



only the definition. Gerd Huber, a psychiatrist at the University Mental Hospital in Bonn, recommended his colleagues to radically break with the racial-hygienically influenced classification patterns of older physicians (e.g. Hans W. Gruhle).¹²² There was only agreement that a typification of the Padophile, as the followers of Ernst Kretschmer had been doing since the beginning of the 1960s, was not a good idea. years, was completely removed from reality.¹²³

There was general uncertainty regarding the treatment of padosexuality. Although castration as well as treatment with pineal triisenextract or psychotherapy was but none of the researchers could really testify to it.¹²⁴ In particular, the research that had been propagated since the 1920s Despite the efforts of the Hamburg forensic physician Albrecht Langeliiddeke to justify it, castration fell into disuse due to justified doubts about its efficacy and justifiability.¹²⁵ Yet the procedure was not restricted to "free" use until 1963.

122) HUBER: Zur forensisch-psychiatrischen Begutachtung pp. 43, 45.

123) See Benedikt HERTER: Der konstitutionelle Aspekt bei der Beurteilung der .A.tiologie und Prophylaxe van Sexualdelikten. In: Gustav NASS (ed.): Atiologie und Prophylaxe der Sexualkriminalitiit. Vortriige, gehalten anliisslich der wissenschaftlichen Tagung der Sektion Forensische Psychologie des Berufsverbandes Deutscher Psychologen am 29. und 30. Mai 1964 in Wiesbaden (Berlin: de Gruyter 1965) pp. 16-56.

124) J. SACHS: The Treatment of Sexual Offenders in Diine mark. In: F. G. VON STOCKERT (ed.): Die Piidophilie und ihre straf rechtliche Problematik. Vortriige gehalten auf dem 8. Kongreg der Deutschen Gesellschaft for Sexualforschung vom 25. bis 27. Mai 1964 in Karlsruhe, 2. Teil (Stuttgart: Enke 1965) S. 69-79; D. LANGEN: Psychotherapie bei Sexual-Delinquenten. In: Ibidem pp. 80-85; Maria VOGL: Die Diimpfung hypersexueller Zustiinde durch Epiphysan. In:

Ebenda S. 86-90; A. LANGELUDEKE: Die Wirkung der Entman-
ning. In: Ebenda S. 91-95; W. F. J. KRAUSE: Diskussionsbeitrag. In:
Ibidem pp. 96-100.

125) Albrecht LANGELUDEKE: Zur Kastration van Sittlichkeitsver-

The doctors were surprised that the Federal Court of Justice, in its lengthy decision-making process, had emphasized the right to physical integrity (Art. 2, Para. II of the Basic Law) rather than the provisions of the Law on the Prevention of Hereditary Diseases in the Young (1933/1935).

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The discussions went round in circles, the theoretical model of *siichtigkeit* developed by Hans Giese proved to be insufficient for the explanation of *padophilia*. Innovations were brought about by the work of the *Biirger-Prinz-Schiiler* Eberhard Schorsch, who integrated the considerations of his teachers into his own research. Instead of punishing *padophilia* *per se* on the basis of established classification models, he recommended to finally distance oneself from the idea of a "norm". At best, there were "target norms" and averages.¹²⁸ A sexual form was to be considered a perversion only if it did not have a

breakers. Spate Riickfalle. Emasculation from § 426 StGB Untergebracht. In: *Der Nervenarzt* 39 (1968) pp. 365-368, here p. 368; Willi bald RASCH: *Korperliche Behandlungsverfahren*. In: Hans GIESE / Victor Emil VON GEBSATTEL (eds.): *Psychopathologie der Sexualitat* (Stuttgart: Enke 1962) pp. 543-567, here p. 561.

126) Gerhard MAUCH/ Jiirgen BECHTEL: Castration in the penal system as treatment of chronic sexual delinquents. In: *Monatsschrift fur Criminology and Criminal Law Reform* 51 (1968) pp. 200-210, here p. 201.

127) See, for example, Werner F. J. KRAUSE: Voluntary emasculation from

The corresponding verdict (4 StR 879/33) was handed down by the Federal Supreme Court on December 13, 1963, relying on the findings of the competent court expert. His name was Hans Giese.

128) Eberhard SCHORSCH: Die sexuelle Perversion, ihre Differentialdiagnose und Therapie. In: *Monatsschrift fur Kriminologie und Strafrechtsreform* 49 (1966) pp. 253-262, here p. 253.

long-term fulfillment of fantasies.¹²⁹ The psychiatrist Reinhard Lempp, following up on this statement, said that in each individual case, as an expert, one must ask the question

whether the child had been harmed at all.¹³⁰ Based on his many years of experience, Lempp came to the following conclusion the conclusion that the long period of time between the sexual contact and the notification of the parents was not necessarily caused by a state of shock of the child, but was due to the fact that the "trafficked" person at least had not been involved in the sexual activity.

had in part been positively received.¹³¹ However, it was also Lempp was still completely caught up in old prejudices. He considered a longer relationship between a pedophile and a child to be more dangerous than a one-time contact and inquired about the possibility of a lasting relationship to homosexuality.¹³² At the same time, he emphasized that lasting harm only occurs in sadomasochistic relationships.

sions were to be expected. Lempp rejected the involvement of juvenile witnesses in criminal proceedings (analogous to Moll 59 years earlier):

"There is no doubt that the present rules of procedure first affect a mental injury to the child that has not yet been caused by the moral offense against that child. "133

Only one year later, in 1969, the first reform of § 175 took place, followed by a further tightening of the paragraph in 1973. The sexual penal law concerning sex offenders remained unchanged. Nevertheless, the "sex wave" initiated by the amendments to criminal law made it possible for the German penal system to be flooded with sexually explicit and explicit sexual acts.

129) SCHORSCH: Die sexuelle Perversion p. 257.

130) Reinhard LEMPP: Seelische Schädigung von Kindern als Opfer von gewaltlosen Sittlichkeitsdelikten. In: *Neue juristische Wochenschrift* 21 (1968) pp. 2265-2268, here p. 2265.

131) *Ibid* p. 2266.

132) *Ibid* p. 2267.

133) Ibid p. 2268.

magazine market with sex articles of all kinds. In addition, there was the political and social upheaval in the wake of the student movement.¹³⁴ The violation of social taboos, especially in the sexual sphere, and the disregard of

Theories and representatives of university research gained importance across all strata. The sex researchers around Hans Giese became involuntary witnesses of this radicalized development. At the tenth meeting of the Society in the summer of 1969, female students took the podium under the battle cry "Haven't you got it - we whites are fruited!

female orgasm, which had been neglected by the dominated sexual research.¹³⁵ Until then, the sexologists had assumed that their studies of "student sexuality" and the

The authors hoped that they would be able to help steer the emancipation of the students by publishing important writings on sexual history. Instead, the sex wave rolled over its university-socialized preceptors. They were amazed to see how students, after a brief self-study of the writings of Wilhelm Reich and Sigmund Freud, began to raise so-called "Kinder laden. Here, even small children were supposed to live out their sexuality free from the dogmas of birational education.

¹³⁶ In the Rückblick, for example, this reads like this: "In the

134) Herbert MARCUSE: Liberation of Sexuality. In: Helmut KENTLER (ed.): Sexualwesen Mensch. Texte zur Erforschung der Sexualität (München: Piper 1988) pp. 222-233, here p. 227.

135) Reinhardt KLEBER: "Haven't you got it ... ". In: *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung* 2 (1989) pp. 75-85, here p. 75.

In 1961, the Austrian gynecologist Helene Stourzh-Anderle gave her first and only lecture at a meeting of the German Society for Sexual Research: Helene STOURZH ANDERLE: Die Anorgasmie der Frau (Stuttgart: Enke 1961).

136) Kommune 2: Tabu Kindersexualität (1969). In: Helmut KENTLER (ed.): Sexualwesen Mensch. Texte zur Erforschung der Sexualität (München: Piper 1988) pp. 110-119.

Later, in her cousin's kindergarten, Katharina observed how boys with potty helmets acted out the Vietnam War, while girls - fishing excrement out of their diapers - covered in the corner. Only in this way, it was said at the time, can a free sexuality develop later, because if the child is placed too early on the pot, it is later inhibited during sex. "137

At the same time, several student groups launched the "Heimkam pagne," which aimed to induce foster youths to flee the homes in order to hide them in shared apartments and to educate them in a socialist manner.¹³⁸ This often involved sexual abuse of the underage boys by adult female students.¹³⁹ The "fringe group strategy" devised by several university groups hoping for a revolution was aimed, among other things, at revolutionary agitation among the youth gangs, who were already considered by criminologists in the mid-1960s to be at particular risk sexually.¹⁴⁰ The propagation of free drug use and uncontrolled sexuality were the driving forces behind this part of the '68 movement.

137) Martin ZIPS: Empty in the Love-In. Once upon a time there was a hippie kid. The journalist Katharina Wulff-Brautigam, her moving book and what remained of 1968. In: *Süddeutsche Zeitung* 11/12 June 2005, weekend supplement p. III. See also Katharina WULFF-BRAUTIGAM: Bhagwan, Che und ich. Meine Kindheit in den 70ern (München: Droemer 2005) p. 58.

138) Rose AHLHEIM / Wilfried HOLSEMANN / Helmut KAPCZYNSKI / Manfred KAPPELER / Manfred LIEBEL / Christian MARZAHN / Falco WERETKIN: Gefesselte Jugend. Fiersorgeerziehung im Kapitalismus (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1971) pp. 63, 146.

139) Gerd KOENEN: Das rote Jahrzehnt. Unsere kleine deutsche Kulturrevolution 1967-1977 (Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch 2001) p. 175.

140) For the students' assessment of working-class youth subcultures, see Autorenkollektiv: Materialien zur Lage der Arbeiterjugend in Westberlin (Frankfurt am Main: Roter Stern 1972); Jan C. RASPE: Zur Sozialisation proletarischer Kinder (1972), 5th edition (Frankfurt am Main: Roter Stern 1981) p. 14.

revolt.¹⁴¹ In a riposte to corresponding considerations from the 1920s, some revolutionaries who had grown out of the academy even wanted to completely separate sexual revelation from the - supervisors.

The sexual problem is not only a biological problem for us, but first and foremost a social problem, a problem posed by the proletarian class situation and the bourgeois environment "¹⁴².

Finally, in the course of 1971, under the influence of the of Rosa von Praunheim's film "It is not the homosexual who is perverted, but the situation in which he lives," the self-emancipation of homosexuals in West Germany began, whereby this development was to a certain extent co-determined by the sex researchers: The definition of the homosexual in society was made by Martin Dannecker and Reimut Reiche, two schoolboys of the now deceased Hans Giese.¹⁴³

At least in the beginning, the representatives of the gay movement saw themselves as part of a broad socialist revolt against patriarchal-capitalist society. After

141) Thus the sociologist Gunter Amendt defined the struggle for the liberation of sexuality as a "Sex Front" and founded a "Sex Sundikat - Institut für Körperkontakte" for individual liberation as a precursor to social revolution; see Gunter AMENDT: Sex Front (Frankfurt am Main: Marz 1970).

142) Edwin HOERNLE: Grundfragen proletarischer Erziehung. Her edited by Lutz VON WERDER and Reinhart WOLFF (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer 1969) p. 193. Hoernle (1883-1952), in the the 1920s, the leading teacher of communist children. Freud's theories as irrelevant to workers' education (p. 191) and was rediscovered in 1968/69.

143) Martin DANNECKER / Reimut REICHE: Der gewöhnliche Homosexuelle. Eine soziologische Untersuchung über männliche Homosexuelle in der Bundesrepublik (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer 1974).

the coming out of homosexuals as a social group was halfway successful around 1974, the search for a common "group ethos" began outside the normative "hetero society" and within the alternative culture.¹⁴⁴ Here the question arose as to which other social movements could claim to be part of this alternative culture and thus come into question as coalition partners.

At the same time, the 1970s were the decade in which a whole series of sex researchers helped shape the social discourse. Several of them began to discuss the topic of pedophilia anew. In this context, particular reference should be made to Eberhard Schorsch. Together with Volkmar Sigusch, he took part in the discussions about the liberalization of the provisions for the protection of minors in sexual criminal law between 1969 and 1973. He also published the extensive paper "Sexualstraftäter" (Sexual Offenders), in which he drew on the expert opinion material since 1945 from the Hamburg University Neurological Clinic and the Institute for Sexual Research.¹⁴⁵ Of 416 expert opinions, 183 concerned pedophilia and 68 homosexuality.¹⁴⁶ Schorsch's study occupies an intermediary position between the two.

of the old biologicistic research and new approaches. Thus, the author relied without hesitation on the politically and ideologically motivated works from the time of National Socialism, but also incorporated newer theories and considerations. Schorsch retained the pathologization of pedophilia, but conceded that the typification of offenders was an unsuccessful endeavor: "From the variety of possible situation descriptions, the limitations of the attempt to derive sexually deviant behavior from purely personality-related factors become just as clear as the hopelessness of searching for an "offender".

144) Mark BLASIUS: An ethos of gay and lesbian identities. In: *Political Theory* 20 (1992) pp. 642-671, here p. 655.

145) SCHORSCH: Sex Offenders p. 57.

146) Ibid.

type of offender to be assigned to a particular form of sexual deviation. "¹⁴⁷

At least Schorsch, based on the theoretical guidelines of Hans Giese, believed he could explain the inner life of the pedophile and its relation to sexuality. The pedophile is subject to the "principle of *süchtigkeit*," the lust for the child increases with time, puts the man into inner restlessness and sexual daydreams, and begins an "unsteady lifestyle" as well as a tendency to neglect and general criminality.¹⁴⁸

Schorsch based this on the idea that there are certain sociologically defined roles in every society. Such considerations had been developed since the late 1930s, but were not taken up by German medicine, which had been disavowed by the National Socialists, until the 1960s.¹⁴⁹ In this context, interested physicians relied *p r i m a r i l y* on the explanations of Hellmuth Plessner, Hans-Peter Dreitzel, and Ralf Dahrendorf. The latter saw human beings as entangled in biologically and sociologically determined social roles, from which they could not break out without socially secured punitive sanctions.¹⁵⁰ Dreitzel emphasized the impossibility of defining norms; one simply orientates oneself to the average and thus constructs a societal "complex of behavioral expectations" that runs counter to any formation of individual desires.¹⁵¹ Plessner justified these constraints with historical circumstances in Germany and the United States.

147) SCHORSCH: *Sex Offenders* p. 49.

148) *Ibid* p. 65.

149) *Ibid* pp. 7, 13-15.

150) Ralf DAHRENDORF: *Paths from Utopia. Arbeiten zur Theorie und Methode der Soziologie*, 4th edition (München: Piper 1986).

S. 141-145.

151) Hans Peter DREITZEL: *Die gesellschaftlichen Leiden und das Leiden an der Gesellschaft. Vorstudien zu einer Pathologie des Rollenverhaltens* (Stuttgart: Enke 1968) p. 106.

country, since in this country the state, as the supreme standard-bearer, was of greater importance than in other European countries.¹⁵² Both Plessner and Dahrendorf emphasized that an evasion of roles or a "slipping away" did not open up any new perspectives.¹⁵³ Dretzel refrained from such a conclusion. By adopting the concepts of Dahrendorf and Plessner, Schorsch placed the Padophiles in the broad field of different behavioral patterns that contradict fixed role behaviors in a broadly diversified society.

Of particular importance, however, was Schorsch's statement that a differential diagnosis between padophilia and homo sexualitat was not possible. The padophile, who desires pubescent boys, and the homosexual man are similar to a high degree: "Like the homosexuals in the present material, they come more from middle social classes, have a good level of education, are more differentiated as personalities, rather soft with musical interests, sensitive and well intelligent. They are characterized by an external and internal independence as a way of life, which increases the risk of delinquency. Punishments in a higher social level lead to a higher

almost inevitably to a slippage that is common in this group." ¹⁵⁴

According to Schorsch, direct affinities arose between the ephhebophilic padophiles and the homosexuals.¹⁵⁵ In addition, the adolescent sexual partners usually agreed to the sexual acts, and the relationships between the adult male and the adolescent were "of long duration".

152) Hellmuth PLESSNER: *Das Problem der Öffentlichkeit und die Idee der Entfremdung* (1960). In: Helmuth PLESSNER (Ed.): *Diesseits der Utopie. Ausgewählte Beiträge zur Kultursoziologie* (Diisseldorf: Diederichs 1966) pp. 9-22, here pp. 9-11.

153) DAHRENDORF: *Paths* p. 147; PLESSNER: *Problem* p. 19, 21.

154) SCHORSCH: *Sex Offenders* p. 164.

155) *Ibidem* p. 192.

and more stable than in the case of homosexuals".¹⁵⁶ However, the latter statement must be qualified by the fact that the expert opinions date from a time of total prohibition of homosexual acts.

The increased research interest in padophilia was due on the one hand to the changed discourse possibilities after 1968, and on the other hand to new therapeutic efforts of interested physicians. The often criticized surgical emasculation¹⁵⁷ was replaced by chemical castration and lobotomy, which meanwhile was euphemistically called "psychosurgery".

During this period, however, a number of studies were published that tended to trivialize padophilia. In particular, the Dutchman Edward Brongersma came forward.¹⁵⁸ Based on a selective choice of literature, he came to the conclusion that padophilic relationships were based on the equality of the participants, that knowledge of sexual relations was widespread among young people, and that it was practically impossible to speak of "seduction" in the traditional sense.¹⁵⁹ Since 1973, padophiles had been firmly integrated into the Dutch gay movement, and a whole series of positive reports on sexual relations had been published. Instead of the term "padophilia," the term "gay" began to be used. "child sex".¹⁶ This had an impact on the West German gay movement, but also on sexual for-

156) SCHORSCH: Sex Offenders pp. 196-197.

157) See, for example, S. BINDER: Zur seelischen Entwicklung zurechnungs unfahiger Sexualverbrecher nach der Kastration. In: *Monatsschrift für Kriminologie und Strafrechtsreform* 52 (1969) pp. 73-83.

158) Edward BRONGERSMA: The Ostracized Sex. Dokumentation über Knabenliebe. With a preface by Willhart S. SCHLEGEL (München: Lichtenberg 1970).

159) Ibid pp. 79-81, 103.

160) Frits BERNARD: Padophilia. Von der Liebe mit Kindern (Lollar: Achenbach 1979) p. 119.

research. Theoretical support for these studies was provided by Gisela Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg. For her, prejudices were "expression of group cohesion by means of stereotypes" and a defense mechanism for pathologizing disagreeable minorities.¹⁶¹ After extensive studies of German legal history, Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg concluded that the behavior of the discriminated minority was interpreted by the dominant moral majority, as needed, as evidence of the need for further subordination and its own code of conduct.¹⁶² She rejected the thesis of a stringent homophobia of the "Teutons" and thus indirectly of the German states since the end of antiquity and thus lastingly damaged all historical models of conservative theorists of constitutional law.¹⁶³ Padophilia could thus be interpreted as an expression and proof of patriarchal strategies of exclusion.

Corresponding 0-considerations were started by the exceptionally clumsy appearance of the appendants of a therapeutic treatment of padophilic emotional excitements. Despite the highly ambivalent experiences of surgery and psychiatry in the German-speaking countries with behavioral brain surgery since the 1950s¹⁶⁴, a whole group of psychiatrists propagated the idea of a therapeutic treatment of padophilic emotions.

161) Gisela BLEIBTREU-EHRENBURG: *Sexual Abartigkeit im Urteil der abendlandischen Religions-, Geistes- und Rechtsgeschichte im Zusammenhang mit der Gesellschaftsentwicklung* (phil. Diss. Bonn 1970) p. 17; DIES.: *Tabu Homosexualität. Die Geschichte eines Vorurteils* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer 1978) p. 20.

162) BLEIBTREU-EHRENBURG: *Sexual Aberration* p. 23.

163) BLEIBTREU-EHRENBURG: *Tabu Homosexualität* p. 21, 44.

164) First operations on padophiles were in the 1950s in France, Italy, and the USA; see

A. BROUSSEAU / Y. GUIGUEN / J. BROCHERIEU: *Perversions sexuelles et lobotomie. Un échec rapide. Un succès maintenu depuis plus et deux années.* In: *Annales medico-psychologiques* 111 (1953) pp. 665- 669; E. MOTTA: *Trattamento di un caso di omosessualità con la leu-*

Since about 1960, a number of researchers have questioned the usefulness of brain surgery to correct sexual urges.¹⁶⁵ Between 1962 and 1975, 75 patients underwent this type of surgery in Germany.

.A.rzte spoke of 65 successful operations.¹⁶⁶ In the long run, should lobotomy completely replaces castration, since it is apparently safe: "After the animal experimental experience ... and after the long-term success in humans described here, it no longer seems justified to consider castration as the only surgical measure to combat a powerful abnormal and socially disruptive sex drive. Because the gentle and subtle technique of hypotha-

cotomia transorbitale. In: *Giornale di psichiatria e di neuropathologia* 81 (1953) PP. 291-306; E. A. SPIEGEL / H. T. WYCIS / H. FREED / C. ORCHINIK: A follow-up study of patients treated by thalamo tomy and by combined frontal and thalamic lesions. In: *Journal of nervous and mental diseases* 124 (1956) pp. 399-441. On the history of lobotomy, see Elliot S. VALENSTEIN: *Great and desperate cures. The rise and decline of psychosurgery and other radical treatments for mental illness* (New York: Basic Books 1986).

165) MILDENBERGER: ... *in the direction of homosexuality spoiled* p. 340.

166) G. DIECKMANN / U. EHEBALD / H. HEIMANN / G. KOCKOTT / U. LASCHET / D. MULLER / W. RASCH / E. SCHORSCH / V. SI GUSCH / U. VENZLAFF: Stereotactic brain surgery for deviant sexual behavior. Abschlussbericht der Kommission beim Bundesgesundheitsamt (Berlin: Bundesgesundheitsamt 1978) p. 11. The description of the first "successful" operation on a padophile was given by H. ORTHNER *IE*. DUHM / U. J. JOVA NOVIC / A. KONIG / R. LOHMANN / W. SCHWIDDER / J. VON WEHREN / St. WIESER: *On the Therapy of Sexual Perversions. Heilung einer homosexuell-padophilen Triebabweichung durch einseitig stereotaktischen Eingriff im Tuber cinerum* (Stuttgart: Enke 1969).

lamotomy is capable of eliminating a pathological drive without significant side effects." 167

In view of the assumed number of 17,000 reports of pado sexual offenses per year, the propagandists of lobotomy swarmed about the comprehensive possibilities for social hygiene.¹⁶⁸ However, studies showed that considerable side effects always occurred after stereotactic interventions, ranging from circulatory problems to weight gain to diabetes.¹⁶⁹ In addition, not all cases of success could really be described as such, since long-term studies often only showed a reduction of the libido.¹⁷⁰ It was not until the massive criticism of sexology in the 1970s, primarily by Hans Giese's master scientist Volkmar Sigusch, that these interventions, now called "stereotactic operations," came to an end.¹⁷¹ In particular, the extreme surgical intentions of lobotomy devotees, who in the absence of success ¹⁷² finally switched in 1972 to stimulating the brains of padophilic subjects via electrical impulses by means of a needle opening through the septum,

167) ORTHNER et al: On Therapy pp. 72-73.

168) F. ROEDER / D. MOLLER: On the stereotactic cure of padophilic homosexuality. In: *Deutsche medizinische Wochenschrift* 94 (1969) S. 409-415, here S. 415.

169) DIECKMANN et al: Stereotactic Brain Surgery p. 11.

170) F. ROEDER / H. ORTHNER / Dieter MULLER: The stereotaxic treatment of pedophilic homosexuality and other sexual deviations. In: Edward HITCHCOCK/ Lauri LAITINEN/ Kjeld VAERNET (Eds.): *Psychosurgery. Proceedings of the second international conference on psychosurgery held in Copenhagen/Denmark* (Springfield: Illinois University Press 1972) pp. 87-111, here pp. 92-97.

171) Dominik GROSS: Psychochirurgie und Ethik. In: *Fortschritte der Medizin* 117 (1999) S. 38-40, here S. 40.

172) Meinhard ADLER / Rolf SAUPE: *Psychosurgery. Zur Frage einer biologischen Therapie sexueller Sti:irungen* (Stuttgart: Enke 1979) S. 48.

The idea that a "heterosexual mood" might develop,¹⁷³ led to considerable ethical protests, even within the medical profession. A further role was played by incorrect indications, which revealed that the treating physicians were primarily interested in the possibility of surgery and less in the development of the most suitable method of therapy for the patient.¹⁷⁴ This encouraged a restriction of such surgeries, as demanded by Western sexual science.¹⁷⁵ Against

By the end of the decade, this form of therapy had gradually fallen into disuse. Nevertheless, some doctors continued to exist, who propagated psychosurgery. As late as 1988, brain surgeon Peter Mangold proudly claimed in an interview about the surgery's prospects of success: "I'll burn away his urge!"¹⁷⁶ Interested researchers, who continued to feel called upon not only to preserve the "people's community" but also frequently to establish a connection between pathogenic homosexuality and pederasty, presented this as a successor model.

("Jugendverführung"), finally the "chemical Castration". This was an anti-androgen

173) R. G. HEATH: Pleasure and brain activity in man. In: *Journal of nervous and mental diseases* 154 (1972) pp. 3-18.

174) Egmont R. KOCH: Surgery of the Soul. Operative Umpolung des Verhaltens (Stuttgart: Enke 1976) p. 112.

175) The "Tater" is stiimmed. The sexologist Volkmar Sigusch on stereotaxy. In: Angelo LEOPARDI (ed.): Der padosexuelle Komplex. Handbuch for Betroffene und Gegner (Berlin: Foerster 1988) pp. 187-191. See also Inge RIEBER / Adolf-Ernst MEYER / Gunter SCHMIDT / Eberhard SCHORSCH/ Volkmar Sr GUSCH: Psycho-Chirurgie. Sexologists fight against stereotactic brain surgery. In: *Psychology Today* 1976, no. 6, S. 27-32.

176) "I burn away his drive!" Interview with Peter Mangold on the subject of stereotaxy. In: LEOPARDI (ed.): The Padosexual Complex pp. 192-194.

treatment, which was introduced without precise prior knowledge of the side effects of the drugs. Volkmar Sigusch described the therapy with anti-androgens as a "medical weapon of the heaviest caliber".¹⁷⁷ The side effects did not remain unnoticed for long. For example, the frequently used preparation Androcur (cyproterone acetate) caused gynecomastia, osteoporosis, and thrombosis, in addition to psychological damage.¹⁷⁸ Nevertheless, pharmacological therapy soon gained acceptance because it was comparatively inexpensive and easy to control. The widespread introduction of psychological or even psychoanalytical therapy models, as they were used in the Low Countries, was thus finally eliminated.¹⁷⁹

The emergence of radical adherents of a comprehensive sex therapy also led several other representatives of sex research to concretize their own studies of pedophilia. In particular, Eberhard Schorsch, who in the mid-1970s, in contrast to his own earlier assumptions, declared that pedophilia was not to be understood simply as a break in role behavior, but was first produced by social prohibitions.¹⁸⁰ It was also necessary to

177) Volkmar SIGUSCH: The treatment with antiandrogen. In: *Sexual Medicine* 8 (1979) pp. 13-19, here p. 19.

178) Wolfgang BERNER: Untersuchungen iiber Therapieerfolg bei Straftaterbehandlungen und deren Konsequenzen für neue Behandlungsmodelle. In: Verena WODTKE-WERNER/ Ursula MAHNE (Eds.):

"Nicht wegschauen!" - Vom Umgang mit Sexual(strat)tatern (Baden Baden: Nomos 1999) pp. 123-138, here p. 130.

179) Walter GOUDSMIT: Remarks on the Indication of Psychoanalysis in Cases of Very Serious Offenses. In: *Psyche* 28 (1974) pp. 684-705, here p. 698.

180) Eberhard SCHORSCH: Sexual Deviations. Ideology, Clinic, Criticism. In: Eberhard SCHORSCH/ Gunter SCHMIDT (eds.): Ergebnisse zur Sexualforschung. Arbeiten aus dem Hamburger Institut für Sexualforschung (Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch 1975) pp. 48-92, here.

S. 50.

strictly distinguish between sexual desire for infants and puberty.¹⁸¹ In addition, Schorsch endeavored to

Novellation of own views on the self-image of the padolhi and borrowed from psychoanalysis for this purpose.¹⁸² Thus the padophile identifies with the child and claims the role of mother, which he had misunderstood in his own childhood. As a result, there is a "narcissistic choice of partner".¹⁸³ Nevertheless, he adhered in principle to the "siichtigkeitsprin zip" and attested to the padophiles, who proceeded violently, a low intellectual aptitude.¹⁸⁴

However, these new views, put forward by several sex researchers, did not prevent the rebiologization and bias of the medical debates at the beginning of the 1980s. The research of Anglo-Saxon psychologists contributed to this. For example, David Finkelhor, who works at the University of New Hampshire in Durham, wrote a fundamental article on padophilia in 1979.¹⁸⁵ Many neurologists, feminists, and journalists were to follow his line of argument. Finkelhor suggested the

181) SCHORSCH: Sexuelle Deviationen S. 64.

182) Nikolaus BECKER / Eberhard SCHORSCH: Die psychoanalytische Theorie sexueller Deviationen. In: Eberhard SCHORSCH / Gunter SCHMIDT (Eds.): Ergebnisse zur Sexualforschung. Arbeiten aus dem Hamburger Institut für Sexualforschung (Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch 1975) pp. 93-122.

183) Ibidem p. 117.

184) Eberhard SCHORSCH: Häufige Merkmalskombinationen bei Sexualstraftatern. In: Eberhard SCHORSCH/ Gunter SCHMIDT (Eds.): Ergebnisse zur Sexualforschung. Arbeiten aus dem Hamburger Institut für Sexualforschung (Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch 1975).

pp. 257-298, here p. 262.

185) David FINKELHOR: What's wrong with sex between adults and children? Ethics and the problem of sexual abuse. In: *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 49 (1979) pp. 692-697.

The existence of an entirely sexuality-free childhood, which was interrupted by the pedophile's desire.¹⁸⁶ In addition, he strictly oriented himself to the traditional and therefore, in his view, rightly universal moral concepts of (western) U.S. middle-class society.¹⁷ Pedophilic adults lacked the ability to correctly interpret the will of adolescents. Individuals, be they "adolescents", "children", or "Pedophiles" do not appear in this thinking; schemata dominate. Finally, Finkelhor conceded to the supposedly ignorant children and adolescents, unaware of sexuality, a unique, always accurate interpretative sovereignty over the actions that happened to them, as long as they respected the moral boundaries set by the author.¹⁸⁸

At the same time that Anglo-Saxon doctors were formulating new frameworks for the medical discourse on pedophilia, the German gay movement was making a major effort to abolish § 175, the absurdity of which was justified, among other things, by the theory of the innateness of homosexuality postulated by Hirschfeld. In addition, the representatives of the women's movement began to argue against sexism, and the alliance of all anti-patriarchal social movements against the social order of the Federal Republic of Germany, which had been hoped for since the early 1970s, broke down. Increasingly, the heterosexual family was experiencing a renaissance as an autonomous and self-contained form of life, and the experiments of the Kinderladen movement were being discarded.¹⁸⁹ The aggressive appearance

186) FINKELHOR: What's wrong p. 693.

187) Ibidem p. 694.

188) Ibid p. 697.

189) Heinz HENGST / Michael KOHLER / Barbara RIEDMULLER / Manfred Max Wambach: *Kindheit als Fiktion* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1981) pp. 13, 154. See also Hanns WIENOLD / Rudiger LAUTMANN: *Antihomosexualität und demokratische Kultur in der BRD*. In: Rudiger LAUTMANN (ed.): *Seminar: Gesellschaft und Homosexualität* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1977) pp. 383-415.

by Alice Schwarzer was directed precisely against German-language sexual research, which she saw as anti-feminist because it was concerned with objectivity and dominated by men.¹⁹⁰ This research seemed to Schwarzer to be directed against women, who, in her view, were quasi-naturally opposed to paderasty. Exactly the opposite of this view had emerged from the 1980 studies of Gisela Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg on institutional padophilia among natives of Papua New Guinea. Here, the mothers were involved in padophilia as matchmakers, since this sexual form was not anti-feminist but part of the accepted extra-household upbringing.¹⁹¹ However, Alice Schwarzer did not want to base her interpretation of the role of the German woman on research on "savages. Psychoanalytic research approaches from the time before 1933 also found their way into the literature, in spite of the raging debate within the women's movement in the 1970s.

Psychoanalytic debates do not find their way into their - references.¹⁹²

Several representatives of the padosexual emancipation movement argued against the lines of argumentation of the women's movement,¹⁹³ seeking close ties to several sex researchers active since the 1960s in order to substantiate the justification of their existence and their sexuality. For this purpose, especially

190) How Free Does Padophilia Make You? Alice Schwarzer in conversation with Gunter Amendt. In: *Emma* 1980, No. 4, pp. 26-30.

191) Gisela BLEIBTREU-EHRENBERG: Manhood Rites. On the institutional Paderasty among Papuans and Melanesians (Berlin: Ullstein 1980) pp. 125-127.

192) See, for example, STEKEL: Psychosexueller Infantilismus pp. 40-44, 55. On the non-relationship of psychoanalysis and feminist theory, see Bettina HOELTJE: Kinderszenen. Geschlechterdifferenz und sexuelle Entwicklung im Vorschulalter (Stuttgart: Enke 1996) p. 25.

193) See Matthias STOCKEL: Padophilia. Liberation or Sexual

Exploitation of Children. Fakten, Mythen, Theorien (Frankfurt am Main: Campus 1998) pp. 22-24.

especially the padagogue Joachim S. Hohmann, Frits Bernard, and Edward Brongersma. Together, they emphasized the frequency and inconsequentiality of sexual contact between adults and adolescents.¹⁹⁴ Nonetheless, they, like Padophiles who were active in the media, concentrated on legalizing sexual acts between adults and adolescents between the ages of 12 and 18, leaving out the actual "child sexuality" issue. Increasingly, Padophiles began to instrumentalize Eberhard Schorsch's studies for themselves. In coordination with the corresponding passages from the "Sex Offenders" book of 1971, they declared, at the age iber

At the age of 12, sexual acts are hardly noticed by parents, and only when padosexual contacts become known do they cause harm to children: "Conflict is caused by the child's confrontation with society's strong taboos regarding sexual acts."¹⁹⁵ The most common forms of contact are exhibitionistic approaches, non-genital touching, genital manipulation of the child, and attempts at sexual intercourse. Researchers classified mutual masturbation and acts of the adolescent on the adult as rather rare.¹⁹⁶ Sometimes radical members of the Pado groups, especially the "Indian commune Niirnberg," were accepted as legitimate representatives of child sexual desire.¹⁹⁷

194) Joachim S. HOHMANN: Padophilia Today. In: Joachim S. HOHMANN (ed.): Padophilie heute. Berichte, Meinungen und Interviews zur sexuellen Befreiung des Kindes (Frankfurt am Main: Foerster 1980) pp. 5-14, here p. 9. In the Beginning was Fear. Interview with Dr. Frits Bernard about the beginning of the Dutch Padophile movement. In: Ibidem p. 62-70; Peter FbHRDING: The Padophile Relationship. Conversation with Edward Brongersma. In: Ibid. S. 137-147.

195) Ulrich DIESING: Psychische Folgen von Sexualdelikten bei Kindern. Eine katamneseische Untersuchung (Miinchen: Minerva 1980) p. 133.

196) Ibid p. 31.

197) Gunter AMENDT: Just letting the sow out? On Padophilia-