or within the stunted psychological structure that racist apartheid medico-legal health systems assumed of him. He could not exist furthermore, because the children of the townships were themselves criminalised and pathological (De Ridder, 1960). These "delinquents" (De Ridder, 1960) held no promise for the future purity of apartheid South Africa. Indeed, they represented its converse. Neither precious, nor the embodied hope of a future generation of whiteness – to the contrary they represented its greatest threat – black childhood was not invested with the same aura as white childhood. Bluntly put, black

men and black children broke the biopolitical rules for the production of paedophilia. The essential point here is that while black children were subjected to rapes and other violations, they could not be desirable or the subjects of a perverse desire. It is this desire that underwrites the paedophiliac. It is this desire for children as sex objects that seems to separate constructions of the paedophile from those of other child sex criminals. Only when apartheid politics began to loose its stranglehold on the maintenance of white purity could black children be desired and therefore warrant protection from paedophiles. Only then could they be as innocent as their white counterparts and only then, could a black body inhabit the heavily psychologised and pathological paedophiliac space.

7.4. South African Rights of the Child

Globally, the child objects of the seventies were transfigured into more sophisticated and vulnerable forms. Moreover, the bodies of children became an increasing domain of medical and social knowledge as the eighties drew to a close. It is not therefore surprising that, formal documentation consolidating the almost invisible constructions of children appear to culminate in 1989, with the ratification of the rights of children through the drawing up of the *Convention of the rights of the child*, by the United Nations National Assembly. Although this occurs as a general or worldwide document, the manner by which it was "taken up" and utilised in South Africa may well be seen as symptomatic of the growing concerns regarding the welfare of white (and to a lesser degree black) children in South Africa.

A bill of the rights of children was an emblem of disciplinary power because it became the formal symbol of a new regime of childhood surveillance that required new technologies for definition and regulation. These surveillance technologies entailed systematic observation devoted to "observing the fine detail" (Butchart, 1996, p. 103) of the bodies of children and their development. In turn, the objects that were the effects of these new observational methods came to be the increasingly visible targets for a capillary power that operated not only upon, but also through them, such that the individual, the group and society itself functioned as their relay (Butchart, 1996). Declarations operate to discursively solidify and materialise a set of objects

that have a*lready* been subject to interrogation and observation. Just as the 1890 declaration of "psychology as the science of mental life" by James signalled no new discovery but rather the materialisation of mind as the end result of a psychological gaze" (Butchart, 1996, p. 103), so too did the bill of rights signify not the discovery of the real essence and rights of children but rather formalised the end-result of the specific and cumulative manner by which children were compelled to be seen, surveyed and regulated. It is unsurprising then that the paedophile as a primary target object of scrutiny began its formal role as an enemy to the rights of the child in within the decade of the publication of such a document.

By 1989 apartheid had was crumbling. The government was feeling the pressure of trade embargoes and other forms of macro political pressure. The effects of the disciplinary politics of a racialised population however remained unabated. White suburban residents dutifully reported breeches of the immorality act (Johnson, 1986, p. 12) and apartheid demographers still involved themselves with daily calculations of black versus white population aggregates. It was at this point that an explosion of official criminal cases of paedophilia began to emerge on the South African social landscape. Crises of population, reproduction and race that had slowly entangled to produce a particular type of South African child crystallised the paedophile as a threat to the existence of white children throughout the country during the death rattle of the very system that had created them.

7.5. Apartheid power personified: The emergence of the 'traitor' Paedophile

A critical event in the process of an intensified population surveillance of race, reproduction and sexuality in general was the emergence of a deluge of child molestation cases beginning in 1987 and continuing through to the present. In a replication of Westcott's (1984) study, Jaffe & Roux (1988) extended the sample size of children that had been sexually abused at Red Cross Hospital. Research into the child victims of sexual abuse was undoubtedly growing – indeed, as it was in other warts of the world - none of this could account though for the unprecedented levels of media attention on the themes of the paedophile and the paedophiliac abuse. The public imagination came to be haunted by such themes like never before. Arguably,

the most notorious of these cases was indicated by the heightened media attention that accompanied the case of Gert Van Rooyen. Towards the middle of 1989, six white female children disappeared from the streets of white South Africa, a country in the midst of political chaos. The disappearance of the children sparked speculation of a South African paedophile or child pornography ring. Such speculation was rebuked by official police press releases:

> Reports that a 12 year old girl missing since last Wednesday last week, had been kidnapped by a porn ring in the capital city have been dismissed as pure speculation...police had no evidence that a blue movie syndicate existed in Pretoria or that such a syndicate kidnapped the girl. (De Lange, 1989, p. 1)

Given the burgeoning anxieties over the future of South Africa, it is unsurprising that the contents of such speculation should be informed by fears of the sexual corruption of children by child sex criminals, child pornographers and paedophiles. What is surprising though, given the socio-political context just discussed, is that this event is not articulated through the route of some sort of racial paranoia. One might speculate here that the reason for this stems from what Foucault referred to within his descriptions of the external systems of exclusion operating upon discourse; namely a discursive grid of prohibition which is considered precisely in the face of greatly anxious intersections of sexuality and politics that threaten a dominant political group. Months later, the initial denials of the police began to collude with the discourses of the media.

> Fears are mounting that the disappearance of two young fair-haired children from Kempton Park is part of a sinister serial abduction ring operating in South Africa. Concern is also growing that four others, reported missing in the past 14 months may also have been kidnapped in a bizarre operation in which investigations point to the children being force-fed drugs. (Clarke, 1989a, p. 2).

Articulations of the violation of apartheid's (fair-haired) nation-state children seemed suddenly to saturate the media. The political state of affairs in South Africa appears to have provided the intractable material and historical conditions of possibility for such a sudden and heightened fear. Rather than within the context of an unprecedented moment of originality or discursive creation, such phobic discourses must be grasped as events rising from a distinctive set of socio-economic and historical-political

contingencies. The analysis has thus far set the groundwork for an understanding of the maturation of this discourse. Why then did paedophiliac anxiety crystallise between the late 1980s and the early 1990s in the capital city of South Africa?

The biopolitical landscape of South Africa at the time stood on the cusp of change. It is therefore conceivable that the abduction of children became a metonymical function of discourse by representing the reasons and the dangers of a country entrenched in uncertainty. In a country in which years of apartheid had constructed a "dream world" (Clarke, 1989a, p. 2); where white-power could not anticipate (but consistently produced) a threat to its children and its future was now under real threat of socio-political change; the near hysterical concern regards the missing Fiona Harvey, Odette Boucher, Anna-Mari Wapennar, Joan Horn and Yolanda Wessels girls seems symptomatic of this fact. As we see in a text drawn from the *Sunday Star* of October 15, 1989: in the 40 years since the formal installation of apartheid, "we live[d] in a dream world and [thought] that this sort of thing does not exist" (Clarke, 1989, p. 2). In Pretoria, fears around the disappearance of Afrikaner children grew daily. These were of course localised fears, localised precisely to Afrikaans and conservative white communities. In fact between 1990 and 1994 the *Beeld* and *Rapport* (the country's two leading Afrikaans newspapers) together with the *Citizen* (an English newspaper established by the Nationalist government) together produced over half of the articles on Van Rooyen and paedophilia in South Africa. Acts of abduction and possible sexual violations of South Africa's "dream children" sparked widespread dread and anxiety amongst the country's white (predominantly Afrikaans) readership who were told that "There is now an ever present threat that more children will disappear" (Clarke, 1989a, p. 2). The disappearance of "South Africa's "fair-haired" children became an "internal security threat". Against the backdrop of terror attacks and continued anti-apartheid activism, the media swayed its attention towards the disappearance and sexual violation of South Africa's sacred white children.

The "human" form of the public's widespread anxiety was to be "discovered" a little less than a year later. Following a police chase, a woman child kidnapper and her lover Cornelius (Gert) Van Rooyen "an apostolic preacher" (Abendroth, Van Graan & Van Zyl, 1990, p. 1) were connected to the disappearance of "innocent White children

in the capital city (Abendroth, Van Graan & Van Zyl, 1990, p. 1).

> Police said Mr. Van Rooyen was a well-known paedophile and the possibility he might have been involved in similar incidents was being investigated (Abendroth, Van Graan & Van Zyl, 1990, p. 1.

Just who was this paedophile? Academic and popular responses to this question resulted in his extensive individualisation. Across the country acquaintances, lovers and friends of this paedophile confessed to the public. By all accounts, Van Rooyen was not a social isolate but was an integral member of the public. The modern paedophile in South Africa was invented in this period to occupy this paradoxical position. He is the ordinary everyday psychopath who could be anyone. He is a monster and a fiend, a psychopath and a lover, a paedophile and a person. This paedophile occupies discursive space at both the centre and the margins of the society in which he is located. By implication, the public is always in a fluid relation to its predators. We can never be certain of who or where these predators are (Popkin & Cook, 1994).

> On Sundays he was always holier than thou. However during the rest of the week...He apparently tried to be a preacher, but eventually he decided that his lifestyle wouldn't allow him to follow this calling...He often invited us to come and look at blue movies which he said he got from a friend. He also had a cupboard which was covered with pornographic pictures of woman and himself. (Clover, 1990, p. 1)

Perversion, pornography and preaching were incongruous objects in the texts of Krafft-Ebing and early South African psychiatry but at this time, they came together as elements of the paedophile of 1989. The individual history and (specifically) sexual history of the paedophile soon became the focus of a number of media interests. These historical accounts further *individualised* but socially *assimilated* the discrete characteristics of an adult man whose primary sexual objects were children. These constructions reversed the comfort zones proscribed by earlier fabrications of paedophilia. In such prior productions, the paedophile was located outside of the lives of everyday people but in 1989, he lived within and amongst the public everyday.

Van Rooyen was heterosexual, religious and macho but also a "flamboyant sexual

braggart who completely dominated his friend, Mrs. Haarhof, assaulted her and probably siphoned off her money" ("Sex life", 1989). The juxtaposition of these productions reconciles the man to the monster. Perversion in the adult life of Van Rooyen was confirmed and so in accordance with perversity's perfunctory confession, the history of Van Rooyen was easily solicited and his adult sexuality elaborated by all who knew him.

> Joey told me how Corelius dominated her sexually, demanding satisfaction up to six times a night...how she couldn't cope...Joey changed for the worse almost overnight when she met Van Rooyen...On occasion I overheard her phoning children's homes and applying to take in a child for the holidays. ("Sex Life", 1990)

The effects of the paedophile as a modern pervert were carefully coded in the confessionals of the acquaintances of Van Rooyen. Foucault (1990a) insists that "the single confession must be accompanied by connections to the sexual act [and these] connections must point directly to the "inevitables" of a personality structure" (p. 63). This is markedly so in cases of paedophilia where the amassed force of the law and medicine demand a full and detailed history of the perpetrator. Acquaintances of Van Rooyen were compelled to draw lines backwards so that any mention of the child implied the perverse desire or paedophiliac acts of the paedophile to be. Discourses of paedophilia in 1989 were compelled to restructure the Van Rooyen personality around the sexual act. They had to harness the thoughts, obsessions, desires and pleasures that animated it (Foucault, 1990a, p. 63). Therefore, an oversexed, domineering and insatiable white Afrikaner male is discursively connected to the inevitability of the paedophilic act. As an emblem of the Afrikaner patriarch whose primary duty was the protection of an Afrikaner future, Van Rooyen had failed. He had not merely failed to protect his legacy but had actively participated in damaging it. The public, the social scientific community and indeed the nation, demanded to know how this had come to be. How had this dangerous individual walked the suburban streets? (Janssen, 1990a). The simple public response was that he was there all along: an undetected menace to and nevertheless member of society.

> Following his 30 days' observation at Wesskoppies hospital for having molested two young girls in 1979, Van Rooyen was called a psychopath and a pathological liar...A paedophile will get emotionally and erotically involved,

> but will hardly ever cause physical damage to his victims. In this regard Van Rooyen appears to have been more of a child rapist than a paedophile. (Janssen, 1990a, p. 1).

A number of reports contended that beneath the veil of paedophilia was a psychopath and psychopaths were simply undetectable (Janssen, 1990a, p. 1). On one hand the categories of the paedophile and the psychopath are separated, in many others they are conflated. Indeed the psychopathy of paedophilia is understood to be one of the most severe and untreatable forms of psychopathology by South African psychiatry (Robertson, 1989). Slowly but surely the parameters of paedophilia that had hitherto traced a series of invisible demarcations around race, badness and madness started to consolidate around Van Rooyen in a constant interplay between the "many faces" of the man and the monster (see appendix E). In a bizarre mirroring of the saturation of images of angelic white children that had appeared in the news media from 1950 onward, the face of Van Rooyen was everywhere.

> These are just some of the many faces of the fiend with the piercing eyes. The monster who preyed on little girls commissioned a studio photographer two years ago to take pictures for his girlfriends...Who could've thought that I was photographing such an evil man that day. (Potgieter, 1990, p. 3)

7.5.1. Monsters and Madmen

A thematics of *monsters* or a whole set of teratological metaphors for the paedophile became commonplace in the representations of that time (D'Arcy, 1996). Under this comparison, the very human form of the paedophile was problematised. In perhaps the most dramatic of discursive conflations, the text below blurred South Africa's most famous paedophile into the world's greatest monster in the form of Adolf Hitler. In an ironic tribute to the insights provided by Bunting's (1969) *The Rise of the South African Reich*, South Africa had found its Hitler. This demagogue however preyed upon his own *herensvolk* (Shirer, 1960) and in so doing risked damaging the purity of the Afrikaner eugenics project.

> Adolf Hitler had exactly the same angle to his writing as did child kidnapper and paedophile Gert Van Rooyen. A leading graphologist has produced a chilling portrait of a twisted personality from an analysis of his signature. Van Rooyen, the paedophile who killed himself and his live-in lover last week, was

> obsessed with sex but unable to obtain physical gratification without using children and fantasies to arouse himself. ("Evil Signature", 1990)

As the father of Nazism, Hitler was the ultimate teratological form. He was a monster that promised to protect German purity but succeeded only in destroying Germany itself. Amongst the volume of archival texts that described Van Rooyen perhaps the extract above is the most revealing (Appendix F). The comparison is unnerving. Both men "promised" to protect the purity of their blood and both men met failure with suicide. In Foucault's (1991) terms, the spectacle of a "race war" fought against the "other" in the trenches marked Hitler but damaging whiteness and the future of Afrikanerdom on the biopolitical battlefield of "race" in South Africa led to the production of Van Rooyen as the country's most vilified paedophile. This is what allows the graphological analysis to do its work. Perhaps this is what permitted the conflation to assume an almost credible scientific tone. "The fluctuating pressure in the writing shows instability and mental illness is revealed in the raised middle zonal letters. The last stroke shows a grabbing mentality. It seems to say: No matter how far you run. I'll get exactly what I want out of you" ("Evil Signature", 1990).

On the biopolitical battlefield of apartheid South Africa, Van Rooyen had turned on the very children he was mandated to protect. He damaged the future of white children and perverted their purity. This paedophile was most definitely manufactured as an enemy of the apartheid state. In a retrospective movement of discourse, we see Van Rooyen as we have seen all the South African paedophiles before him - as a threat to white children and therefore as a threat to the future of white South Africa.

7.5.2. Satan Incarnate

Van Rooyen was clearly constructed as the enemy of the child and therefore the enemy of the white South African nation and its set of "white supremacy-based" moral practices. Apart from the political (genocidal) overtones of the Van Rooyen-Hitler comparison, the paedophile as the embodiment of evil is significant. Biblical justifications for the creation and perpetuation of apartheid are common elements of its history (Bunting, 1969) and so we would anticipate antithetical juxtapositions of

Van Rooyen and sound biblical practice. These discourses were provided by accounts that linked him to a vast array of satanic rituals.

> The South African Police has never ignored the possibility of satanic involvement in the disappearance of the six missing school girls... reacting to an article which claimed that Pretoria paedophile, Gert Van Rooyen who has been positively connected to the disappearance of five of the missing schoolgirls was an active Satanist and all six had been murdered in the name of Satan. (Vermaak, 1990, p. 12)

In keeping with a construction of the paedophile as an enemy of God and therefore the Afrikaner, Van Rooyen became the antithesis of Godliness and the sanctity with which apartheid was typically associated. In so doing various texts align to construct Van Rooyen as an Afrikaner Satanist whose demoniacal lust led to the entrapment and desecration of the children of his own nation. Evil and monstrosity collide impeccably in this satanic mixture of lust and murder.

> Mr. X allegedly a Satanist for five years, saw one of the girls killed as a human sacrifice at Paedophile Gert Van Rooyen's house (Humphries, 1990, p. 1).

This demonisation of the paedophile precipitates discursive constructions that would blur paedophiliac and homicidal crimes in the future, at least in the severity of the trauma. We witness here a return to discourses of morality. Although it had seemed that such moral evaluations had receded somewhat in increasingly psychologised and medico-scientific contributions to how the paedophile was known, we encounter here a set of stark religious morals portrayed in conflict, in a situation of crisis. Not only is Van Rooyen thought of as a Satanist – as forcible ejections one can imagine from the norms of Christian National Education of the apartheid government, but, in line with the political paranoia of the internal threat, the everyday normal "monster amongst us". He is singled out as someone who had come from "within the fold" of white Afrikaner Christianity, as someone who had epitomised such values even to the point of taking on the vocation of a preacher.

> Known paedophile Cornelius Van Rooyen (52), the man police believe may have been responsible for a series of child kidnappings, had wanted to become a preacher. If you look in his study you will see all his books. He wanted to be

> a preacher but could not be one because he was divorced. (Janssen, 1990b, p. 1)

As a "preacher" perpetrator of "evil", Van Rooyen as paedophile is constructed in contradiction. The general discursive patter then, is that of the ordinary good subject (popular, healthy Afrikaner father and man of God) who initially exists at the heart of the ideals and ideological values of a certain discursive system but must be violently rejected – pushed to the extreme outskirts of its system. The paedophile must be the most abhorrent "exteriority", the abject persona that allows the system to ascertain and rigidify its own socio-discursive and political threat. Van Rooyen lends a powerful form of identity to this system even as he is expelled from it, as a potent signifier of what it is not.

7.5.3. The House of Horrors

Rehabilitation and reintegration become problematic in the context of a widely publicised perpetrator who was monstrous and evil and whose presence posed a threat to society in general (Sangster, 1988; Zabow, 1996). This "new" magnitude of the paedophiliac action attracted a plenitude of blurred discourses such that criminality and psychopathology could not even collectively encompass the enormity of the crime. Investments in the construction of Van Rooyen as pure evil were magnified to the extent of producing a metonymic effects shift in the constructions of his home.

The Van Rooyen house came to preoccupy the media for a full 7 years (1989 – 1996) (Woodgate, 1996) (see appendix H). In essence, the home-life and the home of the paedophile became implicated in the production of his paedophiliac crime. Foucault (1991) insists that once the processes of criminal and pathological individualisation were in play no component of that individual's life could be separated from the nature of his actions and his personality and the preoccupation with the Van Rooyen house is a case in point. This home was labelled the "house of horrors" (Bulger, 1990c, p. 13) and was animated to become a reified representation of the paedophile that inhabited it. In this sense, the police, forensic psychologists and journalists scrutinised the house as if it could provide some explanation for the mindset of the paedophile. Van Rooyen was dead but that did not mean that his home could not confess his motives. Police

excavated this confession site in their search for truth.

The house contained Afrikaner Weerstand Beweeging stickers (AWB), a tube of vaginal cream, plastic hydrangeas and a picture of the Last Supper, leading one journalist to declare that "paedophile Gert Van Rooyens's home is as bizarre as the man who lived in it" (Bulger, 1990c, p. 8). These objects were effectively subjectified such that they posthumously spoke for Van Rooyen: they became voices from his grave and speakers of his mind (Appendix G). Given the interlocking themes of genocide, Nazism, and Christian religiosity mentioned above, the symbols highlighted by this report are neither strange nor unexpected. In fact, they reify the very discursive lines that encircled the production of this paedophile.

> A young mother stands outside the simple house in suburban Pretoria and pinches her arm proudly. Look it gives me goose pimples - this is the house of horrors. She is just one of the ever-present group of people who come to catch a glimpse of the home of paedophile Gert Van Rooyen and his slavish lover Joey Haarhoff. But there is little to see and sometimes nothing at all except a house inside which police spent much of this week looking for clues to lead them to the six missing schoolgirls. (Bulger, 1990a, p. 13)

The spectacle of this house marked a point of discontinuity in the discourses of the paedophile. In no way could the public deny that this "spectacle" was in fact an ordinary house. In the ordinariness of the house lay the potential for the ordinary paedophile. No longer would the paedophile be constructed in terms that fixed him or her exclusively as an isolate, a Satanist or any marginal member of the public. This points to the paradox of the modern paedophile that must per definition occupy both the centres and margins of the society within which he is produced. Every corner of the house (Appendix H) was searched and excavated in resistance to its ordinariness. Discourses of monstrosity push the paedophile to the margins or periphery of the social fabric but disciplinary suspicions of potentialisation pull him back to its centre. Under disciplinary forms of power, the paedophile must remain both an anomaly and a possible object with which identification is possible. If the paedophile extends beyond the circumference of the conceivable then his discourses can no longer problematise and police normal life and the potential transgression of sexual norms would evaporate. The discourses of *potentialisation* that increasingly insert the paedophile into the everyday and the ordinary inform contemporary constructions of

the modern paedophile. It is in the aftermath of the Van Rooyen case that the South African paedophile of the present was born. This paedophile moves between broad lines of suspicion, constantly moving between marginality and ordinariness.

The aftermath of the Van Rooyen case had firmly conflated paedophilia and psychopathy. This left the paedophile of a South Africa in transition understood as tainted and irredeemable psychopathic. All forms of possible rehabilitation were jettisoned in favour of the production of a paedophile that seemed beyond redemption. Perhaps it is within this context and that of betrayer of white Afrikaans "volk" and religious ideological values that we need to understand many of the hyperbolic constructions offered of him. The evil he represents is largely (though not exclusively) that of an on the future of Afrikanerdom and by implication a "murderer" of the future of his own kind.

7.6. The Enemy Within

The world of the paedophile, like the centre of apartheid's ideological values, was white. Dangers to this centre were positioned on the periphery; in the townships and on the borders, the "black peril" continued to mobilise. Why, it seems reasonable to ask, in a state where blackness represented immorality and criminality, did the figure of the paedophile remain an exclusively a white entity? Why was the black male not incorporated into the realm of paedophilia through an act of projection and disavowal; a disavowing of what was rather within white society into black society? Media reports in so-called black township newspapers had very rarely reported on sporadic incidents of adult – child sexual relations but in very different codes and forms from the explosion of media reportage of sexual crimes against white children in the white press. Township newspapers such as *The World* carried daily accounts of the extreme violence that characterised township life in South Africa during apartheid but manual searches for the term "paedophile" and "child sex" before the creation of the Sabinet digital system revealed these terms to be absent. The terms "child sex" began making an appearance in the township media in the early eighties through a number of articles that reported black children selling their bodies to upstanding white males. The term black paedophile was almost completely absent in any South African specific

database before 2000. Any evidence I did find of adult-child sex acts was consigned to a one-line statement; there was nothing that even vaguely resembled the discursive explosion in the white news media during the period 1950 – 2000.

There were occasional reports of black rapists (who happened to victimise children) and child abusers (who included sex in their various abuse repertoire) but the highly psychologised, vilified and specified black paedophile apparently did not exist in discourse. How do we account for this strange silence in the genealogy of the South African paedophile? We have already seen that two fundamental discursive components are absent in this regard. Black children did not qualify within the precious category of "childhood" and black subjects could not qualify as fully psychopathological.

We need more of an answer than this though, particularly in view of analyses of racism like that of Fanon's (1986), which suggest that the racism of white masculinity all too readily assumes that black men desire "their" white women. It seems that paedophilia, as a practice requires that the enemy of the public reside and grow inside of its *own* corpus. An interrogation of the discourses of paedophilia thus tentatively indicates that paedophilia must necessarily operate as an *internal taboo*. Here we might refer to the work of Judith Butler (1993) who describes a similar operation of discourse whereby tenuous socio-political identities and systems of value attempt to fortify themselves precisely by what she terms "an operation of repulsion". This, in effect, is part of an attempt to substantiate and consolidate a precarious symbolic identity. This is particularly the case when the historical relations of privilege are threatened. Crucially here, the ejected component must have at one or other time featured as an intimate or even intrinsic quality of the "self" or socio-political discursive system at hand; it is a "loathsome inside" that is expelled as means of affirming the particular values of the ideological system of which one is part. Hence, her reference to a "constitutive outside", in the absence of which no powerful exclusionary system can claim its own superiority.

7.7. Paedophilia: Personification of Social Threat

The analysis points to the extension of the figure of the paedophile into national consciousness. From the regional paedophile that posed a local threat to the children of his immediate vicinity, Van Rooyen's threat is extended as a threat to the nation as a whole. Paedophilia as a crime appeared to have expanded its formerly racialised scope. According to Haffejee (1991), child sex crimes were being identified in the communities, in which they were thought not to ever have existed. Discourses began to encompass geographies, pathologies, genders, ages and races that had formerly been considered as below the level of necessary biopolitical or pastoral concern. Lines of suspicion were now drawn everywhere.

This reconstitution of the paedophile resulted in the sudden appearance of problematic adult-child sexual relations involving black child rapists and abusers in 1988 and 1989. This was apparent in both popular and academic discourse as part of a broader political shift in South Africa in which socio-medical sciences attempted "to counter the state's preoccupation with strategies of sovereign domination, and replace these with a progressive-humanist alternative that emphasised the individual, liberation, and empowerment, thrusting to prominence not the sources of violence but rather its victims" (Butchart *et al.*, 1997). A noteworthy academic outcome of this broader political process was the publication of *Childhood and Adversity* (Dawes & Donald, 1994). This text represented a critical reconstruction agenda for black children. In an anachronistic gaze backward the legitimacy of black children as subjects of value was firmly entrenched by a new wave of investigations that suggested that contrary to earlier findings Van Rooyen (the archetypal South African paedophile) could also have abused black girls (Blow, 1990). In sharp contrast to former constructions of black youth as "illegitimate" delinquents, brats, criminals and potent threats to the apartheid projects, they became the visible victims of apartheid rule and post-apartheid intervention. It is difficult to overstate the degree to which this shift – one easy perhaps to take for granted today – challenged the codified world of apartheid's racist governance and ideology.

Between 1948 and 1990, the Republic of South Africa was a state preoccupied with the survival of its white minority. Just as the birth of the nation state produced new forms of surveillance by which the population could be monitored and controlled so too did the South African republic concern itself with the regulation of its population through careful and indeed incessant population surveillance (Moultrie & Timæus, 2002). It was through this careful counting of whites versus blacks that the sexual practices of the population of the Republic became objects of knowledge. On its borders and within its townships, the South African state deployed spectacular displays of sovereign force. Explicit acts of repression against the full spectrum of the black population defined the apartheid period. By 1990 however the former targets of this sovereign power came to be incorporated into the more "synaptic forms of disciplinary power" (Butchart *et al.,* 1997) that had surveilled and subjected the whites of South Africa. This shift was both an instrument and effect of a transition of power.

Black children were transformed from a savage threat to apartheid sovereignty to the victims of such sovereign oppression itself. The sites of pedagogy and psychology that had been so instrumental in tracking and documenting the sexual, social and mental health of white children were transformed from the spaces of black insurgency to invaluable instruments of general population surveillance. No longer did black children embody threats to the integrity of an apartheid state but were rapidly constructed to represent a group that was particularly vulnerable to the injustices of it. In a broad disciplinary sweep, all children became South African. The disciplining of black children was characterised by the emergence of a number of organisations and policies that pledged to deracialising and protecting South African childhood. The Childline movement that had begun in Natal in 1986 was quickly established at a national level in 1988. In that same year, the Community Services Branch of the Natal Provincial Administration held a seminar in Durban that highlighted the problem of child sexual abuse in black communities. The seminar was attended by leading social workers, doctors, social workers, psychologists and criminologists as aimed at countering the perception that child sexual abuse "doesn't occur among black people" (Nelson, 1988, p. 16). Presenters at the seminar commented that as yet organised paedophile rings that groomed and pursued children and exchanged child

pornography were not a feature of the black community and remained well-established elements of paedophilia in the white community (Nelson, 1988). Here again we see the function of the desirability of children operating to divide the sexual abuse perpetrators of black communities with the paedophiles that preyed upon children in white suburban centres.

Resources aimed at Preventing Child Abuse and Neglect (RAPCAN) was established in 1989. The Child Protection Unit of the South African Police Service had secured consistent budgetary allocations by 1990. The first book devoted to understanding child sexual abuse in South Africa and building profiles of paedophiles was published in 1989. *Sexual Abuse of Children in South Africa* was authored by Grant Robertson the director of the SAPS child protection unit established in 1986. The foreword argued that South Africa's children were much safer now and that the evil of paedophilia was under control (Robertson, 1989). The public moral outcry over the growing epidemic of child sex crime indicated quite the opposite. In the years marking the transition from apartheid to democracy children were clearly primary targets for protection, emblems of reconciliation and the metonyms around which the fears, hopes and anxieties of a "new" South Africa came to be clustered.

7.8. Conclusion

Through a series of emblemical textual examples, cross-referenced within and against the broader socio-political context of South Africa, between 1977 and 1989, this chapter has traced the construction of the paedophile from an implied threat to white generational succession through to an embodiment of all that personified "evil". These discourses of evil reached their apex during the Van Rooyen case where the amassed racialised understandings that extracted paedophilia from whiteness sited the paedophile as a monstrous traitor that represented all manner of threats to the perpetuity of Afrikaner hegemony in South Africa. The high-profile cases of white paedophiles during this period witnessed a re-writing of pathogenesis that emphasised the psychological rather than biological elements of paedophilia. During this period, paedophiles were extracted from the most normal of places and so their social threat was potentialised. Alongside these widely disseminated productions of tabloid sensationalism, black children began to be rearticulated as vulnerable to the various

forms of abuse that had characterised the social realities of white children under the rapidly consolidating languages of public health. Accordingly, the health disciplines began to deracialise threats to precious childhood and gradually inscribed all South Africa's children into a homogenous risk category for sexual abuse. During the latter parts of the 1980s, black children were clearly the targets of public health but did not command the discursive preciousness or desirability of their white counterparts. Nevertheless, the vulnerability of black children was symptomatic of the democratisation of the country and by the end of 1989. Conferences and special journal volumes dedicated to uncovering the sexual abuse of black children pointed to the democratisation of paedophiliac desire and indeed, to the possibility of the extraction of paedophilia from the vast array of black perpetrators that personified a new threat to a democratic South Africa.

CHAPTER 8: THE FIGURE OF THE PAEDOPHILE IN THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA (1990 – 2001)

Macropolitical investments in South African childhood in the 90s were underwritten by discourses of a country on the cusp of change. Everywhere these children represented the faces of a new and democratic South Africa. Threats to the physiological and mental health of these children were brought to the fore by daily newspapers and other media reports. The sexual abuse of children received unprecedented public and academic attention. In *Children of Sorrow*, Marais (1990) alerted the country to the fact that although paedophilia was identified as a pressing international problem as early as 1976, our criminal case files were only bulging some 10 years later.

Graduate psychology research projects in historically white South African universities aimed to understand the pathogenesis of the paedophile and contain his threat to children (Engelbrecht, 1989; Naude, 1989; Porter, 1994). These early academic publications had two primary foci. The first concerned the nature of the paedophile and the second the inevitable and avoidable damage the paedophiliac act caused to children and how it might be contained and managed. (Rech & Jahn, 1989). No sample appeared to lie outside the target area of South Africa for assessing the prevalence of childhood sexual abuse. Studies conducted on age cohorts that were now at the legal ages of sexual consent were surveyed in an attempt to locate a trace of sexual abuse across the full spectrum of the subject's histories (Levett, 1989; Collings, 1991). The human sciences began discussing just how it was possible for child sexual abuse to have avoided detection for so long. In turn, the South African human and social sciences began developing increasingly sophisticated scales and inventories for the optimum detection of any child or adult that had experienced the paedophiliac act (Winship, 1989). The most important discursive development of these post-1988 constructions concerned the predatory nature of the paedophile.

> He will stalk his victims like a lion hunting its prey. His actions are usually intelligent, calculated and devious. He will move to a hunting ground that is rich in targets, and will then select the most vulnerable victim (Robertson, 1989, p. 28).

No longer was the typical paedophile an imbecile or an indigent. This paedophile was cunning and conniving. This made his presence more difficult to detect. The impact of his actions on children also became more serious. For the first time, the effects of paedophilia were deemed to have serious implications for the financial fitness of the social welfare programmes of the state. The director of the South African Council for Child and Family Welfare attributed the 51 percent increase in reported cases of child sexual abuse to the information dissemination efforts of the media. This sudden increase in reports had placed a heavy financial burden on national welfare societies ("Heavy cost", 1989; Labuschagne, 1990). Paedophilia duly became an issue of state governance. In order to facilitate these mechanisms a link was drawn between early detection of paedophilia and the subsequent effective treatment of both victim and perpetrator (Collings, 1990a; Esterhuizen, 1990). To this end, all adults that came into regular contact with children were called upon to develop the requisite skills for detecting paedophilia. These adults included teachers, pastors, doctors and parents (Collings, 1990a; Esterhuizen, 1990; Robertson, 1989). Early detection was imperative as research was increasingly indicating that paedophilia undeniably damaged the child and that self-destructive behaviour leading to suicide was one possible outcome (Collings, 1990b). The seriousness of the problem was thought to be compounded by the fact that children found it difficult to report paedophiliac crimes.

8.1. Paedophilia and Public Health in South Africa

In 1991, the Minister of National Health and Health services announced that Childline received 25 000 calls for that year. This amounted to an average of 700 calls per day. The majority of these calls were made by children (Woodgate, 1991) indicating, that they had been successfully incorporated into the surveillance/confessional nexus and became speaking subjects on their own behalf. Children, more to the point perhaps, became a vital part in the relay chain of their own surveillance. This successful inclusion of children in the surveillance relay indicated a dramatic change in the social power of children and their inclusion in what only a decade earlier had been the primary dominion of the police force and the social sciences. The very nature of the confessions of children came under scrutiny and psychologists began to develop mechanisms by which such confessionals could be optimised for detail (Sorinsen &

Snow, 1991). For the first time South African academic discourse seemed to heed, Korbin's (1980) call for culturally specific studies on children and their abusers. In academia, the cultural specificities of the nature of sex and abuse were highlighted by as small group of academics (Levett & MacCleod, 1991). Indeed Levett's early (1989) doctoral thesis was the first academic work in the field of child sex that insisted on a critical engagement with paedophilia as a South African phenomenon. While provocative, these calls for a critical engagement with South African childhood and its relationship to sexual abuse perhaps understandably, offered little resistance to the dominant "damage" discourses of the time which insisted that paedophiles had always been a scourge to South African society and that this scourge had only been recently uncovered.

8.1.1. From Violent Threats to Vulnerable Victims

The Child Accident Prevention Foundation of South Africa (CAPFSA) established in 1988 (itself a product of the extension of a new concern for the health of children) extended its surveillance systems to accommodate the sexual abuse of children in 1991 ("Anticipating accidents", 1991). The legal system was quickly compelled to respond to an extension of surveillance and align itself with the surplus of paedophiliac cases that the social sciences were "discovering" everywhere. At the beginning of the 1990s, the inadequate response of the law together with its inability to cope with the explosion of child sex abuse became the frequent topics of academic debate (Lupton, 1991; Middleton, 1991; Spies, 1991; Swanepoel, 1991). Doctors responded to the call for an extension of their surveillance of children by developing more sophisticated detection modes and of course, psychologists began refining their inventories to capture the formal psychology of both perpetrators and victims of paedophilia with more accuracy and proficiency (Rech, 1991; Westaway, 1991). In line with the unmitigated discursive production of vulnerable children, the human sciences began developing "best-practices" for expediting the statutory management of child sex abuse. This was primarily organised around the protection of the child witness and providing mechanisms by which the space between child and perpetrator could be maintained (Van der Merwe, 1994).

The child witness became an increasingly important agent in the surveillance/production nexus. The psychological and forensic sciences sought ways to increase the credibility of the testimony of child witnesses (Swanepoel, 1998). With every case "uncovered" was the realisation that no exhaustive profile of the abused child or the perpetrator could be developed (Rech, 1991; Westaway, 1991). In fact, both the child and the abuser could "present with a number of indefinite signs and symptoms" (Rech, 1991, p. 576).

The sudden increase of cases of paedophilia did not continue without some measure of reflexivity. Levett continued to problematise paedophilia and in 1992 an article in *Communico* began to reflect on the discursive mechanisms (rather than supposed actual increases) responsible for the production of the moral panic of paedophilia (Strelitz & Riddle, 1992). These critical voices did little to abate the incessant reportage of the popular press. In fact, tabloid sensationalism continued to play its role in contributing to the rise of paedophilia as a volatile topic in the popular "cultural imaginary" of this time. What these voices did point to was the subtle discursive restructuring of the different sexualities of South Africa's children. This period of South African history witnessed a discursive clash between apartheid constructions of black children as "innately volatile, wild and antisocial" (Swartz & Levett, 1989, p. 744) and revised disciplinary constructions of these children as victims of apartheid itself. The position of white children was not targeted by these discourses. Rather the constructions of naïve and innocent white children that had been widely disseminated throughout the course of the preceding decades remained intact. The legacy of white paedophilia continued to inform white anxieties.

8.2. An explosion of psychopathic paedophiles

Psychiatric discourses confirmed that paedophiles had always been a threat to children (Greenberg, 1990). Moreover, they insisted that such pathology could not be definitively treated and that paedophilia remained an imminent reality for all those who walked South Africa's streets. These "revelations" in turn produced intensified constructions of the irreversibility of the pathologies inherent in the perpetration of those crimes.

> Sixty-Nine psychopaths with a history of violent crime have been released on to South Africa's streets after receiving treatment that probably did not help them...Dr. Vorster who has dealt with some of South Africa's most notorious psychopaths, including Pikkie Van der Westhuizen who raped a young girl and killed her brother said indeterminate sentences might be the only way of protecting society from psychopaths. Her suggestion comes in the wake of growing concerns about the tendency of psychopaths to repeat their crimes, as in the case of paedophile Gert Van Rooyen, abductor of at least five schoolgirls who have yet to be found. (Bulger, 1990b, p. 3)

In many popular texts such as the example above, paedophiles are viewed as recidivistic; incarceration was hence often offered as the only available option for the protection of children and society in general (Devereaux & Olswong, 1990; Redpath, 2003). The relapse of the paedophile was not merely likely - it was inevitable. This configuration of social anxieties and popular discourse provided the formal material and discursive conditions of possibility for the coming implementation of acute and interminable surveillance technologies designed to track the paedophile. These techniques produced a paedophile that remained a pathological criminal under the scrutiny of society for the duration of his life. The interminable criminal life of the paedophile was thus ensured by a disciplinary society in which the discipline of psychology played an intrinsic role in the development of public *confessional* technologies under which the paedophile must necessarily exist. The wide circulation of these public confessionals served to remind the public that its own *sexual normality* and its interactions with children were not protected by the rigid parameters of normal life.

8.2.1. Recidivism and National Registers

Improving mechanisms for the protection of children on the streets led to a call for re-examining South Africa's laws for prosecuting and punishing child molesters. One of the most popularly supported vehicles for such protection entailed the development of a national register of paedophiles:

> There has also been a call for a national register of convicted child molesters who are released from jail and allowed to back into society, to be circulated within the police force and at institutions where children are cared for. (Devereaux & Olswong, 1990, p. 4)

This call for the national registration of paedophiles following the completion of their sentences marked a shift in the material practices that formerly characterised paedophilia. Most significantly, this call indicated (and continues to indicate) a threat to modern discourses of incarceration and rehabilitation. The moderate fines and reprimands for acts of paedophilia in 1951 had by 1991, become a call for permanent incarceration. In cases where this was not possible, permanent surveillance was recommended for the regulatory treatment of paedophiles, child molesters and child rapists. Life-long surveillance as a penological practice attested to the constructed enormity of the paedophiliac crime as not even murderers were thought to require such unusual levels of ongoing, lifelong surveillance after serving their sentences. These discourses called for more efficient policing and prosecuting of child sex abusers by a national register for paedophiles ("Registers", 1994; Rickard, 1994) that were deemed to be beyond rehabilitation and posed a constant threat of recidivism. Although this practice was a popular suggestion for the treatment of paedophiles, it was not implemented in South Africa. This did not dissuade members of the public from publishing the names of paedophiles in their local newspapers. Such practices furthered the discipline of the paedophile and confirmed his recidivism (Hamilton & Bullard, 1990). Likewise, it maintained and extended the social anxiety of the possibility of such acts. The production of this recidivism pointed to the solidification of the relationship between discourses of psychopathology and the law. In the years leading up to the publication of DSM-III in 1987, it became increasingly difficult to separate out within psychological and psychiatric discourse, an act of improper adult sexual advance toward a child – whether real or fantasised – from the broader disorder of paedophilia and the charactereological disposition to repeat such actions in the future. The law in turn took recourse to the poor prognoses offered by psychology to mete out harsher sentences. These sentences were social scientifically sound and underwritten by the very psychology that had played such an important role in producing paedophilia as a discursive entity.

A tautology of sorts comes into play here, which evidences the joint reciprocation of legalistic and psychological discourses and ensures and unending problematisation of the paedophile.

On the one hand, a single paedophiliac act is enough to sustain the suspicion of the presence of the paedophiliac desire, to lock this subject into a future of psychopathology, indeed into a "career of paedophilia". This desire once proved was enough to render it eternally deviant. On the other hand, any sense of the presence of paedophiliac desire, even if any instantiation of this desire remains in the past, is enough to ensure a continual potential to act again. Desire and act imply one another in a spiral of problematisation and potentialisation, which thanks to the crucial qualification of the psychopathological nature of this disorder ensure that this subject is effectively a criminalised for the rest of his life. It is the logic that underlies the recidivism of the paedophile and legitimises his constant surveillance.

8.3. Black Ghosts in a White Land

The "uncovering" of child sexual abuse in black communities led to very different inferences about its perpetration. The focus of these studies concentrated primarily on children as the victims of abuse and rape; perpetrators were mentioned in passing. In order to further study the effect of child sexual abuse of black children the Bara/Soweto Child Abuse Liaison Forum was established in Soweto in 1992. The forum embarked on a widespread information collection drive. The purpose of such data collection concerned developing a child abuse database from which to create counselling and other support systems for victims of child sexual abuse in the townships (Sacoor & Wagstaff, 1992). Everyday interaction with these township children led some researchers to engage Levett's (1989) critical enquiries into the inevitable trauma outcomes of child sex abuse of black children. This debate was ongoing and extended into the next year. Perhaps more important than the contents of this debate was the fact that it could occur at all. Here we see the pronounced racialisation of children in terms of the discrete cultural variables involved in understanding adult-child sex as damaging to children. On the one hand, Russell (1991a; 1991b; 1993) insisted on the universality and inevitability of trauma resulting from child-adult sex. On the other, Levett (1992) suggested that perhaps the assumption that trauma is an inevitable outcome of adult-child sex interaction is informed by an imposed Eurocentric understanding of childhood. Thus, the psychological gaze on black children (begun in the early 1980s) began to make its presence more formally felt in the journals of the time.

8.3.1. Colonised Children

The hazy lines that described black children were further complicated by a number of publications that insisted that "[contemporary] models of psychology and of psychological development are inherently individualistic and assume that childhood experiences have a great deal of influence on adult behaviour" (Levett, 1993, p. 241). We were also invited to explore more thoroughly the imperialism of western psychological constructs of children and their applicability to a changing South Africa (Mkhize, 2004). These discourses highlighted the cultural differences between imposed western constructs of the paedophile as a danger to children and the local conditions of adult-sexual relations, which sometimes existed in a less thoroughly surveilled domain in rural communities. This is a delicate issue; on the one hand, we need to bear in mind, the role that racism has to play in familial tropes of the over-sexed African whose sexual life knows neither the rules of civilisation nor the sanctions of Christian morality (De Ridder, 1962). This then is a pattern of explanation we should avoid. On the other hand, it would seem, a number of anthropological studies (Levett, 1993, 1992, 2004) suggested that many traditional rural sub-Saharan African communities were not characterised by quite the same degree of social anxiety and regimental surveillance around political norms attendant to child sex, or adult-child sex. This would certainly seem to be so if one took the moral-discursive world of Victorian England as a point of comparison. To emphasise the implications of such understandings Levett cited an alarming analogy "of a man who grows and cares for his mealie (maize) patch and feels entitled to savour his crop first, when it is fresh and he chooses to do so" (Levett, 1993, p. 247).

This article provided a critical response to the rapidly developing "regime of truth" that was beginning to characterise discourses of inevitable and universal damage to children resulting from child sexual abuse but perhaps more importantly it captured precisely the type of racialised understandings of the perpetration thereof. What we need to bear in mind here, is that Levett's (1992, 1993) anthropological studies that reported that young girls in rural households are frequently involved with older men and that these interactions are acceptable, indicated more that the cultural relativism and constructedness of "abuse" in child sexual abuse. They articulated the very

complicated genealogical lines of racialisation that in effect separated white paedophiles from black child rapists and abusers. In essence, the colonial images of blacks and apartheid constructions of black children and their families could not be easily assimilated into the burgeoning discourses of paedophilia in South Africa that had been activated in the late 1980s. This was partly because, as I argued in the previous chapter, the function of such discourses was exactly that of problematising a given community from within; such constructions had a paradoxically purifying function of sharpening the definition, the identity and values of an ethnic, socio-cultural and of course racial community which felt itself under threat. One might contend that there was something narcissistic about such a process. It neither really required the involvement of black subjects nor presumed that an equivalent social dynamic could occur within such communities. Perhaps this is one reason that acts of paedophilia assume such racialised understandings in the political context of apartheid South Africa. They were in part the function of a crumbling ideological system's attempt to shore up its precarious sense of itself, shaken both by the evident sea-change in values (international resistance to apartheid, internal unrest, dissent even amongst the white population) and by its desperate attempts at self-purification and hence self-consolidation in the face of these threats. This is perhaps the reason why the black child sex abuser was not constructed as the criminally deranged figure that relentlessly characterised white perpetrators as paedophiles. Just prior to the democratisation of South Africa, the black paedophile could still not exist.

Black forms of sexual "otherness" could not yet make their marks on the social scientific "canon" of paedophiliac theory. This perhaps partly accounts for the lack of samples of black men in the profiling work done by psychologists at the time (Craven, 1998). This "otherness" was so inexorably fixed in the discursive structures of colonial consciousness and apartheid practice that appropriation of black paedophilia into the regimes of an imported European biomedicine in South Africa bordered on the impossible.

8.4. Broad Lines of Suspicion

Although the racialised profiling of paedophiliac perpetration continued unabated, the

proliferation of possible victims had duly resulted in an expansion of possible perpetrators. The media excitedly reported that:

> The PWV area has the highest incidence of child abuse and up to 40 percent of the crimes are committed by a family member. Police statistics revealed this week show that in the region in 1991, sex related crimes against children under the age of 14 included 685 rapes and 608 indecent assaults...Of the 58 children housed at the Johannesburg Children's home, 85 percent have been sexually abused. They range in age from 3 to 18. (Rushton, 1992, p. 5)

The surplus of data collected by researchers and non-governmental organisations with a focus on children had found new and unanticipated spaces for child sex crime. In a reversal of the discourses of the early 1940s, the family became a suspected site for child sex perpetration. Early South Africa discourses constructed the family as an irreducible component of the sanctity of the child. In the 1990s however, paedophiles, child molesters and child rapists were part of these very families. This reversal appeared to have several functions. Discourses of familial or incestuous sexual abuse fortified the status of the child such that even the status of guardianship awarded to the parent was superseded by the potential for abuse by them. No longer could parents be trusted with their children. The warrant of surveillance and biopolitical scrutiny hence spread to accessing even this privileged realm of innocence – the relation between parent and child. Outcomes of case studies reported that "up to 94 percent of abusers are known to their victims" (Rushton, 1992, p. 5). These reports held fundamental challenges to the family as a societal microcosm. The paedophile now belonged to the family.

8.4.1. Familiarity and Fantasy

These discourses produced paedophiles in our safest of spaces, as a figure that would be typically familiar to us, who could in effect be one of us. These new profile building blocks restructured the perpetrator. The early South African paedophile was a stranger and an imbecile. This profile was replaced by a potentialising principle that excluded no one. The range of paedophiliac acts became even more diffused. Sexual misdemeanours against children including "flashing" and exposing children to lewd photographs were also recorded as sharply rising alongside more severe sexual crime

("Rape of Children", 1992). Moreover, this is to say nothing of the rise of child pornography and the global circulation of such images enabled by various Internet technologies (Du Toit, 2002; Hobbs, 1996; Horning, 1995; Mills, 2002; Theron, 1992).

The "Porn and Paedophilia" (Horning, 1995) debate was sparked by the increasing awareness and uptake of internet technologies for the distribution of general pornography in South Africa. These technologies provided valuable means for the greater diffusion and abstraction of paedophilia within the country (Mills, 2002) and pointed to the absolute installation of the child body as a sacrosanct object. Even the possession of images that were not "real" (that is, generated by computers and virtual artists) were considered child pornography and pointed to the imminent perpetration of paedophilia. Not even the possession of virtual images that brought children and sex into close proximity were to be tolerated as discourses came to confirm that even fantasy was to be policed (Horning, 1995). The possession of any images relating to childhood began to be met with suspicion and psychologists began to increasingly provide the law with evidence that suggested that even paedophiliac fantasy was indicative of severe psychopathology (Du Toit, 2002). These indications fuelled the legal surveillance engines of the country that began to search for paedophiles in even the virtual world, looking increasingly for the paedophile that lived in fantasy. This search assumed a sort of latent paedophilia that could be activated at any time.

The reason that paedophilia had remained so latent (according to a leading Pretoria psychologist) was because science had presumed that there was only one type of paedophile. Recent research had however indicated that a range of sub-types of paedophilia existed ("Rape of Children", 1992). Psychiatric discourse warned that paedophiles came in many shapes and sizes and that the signs were everywhere.

> Hugging and kissing of a child may seem innocuous but it can be the first sign, there is no reason for a stranger to show overactive love, attention or affection towards your child ("Rape of Children", 1992).

Multiplications of the possible shapes of paedophilia by popular dissemination of psychiatric knowledge resulted in the increased scrutiny of previously indemnified

adult-child practices. These otherwise normal interactions became potential sites of perversion. In essence, normality was continually problematised by the possibility of paedophiliac perversion. The multiple lines of objectification popularised by psychiatry through the media indicated that paedophiles enjoyed a rich fantasy life and that these fantasies still translated into a perverse danger (Du Toit, 2002; Looman, 1995; Mills, 2002). Moreover, in the maelstrom of paedophiliac discourses of this time actions become synonymous with paedophiliac fantasies. Even if the act itself was beyond physical trace, the desire of the adult was continually policed such that the paedophiliac act became an inevitable and necessary outcome of a "mental" or fantastical transgression.

Part of this new base for suspicion was realised in the very nature of the discursive archive of paedophilia itself. While over four decades of discourses on paedophilia had realised shifts in the technologies and languages that rendered different types of paedophiles tenable at various points in South Africa's history it seems that no single defining discourse of paedophilia is ever fully erased from its an ever-expanding archive. The paedophiliac archive continuously integrates new discourses, meanings and associations in its generation of continuing lines of adult-child problematisation. It is because the figure of the paedophile serves a disciplinary and biopolitical function that the discourses that produce him must constantly accommodate new variations, contributions, and fragmentations to the changing discursive constellation of paedophilia. Put differently, "paedophilia" at this time could no longer easily be subsumed within the structure of a single consistent discourse; rather it began to approximate a more dispersed discursive formation, modifying multiple components, which intersected in a varying number of ways. The possession of child pornography is a case in point.

Many prominent international examples of the guilty-by-association logic which persecuted those possessing child pornography as themselves potentially dangerous individuals came to light post 2001, a date which exceeds the focus period of this study (Du Toit, 2002). The severity of the penalties imposed for such a crime of possession and that of the social vilification suffered by such individuals, points to the fact the discourse of paedophilia post-1990 could be used as a broad ensemble or

network of associated traits, dispositions, acts and predictions, which came to be combined with a varying internal coherence. The discourse of paedophilia in short, became an inclusive net of suspicion and condemnation, able to problematise a variety of seemingly isolated acts (the possession of a certain order of pornography for example) on the basis of a potential to further paedophiliac actions. Likewise, this discourse seemed to be able to problematise the future lifestyle of an individual on the basis of an act and disposition.

8.5. The Democratic Development of a New Paedophilia

As the APA "opened up" its paedophiliac taxonomies to include a variety of formerly excluded possibilities in 1994 so paedophilia had emerged as "a crime of epidemic proportions" (Lewis, 1997) in South Africa. "The number of [child sexual abuse] cases reported to the police increased 89 percent during the five-year period from 1988-1992" ("Sharp Rise", 1994). An emphasis on the success of apartheid's white supremacist ideology as determined by its white children in South Africa seemed to have provided a type of *biopolitical* schematic for the future of South Africa as a new nation. Ironically, just as Apartheid South Africa was constructed as a new Afrikaner nation in 1948 so the elections of 1994 demarcated the nation as "new". This new nation required building and so its children once again became pivotal symbols of South Africa's future. In an uncanny echoing of the early rudiments of the paedophile under apartheid governance, research and reports on child sexual abuse in the black communities of democratic South Africa began appearing with increasing frequency. In short, the democratisation of South Africa demanded a democratisation of paedophilia. Black child rapists became frequently reported (produced) objects by the democratisation practices and discourses of a desegregating South Africa. We were told of rampant child sex abuse in the black townships (Carelse, 1994; Magwaza, 1994; Wood, 1994). This new surveillance of black communities (Magidella, 1996) was however facilitated by different conditions of possibility.

The alarming rates of HIV/AIDS infections that were concentrated in black communities resulted in the intensification of the surveillance of the sexual practices of black families and communities (Lightfoot, 1997; Van Rooyen & Hartell, 2002,

Magidella, 1996). While the potential threat of these practices had been the focus of apartheid concern, they assumed biopolitical prominence under the newly elected ANC government. Comparable to the perversions produced in the white community by the intensified surveillance practices of apartheid governance, increased scrutiny of the black populace "found" a number of sexual irregularities. The widespread sexual abuse of children was one such discovery.

The perpetrators of these offences were however not yet paedophiles, in the sense that they were not a yet a threat to the preciousness of childhood. A change in dispensation had not brought immediate value to the black children upon whom the paedophile must prey. The change in government had also not yet sufficiently restructured the archival sexual constructs of black masculinity, which remained rooted in the language of promiscuity and opportunism (Cassiem, 1997; Msomi, 1998; Ncube ka Mathanda, 2001).

8.5.1. Sexual reign of terror

> Father held for child abuse! Child slave pregnant! Mother sells eight year old for sex! Men with HIV rape children! Millions of children are slaves! Sex terror reign against children! ("Suffer", 1996)

HIV/AIDS research has been noted as providing a stimulus to research on human sexuality (Lalor, 2004). This is especially true in South Africa. The identification of HIV high-risk areas in 1996 unsurprisingly yielded high rates of child sex abuse (Cassiem, 1997, McKerrow, 1996). These studies also pointed to what was to become an interestingly complex relationship between HIV/AIDS and childhood sexual abuse amongst the black community in South Africa. Ethnographic research in black areas was increasingly reporting on what was later to be called the "virgin myth" by researchers (Jewkes, Martin & Penn-Kekana, 2002; McKerrow, 1996). Essentially this myth involved the belief that having sexual intercourse with someone who was not yet sexually active provided a cure to the disease. Children hence became targets for rape. Their rape was now not only to be seen as an opportunistic event but rather the consequence of premeditation. Prevalence studies that swept the country in search of describing the burden of HIV/AIDS produced discourses that constructed HIV as

the new struggle for the new South Africa. Information was required to combat the disease. Like the knowledge produced from state sanctioned population surveillance in apartheid South Africa, a variety of HIV Knowledge, Attitudes and Practices (KAP) studies amongst the black communities of South Africa generated "new" insights into sexual practices of those communities. This time however these insights were underwritten by health rather political concerns.

The psychological and psychiatric impacts of these new confessions of the black communities formed an important theme of the ninth National Psychiatry Conference held in 1996. For the first time the prevalence of child sex abuse was the driving topic of a national conference. Papers on the full spectrum of risk factors for child sexual abuse in disadvantaged communities were delivered that viewed black children as vulnerable (Grundligh, Van der Veen, Pillay, Flisher, Karmer, Hoven, Greenwald, Gould & King, 1996). Subsequent to the conference, a variety of state research bodies pledged to respond to these risk factors and elevate the "plight of children" to the top of South Africa's research agenda (Schurink & Schurink, 1996). These measures included further refining mechanisms by which children could safely testify in court, restructuring the criminal justice system to accommodate the recent increase of child sex crime (Schurink, 1996) and streamlining the Child Protection Unit of the SAPS (Pienaar, 1996).

Conferences such as these pointed to the growing inclusion of black children into the precious figure of childhood. The argument I would like to make here is that the racialised vulnerability of children was rapidly dissolving and the prioritisation of child sex abuse prevention became a guiding force for the establishment of many civil society movements. Two of the most visible of these movements were the South African Stop Child Abuse Association and the Child Abuse Alliance. These movements pointed towards the fact that all children now fell within the biopolitical protectorate of the new South Africa.

> The Child Abuse Alliance believes that every child has the right to a safe and supportive environment. Childhood should be a time of innocence, spontaneity and self-development. ("Child Abuse", 1997, p. 13)

Whereas the category of childhood had, in the period 1948 – 1992, been solely defined by white children – as key figures targeted for the optimisation of white generational succession - post 1994 South African biopolitics constructed all children as valuable to its nation-building project.

> Creating a caring society is everybody's business. This means establishing a culture of human rights, such as respect for the dignity and worth of others, protection against physical and verbal abuse, freedom from discrimination and respect for privacy. Long term and lasting change requires a collective community effort. ("Child Abuse", p. 13)

This process of communal responsibility was not new. It was a tactic of the apartheid years. The defining difference here is that it has been relatively deracialised and occurs within the public conscientisation of "child sexual abuse". Lobbying and advocacy by collective community effort resulted in the formulation of a National Child Protection Strategy in 1997 (Naidoo, 1997; Pillay, 1997). This signified the final shift in the historical processes by which the child sex crime was relocated from the periphery of medico-legal discourse in the early 1940s to mainstream societal engagement in South Africa in 1997. Everybody became responsible for every child before the law. Civil society, lobbyists and researchers began to voice calls for the treatment and containment of paedophiles. These treatments ranged from permanent incarceration ("Dirty Old", 2001) to chemical castration ("Chemical castration", 1994) to psychotherapeutic programmes within prison itself (Zabow, 1996).

The concentrated surveillance of the white family during apartheid was now opened up to include the full scope of South African citizenry. Power paid particular attention to the spaces in which children worked, played, lived and prayed. Priests, teachers, social workers and eventually mothers were to become inevitable components of a crime of which they were formerly constructed as being incapable of committing. This was not a historically unprecedented development but in a curious democratisation of the potentialisation of paedophilia and its ongoing discovery through various disciplinary and biopolitical means, paedophilia was now identified throughout virtually the entire spectrum of South African society. So as power continued to transform and deracialise its citizens, it found Zionist priests and Sangomas (African traditional spiritual leaders) repeatedly sodomising young girls

and boys (“Sangoma”, 2001; Seripe, 1995) and produced paedophiles from out of the very police stations (Alenroxel, 2001) that Pienaar (1996) had indicated were committed to the protection of children.

> A 39-year old police sergeant was arrested in the Naledi police station by his colleagues last Friday after the SA Stop Child Abuse (Sasca) organisation picketed the station to demand his arrest for allegedly sexually abusing his four-and a half year old daughter. (Seripe, 1995, p. 3)

In so doing, power produced an ongoing base of paedophiles, abusers, molesters and rapists in the former sanctuaries of childhood. These included the school, home, church and shelter. Child rapists were discovered in poor black children’s shelters (“Indecent Assault”, 1993) and paedophiles were produced in the upper echelons of the South African clergy (“No to paedophiles”, 1997). These productions were accompanied for renewed calls for a register of sex offences. Such calls were supported at the highest level and were echoed by the minister of welfare at the time.

Public pronouncements such as “Save the children, save the nation” (“Save”, May 14, 1996) became the mantra of a new South Africa as post-Apartheid children were increasingly invested with the promise to deliver a new and better country. These children became important indices of the sexual health of the nation (Ngqala & Ludidi, 1998).

With every new report on child sexual abuse came the promise of the emergence of the figure of the black paedophile. Police statistics continued to provide an important measure of the magnitude of the ever-increasing problem of child sexual abuse. In 1997, the CIAC announced that 8 864 children had been raped during the previous year (Marshall & Herman, 1998). In 1998, RAPCAN published what was to be the third significant text dedicated to studying and reporting on child sexual abuse in South Africa. *Child Sex Abuse in South Africa* (1998) painted a very different picture of possible perpetrators to both Robertson’s (1989) and Marais (1990) texts. The case studies cited focused almost exclusively on black children and the construction of possible perpetrators was inclusive.

> There is no profile that is applicable across the board. Perpetrators have all sorts of different appearances, physically and emotionally. It may be

> convenient to lump them with poverty, mental illness and poor parenting but often perpetrators hide behind the pillars of society, working as high court judges, priests, child-care workers and doctors. (Marshall & Herman, 1997, p. 17)

The first South African study that explicitly aimed to generate a phenomenology of paedophilia was to contribute to the growing data gleaned from the adult-child paedophilia dyad (Ivey & Simpson, 1998). By 1988, public outcry concerning paedophilia reached a new level of society: a group of protesters gathered outside one courthouse calling for the death of the paedophile and his lawyer (Rademeyer, 1998). Furthermore, in an extension of the mapping of the full life spectrum of perpetrators, various studies of the processes by which the abused become abusers highlighted the role of the family and primary socialisation in the (re)production of paedophilia Hlophe (1999). Many articles offering analyses of this sort were published in the journal *ChildrenFirst* that focused on children and childhood in South Africa. In a telling discursive turn, the newly re-titled journal (previously *Recovery*) elevated the child to a primary priority for the country. A clear underlying biopolitical and moral premise of this journal was by now the familiar insistence that all adult South Africans were responsible for the future of the nation through a healthy guardianship of her children.

8.5.2. Warped Women

By 1998, popular social science discourses turned their attention to the "mothers" of the nation. Take for example the following text:

> Shelly, a single mother, had her own son, Troy, yet he too had become not a child but an object. Her maternal instincts had warped. Shelly's not sure when it started but mentions trying needlessly to breastfeed him when he was one and a half… From there her sexual urges became increasingly powerful and the sexual abuse escalated…I would have him lay on top of me or on my breasts, I would put my finger in his rectum and suck on his penis. (Green, 2000, p. 48)

Shocking and prurient in equal measure, texts of this sort depicted a warping of maternal instincts. While many of the discursive patterns of this era marked structural similarities and apparent continuities with the "high apartheid" anxiety about paedophiles, here we see a sharp discontinuity. Where the Rautenbach case presented

in chapter 6, evidenced a moderation, a lessening of the paedophiliac crime precisely because of the presence of certain maternal impulses, here even such essentialised values of maternity are perverted. This in fact is exactly the horror of this text: paedophiliac desire can override and corrupt even that which is amongst the purest and most altruistic of all social bonds – that between mother and child. While "warping" of natural and organic features seemed to define early constructions of male paedophilia, gendered and maternally-specific discourses militated against the immediate construction of female abusers as paedophiles. The interrogation of the notion of the exclusively male paedophile drew attention to a discursive desire to engage the myths of molestation. A number of articles in this year attempted to bring an "enlightened approach" to the study of paedophiles. These studies exploded what they believed to be stereotypes of perpetrators (Botha, 2000; Campbell & Collings, 2000). These included typifying paedophiles as male, strangers, indigent and psychologically scarred. The studies continued the fragmentation of discourses of paedophilia, by constructing its omnipresence. This fragmentation perhaps reached the final object of assimilation in the popular press in the same year with a variety of publications that stripped age from the paedophiliac formula.

8.5.3. The limits of discipline: Child Paedophiles

Such is the discursive and productive power of the child that any sexual encroachment upon it is deemed an abuse of sorts. The gravitational field that so strongly bound the child to scrutiny produced an implosion of discourse that in some ways pointed to the incessantly expanding scope of discourses of paedophilia. This implosion was marked by:

> a sinister new turn: thousands of South African children are being abused by youngsters little older than themselves...There are gangs of 10-year olds who go around raping girls of 6 for fun. I have come across one case when one of the perpetrators was a boy of 6 who raped a little girl. There was a general disbelief that a child of his age could get an erection, but it turned out to be instinctive as he had been sexually molested from the age of 2 by his father (Krost, 1996, p. 11).

The ongoing and intense surveillance of children and sexuality had produced an abuser from within its category of victims. In the aftermath of this sinister turn,

discourses on the sexuality of the child regained impetus, as the already individualised child became an increasingly difficult subject of its own sexual abuse. The moral panic that had paralleled the diffusion of paedophilia in the last decade had perhaps reached its zenith with the discovery of the prevalence of the sexual abuse of children by children. Targeting children on the playground through developing school based programmes and teacher training were swift responses to this "new" development (Louw, 2000). Early detection became an imperative; the identification of child sex abuse even amongst children required the development of even more refined tools of identification. The telltale signs of abuse would not necessarily be overt. Henceforth, the identification of possible child sexual abuse was an important training component for teachers and social workers (Grabe, 2000). Of course, these intensified procedures "discovered" what previous observations had omitted: that certain children themselves were in possession of a certain relational sexual agency. This posed a challenge to prior discursive constructions of childhood.

8.5.3.1. Children as Victims, Children as perpetrators

Uncovering child "paedophiles" across races in the playgrounds of schools and the family home produced paedophilia from sectors unknown to the apartheid profile. The child could itself be a sex criminal.

> Thabo is an innocent faced 10 - year old boy, a keen soccer player who enjoys school. But he is also a paedophile. He and his classmates each sexually assaulted younger boys…[by] forcing them to perform oral sex on them. Thabo is one of an increasing number of children his age and younger who have been caught for molesting other children and who now have to participate in weekly group counselling with social workers trained to deal with them. (Krost, 2001, p. 1)

The child perpetrator was the logical endpoint of the potentialisation of the paedophile. A the very point that the potentialisation of the paedophile was seemingly complete, by which I mean to say that it came to be inclusive of all potential categories of personhood. At the very point that it reached a degree of absolute volatility, by which I refer to its amplified moral rhetoric; its objectification of the "demoniac" paedophile, the structure of the discourse seems to collapse in on itself.

The structure of the discourse seems to suffer the fate of a black hole: so powerful is its pull, its potentialisation of all subjects, and so absolute is its threat that its overall structure cannot hold. Its various figures, components, logics and productions cease to attain the coherence of a single discourse, and fragment out into a far more complex and volatile arrangement. This arrangement is less bounded by the needs of social-scientific non-contradiction. This is a discursive shift of fundamental importance; from here, we have two biopolitical "languages" of causation and detection, two distinct but interconnected vernaculars of suspicion and disciplinary intervention.

One is more formal and remains within a social scientific orthodoxy that requires a suspension of moralising judgement, the need for a cohesive basic interventional model. The other is informal and includes at will various elements from across the "archive" of the figure of the paedophile. This is the popular tabloid discourse of paedophilia, which obeys no injunctions against moralism, sensationalism or tautology of desire-to-act, act-to-desire.

8.6. Public Health Attention

Public health attention began to emphasis that paedophilia was not the discrete concern of psychopathology or the law but was in fact represented a far broader ecology of risk and danger. Its prevention and control therefore required a multi-disciplinary approach that operated to dissect risk across age, gender and race. This approach began to dominate understandings of paedophilia as a disease, an understanding that in turn entailed a more detailed attention to the various factors present in the perpetration of child sex abuse. A case in point was the establishment, in 1999, of the first journal devoted to reporting on research on child abuse in South Africa (*Child Abuse Research in South Africa (CARSA)),* the official publication forum for the South African Professional Society on the Abuse of Children (SAPSAC). The society emphasised a multi-disciplinary approach to the prevention and management of child abuse and called for an emphasis on preventative models and approaches to the term child sexual abuse. This term was frequently used in studies in the early eighties but was now the public health phrase of convention when referring to adult-child sexual acts. This model attempted to distil the complicated

discursive overlays in the construction of the paedophile into a risk model for the phenomenon of child sexual abuse itself. This movement represented an extension of the statistical surveillance methods consolidated during apartheid into an "epidemiological renaissance" (Butchart *et al.,* 1997, p. 247). Former prevalence measures that described widespread perpetrations of paedophilia came to be understood as the first step in a wider prevention project that took CSA as its object rather than focussing on the paedophile *per se*.

> Against the traditional criminal justice idea of violence control through retribution and incapacitation, and the curative orientation of mental health and clinical medicine, the public health approach reflects a fundamental shift. Where the traditional approaches individualise the problem by locating the causes and consequences of violence within that person, the public health recognises the neurological, physiological make up and behaviour as the outcome of environmental and socialisation factors operating at the level of the community and society. (Butchart, *et al*, 1997)

Public health discourse shifted paedophilia from the site of the individual victims and perpetrators to the broader arena of individual, community and societal contexts. This discursive redistribution focussed on gathering the information necessary for the development of prevention strategies and policies. Public health provided the discourses of paedophilia that were still frequently produced by psychologists and tabloids with a new range of description and an elevated moral panic. It surveyed the broad terrain of sexual abuse and allowed the media to more easily extract the figure of the paedophile as the perversely desiring, psychopathological, morally deviant and incurable nucleus to adult-child sexual events. Given adequate specification of epidemiological details, this caricatured figure, it seemed was now dispensable at least from the perspective of public health. The discursive caricature of the paedophile has reached such exaggerated proportions of villainy that they now are better suited to populate popular culture as the figures of outraged fascination and disgust – than to the domain of authoritative human and medical science. In many ways, they are the logical counterpart to the appalling absolute otherness of the serial killer whose production in popular fiction exceeds in leaps and bounds the realistic probability of any such events occurring in the day-to-day lives of the vast majority of the population. Such unknowable otherness, while rich in prurient entertainment value, is not a useful figure of scrutiny for the human and social sciences, which precisely need

to know and act. What Foucault discusses in the evolution of modern power – namely dissipation of the monarchical sovereign whose singularity and embodiment of all relations of prerogative gives way to a diffuse relations of power circulating anonymously in far less spectacular or personified forms, has started to occur within biopolitical discourses of paedophilia, or so it would seem.

Ultimately, if biopower is to work effectively it needs to depersonalise the paedophile, to dissemble the caricature, so that the dynamics of the event are stretched across the population. Stretching across the population was ultimately to produce the figure of the black paedophile from within the social scientific discourses of CSA.

8.7. The specification of the Black paedophile

The Public Health approach and the constitution of CSA represented the logical descent of the expanding discourse of paedophilia that had begun many years earlier. The monstrous figure of the paedophile that had policed the periphery of our constructions of childhood was not displaced from formal psychological academic discourse or the popular imagination. Discourses of the paedophile were not supplanted by CSA but seemed to grow alongside them. Newspaper constructions of the sexual abuse of children in black communities began to extract the figure of the black paedophile from the burgeoning languages of CSA. This extraction took a particular form. When the social contours of a community were themselves chaotic, when the very value of a community was subtly called into question, then the perpetrator of the child-sex crime was apprehended by the languages of anonymous and widespread abuse. The description of a mobilised and organised community, a community in which social and economic threats appear to be relatively contained, extracted the figure of the desiring, monstrous and pathological paedophile as the fundamental threat to its valuable future. This point is well made in the differing constructions of the perpetrators of child-sex crime in the examples below.

> The high number of raped and sodomised pupils at Weilers Farm School, at Kwamajazana squatter camp near Orange Farm, south of Johannesburg, makes the informal settlement sound like a place from hell. About 40% of the 160 pupils have either been raped or sodomised. Cries for help from traumatised teachers and children have fallen on deaf ears. Children as young as 9 are

raped or abused, sometimes by their own fathers. (Krost, 2001, p. 1)

These disadvantaged communities "from hell" echoed De Ridder's (1960) townships, where anonymous savagery reigned supreme and where the figure of the paedophile could not be discerned. This was a community in chaos; an abusive environment where brutal rape was commonplace among squalid children. In contrast, rival constructions of community mobilisation and action were able to produce the psychological language of perpetration in the form of the black paedophile.

> A man labelled a paedophile by the community has been charged with sexual abuse involving 10 boys he is alleged to have sodomised over a short period of time. Morobe, a well-known figure who stays with his parents in Sebokeng was apprehended by the community…Angry students accompanied by their teachers and parents, who packed the courtroom on Thursday vowed to take matters into their own hands if Morobe was granted bail. They threatened to kill Morobe and hand his body to police in a coffin. Morobe who is also called "A Monster" by residents faces more than 10 counts of sodomy and intimidation for allegedly threatening some of his victims and witnesses. (Mahlangu, 1999).

Unlike the anonymous disease of child sex abuse that spread uncontained through Orange farm, the black paedophile was the enemy of a community of value. Indeed his presence may be taken as a discursive marker of the fact, following Judith Butler's logic that a strong socio-political, identity was now emerging from a threatened community that needed to oust its reprehensible elements so as to assert itself exactly as a "community of value". The emergence of the black paedophile bears testament thus, to the extension of the logic of nation-building across the spectrum of South African society.

In 2004 in a strange anachronistic mirroring of the Van Rooyen case, the South African media announced that the police had discovered the most prolific paedophile to date. Fanwell Khumalo was the first black perpetrator to receive the magnitude of media attention that had trailed all the white paedophiles of the past.

In the Supreme Court in August 2004, Fanwell Khumalo was given 42 life sentences for 38 child rapes. Judge Max Labe expressed to this "callous paedophile" what had been reserved for white paedophiles in apartheid South Africa.

> You should be removed from society until you will not be able to return. You are a married man with children. It is terrible that a father should have no respect for children. South African society is plagued by pandemic crimes where children are abused. Children are entitled to protection from the indignity you subjected them to. (Mkhwanazi, 2004)

Ten years after the fall of apartheid, the monstrous figure of the black paedophile had emerged as a social and political danger. The figure of the paedophile in accordance with the biopolitical power by which he was both produced, and of which he was further productive, is now inserted into the discursive structures of nation-building and health. In the same year, the first comprehensively South African academic text on child sexual abuse was published. The foreword of this 500 page text describes the contours of what we have seen was emerging as early as 1944 in South Africa.

> Some say that the incidence of this horrendous crime is increasing; others say that there is a higher rate of reporting of such abuse; yet others say that such crimes have been exploited by sensationalists. Whatever the strengths and weaknesses of such arguments, surely it must be clear to us as adults, as parents, as human beings – that while even one child suffers from this horror, that is one child too many. And we all know that we are not dealing with one child or an isolated case. Our estimates may not always be accurate, but those working in communities know the enormity of the problem. The incidence of child sexual abuse in southern Africa is high enough to be seen as an assault, a war upon our children. And in the African tradition that I have been part of, any assault on our children is an assault on ourselves – our integrity, our families, our communities, indeed the very essence of humanity. (Michel, 2004, p. ix)

Therefore, while the interdisciplinary focus of public health discourse continues its description and analysis of the sexual abuse of children, our media, our legal systems, our forensic profilers, our criminologists and perhaps most importantly our psychologists constantly extract the paedophile as the dangerous figure that defines its extremities. Just as the child emerged as a moniker for all that was good and sacred so the paedophile stands as a constant symbolic threat to the boundaries by which we define our nations, communities, families and ultimately ourselves.

CHAPTER 9: POLICING THE FUTURE

The paedophile produced in this study as imbecilic, mutated, white, black, male, female, intelligent, ordinary, regressed, advanced, harmless and dangerous invites a re-reading of both the paedophile as object and subject of social scientific study and the methods utilised to study perversity and sexual pathology in general. Moreover, the thesis has presented its paedophile as no more and no less than a production of the relationship between the object of the figure of the paedophile and the media that attempted to depict it and the methodologies of the scientists that attempted to decipher it. It has attempted to weave between various times, spaces and texts in order to show precisely the productive forces at work in our attempts to uncover the paedophile in South Africa. It has provided a critical space in which we may begin to re-articulate our non-subjective roles as analysts, journalists and media consumers in the emergence of the category and the paedophiliac event. What we have at the end of this thesis therefore is a set of arguments that invite a re-engagement with the production of perversity as a function of pathology and the law in the regulation of childhood, embodied in constructions of the paedophile in South Africa. The first of these arguments concerns the biopolitical function of the paedophile.

9.1. The Paedophile as a Bio-political Prisoner

Biopolitics as an explanatory framework has been variously utilised in many forms of theoretical debate (Butchart, 1996; Denzelot, 1979; Jenkins, 1998). Its use in accounting for the emergence of a specific form of psychopathology has been rare. Findings in this thesis implicate the critical role of the modern state as a formal centre *and*, "the body's behaviours, beliefs and words of everyone" (Butchart, 1998, p. 178) as relays in the production of widely understood, morally condemned and criminal paedophile. We have seen the emergence of the paedophile through the refined technologies and relays of a eugenics that marked *apartheid biopolitics*. In a century where initially *white* and then all "children were the future", South African demography, psychology and criminology traced very specific lines of objectification to produce profiles of paedophiles that reflected a threat to both Afrikaner and subsequently "New South African" nation building. Through tracing the lines of

productive power, the thesis introduces the paedophile as a *biopolitical prisoner.* The crimes of this prisoner are produced through the violation of the specific *ideals* of a period in a eugenically and then democratically led South African history. What should we do with this prisoner? We cannot advocate an emancipation of this prisoner but must dispassionately insist that rather than his actions violating the moral codes of a supra-historical essence they more concretely appear to violate the *biopolitics* of modernity in general and mid twentieth century South Africa in particular. It is therefore unsurprising that the paedophile begins its emergence in a country where racial taxonomies came to characterise all South African life. Discourses of race and discourses of perversity in South Africa are thus necessarily related. The thesis has therefore presented through a specific form of genealogical analysis how South Africa divided its population into sub-groups that either contributed or retarded its welfare. These perceptions were initially organised around race. It was within and between these racially specified sub-groups that power "discovered" (produced) the paedophile. Initially the paedophile came to represent a danger to the hegemonic white sub-group but only in relation to the biopolitical danger or peril represented by a growing black majority. This led to "attempts to prevent, contain or eliminate" (Dean, 1999, p. 100) the paedophile not merely through the actions of the state but through all nodes on the "diagram of discipline" (Butchart, 1998, p. 178). The diagram of power that produced the paedophile was however complex. Disciplinary mechanisms were always encroaching but sovereign power was still present.

In a state where blackness was constructed as otherness, why were discourses of the paedophile and discourses of the black paedophile as "other" nowhere to be found in almost a 50-year history of the perversion? The early function of the "mandatory" whiteness of the paedophile pointed precisely to the productive nature of a power that engineered perversity along racial lines. While the black rapist of white women (in the shared nightmares of both the American and African South) (Hale, 1998) threatened to taint the future white purity of both nations, the paedophile in South Africa could never be black. In a process of perverse othering, the violator of the child was compelled to be the person closest to it. Quite simply, it was because blackness was otherness that it was disqualified from participating in discourses of apartheid paedophilia. The discursive nature of blackness as well as the disqualification of black

children as citizens of value and desire ensured that black bodies could not enter the discursive logic of a paedophile that endangered the health of a white future. The sovereign and militant measures of the apartheid state fought external enemies on its borders and in its townships while disciplinary power produced an internal enemy in its suburbs. Both measures aimed at the protection of life and the welfare of white hegemony (Dean, 1999, p. 100). Paradoxically apartheid produced in itself an internal enemy of the white child as a defence against the external enemy of black *otherness*. The late point at which it appeared possible for the figure of the black paedophile to be extracted from the discourses of abuse, child promiscuity and general rape in the black community points to its mediating role in the construction of South African paedophilia. The early absence of blackness in discourses of paedophilia is thus as significant as its late appearance in the biopolitics of South Africa. Foucault would however insist that we further specify the diagram of power. What were the specific characteristics of the figures of the paedophile in South Africa? They were simultaneously the guardians and corruptors of Afrikaner hegemony. They were Afrikaner patriarchs, national custodians and as such were responsible for both their children and therefore the collective safety of the state. A sexual transgression upon these children seemed to nominate these custodians as betrayers of trust and in turn *traitors to the nation.* Thus, the paedophiles of this period of history were forced into binary modes of construction. They were compelled to move between "preachers" (Clarke, 1989, p. 2) and diametrically opposed positions of satanic affiliation or indeed at some points, incarnations of Satan himself. The South African paedophile was unmistakably an actor from the community within which he perpetrated his crimes. The borders and boundaries of his community constricted the definition of his crime.

From indigent civil servants, to AWB stalwarts, the South African paedophile represented a specific form of biopolitical threat to apartheid. This internal threat to the children and therefore the future of the nation was exemplified by the very profile that was entrusted with its hegemonic safekeeping. As the potential pool of desirable children grew in post-apartheid South Africa, so too did its pool of possible paedophiles. The threat of the figure of the paedophile thus exploded into a greater profiling of people from within the expanding and *inclusive* communities of post-

1994 South Africa.

Alongside the emergent discourses of CSA under the practices of public health in the mid-1980s, the paedophile continued to command heightened media and specialised psychological attention. The case of the figure of the paedophile as an object of power/knowledge alongside discourses of CSA further complicates a South Africa diagram of power through a bifurcation of sorts.

9.2. The Paedophile: A Fragmented Figure

By the late 1980s the discursive caricature of the paedophile had reached exaggerated, indeed, hyperbolic proportions. This epitomisation of villainy, the fact that this discursive category had come to operate as a virtual personification of social threat, meant that the figure of the paedophile was now better suited to populate the terrain of popular culture and tabloid sensationalism than the scholarly domain of authoritative human and medical science. There was a bifurcation of discourse at this point. This split continues to problematise the apprehension of the paedophile today. The structure of the popular discourse of the paedophile is so bloated (through its accumulation of various historical representations) and so volatile (morally, and by the fact that the character of the paedophile starts to operate as the personification of social threat), that it battles to attain an overall integrity. Its various figures, component logics and productions cease to attain the coherence of a single discourse, and fragment out into a far more complex and variable arrangement, one which is far less bounded by the strict needs of social scientific rigour. This is a discursive shift of major importance; from the early 1990s onward we have two biopolitical 'languages' of causation and detection, two distinct but interconnected vernaculars of suspicion, scrutiny and intervention. One is informal, exaggerated, irrationally charged with social anxieties of various sorts, and comes to include a cross-section of elements from across the archive of paedophilia. It obeys no injunctions against moralism, sensationalism, of reductive forms of personification or 'monsterisation'. Indeed, these are amongst the favourite tropes of this discourse. Likewise it obeys no injunctions against tautology, and features frequent slippages between the causative categories of act and actor, personality and desire, personality and event. The second such

'language' is formal and institutional; it remains within a social scientific and medical orthodoxy of discourse which requires a suspension of moralising judgement along with the need for a cohesive basic model of practical intervention.

This bifurcation appears to follows the logic of the Foucaultian distinction between a sovereign form of power and a more insidious disciplinary biopower. The former, of course, requires a singular, spectacular personified figure of power that is highly visible, the latter circulates anonymously, in less than visible or personalised forms, throughout all levels of society. The latter, furthermore, is characterized by caring or pastoral relations of all varieties and may be known by both its inclusivity (no area and no subject of social life may be excluded from scrutiny) and its potentialisation (at each point in the interaction between individuals there is the possibility for the activation of the element of power in question). This bifurcation corresponds to that between the figures of the paedophile as they exist within the popular social imaginary - the subject, in other words, of a prurient, sensationalised tabloid fascination and the paedophiliac act of CSA which becomes the authoritative biopsychosocial and biopolitical register of intervention and knowledge in which such acts come to be comprehended by many of the disciplinary discourses of the time. This bifurcation is largely responsible for the complexity in defining that paedophile or more specifically extracting the luridly fascinating paedophile from discourses of CSA and *vice versa*. Despite the ecological models that CSA proposed, the figure of the paedophile continues to be an object of description and analysis for the media, psychology, criminology and legal practice.

9.3. Strange but Familiar

One persistent almost defining characteristic of the figure of the paedophile is its "simultaneity of location and presence". It seems constantly caught up in a push toward otherness and a pull towards familiarity such that its actions may be recognised as both eternally damaging and constantly in need of vigilance. This logic seems to hold for the South African paedophile of the present that must tread the tenuous tightrope between a space of external otherness and disconcerting familiarity arising from his internal relations with the community or nation into which he is

integrated. It is through this discursive tension that the discourse of the paedophile is constantly reproduced. His inconspicuous relation to others *and* the absolute *otherness* of his actions ensure that his is located beyond both the comfort of familiarity and the certainty of absolute disidentification. This finding is exemplified by the arrest of Alfred McNeil (Damon, 2001, p. 1) for possession of child pornography and alleged paedophiliac acts. McNeil had acted as Santa Claus at the same Red Cross Hospital that had provided the subjects (Westcott, 1984) for early studies of children and sexual abuse for many years. Thus, an icon of childhood is simultaneously its greatest enemy. This construction seemingly regulates adult-child interaction in the texts analysed, with the custodian of the child being the biggest potential threat to its sexual and cultural integrity. The protection of the integrity of children is perhaps the most powerful mandate in modern states because the child is a metonym for the future. The child is the miniature of all that is most precious for a nation and the encapsulation of all that is precious for the community, social grouping or nation in which it is located. These constructions of childhood have clearly been used (or capitalised on) for the function of producing, securing and preserving paranoia and anxiety around everything that is regarded as precious to that particular social grouping. It is alongside this metonymic functioning of the discourse of the child that the discursive horizon of the paedophile becomes intelligible. The corollary of this is that the local conditions of possibility for paedophilia will become evident against the historical, social and political frame that characterises the local conditions of a particular social grouping. Apartheid provided such a specific frame against which the South African paedophile could be produced.

This argument implies more than a greater socio-political contextualisation of perversity. It asserts that paedophiles (or other social "monsters") are absolutely necessary to maintaining the integrity of the socio-political order of a state at a particular time. Furthermore, the case of the child and paedophilia in South Africa is an example of how the categories of children and perversity have been opportunistically used to do political work. This work is less about the nature of children and the true nature of abuse than it is about organising and sustaining an order of power. This is markedly evident in the texts of post-transition South Africa when black paedophiles emerge as potential threats to another "new" South Africa

and its rainbow "nationalism", order and children.

9.4. Political Hierarchies of Value

Changes in power produce shifts in the value attached to particular kinds of children. Political changes in infrastructure and policies therefore result in changing hierarchies of the value invested in particular citizens at particular times. The changing value of black children between the pre and post apartheid dispensations produced different profiles of the paedophile. This is indicative of the highly politicised nature of an apparently apolitical and inherently moral crime. Sexual crimes perpetrated by white men against black children were not under this matrix of discursive hierarchy, paedophiliac acts. Their actions were first and foremost transgressions of racial law. Even the sexual "corruption" of children as young as six years old represented an infringement on racial rather than sexual morality. Rather than attempt to distinguish these crimes and in so doing reconstitute new hierarchies of value, the argument here asserts that the paedophiliac act was not only dependent on the child itself, but on a particular kind of *racialised* child for its recognition as a crime.

The naturalising axiom of a universally abhorrent paedophilia is thus untenable under an examination of the macro and micro polities that both invent and maintain it. *Hierachisation* of political values extended beyond macropolitics. In the early texts of the 1950s, paedophiliac lines of suspicion never incriminated medical contact with children because in accordance with a specific set of Hippocratic avowals the touch of the doctor could not but benefit the child. As the lines of paedophiliac incrimination began to expand, they appropriated all manner of adults. Doctors, who could in erstwhile constructs, touch the genitalia of the child without any problematic outcry, became increasingly suspected subjects of paedophilia. Nurses, social workers and teachers all in close proximity to the child became problematic adult entities. Clearly, the value hierarchy of the child was shifting and reconstituting the potential for paedophilia of subjects within it. Reconfigurations in the political value hierarchy in contemporary acts of paedophilia have resulted in particularly problematic contradictions within its discourses. Sexual activity between children has become so densely infused with discourses of damage that children themselves may become

sexual perpetrators. This blurring of boundaries between victim and perpetrator of the paedophiliac act indicates that the sexuality rather than the identity of children and adults *per se* has become the primary and definitive centre around which the bodies, actions and laws of paedophilia gravitate.

9.5. The Paedophile as Beyond Rehabilitation

Early psychiatric constructions of the paedophile were specific to a small number of individuals that had committed relatively innocuous acts of paedophilia. Criteria for the diagnosis of paedophilia have, through the last 50 years been subject to many changes in both form and content. The gradual proliferation of a fairly "inconspicuous" form of madness has acquired a visibility that appears to dominate the paraphilias and in so doing generate unprecedented cultural concerns about the form of paedophilia as a "mental" illness. The paedophile has graduated from a specific type of action, to a broad range of individuals. The otherwise "normal" psychological profiles these individuals no longer excluded the possibility of an insidious sexual desire for children. Increasingly even the fantastical and virtual sexualisation of a child has become grounds for the diagnosis of paedophilia under contemporary diagnostic systems of psychopathology. No longer is the act required for the *pathologisation* of the paedophile. As the social sciences developed more sophisticated measurement techniques for discerning paedophiliac potential in the psyche of the population so the diagnostic possibilities for paedophilia were further abstracted from the perpetration of the act itself. Locating paedophilia in fantasy and virtual world ensures points to the successful installation of panoptic power through the generalisation of potential in an otherwise normal population. The establishment of this panoptic practice invented paedophiles with increasingly poor prognoses.

This logic ensures an eternal culpability of the paedophile. In turn potential culpability, demands constant surveillance, policing and attention. The well-established historical legal separation between personhood and crime does not seem to apply to paedophilia where seems to guarantee the paedophiliac action as a necessary event. In each case of paedophilia, the act itself became increasingly less important than the nature of the person that perpetrated it. So rather than the crime,

the psychology of the paedophile becomes the primary target of intervention and "scientific" application' because it too, as well as the crime itself, is to be judged and to share in the punishment (Foucault, 1991, p. 18). The administration of this punishment as a form of "moral orthopaedics" include chemical castration (Berlin, 1985; Heim, 1981; Macready, 1996; Prentky, 1997; Rice & Harris, 2003; Roesler & Witztum, 2000; Stone, Winslade, & Klugman, 2000), neurological electrode intervention (Graham, 2003; Howard, Longmore, Mason, & Martin, 1994), aversion therapies (Earls & Castonguay, 1989; Josiassen, Fantuzzo, & Rosen, 1980; Miller & Haney, 1976; Quinsey, Bergersen, & Steinman, 1976; Quinsey, Chaplin, & Carrigan, 1980; Rosenthal, 1973; Stava, Levin, & Schwanz, 1993) and extended psychotherapy programmes (Berlin & Krout, 1986; Drapeau, Karner, & Brunet, 2004; Glasser, 1988; Hurry, 1990; Naitove, 1988; Norton, 1991).

This circular logic presents a conundrum to an articulation of other criminals, criminal acts and other formulations of punishment. The logic of modern day criminal justice does assume a link between person and crime but must ideally separate them so that rehabilitation remains a possibility. The paedophile is not accorded this logic of modern justice because the specific pathological form of the paedophile circularly constructs its perpetrators as being always in a state of recidivistic potential and so always objects of incessant suspicion. In this way global and South African discourses of paedophilia provide mechanisms for the legal punishment of paedophiles "with a justifiable hold not only on offenses, but on individuals; not only on what they do, but also on what they are, will be, may be. (Foucault, 1991, p. 18). The extreme forms of discipline to which the paedophile must be subjected are commensurate with the danger that he implies for his objects of desire. Failing to curtail this danger to the idealised and vulnerable children of the present implies "Failing our future" (Van Niekerk, 2003, p. 11). Accordingly, the personality of the paedophile and his act become inextricably bound together, forever representing a threat to the *idealised* child that is the ultimate target of modern protection. This accounts for the often-cited celebratory tones accompanying the death of a paedophile (Kirk, 2000, p. 4). Moreover, paedophilia has been the subject of increasing vocalisation of calls for the return of the death penalty in South Africa. Failing this ultimate punishment, popular sentiment has called for a national drive to install a "paedophile register" in South

Africa. This register has been informally established by the mass media, which incessantly disseminates the names, locations and photographs of paedophiles in order to alert the community to the incessant threat of the paedophiliac act as it is embodied by a supposedly rehabilitated offender. A formal register was established in Britain in 1997 ("UK Newspaper", 2000, p. 4) and calls for such a formal register in South Africa from the early 1990s are being met with greater legislative possibilities. Separating the child as ideal sex object from the constant threat of paedophiliac action seems inconceivable. The resultant effect is then one of an inescapable circularity. The perpetrator is problematised on the basis of an act and the relationship of the perpetrator to potential action is problematised on the basis of personhood. The nature of crimes of sexual transgression upon children therefore demands that a single act condemns the perpetrator to an inexhaustible and indelible pathological profile. This is a logic that *actively produces* continuous vigilance, suspicion and regulation.

This is an anomaly to conventional penological assumptions because action and crime must be separable if rehabilitation is a plausible corrective device. So sexual preference and criminal action must be distinct if the paedophile can be rehabilitated. But the discursive force of the child together with modern discourses of paedophilia as a pathology ensure that the perpetrator of the paedophiliac crime is forever marked as having both the perverse desire and uncontrollable capacity to act again.

In the present there is little question that paedophilia is a crime for which a punishment is requisite but popular media accounts and other formal discourses seem to insist that the inventory of current punishments do not suffice in the face of the brutal horror of the paedophiliac crime. Modern paedophilia is thus constructed as *more than a crime.* It is a personality entire, a monstrosity, a social epidemic and a threat that transcends the parameters of the criminal action itself. A historical analysis of paedophilia perhaps indicates that the virulent wave of outrage upon which the paedophile is carried appears unnecessary. The deviant child sex crime is a violation of rights just as are all forced and non-consensual sex practices across crass power differentials in which the victim has no power to negate the action. Sexual transgression upon the child does however seem to be associated with an inextinguishable vitriolic moral judgment from which he is confined to an inevitable

recidivism.

9.6. Perverse Implantations and Potentialisation of the Paedophile

Discourse of paedophilia have resulted in a broad potentialisation of the pathology by which paedophiles can and do occupy normal spaces in normal everyday life. As paedophilia became a discursively diffuse characteristic of the population through its disintegration as a construct befitting the poor, the insane and the physiologically damaged, its discourses began to invade previously innocuous aspects of adult-child relations. In a movement of recoil, the insertion of suspicion into the everyday practices of adults and children began to pervert the normal. Customary kissing as greetings, sincere embraces and acts of former innocence became suspicious under the growing empire of paedophiliac discourse. Foucault's (1990a) understanding of the implantation of perverse desire helps us to account for the increasing net of suspicion that tracked the emergence of the paedophile in South Africa. Implantation of the perverse paedophile in required that the lines of vigilance that must protect the child from a potentially perverse assault are omnipresent and nowhere amiss. This implantation is played out in several forms and historical junctures.

The implantation of perversity in apartheid South Africa and beyond could be regarded more specifically as an implantation of a paedophiliac potential in a population contained and bred within the discourses of racialised eugenics and the segregationism that reified them. Protection of the hegemonic race during apartheid involved a strategy aimed at the identification of those practices that threatened the integrity of South African whiteness. This strategy outlined as its objective an elimination of paedophilia through a simultaneous propagation of its own detective powers and the power of the very desire it attempted to eliminate. This strategy extended through its racialised origins into new more democratic dispensations. Such a strategy must always ensure that the desire it implants must be available to *all* members of its target population. The lines of its penetration must cross the individual through the family, the schoolyard, and the hospital reaching its limit where the child can longer be emblazoned as a possible object of perverse desire. Here the full force of Kincaid's (1992) argument that locates the modern child as representative of a

problematic erotic may be felt. South Africa is saturated with representations of children. Most commonly, these take the form of naked (or semi-naked) children on billboards, in television adverts and in magazines. These depictions point precisely to the ever-growing ambiguity that surrounds South African constructions of childhood. Like Foucault's (1990a) masturbating children, these representations alert us to the fact that the sexuality of the child is anxiety-provoking and ambiguous. In our drive to discover and intensively chart childhood, we have yet to resolve the permeable sexual boundaries that define its limits. We are told to provide sex education to children so that they understand human sexuality and its ethical limits yet we simultaneously insist that sexuality is not the domain of the child. We encourage children to discover their sexual identities but insist that these be nonrelational. The child must thus "know" relational sex without ever being privy to the contaminants of adult relational experience and discourse. The ambiguously constructed sexualities of children have produced a multiplication of possible sexual identities for South Africa's children. These identities are not lone determinants of the proliferation of paedophiliac anxieties but must certainly contribute to the delicate overlays that produce our paranoia surrounding the ever-present threat of the South African paedophile. The paedophile in South Africa personifies threats to our children and by extension, the broader moral fabric that ideally constitutes our South African society. Policing the ambiguous sexual possibilities of childhood has become a social task but in every component of the broad social fabric, we have discovered its violators. This leaves us with what appears to be an inescapable paradox, a case of *quis custidiet ipsos custodies* or who will guard the guards?

This apparent paradox is precisely the logic that drives the continued construction of the paedophile. The paradox allows us to apprehend the paedophile in childhood icons such as Santa Claus (Damon, 2001b, p. 1). It allows us to comprehend that former custodians and trusted child minders must become the very monstrosity they have militated against ("Child abuse", 2000, p. 2). So the narratives of a child-abuse campaigner being incarcerated for child rape become comprehensible in the gap between the desire to protect and the desire for the child itself. Such is the magnitude and breadth of the lines of discursive penetration of the paedophiliac act that the charming dad, the caring mother, the teacher, priest and the doctor have become

prime suspects for the violation of their "charges".

Multiple lines of objectification have thus targeted the modern South African paedophile. These multiple lines produced the effects of a powerful "othering". Much like the "othering" that objectified Seltzer' (1998) serial killers, the South African paedophile needed to remain both an internal and an external quality, both a part of a great threat to a given social or communal order. This dynamic for Seltzer (1998) is what underlies the dialectic between prurient fascination and obsession (as in the tabloid media) and the absolute moral outcry of appalled horror that seems to sustain the figure of the paedophile. This ambivalence – avowed fascination by and disavowed repugnance towards – leads in discursive terms, to a spiral of otherness, an increasingly amplified cycle of difference-and-yet-possible-similarity, of attraction-yet repulsion, which elevates the discursive category of paedophilia. In much the same way as Seltzer's category of the serial killer is elevated to a kind of ultra otherness that seems to continually exceed us and yet nevertheless reiterate and entrench our hallowed norms and identities, the paedophile both repulses and intrigues us. Put slightly differently, we may suggest that it is in part these very processes, there amassed lines of objectification – which continually exhibit the tendency to know, to grasp, to be fascinated and appalled by and yet to recoil from, to deny any possible familiarity or identification with – that have produced the modern paedophile. Thus, new discourses of monstrosity and new moral therapeutics appear to rely on the constant tensions of pushing the paedophile into a category of otherness while simultaneously pulling him toward the familiarity that his crime requires. This accounts for the mechanisms through which policing paedophilia becomes a profound and necessary activity in positioning our children and ourselves.

9.7. Further Research

This thesis has provided a genealogical perspective on the emergence of the figure of the paedophile in both formal academic and more popular media discourses. It did not however extend its scope to other perhaps equally important data sources. These include other popular constructions of the paedophile as expressed in both the literary fiction and cinematic fields. Undertaking the inclusion of this data will do more than

provide another richly analytic site for understanding the historical construction of paedophilia, it will comparatively point to the differences in and functions of the way in which formal social scientific constructions vary, co-vary and contradict the paedophile as the object of fictional and imaginary accounts.

This study has been limited by a geographical bias in its early archival sources. This archival part of the corpus was drawn primarily from media and articles published and disseminated within the then Transvaal province. A further archival search in other public libraries and universities across the country would supplement the archive of this study and perhaps provide additional genealogical insights into the construction of the figure of the paedophile in South Africa.

Another venue for possible analysis concerns the production of the figure of the paedophile in other contexts that are characterised by marked periods of political transition. These contexts will go some way to illuminating the overlaps and overlays that operate to produce highly specific and localised children and paedophiles within other networks of governance. These studies could highlight the intra and inter discursive changes in the role and political function of childhood and the threats thereto. The changing geopolitical context of Europe comes to mind as an excellent site for further analysis. Another tempting area of investigation involves a localised analysis of the construction of paedophilia under powerful macropolitical movements within the paradoxical dynamics of globalisation and "new wave" nationalism.

The public moral outcry resulting from the identification of a number of paedophile priests in the Roman Catholic Church in 2003 arose outside the historical scope of this study. The popular discourses and institutional responses to this outcry warrant an exploration and analysis of their own. The institutional power of this church as it operates at the interface between global political systems, local forms of governance and personal subjectivity mark this field as an imperative site for an extension of both the methodology and theoretical platform provided by this thesis.

The methodology of the thesis begs for application across the full spectrum of social phenomena. Perhaps it is time that we began to produce localised genealogies for the

South African social sciences as part of the critical work required to isolate the discursive specificities that are productive of our seemingly universal concepts, methods and problems. Such genealogical projects will allow us insight into how and why we have come to ask the questions that form the bases of our social scientific research.

9.8. Final Comment

The early moral shadows of impropriety that pre-empted the emergence of the figure of the paedophile have become multiple and intersecting lines that define its criminal, perverse and pathological transgressions against the category of childhood. This genealogy has rearticulated a political presence in the construction of the figure of the paedophile in South Africa. This critical history has invited us to rethink our understandings of childhood, psychopathology, legality and sexuality. In so doing, the study compels us to revisit the certitudes that define our positions, roles and functions in the production of social "order" in contemporary South Africa.

REFERENCES

Abel, G., Becker, J., & Cunningham-Rathner, J. (1984). Complications, consent, and cognitions in sex between children and adults. *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry*, *7*(1), 89-103.

Abendroth, K., Van Graan, R., & Van Zyl, A. (1990, January 16). Woman held in girl kidnap drama. *The Citizen*, pp. 1 – 2.

Abortion after rape, incest plea. (1972, June 6). *The Star*, p. 7.

Ackerson, L. (1942). *Children's Behavior Problems.* University of Chicago Press.

Abuse Claim. (1988, November 18). *The Sowetan*, p. 1.

Afrikaans boys are taller at three. (1962, January 6). *The Star*, p. 3.

Allowance made for 5000 immigrants annually. (1951, January 11). *The Star,* p. 4.

Altenroxel, L (2001, February 1). Police have a hand in Jo'burg's sleaze hotels. *The Star*, p. 1.

American Psychiatric Association. (1968). *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (2nd ed.). Washington.

American Psychiatric Association. (1987). *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (3rd ed.). Washington.

American Psychiatric Association. (1994). *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (4th ed.). Washington.

American Psychiatric Association. Task Force on DSM-IV. (1994). *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders: DSM-IV* (4th ed.). Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Association.

An all-race mix on Cape beaches. (1981, January 5). *The Star,* p. 1.

Anticipating accidents betters quality of life: Child Accident Prevention Foundation of South Africa. *SALUS, 14*(3), 12 – 14.

Araji, S., & Finkelhor, D. (1985). Explanations of pedophilia: Review of empirical research. *Bulletin of the American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law, 13*(1), 17-37.

Ariès, P. (1973). *Centuries of childhood*. New York: Johanathan Cape.

Armstrong, D. (1983). *Political anatomy of the body*. Cambridge University Press.

Armstrong, D. (1986). The invention of infant mortality. *Sociology of Health and Illness, 8,* 211- 231.

Armstrong, D. (1987). Bodies of knowledge: Foucault and the problem of human anatomy. In G. Scrambler (Ed.), *Sociological theory and Medical Sociology* (pp. 59 – 76). New York: Tavistock.

Armstrong, D. (1990). Use of the genealogical method in the exploration of chronic illness: a research note. *Social Science and Medicine, 30*(11), 1225 – 1227.

Bagley, C. (1983). Childhood sexuality and the sexual abuse of children: a review of the monograph literature 1978 to 1982. *Journal of Child Care, 1*(3), 105 – 127.

Begley, S., & Nordland, R. What is a pedophile? *Newsweek, 13*(12), 48.

Bell, A., & Hall, C. (1971). *Personality of a child molester: An analysis of dreams.* Chicago: Adiline.

Bender, L., & Blau, A. (1937). The reaction of children to sexual relations with adults. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 7*, 500-518.

Benoni man sent to prison for immorality. (1951, January 11). *The Star*, p. 7.

Berlin, F. S. (1985). Pedophilia: Medical castration and group counseling sessions help to modify this type of sexual behavior. *Medical Aspects of Human Sexuality, 19*(8), 79-88.

Berlin, F. S., & Krout, E. W. (1986). Pedophilia: Diagnostic concepts, treatment, and ethical considerations. *American Journal of Forensic Psychiatry, 7*(1), 13-30.

Bernauer, J., & Mahon, M. (1996). The Ethics of Michel Foucault. In G. Gutting (Ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Foucault*. (pp. 141 - 158). Cambridge University Press.

Births. (1962, January 2). *The Star*, p. 16.

Births. (2001, March 16). *The Star*, p. 4.

Bloch, I. (1947). *Anthropological studies in the strange sexual practises of all races in all ages, ancient and modern, oriental and occidental, primitive and civilized*. New York: AMS Press.

Blow, D. (1990, October 21). Black girls may be sex victims of the "Beast of Capital Park". *City Press*, p. 4.

Blumberg, M. L. (1978). Child sexual abuse: Ultimate in maltreatment syndrome. *New York State Journal of Medicine, 78*(4), 612-616.

Botha, A. (2000). Kindermolesteerders is skuldig (Child molesters are guilty). *Voorligter, 65,* 30 – 31.

Bowley, D. M., & Pitcher, G. J. (2002). Motivation behind infant rape in South Africa. *Lancet, 359*(9314), 1352.

Boy Still Missing. (1962, January 3). *The Star*, p. 7.

Brown, A., & Barrett, D. (2002). *Knowledge of Evil: Child Prostitution and Child Sexual Abuse in Twentieth Century England*. Oregon: Willan.

Bulger, P. (1990a, January 28). Roll up, roll up for the house of horrors show. *The Sunday Star*, p. 13.

Bulger, P. (1990b, February 4). The psychopaths on the loose. *The Sunday Times,* p. 3.

Bulger, P. (1990c, February 18). Inside the house of horrors. *The Sunday Star*, p. 8.

Bumby, K. M. (1996). Assessing the cognitive distortions of child molesters and rapists: development and validation of the molest and rape scales. *Sexual Abuse: Journal of Research and Treatment, 8*(1), 37-54.

Bunting, B. (1969). The rise of the South African Reich. London: Penguin.

Burchell, J., & Milton, J. (1997). *Principles of Criminal Law*. Kenwyn: Juta.

Burman, E., & Parker, I. (Eds). (1993). Discourse Analytic Research: repertoires and readings of texts in action. London: Routledge.

Burman, E. (1994). Appealing and appalling children. *Psychoanalytic Studies, 1*, 285-301.

Burman, E. (1999). *Deconstructing Developmental Psychology*. New York: Routledge.

Burman, S. (1986). Introduction. In S. Burman & P. Reynolds (Eds.), *Growing up in a divided Society: The contexts of childhood in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Raven Press.

Butchart, A. (1996). Objects without origins: Foucault in South African socio-medical science. *South African Journal of Psychology*, *27*(2), 101 – 110.

Butchart, A. (1998). *The Anatomy of Power: European constructions of the African body*. Pretoria: Unisa University Press.

Butchart, A. (1999). Black bodies, white gaze: Western medicine and the African in South Africa. In M. Terre Blanche, K. Bhavnani & D. Hook (Eds.), *Body Politics: Power, knowledge and the body in the Social Sciences* (pp. 58 – 80). Johannesburg: Histories of the Present.

Butchart, A., Hamber, B., Terre Blanche, M., & Seedat, M. (1997). Violence, Power and Mental Health Policy in Twentieth Century South Africa. In D. Foster, M. Freeman & Y. Pillay (Eds.). (pp. 236 – 262). *Mental Health Policy Issues for South Africa*. Durban: SAMA.

Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies that matter: On the discursive limits of "sex"*. New York: Routledge.

Campbell, L., & Collings, S. (2000). Sexual abuse myths held by student teachers. *Child Abuse Research in South Africa 1*(1), 1 – 5.

Canter, D., Hughes, D., & Kirby, S. (1998). Paedophilia: pathology, criminality or both? The development of a multivariate model of offence behaviour in child sexual abuse. *Journal of Forensic Psychiatry, 9*(3), 532 – 556.

Carelse, M. (1994). Child abuse in institutions: a special case of HIV risk. *Aids Bulletin, 2*(1), 6 – 8.

Cassese, J. (Ed.). (2000). *Gay men and childhood sexual trauma: Integrating the shattered self*. Binghamton, NY: The Harrington Park Press/The Haworth Press.

Cassiem, S. (1997). Society gives men the power to abuse: girls at risk. *Recovery, 2*(11), 27 – 29.

Charged with abducting schoolboy. (1962, January 11). *The Star*, p. 3.

Chemical Castration for Paedophile. (1994, April 24).*Rapport*, p. 14.

Child abuse alliance formed. (1997, June 19). *The Southern Courier*, p. 13.

Child abuse campaigner gets 10 years for rape. (2000, December 12), *The Star*, p. 2.

Child Protection Act (1919). In *Statutes of the Union of South Africa*. Cape Town: Government Press.

Children enjoy a new health drink. (1962, January 6). *The Star*, p. 16.

Children for childless couples. (1976, June 2). *The Star*, p. 11.

Circus monster. (1980, December 24). *The Star*, p. 1.

Clarke, L. (1989a, October 15). Missing girls spark fears of child sex kidnap ring. *The Sunday Star*, p. 2.

Clarke, L. (1989b, October, 29). Anger at sentence in paedophile case. *The Sunday Star*, p. 2.

Clover, I. (1990, January 18). Ex-lover overjoyed at death. T*he Pretoria News*, p. 1.

Cohen, D. (1991). *Law, sexuality and society.* Cambridge: Cambridge Press.

Cohen, L. (1985). Sexual Abuse of Children. *South African Medical Journal, 67*(18), 730 – 732.

Collings, S. (1990a). Self-destructive behaviour as a sequel to childhood sexual abuse. *South African Journal of child and adolescent psychiatry, 2*(1), 13 – 15.

Collings, S. (1990b). School- based sexual abuse prevention programmes: a review of evaluation research. *South African Journal of Education, 10*(1), 20 – 23.

Collings, S. (1991). Childhood sexual abuse in a sample of South African university males: prevalence and risk factors. *South African Journal of Psychology, 21*(3), 153 – 158.

Collings, S. (1997). Child sexual abuse in a sample of South African women students: prevalence, characteristics and long-term effects. *South African Journal of Psychology, 27*(1), 37 – 42.

Conte, J., & Shore, D. (1982). *Social Work and Child Sexual* Abuse. New York: Haworth Press.

Crapanzano, V. (1985). *Waiting: The Whites of South Africa.* New York: Random House.

Craven, A. (1998). *Paedophilia: a comparative psychology investigation*. Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of the Orange Free State: Bloemfontein.

Crawford, D. (1979). Modification of deviant sexual behaviour: The need for a comprehensive approach. *British Journal of Medical Psychology, 52*, 151 – 156.

Cunningham, H. (1995). *Children and childhood in Western society since 1500*. New York: Longman.

D'Arcy, J. They are Monsters. (1996). *Maclean's, 109*(36), 20 – 22.

Damon, J. (2001a, June 28). Santa's house of child porn. *The Star*, p. 1.

Damon, J. (2001b, July 5). Child sex was all fun - 'Santa'. *The Star*, p. 1.

Dandeker, C. (1990). *Surveillance, power and modernity.* Oxford: Polity.

Darwin, C. (1975).*Origin of species*. New York. W.W. Norton. (Original work published 1859).

Davison, G., & Neale, M. (1974). *Abnormal Psychology*: An Experimental-Clinical Approach. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Dawes, A. & Donald, D. (Eds.). (1994). *Childhood and adversity: Psychological perspectives from South African* research. Cape Town: David Phillip.

Dawes, A., Borel-Saladin, J., & Parker, Z. (2004). Measurement and Monitoring. In L.Richter, A. Dawes & C. Higson-Smith (Eds). *Child Sexual Abuse in South Africa.* (pp. 176 – 205). Pretoria: HSRC Press

De Lange, F. (1989, June 12). Missing Pretoria Girl. *The Citizen*, pp. 1 – 2.

DeMause, L. (1990): The History of Child Assault. *The Journal of Psychohistory, 18,* 21-44.

DeMause, L. (1991). The universality of incest. *Journal of Psychohistory, 19*(2), 123-164.

DeMause, L. (1998). The History of Childhood. *The Journal of Psychohistory, 25(3),* 1-29.

Dean, M. (1994). *Critical and effective histories: Foucault's methods and historical Sociology*. New York: Routledge.

Dean, M. (1999). *Governmentality: power and rule in modern society.* London: Sage.

Delport, D. (1980, December 23). Explosion. *The Star*, p. 1.

Denzelot, J. (1980). T*he policing of familie*s. Sydney: Hutchinson and Co.

De Ridder, .J. *The personality of the urban African in South Africa: A thematic apperception test study*. New York: Routledge & Keegan.

Devereaux, P., & Olswong, S. (1990, January 20). Amend laws that free paedophiles. *The Star*, p. 4.

Dirty Old Santa Behind Bars. (2002, December 21). *Saturday Weekend Argus*, p. 1.

Dover, K. (1978). *Greek homosexuality.* New York: Ducksworth.

Doyle, A. M. (1992). *The sexually disturbed: Treating psychosexual disorders*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers/Greenwood Publishing Group Inc.

Drake, C., Ward, T., Nathan, P., & Lee, J. (2001). Challenging the cognitive distortions of child molesters: An implicit theory approach. *Journal of Sexual Aggression, 7*(2), 25-40.

Drapeau, M., Karner, A. C., & Brunet, L. (2004). When the goals of therapists and patients clash: A study of pedophiles in treatment. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 38*(3), 69-80.

Dreyfus, H., & Rabinow, P. (1982). *Michel Foucault: Beyond structuralism and hermeneutics*. Brighton: Harvester.

Du Toit, P. (2002). Internet Pornography: a wide focus of how it relates to children. *Child Abuse Research in South Africa, 3*(1), 19 – 24.

Du Tooit, J. (1990, April 6). Schoolmaster accused of fondling pupils. *The Star*, p. 14.

Duncan, N. (2001). Dislodging the sub-texts: An analysis of a corpus of articles on racism produced by South African psychologists. In N. Duncan, A. Van Niekerk, C. de la Rey & M. Seedat (Eds.), R*ace, racism, knowledge production and psychology in South Africa*. (pp. 127 – 154). New York: Nova.

Earls, C. M., & Castonguay, L. G. (1989). The evaluation of olfactory aversion for a bisexual pedophile with a single-case multiple baseline design. *Behavior Therapy, 20*(1), 137-146.

Engelbrecht, A. (1989). *Paedophilia - Construed Realities*. Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of South Africa: Pretoria.

Esterhuisen, J. (1990). Child Molestation. *Prisma, 5*(5), 40.

Evil signature. (1990, January 2). *The Star*, p. 4.

Fagan, H. (1936). Foreword. In E. Malherbe (Ed.). *Education and Social Research in South Africa, 6* Pretoria: South African Council for Educational and Social Research.

Fair-haired sister for coloured boy. (1962, January 2). *The Star*, p. 14.

Fanon, F. (1986). *Black Skin, White Masks.* London: Pluto.

Ferguson, D., Lynskey, M., & Horwood, L. (1996). Childhood sexual abuse and psychiatric disorder in young adulthood. I: Prevalence of sexual abuse and factors associated with sexual abuse. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 35,* 1355 – 1364.

Finkelor, D. (1979). *Sexually victimized children*. North Carolina: McFarland.

Finkelor, D. (1985). *Child sexual abuse: New theory and research.* New York: The Free Press.

Finkelor, D. (1986). *A sourcebook on child sexual abuse*. California: Sage.

Finkelor, D. (1994). The international epidemiology of child sexual abuse. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 18,* 409 – 417.

Foucault, M. (1987). *Psychology and mental illness*: California Press.

Foucault, M. (1980a). Nietzsche, genealogy, history. In D. Bouchard (Ed.), *Language, counter-memory, practice*: Selected essays and interviews by Michel Foucault (pp. 139 – 164). Oxford: Basil.

Foucault, M. (1980b). Two lectures. In C.Gordon (Ed.), *Power/ Knowledge*: Selected interviews and other writings by Michel Foucault, 1972-1977 (pp.78 – 108). New York: Pantheon.

Foucault, M. (1980c). The politics of health in the eighteenth century. In C. Gordon (Ed.), *Power/ Knowledge*: Selected interviews and other writings by Michel Foucault, 1972-1977 (pp.167 - 182). New York: Pantheon.

Foucault, M. (1980d). Truth and power. In C. Gordon (Ed.), *Power/ Knowledge*: Selected interviews and other writings by Michel Foucault, 1972-1977 (pp.109 - 133). New York: Pantheon.

Foucault, M. (1981). The order of discourse. In R. Young (Ed.), *Untying the text: A post-structural anthology* (pp. 48 – 78). Boston: Routledge & Keegan Paul.

Foucault, M. (1990a). *The History of Sexuality*: *Volume 1. An introduction*. New York: Penguin Blackwell.

Foucault, M. (1990b). *History of Sexuality: Volume III. The care of the Self*. New York: Penguin.

Foucault, M. (1990c). Power and Sex. In L. Kritzman. (Ed.), *Politics, philosophy culture*: *Interviews and other writings 1977-1984* (pp. 110 – 124). New York: Routledge.

Foucault, M. (1990d). Sexual morality and the law. In L. Kritzman. (Ed.), *Politics, philosophy, culture: Interviews and other writings 1977-1984* (pp. 271 – 285). New York: Routledge.

Foucault, M. (1990e). Politics and Reason. In L. Kritzman. (Ed.), *Politics, philosophy culture*: *Interviews and other writings 1977-1984* (pp. 57 – 86). New York: Routledge.

Foucault, M. (1991). *Discipline and punish*. London: Tavistock.

Foucault, M. (1992). *History of Sexuality, Volume II. The use of pleasure*. New York: Penguin.

Foucault, M. (1994). *The birth of the clinic: An archaeology of medical perception.* New York: Vintage.

Foucault, M. (1997). *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. New York: Routledge.

Foucault, M. (1996). *The Order of Things.* New York: Vintage.

Foucault, M. (2003). *Abnormal.* London: Verso.

Freed, L. (1949). (A1212). Sexological Examination. (D11). *Historical Papers*, University of the Witwatersrand.

Freud, S. (1905) [1991a]. Three essays on the theory of sexuality. In A. Richards (Ed.), *The Penguin Freud Library: On sexuality three essays on the theory of sexuality and other* works (Vol. 7. pp. 45 – 155). London: Penguin.

Freud, S. (1905) [1991b]. Family Romances. In A. Richards (Ed.), *The Penguin Freud Library: On sexuality three essays on the theory of sexuality and other* works (Vol. 7. pp. 217 - 226). London: Penguin.

Freud, S. (1919) [1991c]. General Theory of the Neuroses. In A. Richards (Ed.), *The Penguin Freud Library: Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis* (Vol. 1. pp. 281 – 537). London: Penguin.

Freund, K., & Kuban, M. (1994). The basis of the abused abuser theory of pedophilia: A further elaboration on an earlier study. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 23*(5), 553-563.

Furnham, A., & Haraldsen, E. (1988). Lay theories of etiology and "cure" for four types of paraphilia: Fetishism, pedophilia, sexual sadism and voyeurism. *Journal of Clinical Psychology, 54*(5), 689 – 700.

Gacono, C., Meloy, J., Bridges, M. A. (2000). Rorschach comparison of psychopaths, sexual homicide perpetrators, and nonviolent paedophiles: Where angels fear to tread. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, *56*(6), 757 – 777.

Gebhard, P. (1965). *Sexual offenders: An analysis of types*. New York: Harper.

Girls' and Mentally Defective Women's Protection Act (1916). In *Statutes of the Union of South Africa*. Cape Town: Government Press.

Glaser, B. (1997). Paedophilia: the public health problem of the decade. In M. James. (Ed.). *Paedophilia: Policy and prevention*. (pp. 4 – 14). Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology.

Glaser, B. (1998). Psychiatry and paedophilia: a major public health issue. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry, 32*(2), 162 – 168.

Glasser, M. (1988). Psychodynamic aspects of paedophilia. *Psychoanalytic Psychotherapy, 3*(2), 121-135.

Grabe, S. (2000). Interpretation of medical examination findings on the sexually abused child. *Child Abuse Research in South Africa, 1*(1), 17 – 18.

Graham, S. A. (2003). Assessing emotional responses in sex offenders. *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering, 64*(2-B), 963.

Gray-Fow, M. (1986). Pederasty, the Scantinian law, and the Roman army. *Journal of Psychohistory, 13*(4), 449-460.

Green, J. (2000, June). Mothers who mix sex and love. *Femina, 6*, 48 – 51.

Greenberg, D. (1990). *Enquiry amongst a prosecuted group of paedophiles with special focus on the need for psychiatric treatment programmes.* Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Cape Town: Cape Town.

Groth, A. (1980). Patterns of sexual assault against children and adolescents. In W. Burgess (Ed.), Sexual *Assault of Children and Adolescents.* Lexington: Tavistock.

Groth, N., Hobson, W., & Gary, T. (1982). *The child molester*: *Clinical observations*. New York: Haworth.

Grundlingh, A., Van der Veen, M., Pillay, A., Flisher, A., Karmer, R., Hoven, C., Greenwald, S., Gould, M., & King, R. (1996). Challenging change - an adolescent's agony; Sexual abuse and disclosure in children; Suicide as adolescent risk behaviour: predictors and clinical implications: abstracts. *South African Journal of Psychiatry, 86*(12), 1601 – 1602.

Gudjonsson, G. H. (1990). Cognitive distortions and blame attribution among paedophiles. *Sexual and Marital Therapy, 5*(2), 183-185.

Haffejee, I. E. (1991). Sexual abuse of Indian (Asian) children in South Africa: first report in a community undergoing cultural change. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, *15*, 147–151.

Hale, E. (1998). *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890-1940.* New York: Pantheon, 1998.

Hall, S. (1997). *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practice*s. California: Sage.

Halperin, D. (1990). *One hundred years of homosexuality and other essays on Greek love.* New York: Routledge.

Hamilton, J. R., & Bullard, H. (1990). Dangerousness: Which patients should we worry about? In K. Hawton & P. Cowen. *Dilemmas and difficulties in the management of psychiatric patients.* Oxford medical publications. (pp. 117-129). London: Oxford University press.

Haapasalo, J., Puupponen, M., & Crittenden, P. M. (1999). Victim to victimizer: the psychology of isomorphism in a case of a recidivist pedophile in Finland. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 7*(3), 97-115.

Heavy cost of child abuse. (1989, November 4). *The Post*, p. 4.

Heim, N. (1981). Sexual behavior of castrated sex offenders. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 10*(1), 11-19.

Hendrick, H. (1990). Construction and reconstructions of British childhood: An interpretive survey, 1800 to the present, In A. James & A. Prout (Eds.), *Constructing and reconstructing childhood: Contemporary issues in the sociological study of childhood.* Basingsoke, Hants: Falmer.

Hitchkins, R. (1907). *Statutes of Natal*. Manchester: A and F Hitchkins.

Hlophe, G. (1999). What makes a victim a perpetrator. *ChildrenFirst, 3*(28), 5 – 7.

Hobbs, J. (1996). In harm's way; Child abuse action group: Keeping tabs on sexual offenders. *Fair Lady, 30* (17), 48 – 53.

Hocquenghem, C. (1988). Sexual morality and the law. In L. Kritzman (Ed.), *Politics, culture, philosophy:* Interviews and other writings 1977-1984. New York: Routledge.

Hook, D. (2001). Discourse, knowledge, materiality, history. *Theory & Psychology*. *11*(4). 521 – 547.

Hook, D. (2005). Genealogy, discourse, 'effective history': Foucault and the work of critique. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *2*(1), 3- 31.

Horning, G. (1995). Adult porn and paedophilia: the link. *Femina, 52,* 54 – 56.

Howard, R. C., Longmore, F. J., Mason, P. A., & Martin, J. L. (1994). Contingent Negative Variation (CNV) and erotic preference in self-declared homosexuals and in child sex offenders. *Biological Psychology, 38*(2-3), 169-181.

Howard, N., & Caslin, R. (1999). Not a laughing matter: Cognitive training, not excuses is needed for sex offenders. *Corrections Today*, *61* (1), 34 – 38.

Howells, K. (1983). Considerations relevant to theories of aetiology. In M. Cook & K. Howells (Eds.), *Adult sexual interest in children*. London: Academic Press.

Hudson, S., Ward, T. (2000). Interpersonal competency in sex offenders. *Behavior Modification, 24*(4), 494 – 528.

Hudson, S., Ward, T., & McCormack, J. (1999). Offense pathways in sexual offenders. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 14*(8), 779 – 799.

Humphries, F. (1990, July 25). Missing 6:row over Satan Killing. *The Pretoria News*, p. 1.

Hunter, J. J. A., & Figueredo, A. J. (2000). The influence of personality and history of sexual victimization in the prediction of juvenile perpetrated child molestation. *Behavior Modification, 24*(2), 241-263.

Hurry, A. (1990). Bisexual conflict and paedophilic fantasies in the analysis of a late adolescent. *Journal of Child Psychotherapy, 16*(1), 5-28.

Indecent assault on boy alleged. (1993, January 6). *The Star*, p. 8.

Ivey, G., & Simpson, P. (1998). The phenomenological life of paedophiles. *South African Journal of Psychology, 28*(1), 15 – 20.

Jackson, E., & Tennant, H. (1895). *Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope*. Cape Town: Richards and Sons.

Jaffe, A. M., & Roux, P. (1988). Sexual abuse of children - a hospital based study. *South African Medical Journal, 74*, 65–67.

James, J., Womack, W. M., & Stauss, F. (1978). Physician reporting of sexual abuse of children. *JAMA: Journal of the American Medical Association, 240*(11), 1145-1146.

Janssen, E. (1990a, January 16). Alleged kidnapper wanted to preach. *The Pretoria News, p. 1*.

Janssen, E. (1990b, January 26). Van Rooyen more aptly a psychopath. *The Pretoria News*, p. 1.

Jenkins, P. (1998). Moral Panic: Changing concepts of the child molester in modern America. London: Yale University Press.

Jewkes, R., Martin, L., & Penn-Kekana, L. (2002). The virgin cleansing myth: cases of child rape are not exotic. *Lancet, 359*(9307), 711.

Johansson, J. (2003). The many faces of trauma: psychic trauma as an inner experience. *International Forum of Psychoanalysis, 12*(1), 65-66.

Johnson, M. (1986, June 26). Mixed couple find it tough going. *The Star*, p. 12.

Josiassen, R. C., Fantuzzo, J. W., & Rosen, A. C. (1980). Treatment of pedophilia using multistage aversion therapy and social skills training. *Journal of Behavior Therapy and Experimental Psychiatry, 11*(1), 55-61.

Juta's Statutes of South Africa (7th Edition). (1999). Cape Town: Juta & Co.

Kanner, L. (1960). *Child Psychiatry* (3rd Edition). Springfield: Charles Tomas.

Kincaid, J. (1992). *Child-Loving*. New York: Routledge.

Kirk, P. Scoutmaster's death celebrated. (2000, January 21). *The Mail & Guardian*, p.4.

Klevens, J., Bayón, M., & Sierra, M. (2000). Risk factors and the context of men who physically abuse in Bogotá, Columbia. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 24*, 463 – 465.

Korbin, J. (1980). The cultural context of child abuse and neglect. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, *4*, 3 - 13

Krafft-Ebing, R. (1939). *Psychopathia Sexualis*. New York: Pioneer Publications. (Original work 1886)

Krost, P. (1996, June 8). New twist as children become the sex abusers. *The Saturday Star*, p. 11.

Krost, P. (2001, March 17). Children launch reign of sexual terror. *The Saturday Star*, p. 1.

Labaschagne, J. (1990). Age definitions and the punishment of paedophiles. *South African Journal of Criminal Justice, (*1), 10 – 23.

Lalor, K. (2004). Child sexual abuse in sub-Saharan Africa: a literature review. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 28*, 439 – 460.

Lanyon, R. (1986). Theory and treatment in child molestation. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *54*(2), 176 182.

Lasersohn, B. (1988). Case History. In The Edwin Cameron Collection. (AM2629). *Historical Papers,* University of the Witwatersrand.

Laubscher, B. (1937). *Sex, Custom and Psychopathology. A Study of South African Pagan Natives*. London: George Routledge and Sons.

Laws, D. (2000). Classification of child molesters by plethysmographic assessment of sexual arousal and a self-report measure of sexual preference. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *5*(12), 1297 – 1313.

Laws, D., & Foote, W. (1981). A daily alternation procedure for orgasmic reconditioning with a paedophile. *Journal of Behavioural Therapy and Experimental Psychology*, *12*(3), 267-273.

Levett, A. (1989). A study of childhood sexual abuse among South African women university students. *South African Journal of Psychology, 19*(3), 122 – 129.

Levett, A. (1993). Discourses of child sexual abuse: Regimes of truth? In I. Lubek, R. Van Hezewijk, G. Pheterson & C. Tolmon (Eds.), *Trends in Theoretical Psychology* (pp. 294 – 300). New York: Springer Publishing.

Levett, A. (1994). Problems of cultural imperialism in the study of child sexual abuse. In A. Dawes & D. Donald (Eds.), *Childhood and adversity: Psychological perspectives from South African research* (pp. 240 – 260*)*. Cape Town: David Phillip.

Levett, A., & MacCleod, C. (1991). Child sexual abuse: South African Research on incidence, prevalence and intervention. *South African Journal of child and adolescent psychiatry*, *3*(1), 2 – 13.

Levett, A. (1992). Regimes of truth: a response to Diana Russell. *Agenda, 12,* 67 – 74.

Levett, A. (2004). Research on child sexual abuse: some problems and comments (Nog n klip in die bos). In L. Richet, A. Dawes & C. Higson-Smith. *Sexual abuse of young children in southern Africa.* (pp. 429 – 451). Pretoria: HSRC Press.

Lewis, S. (1997). A cry that no one hears: child rape crisis. *Recovery, 2*(16), 24 – 26.

Lightfoot, N. (1997). *The construction of the AIDS patient in South African bio-medical discourse*. Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of South Africa: Pretoria.

Lockhat, R., & Van Niekerk, A. (2000). South African Children: a history of adversity violence and trauma. *Ethnicity and Health, 5*(3/4): 291 – 302.

Lombroso, C. (1968). *Crime: Its causes and remedies*. New York: Patterson Smith.

Looman, J. (1995). Sexual fantasies of child molesters. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, *27*(3), 321-332.

Lupton, M. (1991) Psychological counselling for abused minors. *South African Law Journa*l, *108*(1), 157 – 159.

Louw, N. (2000). Child sexual abuse: an educational perspective on its prevention, intervention in cases and care and support of its victims. *Child Abuse Research in South Africa*, *1*(2), 24 – 30.

Lyell, C. (1998). *Perpetrators of child sexual abuse*: *Social constructionist and traditional empirical approaches*. Unpublished Masters Thesis, Rand Afrikaans University: Johannesburg.

Macready, N. (1996). Chemical castration for paedophiles approved. *British Medical Journal, 313*(7059), 707.

Madu, S., & Peltzer, J. (2000). Risk factors and child sexual abuse amongst secondary school students in the Northern Province (South Africa). *Child Abuse & Neglect, 24*(2), 259 – 268.

Madu, S. (2001). The prevalence and patterns of child sexual abuse and victim perpetrator relationship among a sample of university students. *South African Journal of Psychology, 31*(4), 32 – 37.

Magidella, T. (1996). Mothers start to speak the unspeakable: confronting sexual abuse. *Recovery, 1*(8), 22 – 24.

Magwaza, A. (1994). Perception of family relationships in sexually abused children. *Social Work, 30*(4), 390 – 396.

Mahon, M. (1992). *Foucault's Nietzschean Genealogy: Truth, Power and the Subject.* New York: State University of New York Press.

Mahlangu, D. (1999, April 25). Sebokeng man on Sodomy Rap. *City Press*, p. 1.

Maker, J. (1989, January 29). Portrait of a paedophile. *The Sunday Tribune*, pp. 4 – 5.

Malesky, L., Jr., & Ennis, L. (2004). Supportive distortions: an analysis of posts on a pedophile internet message board. *Journal of Addictions and Offender Counseling, 24*(2), 92-100.

Mann, M. (1980, December, 22). Whiz-kid. *The Star*, p. 1.

Marais, C. (1990). *Children of sorrow*. Johannesburg: Ashanti.

Marcus, S. (1974). *The other Victorians*. New York: WW Norton.

Marsh, P., & Szanya, T. (2000). The South African Retrospective Case. In T. Szanya (Ed.). *Identifying Potential Ethnic Conflict: application of a process model.* (pp. 133 – 187). New York: Rand.

Marshall, A. & Herman, V. (1998). *Child sexual abuse in South Africa*. Cape Town: RAPCAN.

Marshall, W. L., Hamilton, K., & Fernandez, Y. (2001). Empathy deficits and cognitive distortions in child molesters. *Sexual Abuse: Journal of Research and Treatment, 13*(2), 123- 130.

Martin, J. E. (1999). Assessment of executive functions in sexual offenders. *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering, 59*(10-B), 5580.

McConaghy, N. (1994). Paraphilias and gender identity disorders. In M. Hersen & R. T. Ammerman (Eds.), *(1994). Handbook of prescriptive treatments for adults* (pp. 317-346). New York, NY: Plenum Press.

McConaghy, N. (1998). Paedophilia: a review of the evidence. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry, 32*(2), 252 – 266.

McHoul, A., & Grace, W. (1993). *A Foucault primer*: *Discourse, power and the subject*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

McKerrow, N. (1996). Spread of HIV linked to increased sexual abuse: HIV and childhood sexual abuse. *Recovery, 1*(8), 5 – 6.

McNay, L. (1994). *Foucault*. New York: Continuum.

Medlin, J. C. (1996). Social information processing in child molesters: an examination of decoding skill and cognitive factors. *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering, 57*(2-B), 1426.

Meel, B. L. (2003). 1. The myth of child rape as a cure for HIV/Aids in Transkei: a case report. *Med Sci Law, 43*(1), 85-88.

Mendez, M. F., Chow, T., Ringman, J., Twitchell, G., & Hinkin, C. H. (2000). Pedophilia and temporal lobe disturbances. *Journal of Neuropsychiatry and Clinical Neurosciences, 12*(1), 71-76.

Merquior, J. (1991). *Foucault*. Fontana: London.

Michel, G. Foreword. In L.Richter, A. Dawes & C. Higson-Smith (Eds). *Child Sexual Abuse in South Africa.* (pp. ix - x). Pretoria: HSRC Press

Middleton, J. (1991). Die strafreg rondom kindermolesteering (The criminal law on child molestation. *Social Work, 27*(2), 132 – 140.

Miller, H. L., & Haney, J. R. (1976). Behavior and traditional therapy applied to pedophiliac exhibitionism: A case study. *Psychological Reports, 39*(3, Pt 2), 1119-1124.

Mills, L. (2002). Ashcroft vs. Sharper. The virtual reality of child pornography. *Child Abuse Research in South Africa,* 3(2), 34 – 42.

Mkhize, N. (2004). Who is a father? *ChildrenFirst, 8*(56), 3 – 8.

Mkhwanazi, S. (2004, August 8). Child rapist Khumalo remains unrepentant. *Sunday Independent*, p. 3.

Moody, E., Brissie, J., & Kim, J. (1994). Personality and background characteristics of adolescent sexual offenders. *Journal of Addictions & Offender Counseling, 14*(2), 38 – 49.

Moultrie, T., &. Timæus, I. (2002). *Trends in South African fertility between 1970 and 1998: An analysis of the 1996 census and the 1998 demographic and health Survey*. Cape Town: MRC.

Msomi, T. Prenant, with Dad's baby. *Drum, 324*, 14-15.

Mtshali, P. (1989, August 17). School Head Abused – girl's allegation. *The Sowetan*, p. 1.

Murray, J. B. (2000). Psychological profiles of pedophiles and child molesters. *Journal of Psychology*, *134*(2), 211 –225.

Naidoo, K. (1997). The men march. *Agenda, 36*, 94 – 96.

Naitove, C. E. (1988). Arts therapy with child molesters: An historical perspective on the act and an approach to treatment. *Arts in Psychotherapy, 15*(2), 151-160.

Naude, M. (1989). *Sexual Child Molestation*. Unpublished Masters Thesis, Rand Afrikaans University: Johannesburg.

Ncube ka Mathanda, (2001). 'Raped by my dad': let other women heal with me. *Drum, 484,* 14 – 15.

Nelson, L. Child abuse not restricted by race. (1988, November 28). *The Daily News,* p. 16.

Newson, J., & Newson, E. (1974). Cultural aspects of childrearing in the English-speaking world. In M. Richards (Ed.), *The Integration of the child into a social world*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Ngqwala, L., & Ludidi, T. (1998). Sex, drugs and abuse: workshop for students. *ChildrenFirst, 2* (19), 27 – 28.

Nietzsche, F. (1967). *On the genealogy of morals and Ecce Homo*. New York: Vintage.

No to paedophiles in church. (1997, January 23). *The Citizen*, p. 5.

Norton, S. C. (1991). Effects of psychotherapy and descriptive characteristics of males convicted of sexual assault on a child. *Dissertation Abstracts International, 52*(2-B), 1074.

Oberholser, J. C., & Beck, J. (1986). Multimethod assessment of rapists, child molesters, and three control groups on behavioral and psychological measures. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 54*, 682-687.

Okami, P., & Goldberg, A. (1992). Personality correlates of pedophilia: Are they reliable indicators? *Journal of Sex Research, 29*(3), 297-328.

Olckers found guilty on morals charge. (1962, January 3). *The Star*, p. 1.

Pienaar, A. (1996). Protecting and Serving the abused child: the Child Protection Unit (CPU) of the South African Police Services. *In focus forum*, *4*(3), 15 – 20.

Pienaar, A. (2002). South African Police Service: Child Protection Unit. *Child Abuse Research in South Africa, 1* (1), 19 – 24.

Pillay, V. (1997). Anti-abuse strategy takes a step closer: child protection policy. *Recovery, 2*(11), 22 – 23.

Pitcher, G. J., & Bowley, D. M. (2002). Infant rape in South Africa. *Lancet, 359*(9303), 274-275.

Police searching for bogus school doctor. (1944, July 7). *The Rand Daily Mail, p. 5.*

Popkin, J., & Cook, G., (1994). Natural born predators, *U.S. News & World Report*, *117*, (11), 64 – 70.

Porter, R. (1991). *The Faber book of madness*. New York: Faber.

Porter, A. (1994). *Support by the social worker for victims and culprits of involved in the sexual molestation of children*. Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of the Orange Free State: Bloemfontein.

Posel, D. (2000). A Mania for Measurement: Statistics and Statecraft in the transition to Apartheid. In S. Dubow (Ed.), *Science and Society in Southern Africa* (pp. 116 – 142). Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Potgieter, D. (1990, February 4). The many faces of evil. *The Sunday Times*, p. 3.

Prentky, R. A. (1997). Arousal reduction in sexual offenders: A review of antiandrogen interventions. *Sexual Abuse: Journal of Research and Treatment, 9*(4), 335- 347.

Prins, H. (1982). *Criminal behaviour*. New York: Tavistock.

Quinsey, V. L., Bergersen, S. G., & Steinman, C. M. (1976). Changes in physiological and verbal responses of child molesters during aversion therapy. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science, 8*(2), 202-212.

Quinsey, V. L., Chaplin, T. C., & Carrigan, W. F. (1980). Biofeedback and signaled punishment in the modification of inappropriate sexual age preferences. *Behavior Therapy, 11*(4), 567-576.

Rademeyer, J. (1998, July 15). Tight security at court after threats. *Eastern Province Herald*, p. 3.

Rape of children on the increase say police. (1992, May 7). *The Citizen*, p. 2.

Rea, J. A. (1997). An analysis of a child molester's sexual arousal in the natural environment through the use of a portable plethysmograph. *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering*, *57*(7-B), 4722.

Reader's Digest. (1988). *Illustrated history of South Africa*. New York: The Reader's Digest Association.

Really a boon to mother. (1951, January 9), *The Star*, p. 14.

Rech, L. (1991). Sexual Abuse. *South African Journal of Continuing Medical Education, 9* (5), 576 – 582.

Rech, L., & Jahn, J. (1989). The treatment of the Sexually Molested Child. *Welfare Focus, 24* (1), 33 – 36.

Reddan, J. G. (1998). "Paedophilia: A review of the evidence": Comment. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry, 32*(2), 266- 267.

Redpath, J. (2003). Sex crimes and child offenders - some trends: South Africa's heart of darkness. *SA crime quarterly, 4*, 17 - 24

Registers. (1994, October 20). *The Daily News*, p. 1.

Rice, M. E., & Harris, G. T. (2003). What we know and don't know about treating adult sex offenders. In B. J. Winick (Ed.), *(2003). Protecting society from sexually dangerous offenders: Law, justice, and therapy. Law and public policy* (pp. 101-117). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Rickard, C. (1994, July 10). The cancer of child abuse. *The Sunday Times*, p. 4.

Rip, C. (1960). *The effects of cultural inertia and cultural diffusion on the structure and functioning of the Bantu family system*. Unpublished Master Thesis, University of South Africa: Pretoria.

Roberts, M. (1996). *South Africa 1948-1994: The rise and fall of apartheid*. New York: Longman.

Robertson, G. (1989). *Sexual Abuse of Children in South Africa. Understanding and Dealing with the Problem*. Pretoria: Unibook.

Robinson, J. (1991). *The geopolitics of South African cities: states, citizens, territory*. Johannesburg: African Studies Institute.

Roesler, A., & Witztum, E. (2000). Pharmacotherapy of paraphilias in the next millennium. *Behavioral Sciences and the Law, 18*(1), 43-56.

Rosario, V. (1999). Masturbation and degeneracy. In R. Nye (Ed.), *Sexuality.* New York: Oxford.

Rose, N. (1991). *Governing the soul: The shaping of the private self*. New York: Routledge.

Rosenthal, T. L. (1973). Response-contingent versus fixed punishment in aversion conditioning of pedophilia: A case study. *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, *156*, 440 – 443.

Rouse, J. (1996). Power/ Knowledge. In G. Gutting, (Ed), *The Cambridge Companion to Foucault* (pp. 92 – 114). Cambridge University Press.

Runyan, D. (1998). Prevalence, risk, sensitivity and specificity: A commentary on the epidemiology of child sexual abuse and the development of a research agenda. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 18,* 837 – 847.

Runyan, D., Wattam, C., Ikeda, R., Hassan, F., & Ramiro, L. (2002). Child abuse and neglect by parents and other caregivers. In E. Krug, L. Dahlberg, J. Mercy, A. Zwi & R. Lozano (Eds), *World Report on Violence and Health.* (pp. 57 – 86). Geneva: World Health Organisation.

Rushton, K. (1992, April 18). Child sex shock for PWV. *The Star,* p. 5.

Russell, D. (1991a). The damaging effects of discounting the damaging effects: a response to Anne Levett's theories on child sexual abuse. *Agenda, 11,* 47 – 56.

Russell, D. (1991b). Rape and child sexual abuse in Soweto: an interview with community leader Mary Mabaso. *South African Sociological Review, 3*(2), 62 – 83.

Russell, D. (1993). All I am saying: to set the record straight. *Agenda, 18*, 58 – 62.

Russell, D. (1997). *Behind Closed Doors in White South Africa*: *Incest survivors tell their stories.* London: MacMillan.

Sacoor, A., & Wagstaff, L. (1992). "Family Friends" – a coping strategy for child abuse in Soweto. *Journal of comprehensive health (CHASA), 3*(4), 263 – 266.

Salter, A. C. (2003). *Predators: Pedophiles, rapists, and other sex offenders: Who they are, how they operate, and how we can protect ourselves and our children*. New York, NY: Basic Books, Inc.

Sangoma gets 90 years for raping 7 girls. (2001, February 1). *The Star*, p. 1.

Sangster, N. (1988). Protect our Children. *Prisma, 3* (10), 6 – 7.

Santrock, J. (1999). *Life-span development*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Save the children, save the nation. (1996, May 14). *The Sowetan*, p. 1.

Schultz, L. G. (1979). The sexual abuse of children and minors: a bibliography. *Child Welfare, 58*(3), 147-163.

Schurink, E. (1996). South Africa's child protection system disintegrating. *In Focus Forum, 4*(3), 6 – 14.

Schurink, E., & Schurink, W. (1996). Sexual exploitation of children: an HSRC position paper. *In Focus Forum, 4*(3), 24 – 39.

Seltzer, M. (1998). *Serial killers: Death and life in America's wound culture.* New York: Routledge.

Seripe, S. (1995, July 14). Suffer little children. *New Nation*, p. 3.

Sex life of kidnap suspects bizarre. (1990, January 17). *The Star*, p. 1.

Sexual Offences Act of 1957. (1999). *Jutas Statutes of South Africa, 7*, 241.

Sharp Rise in child abuse, says HSRC. (1994, July 1). *The Citizen*, p. 17.

Shirer, W. (1960). *The rise and fall of the Third Reich*. New York: Vintage.

Smith, L. M. (1994). Lifting the veil of secrecy: Mandatory child abuse reporting statutes may encourage the Catholic church to report priests who molest children. *Law and Psychology Review, 18*, 409-421.

Sorinsen, R., & Snow, B. (1991). How children tell: the process of disclosure in child sexual abuse. *Child Welfare, 70,* 3 – 15.

Spiecker, B., & Steutel, J. (1997). Paedophilia, sexual desire and perversity. *Journal of Moral Education,* 26(3), 331 – 342.

Spies, G. (1991). Die problematiek verbonde aan die maatskaplike bantering van die gemolesteerde kind (The problematic bondage of social bantering of the molested child). *Koers, 56*(1), 93 – 103.

Spock, B. (1946). *The Pocket book of baby and childcare*. New York: Pocket Books.

State v. Lamprecht (1989). In The Edwin Cameron Collection. Court Cases (AM2629). *Historical Papers,* University of the Witwatersrand.

State v. Small (1949). In Freed, L. (A1212). Court Cases. D12.3. *Historical papers*, University of the Witwatersrand.

State v. Van der Merwe (1972). In Freed, L. (A1212). Court Cases. D12.3. *Historical Papers*, University of the Witwatersrand.

State v. Van Niekerk (1949). In Freed, L. (A1212). Court Cases. D14. *Historical Papers*, University of the Witwatersrand.

State v. Whitehead (1987). In The Edwin Cameron Collection. Court Cases (AM2629). *Historical Papers*, University of the Witwatersrand.

Stava, L., Levin, S. M., & Schwanz, C. (1993). The role of aversion in covert sensitization treatment of pedophilia: A case report. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 2*(3), 1-13.

Steele, B (1984). Psychodynamic factors in child abuse. In R. Kempe & R. Helfer (Eds.), *The Battered Child*. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Stern, C., & Gould, T. (1955). *The early years of childhood: Education through insight*. New York: Harper and Brothers.

Steyn, A. (1948). Report for Commissioner of child welfare. In Freed, L. (A1212). Court Cases.D12.3. *Historical Papers*, University of the Witwatersrand.

Stone, T. H., Winslade, W. J., & Klugman, C. M. (2000). Sex offenders, sentencing laws and pharmaceutical treatment: A prescription for failure. *Behavioral Sciences and the Law, 18*(1), 83-110.

Storr, A. (1974). *Sexual deviation*. Ontario: Penguin.

Strelitz, L., & Riddle, C. (1992). Child Sex Abuse in South Africa: The role of the media in constructing reality. *Communicatio, 18*(2), 50 – 56.

Suffer little children. (1996, July 24). *The Sowetan*, p. 18.

Summer holiday. (1980, December 30). *The Star*, p. 1.

Suprikian, S. (2000). Childhood abuse experiences and current distress, attitudes, and behaviors of men. *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering, 60*(10-B), 5234.

Swanepoel, H. (1991). Bloedskande en seksuele molestering binne gesinsverband met spesifieke verwysing na kindergetuienis (Blood scandal and sexual molestation within the family setting with specific reference to child witnesses). *Magistrate, 26*(2), 55 – 60.

Swanepoel, A. (1998). Getuienislewering deur die seksuel-misbruikte kind: n opvoedkundige sielkundige perpsektief (Testimony by a sexually abused child: an educational psychologist's perspective. *Journal of Education and Training, 19*(1), 19 – 30.

Swartz, L. & Levett, A. Political repression and children in South Africa. The social construction of damaging effects. *Social Science Medicine, 28*(7) 741-750, 1989

Tardif, M., & Van Gijseghem, H. (2001). Do paedophiles have a weaker identity structure compared with nonsexual offenders? *Child Abuse & Neglect, 25*, 1381 – 1394.

Terr, L. (1989). Child sexual abuse: why the controversy? *Journal of the Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 28*, 788.

This was not the year of the black child. (1979, December 31). *The Post*, p. 4.

Tierney, D. W., & McCabe, M. P. (2001). An evaluation of self-report measures of cognitive distortions and empathy among Australian sex offenders. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 30*(5), 495-519.

Theron, A. (1992). Child pornography: exploitation of the child, effects on the victim, and indications for therapy. *Acta Criminologica, 5*(1), 49 – 54.

Travin, S., Bluestone, H., Coleman, E., Cullen., K., & Melella, J. Paedophile Types and Treatment Perspectives. *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, 31(2), 614 - 620

UK News paper condemned for publishing names and photos of paedophiles. (2000, July 24). *The Star*, p. 4.

United Nations Children's Fund. (1990). *The convention on the rights of the child*. New York: United Nations.

Van der Merwe, S. (1994). Cross-examination of the sexually abused child victim in a constitutionalised adversarial trial system. *Orbiter, 16*(2), 194 – 215.

Van Onselen, C. (1982). *Studies in the social and economic history of the Witwatersrand*, Vol. 2. *New Nineveh.* Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Van Rooyen, L., & Hartell, C. (2002). Health of the street child : the relation between life-style, immunity and HIV/AIDS : a synergy of research. *South African Journal of Education, 22*(3), 188 – 192.

Vermaak, M. (1990, July 22). Satanic link to girls not ignored: SAP. *The Citizen*, p. 12.

Visker, R. (1995). *Michel Foucault: Genealogy as critique.* Verso: New York

Ward, A. (1978, September 25). SA in early on the Year of the Child. *The Star*, p. 25.

Ward, T. (1999). Competency and deficit models in the understanding and treatment of sexual offenders. *Journal of Sex Research, 36*(3), 298 – 306.

Ward, T., & Keenan.,T. (1999). Child molesters' implicit theories. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 14*(8), 821 – 839.

Weeks, J. (2000). *Making sexual history*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Westaway, J. (1991). Adolescent Abuse. *South African Journal of Continuing Medical Education, 9*(11), 1428 – 1433.

Westcott, D. (1984). Sexual abuse of children. *South African Medical Journal, 65* (2), 895 – 897.

WHO (2003). *Guidelines for medico-legal care for victims of sexual violence.* Geneva: World Health Organisation.

Winship, W. (1989). The detection of child abuse. *Transvaal Education News, 87*(1), 14 – 22.

Winship, W., & Key, J. (1987). Examination of sexually abused children. *South African Medical Journal, 71*(7), 437 – 439.

Wood, G. (1994). Suffer the little children: counsellor news. *Positive Outlook, 1*(4), 6.

Woodgate, S. (1991, August 26). Hundreds of child-abuse calls daily. *The Star*, p. 7.

Woodgate, S. (1996, May 10). Police hit brick wall as bone turns out a damp squib. *The Star*, p. 7.

Worden, N. (1994). *The making of modern South Africa: Conquest, segregation and Apartheid*. Blackwell: Cambridge University Press.

Yarvis, R. M. (1995). Diagnostic patterns among three violent offender types. *Bulletin of the American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law, 23*(3), 411-419.

Yawn for 1962. (1962, January 1). *The Star*, p. 1.

Youth on rape charges. (1972, January 29). *The Rand Daily Mail*, p. 14.

Zabow, T. (1996). Treatment of abusers and abused. *In Focus Forum, 4*(3), 20 – 23.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A:

SOUTH AFRICAN MEDIA SOURCES

Table 4. Media sources for articles indexed by paedophilia in SA Media (n = 772)

MEDIA SOURCE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
AFRIKANER	1	.1
BEELD	98	12.7
BURGER	37	4.8
BUSINESS DAY	3	.4
CAPE ARGUS (also Argus)	33	4.3
CAPE TIMES	30	3.9
CITIZEN	86	11.1
CITY PRESS	8	1.0
DAILY DISPATCH	7	.9
DAILY NEWS	30	3.9
DIAMOND FIELDS	1	.1
DIVERSE PUBLIKASIES#[6]	1	.1
EXPRESS	3	.4
HERALD (Eastern Province Herald)	63	8.2
INDEPENDENT ON SATURDAY (Natal on Saturday)	11	1.4
MAIL & GUARDIAN (also Weekly Mail & Guardian)	11	1.4
NATAL WITNESS	13	1.7
NEGOTIATION NEWS#	1	.1
NEW ERA	1	.1
NEWSWEEK	5	.6
PRETORIA NEWS	43	5.6
RAPPORT	50	6.5
SATURDAY PAPER#	5	.6
SATURDAY STAR	25	3.2
SATURDAY WEEKEND ARGUS	15	1.9
SOWETAN	8	1.0
SOWETAN SUNDAY WORLD#	2	.3
STAR	91	11.8
SUNDAY INDEPENDENT	18	2.3
SUNDAY STAR#	3	.4
SUNDAY TRIBUNE	33	4.3
SUNDAY, TIMES	14	1.8
THIS DAY	4	.5
TIME	4	.5
VOLKSBLAD	5	.6
VRYDAG# - KWANA	2	.3
VRYE WEEKBLAD#	1	.1
WEEKEND ARGUS#	1	.1
WEEKEND POST	1	.1
WEEKEND STAR#	1	.1
WEEKLY MAIL#	3	.4
Total	**772**	**100.0**

[#] Denotes the cessation of the publication of the newspaper in its current form.

APPENDIX B:

ASHTON AND PARSON' TEETHING POWDER

THE STAR, JOHANNESBURG, TUESDAY, JANUARY 9, 1951



APPENDIX C:

YAWN FOR 1962



APPENDIX D:

SEXOLOGICAL EXAMINATION.

SEXOLOGICAL EXAMINATION

(Carried out by Dr. Louis Franklin Freed)

(Johannesburg)

Case No.

Name of person examined: ... age: ... Ht: ... Wt: ...

1. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

Civil State - Married... Single....Divorced....Separated.

Reasons for being single, divorced or separated: ...

Children, if any : ...

Occupation: ...

Habits as regards alcohol, tobacco, drugs: ...

Physical fitness: robust 1 2 3 4 5 delicate

General impression : masculine ... feminine

Personal Beauty: handsome ... ugly

Attractiveness: charming ... repulsive

Attitude for sporting: ... impossible

Which sports: ...

Character: reserved ... responsive

naive ... sophisticated

timid ... self-confident

serious ... flippant

polite ... voluptuous

dependent ... independent

Psychological Trait Ratings.

1. Personality ...
2. Leadership ... / 8
3. Attractiveness to persons of the opposite sex. ...
4. Attractiveness to persons of the same sex. ...

5 5. Seeks society of the other sex. ✓

6. Seeks society of the same sex. ✗

7. Typical intellectual interests of own sex.

8. Typical intellectual interests of opposite sex. ✗

9. Typical social interests of same sex. ✗

10. Typical social interests of opposite sex. ✗

11. Typical manual interests of same sex. ✗

12. Typical manual interests of opposite sex. ✗

13. Sissiness. ✗

14. Has crushes on persons of the same sex. ✗

15. Aggressiveness. ✗

16. Objective mindedness. ✗

17. Subjective mindedness. ✗

18. Effectiveness. ✗

19. Originality. ✗

Physical Handicaps: crippled, lame, cross-eyed, pimples, scars, bad hearing, ugly features, overweight, underweight, glasses, left-handed, excessively youthful appearance, premature birth, shaky voice, &c. &c.

Physical features mentioned by subject as most feminine:

II. FAMILY DATA

No. of children ... Birth order of subject.....

No. of brothers ..... Ages ....., ..., ...

No. of sisters ..... Ages ....., ..., ...

Favorite parent ..... Reason .....

Father

Age: Now ....., at birth of subject ....., deceased .....

Occupations: Now ....., past .....

Emotional stability: stable 1 2 3 4 5 moody

Opportunity for contact much none

/ S ....

Interest in subject:	much	ignor
Affection displayed:	very demonstrative	non
Tendency to dominate:	autocratic	complacen
Type of punishment:	brutal ✓	gentle
Companionship:	constant	none
Intimacy with subject:	close	distant
Idealization by subject:	worship	scorn
Feared by subject:	greatly	not at all
Amount of occupational instruction given subject	much	none.
Amount of assistance given subject in father's work	much	none.

Remarks:

Mother

Age: Now 64., at birth of subject 41..., deceased .....

Occupations: Now ....., past ....., ...

Emotional stability:	Stable 1 2 3 4 5	moody
Opportunity for contact:	much ✓	none
Interest in subject:	much 3	ignoran
Affection displayed:	very demonstrative	none
Tendency to dominate	autocratic	complacent
Type of punishment:	brutal ✓	gentle
Companionship :	constant x	✓ none
Intimacy with subject:	close x	✓ distant
Idealization b y subject	worship x	✓ scorn
Feared by subject:	greatly ✓ 2 - 3	✓ not at all
Amount of occupational instruction given subject:	much	none
Amount of assistance given by subject in mother's work:	much ✓	none

Remarks :

Siblings

Comparison of talents: sibs more 1 2 3 4 subject 5

Popularity in family: sibs more ____ subject no

Companionship: much ____ no

Competition and jealousy: much ____ none

Favoritism of parents shown to: subject ____

sibs ____

Amount of friction between sibs: much ____ none

Foreknowledge of birth of younger sibs: expected and understood ____ came as a shock

In general resemblance to siblings: very much alike ____ very different

Occupations of siblings:

____

____

____

____

Other members of the family group:

General relation between subjec and such persons:

Remarks:

XII CHILDHOOD

Treated

By parents mostly as: boy ✓ 1 2 3 4 girl 5

By children mostly as: boy ____ girl

Considered as roughneck 3-4 sissy

Played most with: boys 2-3 girls

Reason ____

____

Played most: in a group ____ alone ✓

Reason [illegible]

[illegible]

/ 5.....

Childhood love affairs .

With girls: many 1 2 3 4 none

With boys: Many none

Favorite:

toys [illegible] Reason [illegible]

games [illegible] Reason [illegible]

books [illegible] Reason [illegible]

Amount of education: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 1 11 111 IV 1 2 3 4

Favorite subjects: [illegible] Reason

Disliked subjects: [illegible] Reason

Reason for quitting school: [illegible]

Other details of school life: [illegible]

How different from other children of same age and sex: [illegible]

How considered by playmates: [illegible]

Remarks:

IV. SOCIAL LIFE.

Attitude in general: social 1 2 3 4 antisocial 5

Attendance at dances: many ✓ none

Type [illegible]

Attendance at parties: many none

Type

"Dates" with girls: many none

with men [illegible]

Type of girl liked for

1. A date:

2. A friend: [illegible]

Type of boy or man liked for

1. A date:

2. A friend:

Age of friends male: much older much younger

female : [illegible]

Club activities: Lodges, Boy Scouts, &c. [illegible]

Religious life:

Church [illegible]

/6.....

Finest person ever known [illegible]

Reason: [illegible]

Ideal characters: [illegible]

Reason: [illegible]

Other xxxxxxx social interests & activities: [illegible]

Remarks.

V. OCCUPATIONAL LIFE.

Occupation	Duration	Reason for quitting
1. [illegible]	2 yrs	[illegible]
2. [illegible]	12 months	[illegible]
3. [illegible]	18 months	[illegible]
4. [illegible]	9 months	[illegible]
5.		

Remarks:

Salary earned: [illegible]

Habits acquired during period of employment [illegible]

Was occupation congenial? [illegible]

Did occupation have prospects? [illegible]

VI. SEXUAL CHARACTERS.

1. a. Testicles: [illegible]

b. Epididymis:

c. Vas. deferens:

d. Prostate:

e. Penis: normal

f. Scrotum: normal

g. Breasts: normal

2. SECONDARY(SEXUAL).

a. Sitting height: 67½

b. Sternal notch height: 58"

c. Pubic height: 35"

d. Head circumference: 21½

e. Girth of thorax: 35½

f. Girth of Pelvis: 31"

Proportion between (e) and (f) 1: 0·87.

/ 7.....

g. Shoulder width 40 cms ~~37.5 cm~~

h. Pelvic Width (intercristal) ~~28.5 cms~~

i. Proportion between (g) and (h). 29.6
Pelvic width (inter-trochanteric) ~~33~~

j. Shoulder slope. 100°

k. Angle of arm to forearm. 172°

l. Knee width. 9.1 cm. 9.5

m. Disposition of Femora.

n. Teeth.

O. Development of locomotor system:

Muscles:

Articulations:

Tendons:

p. Distribution of subcutaneous fat:

Around pelvis	Face
Retro mammary region	Neck
Lower part of abdomen:	Thorax
Pubic area:	upper part of abdomen.
Thighs	legs.

q. Paleius system (?)

Caput:

Zygomatic region.

Nape.

Eye brows.

Beard. very little in the lip

Moustache.

/ 8 ....

Auricular orifice.

Lobe of ear.

Nasal orifices.

Pubic hair.

Perineum.

Anus.

Axilla

Trunk.

Extremities.

Character of Hair of caput.

Colour.

Skin: Colour Texture Rash

Nails:

Larynx: Voice

Adam's Apple.

2. FUNCTIONAL

Primary (Genital)

(a) The Libido:

Details of first remembered sex experiences:

Masculinity:

Femininity:

Desire :

In Love :

/2 ....

Later reaction to same:

If subject has had no such experience why:

Feeling toward illicit sexual intercourse when a child:

Homosexual:

Active passive:

Details of first experience:

Seduced:

Forced:

In Love:

For money:

Later reaction to this experience.

Types of practices:

1. Pederasty, age of first occurance.
   Occasion present frequency
2. Fellatio age of first occurance.
   Occasion present frequency
3. Mutual Masturbation:
   Occasion present frequency
4. Interfemoral coitus:
   Occasion present frequency

Chief reason for present practices:

Ever a feeling of guilt:

Ever want to change over: Why:

/10

General reaction to Homosexuality:

Description of ideal lover:

Psycho-sexual Reactions:

Algolagnia

Auto-erotism

Caprolagnia

Cunnilinctus

Eonism.

Exhibitionism

Kleptolagnia.

Masochism.

Mixoscopia.

Mixoscopic Zoophilia.

Narcissm.

Necrophilia.

Ozolagnia.

Pyrolagnia.

Stuff-fetishness.

Undinism.

Urolagnia.

Zooerastia.

Method of obtaining sex education:

age:

Prison Record:

Nature of offence:

Period in Gaol.

Habits learned in gaol.

Endocrinological:

Venereological:

Miscellaneous:

Nocturnal emissions:

Presence of anything resembling menstrual pains.

APPENDIX E:

THE MANY FACES OF THE PAEDOPHILE



THESE are just some of the many faces of the fiend with the piercing eyes.

The three poses are among many photographs Pretoria paedophile Gert van Rooyen had specially taken.

The monster who preyed on little girls commissioned a studio photographer two years ago to take pictures "for his girlfriends".

But Pretoria photographer Gordon Harris said this week he never liked Van Rooyen.

Mr Harris met Van Rooyen in 1988 soon after his release from jail for the abduction and indecent assault of two little Pretoria girls.

By DE WET FOTGIETER

At that stage he photographed a quiet, docile Gert van Rooyen wearing a wig to cover his bald head and dressed in a three-piece suit.

Joller

Again, on February 22 1991, self-styled playboy Van Rooyen walked into his studio and wanted some more photographs of himself to give to his "girlfriends". Said Mr Harris: "He gave me the impression of being a real ladies man . . . a proper Pretoria joller who thought he was God's gift to women."

He photographed Van Rooyen wearing his two favourite golf caps — and then with his bald head uncovered.

"He asked me if he should keep his tie on or undo his shirt to show his hairy chest," said Mr Harris.

"It was clear the man wanted to create an image of being a playboy to impress women."

Although Mr Harris changed his studio three times over the years, Van Rooyen always came back to him.

"It seemed to me he liked me and always managed to find me at my new work address," Mr Harris told the Sunday Times.

Disgusted

Other pictures taken last November show Van Rooyen, the family man and father figure.

He posed for shots with his lover Joey Heartsniff, his six-year-old son and a grandchild as the typical "nice old man down the road".

"You couldn've thought that I was photographing such an evil man that day," said Mr Harris.

"I have children at high school and know how these poor parents must feel about their missing kids."

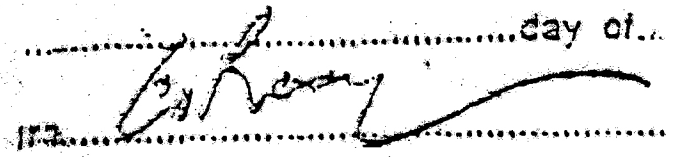
Mr Harris was looking for somebody to put a ceiling in his new studio and Van Rooyen invited him to his home to look at samples.

"I was supposed to visit him at home during December last year, but never went," he said.

APPENDIX F:

EVIL SIGNATURE

Evil signature



ADOLF HITLER had exactly the same angle to his writing as did child kidnapper and paedophile Gert van Rooyen.

A leading graphologist has produced a chilling portrait of a twisted personality from an analysis of his signature, reproduced above.

Van Rooyen, the paedophile who killed himself and his live-in lover last week, was obsessed with sex but unable to obtain physical satisfaction without using children and fantasies of various kinds.

This is the opinion of one of South Africa's leading graphologists, Ms Margaret Reeve.

Ms Reeve, who has studied graphology for 40 years, says Van Rooyen's signature shows him to have been a man who could appear pleasant (right-slanted writing) and talkative.

"The two 'o' letters which are open at the top show how much he loved to talk, but the tiny 'tooth' stroke pointing downwards in the first 'o' shows he was devious and dishonest.

"The large capital 'R' reveals conceit and a desire for a recognised status, but the uneven and rising base line shows his behaviour adapted easily in order for him to try and gain anything he wanted.

"He was sensuous and had a love of colour (fancy writing) but most of his thoughts were on food and sex. In fact, he was obsessed with sex, but couldn't really perform without young children."

Ms Reeve says the sweeping angle to the right indicates psychopathology — and points out that Adolf Hitler had exactly the same angle to this writing: 14 degrees.

"The fluctuating pressure in the writing shows instability, while mental illness is revealed in the raised middle zonal letters.

"The prolonged end-stroke, in an arcade formation, shows the ability to conceal the truth. And the look of the 'a' in Rooyen again shows dishonesty."

Ms Reeve says the heavy end dot indicates that the sexual act was not easily performed by Van Rooyen, and then only in an unnatural manner culminating in a desire for conquest, coupled with great cruelty.

"This also shows he was unable to obtain sexual satisfaction without threats. The tiny circle within the second letter 'o' in 'Rooyen' shows that children would help arouse and satisfy him.

"The strong down-stroke of the letter 'y' also indicates strong sexual desires but this stroke suddenly veers off to the right, with the lower portion as a phallic symbol."

Ms Reeve says the last stroke shows a "grabbing mentality". It seems to say: "No matter how far you run, I'll get exactly what I want out of you."

APPENDIX G:

INSIDE THE HOUSE OF HORRORS

Inside the House of Horrors

A home as bizarre as the man who lived in it

Patrick Bulger

AFRIKANER Weerstandsbeweging stickers, a tube of vaginal cream, plastic hydrangeas and a picture of the Last Supper — paedophile Gert van Rooyen's home is as bizarre as the man who lived in it.

And the five missing girls were almost certainly occupants of the so-called House of Horrors at some stage, police said yesterday, confirming a link between Van Rooyen, his lover Joey Haarhoff and the girls.

Yesterday, for the first time since police moved in on the Capital Park house following the culprits' double suicide a month ago, police allowed journalists in.

The visit provided a glimpse into the strange life of Van Rooyen and the woman he met through a lonely hearts column in an Afrikaans magazine.

Child Protection Unit member Major Chris Blignaut, who is co-ordinating the search for the girls, showed the cupboard from which a 16-year-old Pretoria schoolgirl escaped their clutches.

The cupboard has a large bottom section in which she was held after being taken there by Haarhoff on the pretext of being given a lift to school.

On her way out, she passed a wall dresser with framed photographs of Van Rooyen's family and a bigger studio portrait of the grinning pervert.

The main bedroom — which contains a music system and a television set mounted against the ceiling and facing the bed — is decorated in pink. It leads into a bathroom.

There are also a few pink, fluffy dolls with the words "I love you" on them.

The bedroom has no door. Instead there is a cupboard obscuring the room from the rest of the house. The cupboard is covered in mirrors.

Off the passageway — which is lit by a skylight — there are two smaller rooms. There is another bathroom.

There is also a bookcase filled with religious books and at least one pennant proclaiming "God is Liefde".

The house appears to be virtually as it must have been when Van Rooyen and Haarhoff left it for the last time.

In Van Rooyen's study there are an electric organ and a guitar — and several AWB stickers with the distinctive triple-seven of the ultra-Right movement.

One of the stickers is on a shelf above his desk, the other on a safe above a metallic-blue sticker shaped like a fish with the word "Jesus" on it.

Van Rooyen the handyman had piles of tools, and seemed to be busy adding outbuildings in the small backyard where there are an aviary and dozens of pot plants.

A marked feature of the house is the number of doors and windows that are barred.

Police refused yesterday to answer questions about the house.

Major Blignaut said they did not want a new round of speculation.

He said, however, that police would not yet be leaving as they were uncovering new information that had to be checked against documents in the house.

SAP Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe yesterday offered a reward of R40 000 for information leading to each of the girls — a total of R200 000.

The girls are Fiona Harvey, Odette Boucher, Anne-Marl Wapenaar, Joan Horn and Yolanda Wessels.

He made an appeal for people to come forward and give information about any possible hiding places — houses, flats, stores or factories that have stood empty in the recent past.

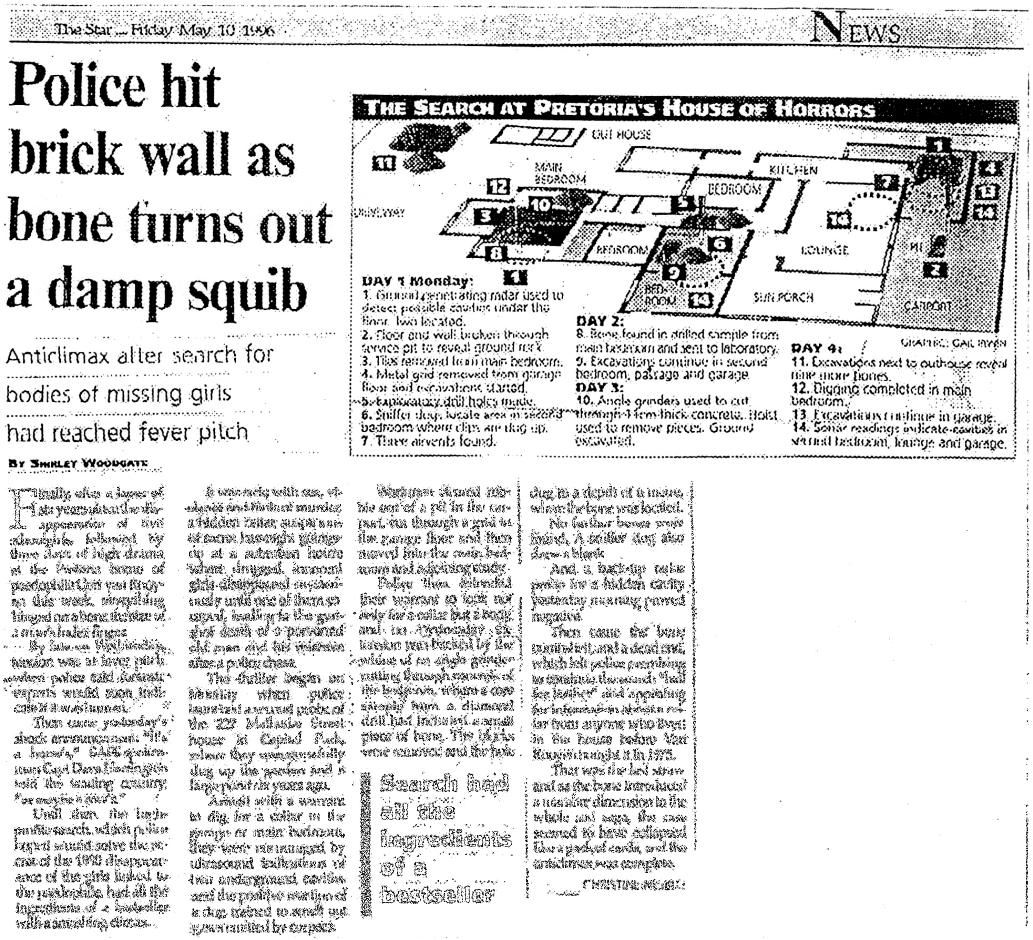
He said the reward would be valid until March 16.



TWO SIDES ... Van Rooyen's study — AWB sticker and a 'Greatest Dad' poster.

APPENDIX H:

DIAGRAMMATIC SKETCHING OF THE HOUSE OF HORRORS



The Star ... Friday May 10 1996 NEWS

Police hit brick wall as bone turns out a damp squib

Anticlimax after search for bodies of missing girls had reached fever pitch

BY SHIRLEY WOODGATE

THE SEARCH AT PRETORIA'S HOUSE OF HORRORS

DAY 1 Monday:
1. Ground penetrating radar used to detect possible cavities under the floor. Iron located.
2. Floor and wall broken through; service pit to reveal ground rock.
3. Tiles removed from main bedroom.
4. Metal grid removed from garage floor and excavations started.
5. Exploratory drill holes made.
6. Sniffer dogs locate area in second bedroom where clues are dug up.
7. Three skeletons found.

DAY 2:
8. Bone found in drilled sample from main bedroom and sent to laboratory.
9. Excavations continue in second bedroom, passage and garage.

DAY 3:
10. Angle grinders used to cut through 1m-thick concrete. Hoist used to remove pieces. Ground excavated.

DAY 4:
11. Excavations next to outhouse reveal nine more bones.
12. Digging completed in main bedroom.
13. Excavations continue in garage.
14. Sonar readings indicate cavities in central bedroom, lounge and garage.

GRAPHIC: GAIL RYDEN

FINALLY, after a lapse of 18 years and the disappearance of two more girls, followed by three days of high drama at the Pretoria home of paedophile Dirk van Rooyen this week, crumbling hinged on a bone the size of a man's index finger.

By late on Wednesday, tension was at fever pitch as police told journalists "experts would soon indicate a sex crime".

Then came yesterday's shock announcement: "It's a horse," SAPS spokesman Capt Dave Fleming-Jones told the waiting country: "we maybe a goat's."

Until then, the high-profile search, which police hoped would solve the mystery of the 1990 disappearance of the girls linked to the paedophile, had all the ingredients of a bestseller with a gruelling climax.

It was only with sex, violence and brutal murder, a hidden cellar, suspicion of some borough goings-on at a suburban home where drugged, tortured girls disappeared mysteriously until one of them escaped, leading to the gruesome death of a perverted old man and his mission after a police chase.

The thriller began on Monday when police launched a second probe at the 22 Malherbe Street house in Capital Park, where they were possibly dug up the garden and a fingerprint 18 years ago.

Armed with a warrant to dig for a cellar in the garage or main bedroom, they were encouraged by ultrasound indications of two underground cavities and the positive reaction of a dog trained to scent out graves trained by experts.

Workmen started with the corrugated iron grid in the garage floor and then moved into the main bedroom and adjoining study.

Police then extended their warrant to look not only for a cellar but a body and an "opening". An intense vein bristled by the outline of an angle grinder cutting through concrete in the bedroom, where a cop sitting upon a diamond drill had indicated a small piece of bone. The digging were resumed and the hole dug in a depth of a metre, where the bone was located.

No further bones were found. A sniffer dog also drew a blank.

And, a back-up radar probe for a hidden cavity yesterday morning proved negative.

Then came the "bone" controversy, and a dead end, which left police panicking to establish the missing "link for justice" and appealing for information about girls not from anyone who lived in the house before Van Rooyen bought it in 1975.

That was the last straw and as the bone introduced a macabre dimension to the whole sad saga, the case seemed to have collapsed like a pack of cards, and the anticlimax was complete.

CHRISTINA MCGILL

Search had all the ingredients of a bestseller

APPENDIX I:

PEOPLE'S BANK BILLBOARD ADVERTISEMENT

(IMAGE ONLY)

