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**CHICKEN KILLS HAWK,
GAY MURDERS DURING THE EIGHTIES IN AMSTERDAM**

by

Frank van Gemert

research officer
Research and Documentation Centre
Ministry of Justice

P.O. Box 20301
2500 EH The Hague
The Netherlands

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Introduction

"Amsterdam harassed by murder and violence" (Fasary 1989:24). This headline was written in a gay magazine of the Dutch capital of Amsterdam after two well-known men from the Amsterdam gay scene were killed in 1989. Previously, a police investigation of murders in the capital led to the following remarkable conclusion:

"The amount of offences, taking place in a homosexual context, is conspicuous. Almost each case concerns elderly homosexuals murdered from motives of robbery and extortion by persons invited into their homes. (...) In one out of four of all murder cases the victim was homosexual. All the men were of Dutch origin. The homosexual man making his contacts either on the street or in bars, seems to run higher risk of being the victim of a life threatening felony ('Bestuursinformatie' '85:15-6).

Figures, recently published by 'Buro Misdaadanalyse' of the Amsterdam local police, don not show any increase of this offence over a longer period of time. In nine years (1980 up to 1989) one out of eight murder cases involved a homosexual victim.

These figures may seem less shocking than some publications have suggested, but they nevertheless bring three questions to the front: who is the offender, who the victim and what motives play a role in these murders?

In the past, gay murders were brought to the attention more than once. A gay murder was defined as: a murder committed by a homosexual man. In former times, when homosexuality was looked upon as problematic, these murderers weren't only considered criminals, but also sick. (De River 1956). More than once, killers victimized a large number of people. The offender quite often had sexual motives for his killings. The serial murderers among them, like John Wayne Gacy, Dean Allen Corll and Dennis Nilsen, are both macabre and interesting (Wilson & Seaman '89, Hekma '91). In the American argot the word "Chickenhawk" (Lloyd 1976) is often mentioned in this context. With it the image of the hunting hawk and the inno-

cent threatened chicken emerges. However, with the gay murders that will be dealt with in the following pages, not the perpetrator but the victim is homosexual by definition. The chicken is the one who kills the hawk...

Sources and Methods

This pilotstudy had limited possibilities for as the gathering of material is concerned. The victims are not alive anymore and for reasons of privacy the offenders could not be interviewed. Therefore, the major source of information are the files of the murders committed between 1980 and 1989. Unfortunately, the information laid down in these files was written down by outsiders and not by the murderers and victims themselves.

Distortion of facts appears in social sciences, the result of personal interpretation disseminated by researchers. Nevertheless, in this study the data mentioned above were also interpreted by the policeman who previously reported the murder case. Gathering the evidence, he limited himself to questions like who did it, when, and how, while this study focusses on the problem of why this specific crime was committed. The police reports often emphasized aspects of the crime that seemed to be more confusing than clear to me. For instance, the criminal act of robbery was strongly emphasized, while the sexual behaviour of the victim and murderer was hardly ever a point of consideration. Quite often, I felt helpless reading these police reports. I would have very much liked for the murderer to be questioned by the detective with me as his prompter.

In order to avoid hiatuses, I have added the personality reports of seven murderers. In these reports social workers, group leaders, psychiatrists and psychologists stated their views on the motives of the killers. Nevertheless, their opinions did not always match. For example, a group-leader and a psychiatrist both had a totally different impression of one boy:

"A well-dressed young man who introduced himself with a firm handshake."

"He shook hands with me as if he was spineless."

Even on vital issues, there wasn't always agreement. For instance, a psychiatrist points out that a Turkish boy only put forward anti-homosexual feelings in order to rationalize his feelings of aggression. Accordingly, a psychologist responds by stating that the same murderer grew up in a region where homosexuality was considered taboo and that the boy's reaction should be related to this. Therefore, it will be clear that these personality reports has not given simple and unambiguous answers either.

Additionally, I interviewed seven 'potential victims' who had been recruited through snowball-sampling. These men had quite some experience with boy prostitutes and almost each one of them found both violence and robbery to his cost. All interviews, except for one, took place at their homes and lasted two to six hours. These men were quite frank with me.

The data derived from these sources only refer to Amsterdam. Choosing the capital was done with good reasons. For almost 40 years, ever since the sixties, Amsterdam has played a major role in Dutch gay life. Internationally it is mentioned together with San Francisco. In the Netherlands as well as abroad, it is a known fact that there is a lot going on in view of boy prostitution. Brothels and escort companies put advertisements in the international magazines and many Belgian, German or Moroccan young boys already knew in their native country of the possibility to make money out of elderly men at Central Station or in the neighbourhood of the Rembrandtsplein.

Prostitution and Customers

According to American literature, men who pick up boys often have heterosexual social backgrounds. In a world where homosexuality is not widely considered normal, like in parts of the U.S. as well as in Europe, a large number of men lead double lives:

"Many chickenhawks are married and have families" (Lloyd 1976:51).

These men get nervous by the thought of being caught.

"... a distraught participant (...) was contemplating suicide in apprehension of what his wife might be told if she tried to charge anything at this popular store where her husband had been caught in an act of fellatio" (Humphreys 1989:120).

On no condition they want their homosexual escapades to become known. In this respect, they are different from the homosexual men in Amsterdam, who frankly come out for their homosexuality because of the tolerance shown towards it.

"A homosexual man in Amsterdam who prefers the intimacy of a private home or club does not need to be careful. Ringing at the door of such a place is just as unobtrusive as going to a gay bar" (Van der Poel 1989b:120).

Anyhow, with or without anybody knowing, homosexual transactions (including those in tolerant places) often take place anonymously. This is something the slyboots prefer, and according to Humphrey's (1970) observations, during sexual transactions between benevolent but complete strangers in public lavatories, nothing is said either. Besides in public lavatories, these anonymous sexual transactions also take place in sauna's and parks. In the 'dark room' this may even mean that both men do not recognize each other after they have had sex with each other. These situations bear resemblances with the transactions of professional prostitutes.

"In most cases, boys report 'almost nothing' was said. The sexual transaction may occur with the only formal transaction being payment to the boy" (Reiss 1961:25).

Very often it looks as if sex is more important than the need for company. In other words, apart from the sexual aspect, the sex partner does not have to be attractive in any other way.

"The men he dated were overaged children he wouldn't be caught dead with in a social situation" (Bell 1978:25).

This image of the client who is not interested in the whore as a human being but only as a sexual partner is strongly tied up with prostitution. Nevertheless, contrary to what one would suspect, the clients investigated by Bouchier and de Jong (1987) were not looking for plain sex but also for intimacy. They particularly appreciated the warmth and the interest the prostitute had shown. Therefore, they often went back to the same woman. These men want the financial aspect to be kept in the background as much as possible. They even got irritated by

women who tried to get more payment for extra treatment (19-87:86-7).

The Dutch women, who pay gigolo's for their services, are not interested in sex only. Osté notes that boys who are prepared to have sex sometimes turn around in the doorway or do not even get that far. One woman, while talking to the boy on the telephone, already knew that he was not the right person for her.

"Finally, 8.30 p.m., the telephone starts ringing. I was sitting next to it. No dinner, starving and terribly nervous.

'Hi, I'm Sjonnie', I heard. His voice was hoarse. I didn't say anything. Then he said: 'I'm cute and I know a lot of kinky stuff'.

I thought: Yah! He even speaks vulgar. I knew right away I had to get rid of him" (Osté 1989:103).

The setting is quite important to these female customers; the boy must be "cute" and erotic (Ibid.:109).

There is no accounting for tastes. With this, I do not refer to the fact that a homosexual may prefer for instance blond hair, brown eyes or nice bums, but to the fact that he has a taste for either a male or a female radiation. The homosexual world is divided into subscenes, which can be identified by their differences in outer characteristics. On the one hand, there is the macho leather scene (De Waal et al. 1985, Van Gelder 1987), on the other hand, you have the feminine transvestites (Newton 1972, De Waal 1982).

This also recurs in the boy prostitution scene of Amsterdam where there is a division between the feminine and macho subscenes, both attracting customers with complementary characteristics.

"If you had been penniless for a whole week, it was really out of the question that you could make some money at Central Station. We were feminine gay guys who only attracted supermen like marines and fathers with seven kids" (Van der Poel 1989b:110).

It seems as if there is a certain type of prostitute, who cannot make money in a place where competitive types try to earn their living. Hereby, the sexual preference of the boy himself seems to be of some importance too, as we will see.

Boy prostitution

The first question that raises in this respect boy prostitution is: How many boys are involved? A few years ago the police counted 2.000 boys working as prostitutes (Bullinga 1982:138). This number, however, included gay men who visited public lavatories, but who were not looking for paid sex. Recently, Van Schijndel noted that about 150 to 200 boys are in business (Van Schijndel 1988:2). Van de Lagemaat and Van der Poel (1987) reached the conclusion that the number of boys has decreased because of diminishing earnings.

Previous research on boy prostitution was based on data gathered by interviewing boys working in brothels and bars. Boys who work the streets were underrepresented (Van de Lagemaat 1989a:233; Beth '89).

What kind of background do these boys have? Only one or two remarkable characteristics will be mentioned here. 60% of the prostitutes interviewed by Beth (1989) grew up in homes broken by divorce or desertion and, in almost 7 out of 10 cases outplacement occurred. One-third to half of the respondents went to a boarding-school. Both researchers state that the education these boys had, was far below the national average (Beth 1989:12, Van de Lagemaat 1989a:216).

Korf and Hoogenhout studied the adolescent strayers in Amsterdam. These homeless youngsters hang about the inner city, in particular near Central Station, an area with great significance for boy prostitution. Sex business appears to be the main source of income to 12% of them and to 5% it is subsidiary income. For girls, the percentages are respectively 11% and 4% (Korf & Hoogenhout 1989:88). Since there are far more boys than girls among these young strayers, this implies that more boys than girls work the streets.

Are boy prostitutes homosexual? This question is quite difficult to answer, because a lot of these boys don't want to be looked at as being homosexual. Both Reiss (1961) and Lloyd (1976) point out that, if the customer fellates the boy, he still can be regarded as heterosexual.

"You're not queer if the other guy does the blowing" (Lloyd 1976:23).

"No matter how many queers a guy goes with, if he goes for the money, that don't make him a queer" (Reiss 1961:-103).

The boy cannot play the passive or feminine sex role (being penetrated anally or orally). In particular the adolescents with islamic backgrounds may have problems with this (Schild n.d., De Groot 1987, Van Gemert '91).

Beth concludes that most of the boys he interviewed were homosexual.

"35% of them know that they are homosexual, especially when they are a bit older and have worked as a prostitute for some time. On the other hand, 60% of them think they are bisexual and, generally speaking, these boys are a bit younger than the first group. Still younger is 5% of them, who maintain a heterosexual self-image in public (Beth 1989:16).

Out of the 62 boys Van de Lagemaat wrote about, 27 regarded themselves as homosexual, 15 as heterosexual, 17 bisexual and 3 did not express their opinion (Lagemaat 1989b:157).

Even when the boys in Amsterdam have a preference for the male sex, they do not like the job they are being paid for. For them, to keep going, money is very important.

"You have to keep your eyes closed and dream about hundred guilder bills. It's a matter of fitting in, being a parasite or something like that, I don't know" (Van de Lagemaat 1989b:137).

Homosexual and Violence

Hekma (1990) has given an interesting historical analysis of the relationship between homosexuality and violence. He states that during the nineteenth century homosexuals were forced to have sex in the twilight zone of prostitution because of police prosecution. This meant that they were victimized in two ways. Apart from the discrimination consequent on the prosecution, they fell prey to the violence of the underworld, that at the same time offered them sexual freedom.

"this meeting of homosexual and criminal underworlds (...) offered homosexuals also new sexual flavours and fetishes (naughty boys) and gave them the unknown social opportunity to meet another social class outside fixed social boundaries" (Hekma 1990:3).

Nowadays men know the area they occasionally visit.

"I've been around long enough to know when a proposition is a cash offer, and most of the hustlers there would just as soon cut your heart out as allow you to fuck them. They take anyone who is a fag for a sucker or a victim" (Bell 1978:48).

Still, harshness and violence gets people excited.

"Following the murders (27 boys in Houston 1973-FvG) street hustling - the buying and selling of boys - in Houston didn't diminish as one would imagine. Indeed, it increased. Larry, a thirteen-year-old hustler, reported his business doubled overnight" (Lloyd 1976:49).

Miller & Humphreys (1980) came to the conclusion that those homosexuals who did not make their sexual preference public and at the same time had heterosexual relationships (marriage) were, in particular victims of gay murders ¹.

Beth notes a relationship between oppressed homosexuality and anti homosexual violence among boy prostitutes.

"Some of them try to hide their homosexual feelings by using violence against gays. Others prostitute themselves in order to give way to their own, hidden sexual desires. It wouldn't be the first time that boys who commit themselves to molesting homosexuals, can be seen as prostitutes later on" (Beth 1989:13, cf. Walter 1985).

Bullinga stresses the same phenomenon, but turns around the chronology. A prostitute says:

"Some way I had to get rid of the aggression I felt all those years. My way of doing this is by doing everything God has forbidden. I get my kicks, you know, beating them up. Bashing fags on the street, just for fun. Or you can beat them up for the cash when they're walking on the Zeedijk alone" (Bullinga 1982:102).

American literature shows that in boy prostitution the tension between hetero- and homosexuality can easily lead to violence. Reiss (1961) describes the codes that enable boys from a group with a heterosexual self-image to earn money as a prostitute, without loss of prestige. The boy enters prostitution to make money; the sexual transaction only involves permitting the male customer to fellate him; no additional contact or affection can be shown from both sides; should any of these rules

¹ 63,3% of the 52 victims Miller & Humphreys looked at were homosexual, but hadn't come out of the closet. 1 of every 8 murders in the U.S. concerns people who have a heterosexual relationship together. As a result their population gets "the worst of both worlds" ('80:181).

be broken, then the boy must (!) use violence.

Research Data

The sources defined earlier supplied material considering eighttteen gay murder cases. Seventeen of these are dealt with in detail, one a-typical case concerns the death of a ten year old boy. As a result it's safe to say that the research includes 90% of the gay murders in Amsterdam between 1980 and 1989.

year	killings	gay murder	in research ²
1980	13	2	1 (-1)
1981	13	2	2
1982	17	2	2
1983	20	3	3
1984	13	3	3
1985	10	2	3 (+1)
1986	17	3	2 (-1)
1987	17	0	0
1988	17	1	1 (-1+1)
1989	?	2	1 (-1)

Two of the seventeen investigated murder cases have not been solved and one identified murderer is still on the run. Among the seventeen victims there were fifteen Dutchmen, one Tunisian and one American. Twenty-one different murderers were involved (sometimes two or three persons committed the crime together) in the fifteen murder cases that have been solved. Looking at the nationalities of the murderers and the number of murder cases committed by them, the following figures can be presented:

² For different reasons I haven't had the opportunity to look at all the gay murders that took place in the eighties according to official registration. In some cases however, it turned out that I was able to find cases that were not among the official numbers. The numbers between () indicate where a case was added or lost.

The Netherlands	7 offenders	5 killings
Morocco	7	4
Turkey	2	2 ³
Luxembourg	2	1
Belgium	1	1
France	1	1
Germany	1	1

Before comparing these murder cases in order to point out the similarities, I will briefly describe one of the investigated murder cases. Not to make him shudder, but to allow the reader to get some idea of what a gay murder can be like.

The night of the murder, the offender has a drink in a bar, where he spends all his money, 50 guilders (\$25), on booze. At 10 p.m, no money left, he decides to go to the victim in order to make some money by having sex with the man. They had done this before and each time he got paid 50 guilders.

He walks to the victim's house and rings the doorbell. Having agreed not to argue about the amount of money, 100 guilders, that was stolen by the murderer the last time they had sex, the man shows him in.

Inside, they smoke a cigarette and have half a liter of beer each. Afterwards, the victim undresses and sits down on the couch, next to the offender. The man wants to suck the boy's nipples, but is pushed away. Then, they both go to the bedroom, where the murderer lays himself down on the bed and the victim, who at first lays next to him, climbs on top of the boy. At this point, the victim tells the boy that he doesn't want to have sex the way they used to, but that he wants to fuck the offender instead and wants to be fellated by the boy (earlier they had done it the other way round). At the same time, he tries to put his prick into the murderer's mouth.

The murderer pushes the victim up, crawls away and sits down behind the man. He grabs the man's scrotum and penis from behind, and pulls very hard.. The victim screams and loosens himself bleeding heavily. He grabs a stick and wants to strike the offender. But the boy is able to keep him off while he is grabbling in a tool-case, which stands right behind him. He finds a screw-driver and stabs the victim several times in the face and in the right side of the chest. The victim falls down, but isn't dead yet. Then the offender goes into the kitchen and fetches himself a kitchen-knife and stabs the victim in the neck. He starts to bleed very heavily for an artery has been slashed. Then the offender throws the knife in the garbage can.

³ 2 turkish boys together committed 2 murders within a few weeks.

Afterwards, he gets himself another (table)knife and stabs the victim fiercely in the ear. (Later on he said that he wanted to copy a scene from a Japanese fighting-movie).

Next, the offender opens a bottle of beer with his teeth and lights a cigarette. He searches the house. He opens up a desk and finds some change in a safe. In a little bottle on the desk he finds about 30 guilders and in a jacket he finds a wallet with two bills of 25 guilders in it. He doesn't take the post-checks (he doesn't know how to collect them). And he takes a silver-coloured lighter and a box of cigars.

When he leaves the house, he cleans the things he has touched with a towel because of possible finger-prints he may have left. Once outside, he throws the lighter away and he loses the box of cigars. He wanders around in the centre of the city visiting several bars until the next morning.

The persons concerned usually meet at Central Station or in a bar. Sometimes they have known each other before some time the day of the murder, which means that there previously was a sexual transaction between them or that they had a (brief) relationship.

The murders investigated by the police all took place in Amsterdam, mostly during the night and at the victim's house. Only one man had been the deadly victim of queer bashing nearby a public lavatory. Usually this type of murderer would use a knife, a fact that is confirmed by figures from research in the United States ⁴. Also strangulation and sometimes beating with blunt objects caused death. In only one case a gun was used.

Sex played a major part in almost all cases. In half of the cases a man was killed during sexual transaction with (one of) the boy(s). This can be concluded from the fact that they were undressed. Furthermore, the murderer confirmed the fact that they had had sex. Other confrontations also often had a kind of sexual intention. In these cases, the victim had either been busy preparing for sex (making up the bed or walking around public lavatories) or he discussed it with the

⁴ 54% of the victims in the U.S. died of stabbing; (only) 19% was shot, mostly in combination with beating and stabbing; 19% died of beating only; and 6% was strangled or suffocated (Miller & Humphreys '80:180).

boy.

Two out of three investigated murder cases concerned robbery. The value of stolen goods, should nevertheless, not be overemphasized. In some cases, money had been stolen (up to 450 guilders), in many cases, it concerned valuables like jewelry or television-sets, but very often clothes and gimcracky articles had been taken away too. The fact that robbery is of little importance also follows from the police reports. Only one murderer had been able to convert the stolen goods into money shortly after the crime (at the bank of loan). He happened to be 36 years old and to know his way in the criminal world of the Dutch capital. The younger ones among the murderers had either thrown the stolen goods away, had hidden them or had used the goods themselves, which made it much easier for the police to find evidence against the suspects. In other words, the boys are neither skilled nor successful in this robbery branch of crime.

The facts presented show that there are differences between the cases in this research. They have been very accurately analysed by the police as far as prosecution and evidence is concerned. The police documents only deal with the behaviour of the persons involved shortly before and during the murder. As a result their personal backgrounds have largely been left out of the picture. In other words, the who, when and how of the murder is clarified, but the why question is still hard to answer.

I will not confine myself to the enumeration of all facets in order to find the answer to this principal question. Because of the small sample of this research, it will not be interesting to mention a number of gradations, which occasionally occur, and therefore do not present an over-all picture. On the contrary, I want to point out the similarities that exist. This purpose will best be served by describing the idealtypes of the murderer and the victim. This way, the experiences of both the boy and the man can be set apart and put into the abstract up until the moment of the fatal act.

The boy

A 50-year old man had been badly beaten up by some boy he had met in 'The Festival' (a particular bar), just a few days before I interviewed him. The man said to the boy that he didn't want to pay for sex and asked him to come round in his 'spare time'. The boy stayed for two days, and according to the man they became intimate friends and had sex frequently. Both appeared to be content with the relationship. At the end of the second day, they were lying half naked in each other's arms watching television. Meanwhile, the boy was lifting weights. Then the man bent forward to change channels and, all at once, got struck a heavy blow on the head with one of the weights. Two strikes followed. The man didn't pass out and was able to scream very loud, telling the boy to leave the house. The offender put his clothes on in a hurry and left.

The boy often was uncared for in his childhood. Ever since, he has lived in the streets and, in most cases, has had little or no contact with his parents. The moment such a displaced person meets a man at Central Station or elsewhere, who takes him up, spoils him, overwhelms him with kindness and offers him food and shelter, he considers himself fortunate to have met such a 'sugar daddy'.

The inevitable proposition to have sex may come unexpected and may seem strange to the boy, but, in most cases, he will not turn it down immediately after the warm welcome he received. He will try to make the best of it. Probably most of these boys do not find this first sexual experience awful or revolting. In fact, during the sexual encounter the boy does not have to do things he does not want to. He plays the active, male role (he is either jacked off or fellated by his male client, or the boy fucks the latter), which preserves his own sense of masculinity. In this period, the boy feels sympathy for the man, especially if he is paid for his company.

The first important turning-point comes after a few days when the man tells the boy to leave and look for another place to stay. In addition, he suggests the boy to visit a friend of his. Perhaps this friend has work for the boy in exchange for which he can stay the night. Naturally, this friend also finds boys very attractive. The boy goes from one to another, gets paid and spoiled and within short time he has paid visits to a

whole circuit of men. Finally, he is not sent to another person anymore, but he is told to give it a try at Central Station.

"Boy prostitutes aren't born, they are made. The old gentlemen know how to do this" (Van de Poel 1989b:112).

Men introduce boys into the world of prostitution. The boy likes working as a prostitute because of the good payment in the beginning and the easy job. He thinks he is superior to the man who pays him.

"They're pathetic, I despise them, they're inferior people. They aren't real men. I am. I'm superior to them. But I need the money, that's all there is to it. They mean nothing to me, I just lie there, I let them pine for me and make them pay for it. They can count on that" (Bullinga 1982:153).

Some time later, when the boy has been pushed aside several times, has not been paid well enough and does not have a place to stay for the night, he notices the relativity of the initial compliments. It even happens that the man, who accommodated him the very first time, won't let him in when he rings the doorbell, because another boy is paying the man a visit at that moment. The boy's former feelings of sympathy have disappeared now.

"I've been here for six months and I haven't cried once. I've become cold. I don't show emotion anymore. I don't even feel any. Everything has become as cold as ice" (Van de Lagemaat 1989b:136).

If the boy decides to keep on working as a prostitute (which is not easy to decide, but non-criminal alternatives are often absent), his attitude towards his customers changes. Now, he knows that the only thing that counts is payment and not affection. The need for affection has cleared the way for the need to make money. In some cases, a boy at this stage will be taken care of by a brothel-keeper, who will offer the boy a kind of home. This usually concerns homosexual boys who have hidden themselves at some brothel or club, where they are forced to hand over half of their earnings. None of the investigated offenders pursued this course, therefore I will not go into this matter any further.

The boy lacks street-wisdom. Meanwhile, he only knows that

men are not what they initially seemed to be. The man he felt attracted to, was not to be trusted. This shocking experience has frightened the boy. From this moment, he is susceptible to myths which put men in an unfavourable light. For instance, a Turkish boy reported that another Turkish boy had been killed in Rotterdam and was thrown in a canal. Because of this, he at first did not dare to go along with a man all by himself, and the thought of robbing the man him did not occur to him at all.

"You never know what might happen. There could be some friends at his house and they might kill you".

Another boy was frightened in the same way.

"They could have a gun".

The boys hang around at places where they get to meet their clients and are among colleague's. They talk with each other, give each other advise. Newcomers get to know other boys' experiences. The newer ones will bear in mind the many lessons from most of the experienced boys. Because sooner or later, they will meet a man who either will not pay or who turns out to be old, dirty, drunk or violent, or someone who prefers kinky stuff. At first, you can ignore these inconveniences, but, now that the boy feels wronged, the aversion may turn into hatred. This means that the customer can count on either reservation, suspicion or even worse.

The boy gets to know the double stigma, clinges to a boy prostitute; he will be considered both a whore and a homosexual. Just like his colleague's at Central Station, he will try to get rid of the homosexual label. From this point of view, the client will be his natural enemy. Meeting him would make the boy a homosexual in the eyes of other people. In former days, the young prostitute was willing to meet a nice client's wishes, today, the man has to be careful not to ask something that might throw doubts upon the boy's heterosexuality. A Moroccan offender:

"If I am fucked, I'll become a homosexual. It's like a disease that passes on from one person to another. After being fucked, once you know the feeling, you might even start to like it one day. You will be the one looking for a young boy. They can't defend themselves. They'll do

anything".

At this stage, the boy starts to feel strong aversion towards sex. To a boy, who still is in his teens, virility is very important. It was easy playing games with men in the beginning, but it gets increasingly harder to meet the wishes of clients whom he resents very much. He has little or no sex experience with the other sex and before he has even discovered his own sexuality, he comes to the conclusion that the men have put him on the wrong track. He is carrying the homosexual label and fears that people will think he is gay.

To dispose of any doubts about his sexual preference and his virility, he starts seeing female colleague's, often accompanied by fellow boy prostitutes. This may happen right after he has made some money himself. This way he can prove to himself and other people that he still is heterosexual.

The boy who stands at Central Station now wants to make money. He feels that he is being used, finds his clients disgusting and sees to it that his clients don't leave without paying. Sometimes, he will obviate this risk by outsmarting the client and steal something from him. Moreover, under no condition he wants to be the victim of someone who might damage his hetero looking glass self. In order to prevent this, many boys carry a knife to protect themselves.

Looking back at the past, the boy knows he has ended up in the gutter and that the men, whom he blames for this, will do the same to other boys. Two elderly offenders have feelings of revenge towards these men. A recidivist (43 years old) considers the situation:

"I hate elderly homosexuals. They've got everything. They've got money, a home etc. They took advantage of me and of others who don't have any money. They're profiteers".

The other one (36 years old) has not been in business for years, but when his victim got obtrusive and showed affection he became furious.

"I thought he is one of those profiteers who take advantage of circumstances".

The Man

In the hall of Central Station I'm talking to a man whom I interviewed some months before. He tells me straight out that this is the place where all the 'scum' gathers. A severe approach, as in the country of origin of these boys, would probably bring some relief. Suddenly he stops talking as a Moroccan boy walks by. He nudges, "Look, that's my type".

The victims are much older than the offenders. They grew up in a different period. Although Amsterdam seems to be a tolerant city, the victims have undoubtedly experienced discrimination themselves. Because of this, some of them suppressed their sexual preference or discovered it late. The fact that five victims had been married, proves this point. Three of them already were divorced at the time they were killed.

The men, whom I interviewed, were willing to cooperate on the condition that I would guarantee not to mention their names in future publications. I got the impression that most of them did not want to keep their sexual preference a secret. On the other hand, neither did they want to boast around the fact that they invited prostitutes at home. The last aspect should be considered different from the first one.

"When you need to pay for sex you're not attractive anymore, you're on a dead end track".

In the homo scene youth represents great value. Being young means being sexually attractive. No wonder great effort is put into keeping a youthfull appearance. In the harsh 'fag scene' (harde nichten-scene) elderly homosexuals are ignored, my respondents complained.

"When I enter a gay bar, they say: 'He grandpa, looking for your grandson?' With a good body you're welcome. If not, they make fun of you".

Significant is the fact that two victims, accompanied by their young boy-friend, the offender, went to these kind of bars to flaunt their new 'catch'.

Most victims, as my respondents, did not take part in the homosexual subculture. This may be a result of their backgrounds. For a long time, they explicitly tried to distance themselves from 'fags'. They spoke with bitterness about the 'fag scene'; once they were wanted, but now they are only

sneered at. Apart from this, they did not fancy fags at all.

All men, who were investigated, found macho-boys very attractive. This is why they often fell for heterosexual boys. For instance, they did not go to brothels because there one could only meet the more feminine homosexual boys. The boys at Central Station were different, I was assured several times.

Many of the men I interviewed (including some victims) visit (visited) Central Station daily. Several hours a day they stand in the main concourse. They talk with fellow-hunters and look at the boys on the spot. If they are lucky, they will find someone who either has missed the train or has just arrived and does not know where to go. It is not a coincidence that these men are active during the night. After 11.00 p.m. hotels are not allowed to book new customers and at 1.00 a.m. Central Station is closed. During this period many boys are looking for a place to spend the night.

The above might picture the customer as someone who likes to mislead the boy, to use him and dump him afterwards. Indeed there are men who, without meaning any harm, have adapted a habit of picking up boys.

One of the gentlemen, whom I interviewed, had his house especially decorated to make his guests feel comfortable. He had a spare bed, soft drinks, cigarettes and other things which he didn't use himself. He even had two television-sets which stood next to each other and each had a set of headphones. The boy and his host weren't always interested in the same programme.

Only one respondent said that sex was of little importance. On the other hand, the remaining respondents found sex very important although there were more reasons for 'hunting' boys.

"He shouldn't be too young. I mean, they're cute in bed, but you can't have a conversation with them. No, not for me. You have sex with them and that's it. Afterwards I have to prevent them leaving with my antiques".

Therefore several men told me that they were always looking for older boys. They also emphasized the fact that they weren't looking for superficial contacts only. Some of them even mentioned the words "partner for life". The following fairy tale from a respondent reflects this same longing for a "partner for life".

"A man drives his car under a bridge and sees a boy leaning against the parapet above. He turns off the road and drives back to the bridge. He speaks to the boy..... and has been living with him for twenty years now".

Sex is for sale, a partner for life is not. Because almost every man would like to see both aspects combined, it seems that many respondents are not willing to pay the boys they meet at Central Station.

"If I pay them for it, I can't get it up".
Therefore they often pay the boy in other ways, for instance by giving him pocketmoney, free drinks in a bar, or bed and breakfast.

Besides sex, the men are looking for intimacy which lasts longer than the occasional visiting of a prostitute (cf the clients of Bouchier & de Jong 1987). Obviously, this causes problems.

"They don't fall in love with us. We are the ones that have to adapt. They rule things".
In order to get the boy home, you need to have either money or an inventive mind. The elderly man knows that if he makes a proposition straight forward (without payment), the boy probably will find him repelling. Therefore, the boys are taken home under false pretences and are often being lied to.

On the Leidseplein (a central square in Amsterdam), the man starts a conversation with an Ugandese boy. They talk about art and, when it appears that the boy is interested in art, the man invites him home. He shows the boy several paintings and further leads him to some nude pictures of young boys. At that moment, the man made clear what his intentions were, nevertheless, the boy fails to understand. He says that he has doubts about the artistic value of the pictures, he doesn't understand the sexual invitation and leaves it at that. After the murder had taken place, he went back to the victim's house. He wanted to show the man a drawing. (This man had been killed by another boy at that time.)

The boys, that are taken home, know when they have been lied to. They shall want revenge. In most cases, theft follows afterwards. All the men I talked to had been robbed without exception. In other words, they cannot trust the boys they take home. They try to avoid the risk by taking down the boy's name and address or, for example, by showing him to another man. This way, the boy will realize that any missteps of his

side could become known and that his intentions might not come true. Next to this, the man can secure his house against possible thieves.

Locking the door is one thing they often do to prevent the thief from getting away with the loot. In at least one case, this led to the fatal killing. The boy could not get away so that a violent confrontation between the offender and the victim was inevitable.

The fact that people are being robbed is not something to be pleased with, but the men put up with it very easily. It was inevitable, according to them. More than once, they had not even reported the robbery to the police.

Just like the offender, the victim has had bad experiences too. He leads an isolated existence, embittered towards the homosexual world and secretly visiting prostitutes. He would like to have a steady relationship, but he feels that the boys he takes home, are not to be trusted and knows that he is not being realistic. In his situation sex is the only thing worth while and, accordingly, it is the only reason why he is willing to keep on risking his life.

Conclusion

These gay murders may only concern a small number of cases in view of the figures, but the fact that the victims belonged to a homosexual category which only consists of a few hundred men turns it into a catastrophe.

This research has made it possible to draw up some conclusions. The picture of this particular form of crime, given by the media, is wrong in several ways. If one analyses a gay murder, without looking into supplementary information considering the offender, the victim or the social environment which they lived in, a standard interpretation seems to be obvious. Nevertheless, the above makes clear that several causes were piled up before the night with the fatal outcome. In other words, to come to the conclusion that it simply was murder for robbery is not right.

Nearly all cases concerned robbery, which implies that, literally speaking, they could be defined as murders for robbery. Nevertheless, simply the question why people are

killed in a robbery illustrates the improbability of murder committed from motives for robbery. However, the offenders know that homosexual men usually do not report robbery to the police, just as they undoubtedly know that after the killing the police immediately start searching the murderer. Then, why run the risk and become a killer? Robbery should not be considered as a motive for the murder, just as extortion should be left out of consideration (cf Bestuursinformatie 1985 and Fasary 1989).

Homocide is a criminal act one does not commit easily, nor without reason. It is a grave crime and severely sanctioned by the law. In order to commit such a violent crime, the offenders either must have very good reasons to oppose society or otherwise must be insane. Assuming the former, the question immediately arises of why the offenders represent the greater part of prostitutes.

The phenomenon gay murder can not be regarded as being merely an incident. It happens far too often, particularly in Amsterdam. It is my opinion that the causes of this particular crime are to be found in the accumulation of negative experiences on the part of both the offender and the victim, which results in the confrontation of two people who feel dislike for each other.

There is a succession of contrasts between the offender and the victim, which grows in importance during the relationship: 'young-old'; 'poor-rich'; 'homeless-not homeless'; 'prostitute-customer'; 'heterosexual-homosexual'. When they have reached the end of their idealtypical evolution and they start to recognize their respective positions, both the boy and the man will come to the point where their accumulated experiences will crystallize into a final contrast. To the boy, this means that the contrast 'victim-profiteer' has become clear to him and, to the man, the contrast 'wanted-not wanted'. The way they will react towards their surroundings, at this stage of their relationship, is closely bound up with this.

The boy rebels because he finds the position, which he has been put into, not righteous. He feels aggression towards the man, because of whom he is labelled both a prostitute and a homosexual.

The man tries to break out of the isolation, he lives in, by dating an attractive and sexually active young boy. But it only seems to be a short interruption. The sex is satisfying, but the isolation remains. The man reconciles himself to the situation with melancholy. According to my opinion, (apart from the shame) the melancholy is closely related to the fact that these men often do not report the robbery nor the assault to the police. Despite of, or rather, thanks to the risks they run, the men will always consider these boys as an exiting way of passing time.

The idealtypes of the man and the boy are tied up with each other. The fatal end is closely connected with the fact that the combination man-boy has a specifically dynamic aspect, which already existed before the night (or day) of the killing. Often the victim and the offender had known each other before. If not so, they knew the characters they were playing as actors. Therefore, you can speak of a relation between complementary involved persons, which carries a fatal ending.

The setting, the game, the dangerously exiting boy; the man needs this particular feeling of excitement to be completely satisfied. Elderly homosexual men often have nothing to do in daily life. When they know that they will be unwanted in the gay world in the future, they will, fully aware of what they are doing, still seek this form of excitement. Visiting Central Station and hunting boys is very important to them, and they are drawn towards this particular setting again and again.

The introduction of new boys will continue to last. Considering the hopeless situation they find themselves in, they will, although at first quite hesitatingly, be drawn to the apparently attractive aspects of prostitution. This is one of the reasons why the number of homeless youngsters seems to

be increasing at the moment. In addition, the Moroccan boys, who form a large part of the offenders-population, are causing more and more problems in the Dutch cities.

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