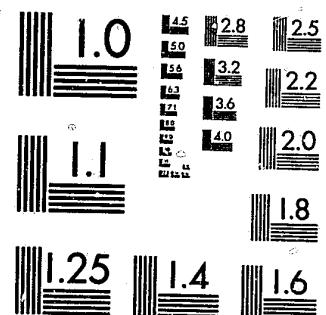


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SEXUAL ABUSE AND EXPLOITATION OF MALE
AND FEMALE JUVENILES AND
THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM:
A CONCEPTUAL PAPER AND A PRELIMINARY PLAN
FOR A NATIONAL SYMPOSIUM

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David J. Berkman
Charles P. Smith

SUBMITTED TO THE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR JUVENILE JUSTICE AND
DELINQUENCY PREVENTION

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FOREWORD

The National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention established an Assessment Center Program in 1976 to partially fulfill the mandate of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974, as amended, to collect and synthesize knowledge and information from available literature on all aspects of juvenile delinquency.

This report begins to meet a critical need of the juvenile justice system: to define and assess the major problems and needs of juveniles and their families entering or coming into contact with the juvenile justice system as a result of sexual abuse and sexual exploitation. The report builds upon the available knowledge and experience and provides a preliminary plan for a national symposium to assist in continuing the development of further knowledge and effective action in this area.

The assessment efforts are not designed to be complete statements in a particular area. Rather, they are intended to reflect the state of knowledge at a particular time, including gaps in available information or understanding. Each successive assessment report than may provide more general insight on a cumulative basis when compared to other reports.

Due to differences in definitions and the lack of a readily available body of information, the assessment efforts have been difficult. In spite of such complexity, the persons who participated in the preparation of this report are to be commended for their contribution to the body of knowledge.

James C. Howell, Director
National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

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The principal writers for this report are D. Kelly Weisberg and David J. Berkman. General design, management, and technical editing of the report were provided by David J. Berkman and Charles P. Smith.

Administrative editing and production were done by Paula Emison and Andrea Marrs.

In addition to the above individuals, appreciation is extended to the many librarians, researchers, statisticians, operational personnel, and others who provided substantial assistance or materials in the preparation of this volume.

PREFACE

As part of the Assessment Center Program of the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, topical centers were established to assess delinquency prevention (University of Washington), the juvenile justice system (American Justice Institute), and alternatives to the juvenile justice system (University of Chicago). In addition, a fourth assessment center was established at the National Council on Crime and Delinquency to integrate the work of the three topical centers.

This report, "Sexual Abuse and Exploitation of Male and Female Juveniles and the Juvenile Justice System: A Conceptual Paper and a Preliminary Plan for a National Symposium," has been developed by the American Justice Institute.

Other work of the American Justice Institute as part of the National Juvenile Justice System Assessment Center includes reports on the status offender, child abuse and neglect, classification and disposition of juveniles, the serious juvenile offender, juvenile advocacy, the less serious juvenile offender, comparative costs of juvenile offenses and processing, 24-hour juvenile intake, juveniles with special problems, job opportunities for delinquents, and the numbers and characteristics of juvenile offenders.

In spite of the limitations of these reports, each should be viewed as an appropriate beginning in the establishment of a better framework and baseline of information for understanding and action by policymakers, operational personnel, researchers, and the public on how the juvenile justice system can contribute to desired child development and control.

Charles P. Smith, Director
National Juvenile Justice System Assessment Center

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report includes a conceptual paper on sexual abuse and exploitation of juveniles and a preliminary plan for a national symposium. The conceptual paper reviews the literature regarding the types of sexual abuse (e.g., molestation) and exploitation of juveniles (e.g., pornography), as well as presents major issues, problems, and needs in relation to the juvenile justice system. The paper concludes with a list of recommendations. The preliminary plan presents a discussion of major elements of a national symposium on sexual abuse and exploitation, suggested topics to be addressed, and a preliminary list of potential presenters.

The following summarizes the major issues, problems, and needs in relation to dealing with the problem of sexual abuse and exploitation of juveniles identified through an assessment of the literature:

- Sexual abuse of juveniles is a national problem of the family characterized by the inadequacy of parent or custodial behavior.
- Research indicates that sexual abuse of juveniles has long-term consequences for the victims as well as for society. Many of the juvenile victims become runaways, delinquents, or develop sexual dysfunction, learning problems, or severe psychological problems.
- The legal approach to sexual abuse has been piecemeal and fragmented, focusing primarily on the offender, with little concern for the juvenile victim or family.
- Current State reporting statutes which attempt to facilitate early identification are too narrowly focused on medical identification without consideration of the significant role social workers, teachers, and psychologists can play in the early identification of sexual abuse.
- The legal approach to sexual exploitation is also fragmented, failing to deal with the offender as well as the juvenile victims or their families.
- Significant gaps exist in knowledge of sexual abuse. More information is needed on its incidence and extent, the factors which predispose the participants, and the consequences of sexual abuse for the victims and the family.
- Although much is known about adult perpetrators of sexual abuse, little is known about juvenile sex offenders. With an increasing incidence of sex crimes committed by juveniles, this gap in knowledge becomes significant, especially in determining the appropriate handling and treatment of juvenile sex offenders.
- More information is needed regarding the effect of sexual abuse on other children in the family.

- Although juvenile prostitution and pornography are now recognized as significant national problems, knowledge regarding these phenomenon is extremely limited.
- The translation of etiological factors of sexual abuse and exploitation of juveniles into effective treatment approaches is an important requirement.
- There is a need to define and comprehensively describe the most appropriate role and function of the juvenile justice system in dealing with the needs of juvenile victims, their families, and offenders.

The gaps in current knowledge about sexual abuse and exploitation of juveniles are large. The demand for solutions and strategies to deal with the problem has placed great pressure upon the juvenile justice system. Therefore, it is suggested that a national symposium be held to review the current state-of-knowledge and effective strategies which can be utilized to address the issues and needs most significant to the role and function of the juvenile justice system.

I. INTRODUCTION

In 1979, the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention requested that the National Juvenile Justice System Assessment Center of the American Justice Institute develop a preliminary plan for a national symposium on how the juvenile justice system should handle sexual abuse and exploitation of juveniles. As part of that task, it was felt that a conceptual paper should be written to assess the current state-of-knowledge, to point out major gaps in information and services, and to identify major issues, problems, and needs in relation to the juvenile justice system. This paper would then be utilized in planning the symposium and as a conceptual paper for focusing the attention of participants on identified major issues, problems, and needs.

This report is presented in two parts. The first is a conceptual paper reviewing the literature on incest, child molestation and rape, juvenile prostitution, and child pornography. In addition, the paper discusses issues such as identification and medical diagnosis, legal processing, social and psychological impact of the abuse on the victim and the family and the subsequent handling by authorities, and the need for counseling and rehabilitative programs for victims and families. The paper then synthesizes the problems and needs that have emerged from the assessment of these issues. The paper concludes with a list of major recommendations.

The second part of the report draws upon the assessment of the issues, problems, and needs presented in the conceptual papers and translates them into a preliminary plan for a national symposium on sexual abuse and exploitation of juveniles from a juvenile justice system perspective. Major elements of the symposium are presented and discussed, as well as suggested themes and participants for workshops, keynote speakers, and small group seminars.

It is anticipated that the conceptual paper and preliminary plan for the national symposium will serve as a foundation for the design and conduct of such a symposium, as well as focus national attention on how the juvenile justice system can better handle the major problems and needs of juveniles and their families who are victims of sexual abuse and exploitation.

II. THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

Children have been victims of maltreatment throughout history. Judged by contemporary standards, attitudes and practices toward children have been characterized by brutality and cruelty. Children were killed, abandoned, beaten, and mutilated from earliest times. Infanticide of both legitimate and illegitimate children was a regular practice of antiquity (DeMause; Langer).

Children have also suffered another form of abuse throughout the ages. Sexual abuse of children was also widely practiced from antiquity to modern times. Children in ancient Greece and Rome were sexually abused by adult men. Male brothels flourished in every city. Children, especially of the lower classes, were sold into concubinage from earliest times (DeMause, p.).

Despite the widely held belief that the incest taboo is universal, incest has been found in a number of ancient and primitive societies. Middleton has found examples of brother-sister marriage in Egypt in the royal family during the Pharaonic and Ptolemaic periods. Incestuous sexual relations have also been noted in certain cultures in the context of magic rituals. Masters mentions the case of African villagers who believed that the hunter could ensure his success by having sexual relations with his daughter prior to embarking on an expedition (Masters, p.). Evidence that such beliefs are not held merely by members of primitive cultures is supplied by Weinberg. He noted a similar belief in some American subcultures that incest with a prepubertal daughter can cure a man of venereal disease, based on the theory that the man can "catch" the purity of his daughter in the same manner in which he contracted the disease (Weinberg, p.).

Many myths surround this social problem. Contrary to common belief, the majority of the sexual abuse of children is caused by adults known to the child, such as by members of the child's family (intrafamilial abuse), or by family friends or acquaintances. The smallest percentage of adult sexual abuse of children is perpetrated by persons unrelated to the child (child molestation). In one of the first serious studies to determine the

extent of sexual child abuse in the United States published only 10 years ago, De Francis reported that sexual abuse of children was more common than previously assumed, and that the offender in most cases was known to the child. He found that the sexual abuser is a member of the child's household in 27 percent of the cases, a relative in 11 percent, a friend or acquaintance of the family in 37 percent, and a stranger in only 25 percent of the cases (De Francis, p. 69). Although popular image portrays the sexual assault on children as rape often leading to murder, physical violence is rarely utilized to perform the offense. One study found that physical force characterized less than 4 percent of all childhood sexual assaults (Gagnon, p.).

The victims of sexual child abuse include both boys and girls. De Francis found, however, that girl victims substantially outnumber boy victims. This finding is confirmed by other studies (Brown and Holder; Greenberg, 1979b). De Francis estimated that the ratio of male to female victims was about 10 to 12 females to each male victim (De Francis, p. 38).

Sexual abuse of children encompasses a range of sexual misconduct. Such sexual abuse ranges from genital fondling and exhibitionism to sexual intercourse, and includes the spectrum of sexual acts. The term "sexual abuse" is subject to much ambiguity and varying interpretation. As used in this paper, the definition follows the terminology employed by the Federal Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act of 1974. Sexual abuse consists of "the obscene or pornographic photographic, filming or depiction of children for commercial purposes, or the rape, molestation, incest, prostitution or other such forms of sexual exploitation of children under circumstances which indicate that the child's health or welfare is harmed or threatened thereby."

This paper will briefly discuss some of the major research findings on the subject of sexual child abuse. The following research areas will be examined:

- types of sexual abuse and exploitation of juveniles, including incest, molestation, juvenile prostitution, and child pornography
- the magnitude of the problem
- the identification and medical diagnosis of cases

- the legal processing of cases
- the social and psychological impact of the abuse and subsequent handling by the authorities upon the victim and family.

In conclusion, it shall raise and address major issues, problems, and needs in the field, as well as provide specific recommendations.

TYPES OF SEXUAL ABUSE AND EXPLOITATION OF JUVENILES

Incest

Intrafamilial sexual abuse generally begins when the child, most often the daughter, is approaching puberty (Cormier, Kennedy, and Sangowicz), although sexual abuse has been found to occur with children as young as infants. Typically, the father and daughter are alone together for long periods of time, which provides an opportunity for incestuous behavior in pre-disposed individuals. The father usually initiates the incestuous activities (Gligor; Maisch) in the form of genital fondling, often while lying in bed with the daughter (Meiselman). Once incest has been initiated, such sexual advances may continue either by means of stealthy night approaches, or by advances in other settings (Meiselman, p.).

Physical violence occurs only rarely in the initiation of incest. Maisch found few cases in which force was used in his sample, and this was confirmed by Gebhard. Many authorities concur that incest tends to continue over a considerable length of time and follows a pattern of repetitious rather than episodic acts (Barry, 1958; Bigras; Cormier, Kennedy, and Sangowicz; De Francis). De Francis notes that, in many cases, the reported offense represents the last of a series of similar offenses committed by the same offender over an extended period of time, especially in cases of incest where it existed up to 10 years in some cases (De Francis, p. 49). Frequently, the behavior terminates only upon disclosure, intervention by the authorities, or upon the victim marrying or leaving home for some other reason.

Researchers have noted incest to occur in both intact and broken families. Some studies have found that the majority of incest is committed by married men living with their wives and children (Eoner; Frankel; Szabo).

Other studies, however, have pointed out the prevalence of incest in broken families, noting that a change in the family structure, such as the loss of a wife through death, separation, or divorce, is a major impetus to incest by the father (Cormier, Kennedy, and Sangowicz; Rennert). Some authorities suggest that incest is especially common among the working class, where poverty, inadequate housing, and crowded conditions contribute to enforce physical proximity among family members (Flugel; Guttmacher; Hirning; Sonnen; Szabo; Weinberg). More recent studies have suggested that poverty, overcrowding, and social isolation are only of secondary importance. This belief is supported by studies finding incest among populations of the middle class (Cavallin; Landis; Lustig, Dresser, Spellman, and Murray; Weiner, 1962 and 1967).

Several family background factors are cited in the literature which characterize the offender. A frequent finding of various studies is that the incestuous father has experienced mild to extreme levels of poverty in his youth (Kaufman, Peck, and Tagiuri; Riemer; Weinberg). The Kinsey Institute study of sex offenders (Gebhard) compared incestuous fathers with other imprisoned sex offenders, and also demonstrated that economic deprivation is a special characteristic of the incest offenders.

Another characteristic of incestuous fathers is their emotional deprivation as young children. The Kinsey study, one of the largest studies of sex offenders, noted that offenders who had contact with daughters under 12 years of age had had poor relationships with their own fathers (Gebhard). Riemer believed that the absence of parent figures for these fathers played an important role in enabling them to disregard the incest taboo, because their early life had de-emphasized the value of the parent-child relationship. Studies of middle-class fathers have also found this element of emotional deprivation in the father's family of origin (Lustig, Dresser, Spellman, and Murray; Weiner, 1962). Weiner also noted that if the father of the offender was not absent, he was harsh and authoritarian, which resulted in the lack of an affectionate relationship between father and offender-son.

Previous studies have noted the unstable employment history of the father. Riemer notes that the typical incestuous father has numerous unskilled jobs or is unemployed prior to the initiation of incest. Weinberg's

sample similarly revealed a high percentage of unemployed offenders or those who were supported by public service agencies. This factor may result in providing the father more time to be alone with his daughter, a situational factor which appears to facilitate the incestuous activities.

Another background factor noted in the literature is subnormal intelligence of fathers (Bender and Blau; Kubo; Weinberg). Recent studies, however, have found that incestuous fathers are of average intelligence (Cavallin; Lukianowicz). One study found that imprisoned incest offenders were brighter than most other types of sex offenders (Gebhard).

Such factors as employment history and intelligence must be regarded with caution. Many studies of incest offenders are drawn from court and prison samples. It is not surprising that such studies would find lower intelligence, socioeconomic classes, and unstable employment histories. These factors may thus reflect nothing more than the bias of the sample population.

Another background factor noted in the literature about incest offenders links alcoholism to father-daughter incest. Alcohol usage takes the form of either chronic alcoholism or drunken episodes which culminate in incestuous behavior. Some studies have found 15 percent of offenders to be alcoholics (Lukianowicz, p. 307), while another study found 73 percent of the sample were alcoholic (Kaufman, p. 269). Many studies have noted percentages in the 20-50 percent range for offenders (Cavallin; Gebhard; Middleton; Virkkunen).

Finally, the occurrence of recent stressful events for the father has been associated with the onset of incest. Riemer notes that almost all of the 58 cases in his sample revealed a serious disruption in the family system during the previous two years before the incest began. Such stressful events included economic crises, diseases or accidents, and loss of employment because of alcoholism. Similarly, Weinberg noted increased tension experienced by the fathers just prior to the initiation of incest.

Certain family patterns tend to contribute to the occurrence of incest. One study identified five such family conditions leading to father-daughter incest:

- the emergence of the daughter as the central female figure of the household, in some respects taking over the role of the mother

- the relative sexual incompatibility of the parents
- the unwillingness of the father to seek a partner outside the nuclear family
- pervasive fears of abandonment and family disintegration, such that the family is desperately seeking an alternative to disintegration
- unconscious sanction by the mother, who condones or fosters the assumption by the daughter of a sexual role with the father (Lustig, Dresser, Spellman, and Murray).

Generally, the incest continues because of several reasons. Authorities concur that the daughter is often very afraid of the consequences of exposure of the sexual misconduct (Gebhard; Maisch; Riemer; Weinberg). The father has frequently threatened the daughter that if she discloses the incest, serious punishment will ensue, or that divorce, separation, or a prison term will follow. In some cases, the incest continues undisclosed because the daughter perceives no other options available to her. Or, the daughter may perceive the behavior as less undesirable than any other options which are available to her.

The majority of the literature focuses on the female sex victim rather than the male. Female sex victims, including incest victims, have been described as being on a continuum from offering no resistance, on one end, to being a seductive partner, at the other end. Past research has characterized the victim as "non-objecting" in 40 percent of the offenses (Radzinowicz, p. 83), as "encouraging" the offender in from 66 to 95 percent of all sex offenses (Gebhard, p. 147), as having a "collaborative role" in 7.8 percent of the offenses (Gagnon, p. 176), as fully "participating" in 60 percent of the offenses (Weiss, p. 1), and as "seducers" in 21 percent of the offenses (Glueck, p. 296).

This factor of the daughter's attractiveness and seductiveness has been criticized in the feminist literature. One study remarks on this theme in incest literature by naming it "blaming the victim" (Herman and Hirschman). It is possible that this factor is so frequently noted in the literature because it is often given by fathers as a rationalization for their activities. By blaming the daughter for being an active participant, this reduces the father's sense of shame and his culpability.

Another finding in the literature is the maturity of the victim (Heims and Kaufman; Katz, Ambrosino, McGrath, and Sawitzky). This may take the form of the victim playing the role of mother in the family. One in-depth study of mothers and daughters in incest families (Kaufman, Peck, and Tagiuri) noted that the daughter is encouraged by the mother to assume early responsibilities of an adult woman in terms of the care of younger siblings and the performance of household tasks. The daughter may also function as an intermediary between the parents when marital conflicts arise. This role reversal between mother and daughter has been subsequently found in other studies of father-daughter incest (Lustig, Dresser, Spellman, and Murray; Machotka, Pittman, and Flomenhaft; Rhinehart).

Another characteristic of the female victims noted in the literature is that the eldest daughter is most frequently the victim of incestuous activity (Henderson; Weinberg). Weinberg noted that 64 percent of his sample (daughters) occupied this birth order position (Weinberg, p. 22). Meiselman notes two explanations for this factor. The eldest daughter, because of her assumption of mature duties, is more at risk than younger siblings, and, in addition, the eldest daughter is the sibling with the most developed sexual characteristics which the father would find arousing.

Another characteristic noted in the literature is the phenomenon of sequential incest. A frequent scenario is that the father initiates incestuous behavior with the eldest daughter. When the eldest daughter leaves home or refuses to submit any longer to his advances, the father may continue the sexual abuse with the next youngest sibling. Meiselman notes that over half of 32 father-daughter incest cases in her sample reflected this pattern.

The ages of victims of incest at the time of disclosure vary according to different studies. The average ages of female victims of incest at disclosure vary from between 8.5 and 15.0 years in accounts in the literature (Brown and Holder; Greenberg, 1979; Henderson; Jaffe, Dynneson, and ten Bensel; Weinberg). These reports do not indicate the ages at onset of incest, although it is thought that for many children the incestuous relationship begins at an early age and progresses from genital fondling to sexual intercourse.

Little research in the literature appears about other forms of incest. Mother-son incest appears to be much less frequently encountered in practice than father-daughter incest, but a few reports do exist in the literature (Weiner, 1967). It is thought that this form of incest is the most psychologically damaging to the child.

There is similarly little data on sibling incest, although it is thought to be the most common form of incest. The few studies indicate that a factor in etiology of this incest is early sexual experience with a parent. Bender refers to a sister and brother who played sexually with each other after acquiring the habit from their father. Rhinehart also reports a case of a male student involved in both father-son incest and brother-brother incest. The youth's alcoholic father initiated both siblings to homosexual incest.

Reports of homosexual incest are also rare in the literature. The term has been utilized erroneously to refer to only father-son incest (Raybin). Studies of mother-daughter incest are virtually nonexistent. Weiner (1967) reports one of the isolated cases in the literature of a mother who engaged in homosexual activity with her daughter for a few months. The relationship was terminated when the victim's mother returned to her husband. Neither of the women were viewed as psychotic, although both had experienced severe problems in marital and sexual adjustment.

Research on father-son incest is also infrequently mentioned in the literature; however, a few studies do exist (Awad; Langsley, Schwartz, and Fairbairn; Raybin). Such studies tend to be studies of one case which was psychiatrically evaluated.

From these few studies of father-son incest, it appears that the offender frequently has childhood problems with his parents, which are reflected as an adult by his problems with women and homosexuality. The father-offender repeats with his son some of his earlier sexual conflicts. The homosexual incest is a living-out by the father of his own adolescent conflicts (Langsley, Schwartz, and Fairbairn). The incest may be discovered by the mother. However, frequently, as in the case of father-daughter incest, the mother refuses to believe that the incestuous activity is occurring.

These few cases in the literature reveal that the male victim often has psychological problems as an adult, many stemming from the homosexual relationship with the parent. Suicidal acts, anxiety, and depression with psychotic episodes were characteristic. However, because of such limited research, any conclusions about the short- and long-term effects of such homosexual incestuous relationships on the child victims must be regarded as only tentative until further research is conducted.

Child Molestation and Rape

Table 5 (Appendix C, p. 91) shows that 29 percent of the victims of sexual abuse in 1976 were molested, and 9 percent were involved in a statutory rape. Whereas popular myth holds that the sex offender is the lurking stranger in the school yard who preys on children, such individuals compose only a small fraction of sexual child abusers. The De Francis study found that only 25 percent of sexual child abuse was perpetrated by individuals unknown to the child (De Francis, p. 70).

Much of the knowledge of child molestation* is derived from studies of the offender from a psychiatric perspective (Apfelberg, Sugar, and Pfeffner; Frosch and Brombert). Since most such studies are conducted upon sample populations of defendants who are being evaluated before sentence, either before entering a plea or after conviction, the findings tell little about those molesters who have not come to public attention.

The literature shows that the behavior of child molesters is more likely to be an expression of a sexual preference for children than in incest cases. Child molesters tend to constitute an older age group (past the age of 40), compared to other sexual abusers (Frosch and Brombert). These individuals show a higher rate of recidivism (Frosch and Brombert). Child molesters tend to come from lower socioeconomic levels than familial offenders (Kroth). American-born offenders appear to outnumber the foreign-born (Apfelberg, Sugar, and Pfeffner; Frosch and Brombert).

*The term child molestation as used here refers to sexual abuse by persons who are unrelated to the child victim.

Studies note that child molesters reveal case histories of impotence and feelings of inferiority regarding heterosexual relations. Many offenders have difficulty overcoming their timidity in approaching prostitutes or other available sexual objects because of their feelings of sexual inadequacy. Thus, they seek more vulnerable sexual objects, such as young children ().

Some literature has emphasized a high percentage of feeble-mindedness or mental defectiveness among such sex offenders. More recent studies, however, do not find any significant correlation between intelligence and child molestation (Frosch and Brombert; Gigeroff). Similarly, researchers do not note a significant correlation between child molestation and alcoholism, although one study finds that offenders tend to point to alcohol as an excuse to justify their behavior (Frosch and Brombert).

Another myth of child molestation is that such sexual abuse is often perpetrated by physical force, or that the child molester is a mass murderer. Although such incidents do appear in the media and are highly publicized, research tends to corroborate that such sexual acts are rare occurrences. Gigeroff found that less than one in five incidents of sexual abuse by strangers manifested any degree of force. Data from the Santa Clara County Child Sexual Abuse Prevention and Treatment Center reveal that 44.4 percent of their extrafamilial cases were characterized by no overt coercion, 22.2 percent utilized the adult's position of authority to perform the abuse, and physical force was used in only 11.1 percent of the cases (Kroth, p. 63). The majority of such cases do not involve penetration or sexual intercourse. Rather, they consist primarily of acts of exhibitionism. Landis reported that exhibitions by strangers predominated for 87 percent of the victims (Landis, p. 95). This is in contrast to over 50 percent of the incidents involving fondling or attempted intercourse which involved victims who knew the perpetrators.

On the other hand, De Francis found in his study sample of 250 cases which were extensively examined, that 46 percent of the cases were for rape or attempted rape. Therefore, rape or attempted rape was the most numerous reported sexual offense against juveniles (De Francis, p. 39). It is also

significant that, in contrast to Gigeroff and the Santa Clara County data, De Francis found that in 50 percent of his cases, bodily force with, in some cases, immediate hurt to the child, was employed (De Francis, pp. 47-48). Caution should be applied to an interpretation of this incidence, since rape, especially forcible rape, is probably the most likely to be reported of all sex offenses against juveniles.

Little research in the professional literature focuses exclusively on the victims of child molestation by persons unknown to the child. This paucity of research results from several factors. First, the bulk of the research on sexual child abuse concentrates on the victims of incest. Second, much of the remaining research on the victims of childhood sexual abuse is composed of studies of both incest victims and victims of stranger molests, which by and large fails to distinguish between the two groups for purposes of their findings. Thus, knowledge of child victims of stranger molests is somewhat limited, and derived almost exclusively from the latter type of studies.

One characteristic of child victims of stranger molests which has been noted in the literature is that such children experience some degree of parental deprivation. Because of this factor, they are therefore highly vulnerable to displays of interest or affection from strangers (Bender and Grugett). The children's search to compensate for their emotional deprivation facilitates their engaging in sexual misconduct with strangers.

In contrast to incest behavior, sexual abuse by strangers usually consists of a single episode rather than repeated acts. Jaffe, Dynneson, and ten Bensel note also a seasonal factor which characterizes child molestation, as compared to incest. More child molestation appears to occur during the warm summer months. This factor results because it is during this period that the likelihood is enhanced for children to be outdoors, thereby increasing their potential for contacts with strangers.

Several studies note that assault by a stranger seems to result in fewer psychological difficulties for the child (National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect; Landis; Peters). Landis notes that 91 percent of the victims of stranger molests in his sample said they recovered from the shock of the incident in little or no time. This percentage decreased to 67 percent for victims who knew the offender, who stated that they had experienced a permanent effect from the sexual abuse (Landis, p. 101).

The finding of a less severe psychological impact for victims of stranger molests may be attributed to several causes. First, since most stranger molests consist of exhibitionism, it is likely that exhibitionism would be less shocking to victims than other types of sexual experiences. In addition, such events are less traumatic for the child because they do not result in the unique family constellation of divided loyalties that is characteristic of incest families. The parents of a child who has been molested often rally to the aid of the child and direct their feelings of anger toward the perpetrator. They unite behind the child and offer expressions of concern and support. Rarely do they attribute blame to the child or suspect the child to be the source of provocation of the incidence. This contrasts sharply to the familial abuse situation in which the child is frequently blamed and rejected by both parents, accused of provocation of the abuse and deception.

Juvenile Prostitution

The incidence of juvenile prostitution is difficult to estimate. Statistics on the phenomenon are derived from very limited data, gathered primarily by law enforcement. As shown in Table 1 (Appendix C, p. 83), the Uniform Crime Reports compiled by the Federal Bureau of Investigation shows that in 1978, 4,212 juveniles through the age of 17 were arrested for prostitution and commercialized vice (the latter including pandering, procuring, or operating a house of ill-repute). Table 2 (Appendix C, p. 85) shows that in 1978, arrests of males under age 18 for possible sex-related offenses substantially outnumber arrests of females under 18, except for prostitution and commercialized vice, where females account for 6.9 percent of the arrests. For all possible sex-related offenses, males under 18 accounted for 79 percent of the arrests.

Furthermore, Table 3 (Appendix C, p. 87) indicates that arrests for prostitution and commercialized vice for persons under 18 have increased 200 percent between 1969 and 1978. Authorities testifying on behalf of P.L. 92-225 estimate 600,000 females are involved in prostitution throughout the country (Protection of Children Against Sexual Exploitation Act).

Juvenile Female Prostitution

Much of the literature on female prostitution emphasizes the adult female prostitute. Only recently has knowledge been broadened by studies of juvenile females (Gray; James; James and Meyerding; Rosenblum). Several factors contribute to the girls entering prostitution. Greenwald hypothesized that lack of close parental ties coupled with early, rewarded sexual experience made girls vulnerable to prostitution. Parental abuse or neglect is commonly considered a typical childhood experience of juvenile prostitutes. James' study of 135 prostitutes revealed that 70 percent reported the absence of one or both parents during the girls' childhood (James). Gibbens notes that the girls typically had a strong attachment to a father who was an inadequate parental figure. Gray's study similarly found girls coming from broken homes, from lower or lower-middle socioeconomic levels, and with poor family relationships.

Many of the juvenile prostitutes are runaways from their homes or from juvenile institutions (Gray). Dispute with their family is one of the primary reasons reported by the girls as to why they left home. Gray's study also found that the teenager was likely to have dropped out of school voluntarily due to her failure in the academic environment.

Early sexual experience is another characteristic noted for juvenile female prostitutes (Gray; James). Researchers have found that such teenage prostitutes are sexually active at an early age, many being victims of incest or rape. In Gray's study, the mean age for first coital experience was 12.9 years. Black teenagers in the study experienced coitus two years earlier than white girls. The mean age for the first act of prostitution was 14.7 years (Gray, p. 412). None of the teenage prostitutes in one study expressed a future goal as a wife and mother, and most saw the possibility of their achieving happy marriages as slim.

Various authorities have noted that juvenile female prostitutes share a range of negative sexual experiences which influence them toward accepting prostitution as a lifestyle. James notes that the pattern includes:

- lack of parental guidance that leads to early, casual sexual intercourse to the exclusion of the more usual noncoital socio-sexual experimentation

- the discovery that sex can be used to gain social status, coupled with the subsequent discovery that this status is perceived by others as negative, making the individual unacceptable to the majority culture
- the emotionally destructive experiences in childhood of incest and rape (James).

Many of the teenage prostitutes have pimps and turn over all or the bulk of their earnings to their pimps. The pimp serves as a primary decision-maker and controller of their funds. Stories of physical abuse by the pimp are not uncommon (Gray; "Children's Garden...").

The general finding of research on juvenile female prostitutes is that such young women, because of their early life experiences, tend to have a negative view of themselves. The social and material rewards of prostitution give them a sense of self-esteem. Many teenage prostitutes report that their prime motivation for entering prostitution was the material and social rewards the lifestyle offered.

Juvenile Male Prostitution

Research in the field of adolescent male prostitution is extremely limited. Much of the literature concerns juvenile male prostitution only insofar as it pertains to adult male prostitution. The first significant study to focus specifically on adolescent male prostitutes was conducted in the late fifties (Reiss). Reiss studied 1,008 boys from the ages of 12-17 years old, basing his analysis of juvenile prostitutes on approximately 200 boys. Reiss identifies four norms which govern the "hustler" relationship between the boy and his customer:

- The boy undertakes the relationship solely as a means of making money; sexual gratification is not actively sought as a goal.
- The sexual transaction is limited to mouth-genital contact in which the adolescent is the passive partner; no other sexual act is tolerated or performed.
- Both participants remain affectively neutral during the transaction; displays of affection are not tolerated.
- Violence is not used as long as the relationship conforms to the shared set of expectations between the participants.

The literature on juvenile males dates primarily from the flower child era of the 1960's (Deisher, Eisner, and Sulzbacher; Ginsburg; Hoffman). Many of these studies address the family background characteristics of the prostitutes. Ginsburg describes such youth as coming from homes with parents who are either not present, or present but nonsupportive or unstable. Their homes manifest parental disinterest, hostility, or rejection. Deisher's study also found the early home situation of these youth characterized by considerable disorganization, contributing to their runaway behavior. In his study of 63 male prostitutes, he found that 17 left home when their parents separated, five were ordered to leave home, five could not get along with a parent or stepparent, and 14 left due to restlessness.

Another study found that the boys were of low to average intelligence, deprived socioeconomic background, below-average education and achievement, and lacked vocational skills. Their family environment was characterized by parental abuse, rejection, and indifference (Coombs).

Similar to the childhood experiences of female prostitutes, adolescent male prostitutes also have experienced childhood sexual abuse.

Coombs' study noted the correlation between early homosexual seduction accompanied by reward, and the youth's later entry into prostitution.

Current knowledge on the subject of adolescent male prostitution is based on useful, although somewhat outdated, studies. Recent works tend to be impressionistic, antidotal accounts rather than scientific studies (Lloyd). There is a paucity of literature on the phenomenon dating from recent years, and further studies are critically needed. Especially important is research on the specific problems experienced by these youth today--running away, early sexual abuse, substance abuse, suicide, and unemployment. It would also be valuable to study what effect the sexual revolution and gay movement have had on this youth lifestyle, and on the boys' self-concept.

Child Pornography

Little research in the professional literature has focused on the social problem of child pornography. Knowledge about the sexual exploitation of minors as subjects in pornographic materials stems largely from

reports in the popular literature, primarily magazine and newspaper accounts in such periodicals as Time, the Los Angeles Times, Los Angeles Daily Journal, Chicago Tribune, Washington Star, and U.S. News and World Reports (e.g., "Child Pornography: Outrage Starts..."; "Child Pornography: Sickness for Sale"; "Child Porn: Is the Issue..."; and "Young Lolitas"), and from public hearings such as those which led to the passage of P.L. 92-225, the Protection of Children Against Sexual Exploitation Act of 1977.

These sources reveal that both girls and boys from preschool age to late adolescence are featured in pornographic films and magazines. They engage in sexual activities with each other and with adults, which range from lewd poses to intercourse, fellatio, cunnilingus, masturbation, rape, incest, and sado-masochism. U.S. News reports that child pornography has become an enterprise grossing more than a half billion dollars per year ("Child Pornography: Outrage Starts..."). Production centers are located in such major cities as Los Angeles, New York, and Chicago. Production of such material is not limited to these major centers, and the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee has noted the existence of independent procurers in such places as Port Huron, Michigan and Winchester, Tennessee.

Knowledge of child participants must be gleaned from limited data primarily furnished by law enforcement authorities and impressionistic accounts. Los Angeles Police Department investigations have revealed that the typical boy participant has the following characteristics:

- between the ages of 8 and 17
- an underachiever in school or at home
- usually without previous homosexual experience
- from a home where the parents were absent either physically or psychologically
- without any strong moral or religious affiliations
- suffering from poor social development (Protection of Children Against Sexual Exploitation Act).

Reports in the popular literature and testimonial data from public hearings report that victims are typically runaways from broken homes who

sell themselves to survive, in return for what they mistakenly interpret as affection. Pornographers frequently find victims at big city bus stations. The youth may pose for \$5 or \$10, or for a meal or friendly word.

Some children are volunteered as models by their parents, some of which are prostitutes. The parents in some cases produce the pornographic materials themselves and use their own children as models. In other cases, pornography is a byproduct of child prostitution. Pimps may invite children to parties, photograph them in sexual activities, and then circulate the pictures as advertisements to persons seeking young sex partners. The pictures are then frequently sold to pornographic magazines.

Children often come from conditions of abuse and neglect and from broken homes. Frequently such children are victims of intrafamilial abuse.

Because little scientific research has been conducted on these victims, the short- and long-term psychological effects of this form of sexual abuse are unknown. Tentative speculations on the effects have been offered by psychiatrists and psychologists. Warns psychoanalyst Herbert Freudenberger: "Children who pose for pictures begin to see themselves as objects to be sold. They cut off their feelings of affection, finally responding like objects rather than people" ("Children's Garden of Perversity," p. 56). Some psychiatrists believe that children who pose in pornographic materials are often unable to find sexual fulfillment as adults.

A psychiatrist testifying before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee hearings reported on his psychiatric evaluation of one victim (Protection of Children Against Sexual Exploitation Act). The youth failed to develop love relationships or to make a mature adjustment. Perversions took precedence in his life. The boy was early indulged with sex, manifested unresolved affection longings with built-up frustrations. His bitterness created a reservoir of hate for girls, and his relationships with them were characterized by sadism. One serious danger resulting from the early sexual abuse of these youth is the transmissibility of the problem. According to another psychiatrist, Dr. Roland Summit, "sexually abused children may become sexually abusing adults" (Protection of Children Against Sexual Exploitation Act, p. 56).

THE EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM

Issues and Problems in Determining Incidence

The magnitude of the problem of sexual child abuse is unknown. Reliable estimates of the incidence of the phenomenon are difficult to obtain. The problem of sexual abuse of children is of unknown national dimensions; however, present findings strongly point to the probability of an enormous national incidence many times larger than the reported incidence of physical abuse of children (De Francis, p. vii).

The view has been expressed by some authorities that sexual abuse is more widespread than the battered child syndrome (De Francis, p. 36). This viewpoint provides another basis on which to predicate the magnitude of sexual child abuse, since physical abuse of children is currently estimated at 200,000 per year (De Francis, p. 37).

Law enforcement statistics frequently provide another data base for estimates of the incidence of sexual child abuse. De Francis estimates, based on a core sample of 250 cases reported during an 18-month period to the police and child protection agencies in New York, that the actual incidence of abuse was probably twice the reported cases (De Francis, p. 37). Another researcher concludes that, based on the number of incest offences sexual assaults by fathers on daughters are at least five times as frequent as court statistics suggest (Weiner, 1967).

Several problems complicate any determination of the incidence of the phenomenon. One problem is that knowledge of incidence is based on statistics which represent the cases of abuse actually reported to the authorities. Estimates of frequency are then speculative extrapolations from reported cases. However, such statistics do not accurately reflect the true incidence of the phenomenon, since reported cases are likely to represent only a fraction of the actual number of such cases.

Cases tend to go unreported for a variety of reasons. Many parents, victims, and family members are extremely reluctant to report such incidents to the authorities because of fear of social censure or legal repercussions, or because of an unwillingness to subject the child to the public questioning necessitated by disclosure. Professionals similarly contribute to underreporting of the phenomenon. Just as in the case of their

underreporting of physical child abuse, many professionals overlook the symptoms of sexual abuse, are unaware of its existence, or, because of their own revulsion of such abuse, refuse to recognize it when it appears.

Another problem in the determination of the incidence of sexual abuse is that there is no precise working definition of sexual abuse. There is no general agreement of what sexual behavior between an adult and child is thought of as abusive to the child, and which should be reported to the authorities (Greenberg, 1979b). This lack of uniform definitions of abuse by professionals and lay persons alike causes variations in the estimates on the nature and extent of childhood sexual abuse.

Another dilemma involved in the determination of the incidence of sexual child abuse is that most statistics do not include children who are sexually abused in the form of pornographic exploitation or juvenile prostitution. The incidence of children who are victims of pornography and prostitution is largely unknown, since this type of abuse has only recently come to public attention.

Statistics on incidence also reveal another shortcoming. They typically include estimates only on female victims of abuse and ignore male victims or victims of homosexual child abuse. An often cited statistic is Gagnon's estimate of 500,000 victims of sexual assaults per year. However, this estimate, upon closer examination, is only for female victims between the ages of four to 13 years old (Gagnon). National estimates of sexual abuse on male children are nonexistent. Such an oversight may result, in part, from the fact that, until recently, the subject of homosexual abuse was a less discussed topic than heterosexual sexual misconduct.

A national study on child neglect and abuse reporting conducted by the American Humane Association in 1977 presents another indication of the incidence of sexual abuse nationally. This study analyzed data from 28 States and three territories. Table 4 (Appendix C, p. 89) shows that the incidence of validated reports of sexual abuse in 1976 was 1,975 cases. Unspecified types of sexual abuse accounted for 30 percent of the validated reported cases, and molestation accounted for 29 percent. Females account for 84 percent of all reported cases and outnumber males for each type. Table 5 (Appendix C, p. 91) shows the age of the juvenile victim for each type of sexual offense. There appears to be a steady increase by age for each type of sexual offense reaching a peak at 12-14 years old, except for

sexual deviant acts, which peak at 9 to 11 years old. Therefore, except for victimization from sexual deviant acts, the 12-14 age group is victimized the greatest.

IDENTIFICATION AND MEDICAL DIAGNOSIS OF CASES

Until recently, professionals were unaware of the frequency with which children were sexually abused by adults. Many professionals simply failed to recognize the signs of sexual abuse. Rosenfeld, Nadelson, Krieger, and Backman note a study at the Children's Hospital Medical Center in Boston, in which records were examined of young children brought to the emergency ward for various genital complaints. The researchers concluded that a large number of sexually abused children were coming to the clinic, although unrecognized as such by the emergency room staff.

It appears that sexual abuse is diagnosed far less frequently by medical professionals than it occurs. Such cases present themselves to professionals in several forms. Children may be brought to emergency rooms, clinics, or to private physicians after suffering genital injury or illness. The genital injuries may be vaginal tears resulting from attempted intercourse with an anatomically immature child. Or, professionals may treat children with genital rashes of unknown etiology, or with venereal disease.

Hayman and Lanza, in their report of sexual assault on female adult and child victims, found six children requiring hospitalization for genital laceration. Eleven girls required major emergency room services for repair of genital lacerations.

Venereal disease is another symptom of childhood sexual abuse which is discovered by medical professionals. Branch and Paxton cite numerous cases of gonococcal infection in infants and children. In their study of 180 children with gonorrhea, they found that 44 of 45 patients in the one-to nine-year-old age range had a history of sexual contact by relatives in the household. Of 116 children 10 to 14 years old, six children had been molested and one raped. Hayman and Lanza reported five cases of syphilis, one occurring in a four-year-old girl. Voigt found of 418 girls under 15 years of age, there were three cases of gonorrhea.

Another factor which may lead to the discovery of sexual abuse is teenage pregnancy. Hayman and Lanza reported 13 pregnancies in their study of sexual assaults on females, although there was no data directly pertaining to pregnancy in children. Extrapolation from Voigt's study yields an estimated pregnancy incidence of 1.5 percent for victims over 10 years of age (Voigt, p. 71). Medical professionals may also discover sexual abuse upon treating children for some other medical complaint, such as in cases of physical abuse.

Identification of the victims of sexual child abuse also comes from other extrafamilial sources, in addition to medical professionals. Schools are a likely source of reports of suspected sexual child abuse, since such institutions care for children many hours each day, five days a week. School nurses, teachers, and counselors encounter victims of familial or stranger abuse by several methods. The victims of sexual abuse may confide in school personnel, or a child's siblings or friends may notify teachers of abuse. Or, the school staff may discover the abuse inadvertently by observing and questioning a child about abnormal behavior, such as a child's fear of male teachers or a marked reluctance to return home after school. Sometimes, non-offending parents may discuss their knowledge of such incidents with school personnel.

As seen in Table 6 (Appendix C, p. 93), for the State of California for the year 1977, medical personnel (e.g., doctors and nurses) report a substantial percent of the incidence of child abuse, neglect, and molestation. In addition, a large number of these incidents are reported by neighbors, teachers, and social workers. Since sexual abuse may be found in any of these categories of offenses, the data is not clear as to the extent of sexual abuse except for molestation.

Sexual abuse of children is also discovered by mental health professionals. Victims or parents may report the abuse while being psychiatrically evaluated or treated. Or, the sexual abuse may appear inadvertently, such as in cases of individuals being counseled for unrelated problems such as substance abuse. Rosenfeld, Nadelson, Krieger, and Backman note the frequency of this method of identification of childhood sexual abuse by

patients in therapy, who mentioned the abuse as an incidental event, either during the initial history taking or in the course of therapy.

The role of these extrafamilial sources in the reporting of sexual child abuse highlights a dilemma inherent in the reporting legislation. All 50 States now have legislation mandating certain professionals to report incidents of child abuse, with many States including sexual abuse in this category. Although all States require reports by medical professionals, unfortunately not all States mandate school personnel and psychologists or psychiatrists to report abuse. Teachers are included in the reporting statutes of 25 States (Katz, McGrath, and Sawitzky), and only seven States require reports by psychologists. Such a statutory omission results in the failure to identify and protect many victims of sexual child abuse.

The identification of the victims of sexual child abuse is complicated not only by a failure of State legislation to require all sources to report such abuse. Other factors also have been cited (Browning and Boatman; Davoren; Sgroi) which contribute to underreporting of sexual abuse by medical professionals (similar to the reasons for their under-reporting of battered children). These factors include:

- physicians' ignorance of the frequency of sexual abuse
- physicians' denial of the existence of the problem
- physicians' being so ill-at-ease with sexual abuse that they fail to recognize and treat it effectively
- physicians' being misled by parents' alternative explanations of the abuse
- physicians' fears of breach of confidentiality
- physicians' apprehension that reporting will lead to their being asked to testify in court, leading to an interference with their principal work
- physicians' concern that involvement with law enforcement authorities results in inhumane treatment for the victim.

LEGAL PROCESSING OF CASES

Incest and Molestation

The legal process is set in motion when an act of incest or child molestation is reported to the authorities. Following the report of alleged abuse, a police officer is usually sent to investigate. This initial investigation may take place at the scene of the offense, if a stranger molestation, or it may take place at the child's school or home. The officer's task is to question the child in order to determine that a crime has been committed. In cities which have special sex squads of multidisciplinary teams, the investigating officer may be a member of such a unit.

Once the officer has determined that a crime has been committed, the officer may transport the child to a hospital for a medical examination. Examinations of the child's vagina, penis, or rectum may be made, with smears taken for blood or seminal fluid. The child's clothing and pubic area may be examined for stains, fibers, and foreign hairs. Bruises or lacerations on the child's body are noted. Such evidence may be utilized subsequently to corroborate the child's in-court testimony.

After medical examination, the child may be returned home, or, in some cases of familial abuse, the child may be placed in detention. The latter situation arises in cases in which the parent is the offender and still in the home, and the child's testimony is imperative to conviction. In such cases, the police or prosecutor may feel that returning the child to the home and to the offender's custody would result in the child being subject to further abuse and being pressured to change their account of the offense.

Formal in-court legal proceedings in cases of incest and child molestation take the form of (1) criminal proceedings against the offender, and (2) neglect or dependency proceedings to protect the child victim in juvenile court.

Statutes prohibiting sexual offenses against children have long been part of the criminal code. The legislatures of all American jurisdictions have enacted laws which sanction sexual misconduct by adults with juveniles. Legal sanctions vary by the acts performed upon the child, the victim's age, and the victim's relationship to the perpetrator.

Offenses which fall short of sexual intercourse and are penalized include: "lewd and lascivious acts" on children under certain ages, the commission of lewd or lascivious acts "in the presence of any child," "indecent exposure," "indulging in indecent and immoral practices" with the sexual parts or organs of a child, "annoying or molesting children," and "enticing a female child into a place in order to take indecent liberties with her." Criminal statutes also penalize the general acts of fellatio, cunnilingus, and sodomy, and some criminal statutes specifically punish these acts only when performed with a minor. Many States have other legislation making it a criminal offense to "contribute to the delinquency" or "to corrupt the morals" of a minor.

In addition, the legislatures of all States have statutes making the act of sexual intercourse with a minor a criminal offense. An adult who has sexual intercourse with a juvenile may be convicted of such offenses as "carnal knowledge of a child," "carnal knowledge and abuse of a child," "statutory rape," "rape," or "incest."

Criminal sanctions against incest are of longstanding origin and commonly found in primitive law. Incest as a criminal offense in modern codes is defined as either marriage or sexual intercourse between persons who are related within prohibited degrees of law. Historically, incest has resulted in severe criminal sanctions imposed upon the perpetrator. In some jurisdictions, convictions for incest have merited incarceration with maximum penalties of 50 years. Other sexual misconduct with minors has provoked even harsher maximum penalties. Conviction of child molestation has resulted in penalties of life imprisonment and, in some jurisdictions, the possibility of sterilization.

When incest offenders or child molesters are prosecuted, the child victim must undergo the same stages of the criminal process as adult witnesses. Although considerable attention has been devoted to the protection of juvenile offenders involved in criminal proceedings in juvenile court, only recently has attention been focused on the needs for the child witness to also have protection (Libai; Stevens and Berliner).

The child's encounter with the criminal process includes separate interviews with the police department and prosecutor to review details of the assault. One study notes that in Seattle, there is a minimum of

three basic interviews (James). The child is expected to recount the incident in detail, as well as the events preceding and following the incident of abuse. The child is also expected to provide information on dates, times, sequences, and a description of the suspect, and the location of incidents of abuse.

Later, the child may be required to identify the offender, especially in extrafamilial cases, by means of mug shots or line-ups. If there is a preliminary hearing, the child must again recount details of the sexual abuse while facing the offender in court. If the offender does not plead guilty, there may be a criminal trial in which the child must again testify, again facing the offender, and be subject to cross-examination.

The child is spared many stages of the above process if the offender pleads guilty without a trial. Because, generally, 80 to 90 percent of such criminal defendants plead guilty without trial (Newman), the child's in-court appearance is not required in many cases. Offenders are likely to plead guilty, because they do not want to risk a jury trial because of the possibility of a heavy sentence resulting from the horror and revulsion most people feel about sexual misuse of children. Another factor may also account for sexual abusers pleading guilty. The Child Sexual Abuse Center in Santa Clara County, California, also reports that many offenders in counseling plead guilty because the therapy program encourages them to do so as a step in taking responsibility for their actions. In these cases in which the offender pleads guilty, the child is spared the in-court testimony, but must still undergo questioning by the police, prosecutor, and, in some cases, a grand jury. The social psychological effects on the victim of this encounter with the criminal justice system will be discussed in the next section of this paper.

Legal proceedings in sexual child abuse cases also take the form of civil actions. Many cases of intrafamilial sexual abuse appear in juvenile courts grounded on the neglect jurisdiction. Under the "dependent" or "neglect" provisions of State statutes, juvenile courts have the statutory authority to assert jurisdiction over an abused child. Rooted in the doctrine of parens patriae, the juvenile court has the power to extend its protection to children whose health or welfare is endangered.

Neglect statutes mandate juvenile courts in broad, general terms to assume jurisdiction over endangered children. Sexual abuse of children constitutes one of the many grounds for court intervention into the family. Under a typical statute, a sexually abused child comes under the jurisdiction of the court as a child whose home is an unfit place by reason of depravity by parents, guardians, or other custodians.

Statutes generally do no more than confer original jurisdiction upon juvenile courts in cases of abuse and neglect. Although the law specifies that sexual abuse is a type of abuse which permits intervention in the family, State statutes do not expressly require such intervention in all cases of sexual abuse. The task of invoking the court's jurisdiction and instituting proceedings is designated by statute to a variety of persons, including social service workers, welfare personnel, and county attorneys. Their duty to bring cases of sexual abuse to the attention of the juvenile court is discretionary. Since statutes do not establish the criteria to guide the exercise of such discretion by persons mandated to initiate proceedings, whether such jurisdiction is invoked depends entirely upon the discretion of many individuals. Thus, probation and child protective service workers have discretion over whether to file a petition to invoke jurisdiction, whether to settle the matter at intake without requesting court intervention, whether to subsequently withdraw the petition, or whether to proceed through the use of a voluntary agreement with the family without requesting court intervention.

Should the child protective service worker decide to petition to invoke the jurisdiction of the juvenile court, the initial hearing in sexual abuse cases is frequently a detention hearing. After the police officer or protective service worker determines that there are reasonable grounds to believe that the child is in immediate danger from sexual abuse within the home, the officer may take the child into protective custody. Within a short period of time specified by statute, a hearing is held, requesting the court to issue an order removing the child from the home temporarily, and placing the child in institutional detention for the child's protection. Juvenile courts have this emergency detention power over endangered children conferred upon them by statute. Such an order is generally issued in cases in which the molesting party is presently

residing in the home, and the non-offending parent is unable or unwilling to protect the child from further abuse.

Within a short period of time after detention is ordered, if the child welfare worker decides to file a neglect petition, a dependency hearing takes place to determine whether the child shall be adjudged a ward of the court. The interim period between the detention hearing and the dependency hearing is usually designated by statute, because the detention amounts to a deprivation of the child's due process rights.

Before the dependency hearing, the child's parents are formally served with a copy of the petition. They are notified that they have the right to appear at the hearing represented by counsel. The petition recites the act(s) of sexual abuse, and states that either the parent was the abuser or failed to make reasonable efforts to prevent the abuse.

The dependency proceeding consists of a hearing in juvenile court as to whether the child has been sexually abused or has been without proper parental care. The victim's parents, lawyers for the parent(s) and child, probation officers, and district attorney appear at this adversarial-type hearing. The typical dependency hearing based on grounds of sexual abuse consists of the following stages:

- A hearing on the allegations.
- A finding by the court as to whether the allegations are true.
- If true, the court adjudges the minor a dependent child or ward of the court.
- The court admits the probation or protective service worker's report into evidence.
- The court makes a disposition of the case based on this report and other available data (such as a police report, doctor's report, psychologist's report).

If the court does not find the allegations to be true, the case is dismissed.

If the petition is sustained and the child is declared a ward of the court, the court has several dispositional alternatives. The child may be returned to the home if the court is assured that the abuse will not reoccur, such as in situations where the abuser is no longer residing in the home. Or, the court may remove the child from the parents' care, custody, and control, and award temporary custody of the child to the probation

department or social service department, with instructions to place the child with a relative or in private institutional placement or foster care.

The court also has the alternative to order psychological counseling for the parents and victim and parent training. In more severe cases of parental abuse and neglect, the court also has available the option of the termination of parental rights. At a subsequent hearing on this disposition, the State must prove that such termination is in the best interests of the child.

Prostitution and Pornography

Until recently, there was a lack of applicable legislation focusing on the sexual exploitation of children in pornography and prostitution. Prior to 1977, State and Federal law as applied to child exploitation was limited to the following types of statutes:

- the prohibition of the importation, interstate transportation, distribution, and sale of obscene material in general
- the prohibition of the dissemination of obscene material to minors
- the prohibition of the interstate transportation of females under the age of 18 for the purpose of prostitution.

Despite such legislation, serious omissions existed in the law in terms of the protection of children involved in pornography or prostitution. The defects which were in need of being remedied concerned the areas of:

- the regulation of the distribution and sale of obscene material specifically encompassing child pornography
- the prohibition of commercial exploitation of minors in pornographic material
- the interstate transportation of males as well as females under the age of 18 for the purpose of prostitution.

By 1976, child pornography displaying children from preschool age to late adolescence in every conceivable sexual pose and act was becoming an increasingly popular item among obscenity producers and dealers. More attention also began to be paid to the large numbers of adolescent prostitutes. In response to mounting public concern, State and Federal legislators held public hearings and enacted numerous new laws to curb the growth of child

exploitation in both pornography and prostitution. The House Judiciary Committee, upon surveying pending and enacted State legislation, noted that prior to 1977 there were only four States with laws pertaining to child pornography. However, by the end of 1977, eight States had enacted legislation, and the expected total by mid-1978 was 37 States.

Federal legislation also was enacted following Congressional hearings. Several bills were introduced in the 95th Congress, both in the Senate and the House of Representatives, to deal with the sexual exploitation of children. Enacted under the Congressional power to regulate interstate commerce, the new Federal law (18 U.S.C. §§2251-2253 [1977]) prohibits individuals from utilizing any child under 16 to engage or assist in any sexually explicit conduct in the production of any visual or print medium. In addition, parents are made criminally liable for knowingly permitting a child under their control to engage in sexually explicit conduct in connection with the production of pornographic material.

Although distribution and sale of obscene materials was already a felony under Federal obscenity statutes, in the new Federal legislation Congress doubled the penalties applicable to the depiction of such material of children in sexually explicit acts. The Federal law now provides for up to a \$10,000 fine, or imprisonment up to 10 years, or both, for a first-time offender engaged in the distribution and sale of such obscene material, and \$15,000 or up to 15 years, or both, for a second-time offender.

The new Federal legislation primarily addressed the problem of child pornography. However, Congressional legislation also attempted, to a limited extent, to deal with the problem of child prostitution. The new legislation revised the Mann Act to prohibit the interstate transportation of males as well as females under the age of 18 for the purpose of engaging in prostitution.

Such recently enacted State and Federal legislation raise considerable legal dilemmas (Baker; Cavanaugh). State laws which make producers, distributors, and retailers of pornographic materials depicting children criminally liable, raise issues of constitutional scope. Once sexual acts involving children are published in print or film, if the material is not adjudged legally obscene, it is protected by the first amendment, and the government cannot infringe upon such freedom of expression.

In addition to constitutional problems, State and Federal legislation also face problems of enforcement and prosecution. Frequently, only distributors and retailers who are engaged in large-scale operations of child pornography are prosecuted. Law enforcement personnel are often uninterested or unable to apprehend and prosecute those individuals engaged in small-scale commercial exploitation of children.

An additional problem is manifest in the prosecution and successful conviction of those engaged in child exploitation in the form of pornography. Although evidence of sexually illicit conduct involving children is amply depicted in the pornographic materials, the child victims are often difficult to locate and identify in order to testify against the offenders. Such legal dilemmas make problematic the task of curbing the growth of child pornography.

Since the recent Federal legislation primarily addressed the problem of child pornography rather than child prostitution, the new legislation has only limited effectiveness in terms of combatting the problem of juvenile prostitution. The Federal revisions altered the Mann Act to prohibit the interstate transportation of underage males as well as females for the purpose of prostitution. However, unlike the lifestyle of female prostitution in which pimps facilitate interstate transportation, hustling activity for boys is not often initiated by adults. Generally, the juvenile males initiate their interstate transportation themselves. Many such juveniles are runaways and decide to strike out and enter "business" on their own. The act of prostitution takes place after the juvenile has temporarily suspended his interstate travel. Consequently, such legislation is unlikely to deter or impose liability on the participants directly involved in juvenile male prostitution--the customers themselves.

Because of the difficulties inherent in the recent legislation, the methods of curbing adolescent prostitution remain largely the common law and statutory remedies already in existence. These include prosecuting adult customers for such acts as "contributing to the delinquency of a minor" or engaging in "lewd and lascivious acts" with minors. Or, an alternative method of deterring juvenile prostitution, ironically, is by punishing the youth themselves for other more visible delinquent acts, such as truancy, runaway behavior, or delinquency. Such methods of dealing with the problem of juvenile prostitution regrettably do little to benefit the victims themselves.

THE SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT OF THE ABUSE AND SUBSEQUENT HANDLING
BY THE AUTHORITIES UPON THE VICTIM AND THE FAMILY

The most immediate effect of incest, according to Meiselman, is the further disruption of a family that was disturbed to begin with. Sometimes the daughter becomes emotionally isolated from both parents if she remains in the home following the incest. The mother may vacillate between protecting the child and defense of her husband. In some cases, the daughter may be denounced by both parents and forced to leave the home. In other cases, the victim may be supported by her mother, and the father may be asked to leave the family.

In the post-disclosure situation, the daughter frequently feels guilt as a result of contributing to family tensions following disclosure of the incest (or because she is seen as the cause of the father being punished by the criminal justice system). Many authorities point out numerous psychosomatic symptoms experienced by the daughter, including depression, suicidal behavior and attempts, learning disabilities, hostility toward mother and father, delinquent behavior, running away, and sexual acting out (Kaufman, Peck, and Tagiuri; Maisch; Molnar and Cameron).

Sexual abuse of children is also thought to cause long-term consequences. Several frequently cited long-term effects include: bitterness, hostility, and distrust toward adults, and severe conflicts involving guilt, shame, and depression; behavioral disorders; psychiatric illness; and disturbances in their behavior as parents (Greenberg, 1977 and 1979a; Henderson; MacFarlane; Peters). Five studies have provided reports on long-term after-effects on a large number of cases (Herman and Hirschman; Lukianowicz; Medlicott; Molnar and Cameron; Vestergaard). All of these researchers have found various degrees of psychopathology in the victims.

Hostility toward both parents is experienced by the victims as adults. Vestergaard noted that the adult daughters feel bitter toward their fathers. Other researchers find that anger toward the mother is especially prominent (Herman and Hirschman).

Another characteristic noted in the literature is masochism. Forty-two percent of the women studied by Meiselman were labeled as masochistic by their therapists. The term was used to describe people who seek out or passively tolerate relationships in which they are victimized, not necessarily

by sexual victimization. That study found the adult victims manifested a willingness to tolerate mistreatment, which allowed them to endure abusive relationships by their husbands and boyfriends. In psychodynamic terms, the women achieved some satisfaction from this masochistic victim role--the mistreatment by men demonstrated to the incest victim that men were evil, and that she was morally superior to them and justified in her increasing expressions of hostility to them.

The above study also noted that these women have greater marital instability and rejection of marriage as a lifestyle. Other studies have also noted the characteristics of promiscuity, sexual problems, and homosexuality (Gundlach and Riess; Hersko; Howard; Kaufman, Peck and Tagiuri; Medlicott; Rascovsky and Rascovsky). Commonly, the adult victims experience sexual problems many years after the incestuous experience. Several studies have reported case histories in which the daughter was known to be frigid in the post-incest years (Berry; Howard; Magal and Winnick; Sloane and Karpinski). Specific reports of sexual problems following incest experienced by victims have also been given by Lukianowicz and Medlicott, the former finding 62 percent of his sample were frigid or promiscuous, and the latter finding that one-third of his sample had serious difficulties in heterosexual adjustment (Lukianowicz, p. 305; Medlicott, p. 184).

Meiselman notes in her sample that many of the women victims' sexual problems followed a pattern. The women imagined their father during non-incestuous sexual activity. They had clear, compelling memories of the incestuous experience during sexual activity with husbands or boyfriends, thoughts of being used by their sexual partners stemming from the feeling that their fathers had used and betrayed them in the incestuous relationship, and anxiety whenever they experienced the slightest hint of sexual pleasure (Meiselman, p.).

Follow-up studies of a few cases manifest that some victims revealed pronounced promiscuity some years after the incest. Lukianowicz found a significant percentage of his sample had become promiscuous. Medlicott found one-third of his sample was promiscuous in later years after the early sexual abuse.

Explanations for the promiscuous behavior following the incest have been set forth by Kaufman, Peck, and Tagiuri, who state that the purpose

of the sexual promiscuity seemed to be to relieve the experience with the father, and, through repetition, compulsion to work through their anxiety, and at the same time achieve a restitution of the lost parent. Other authors have suggested that the promiscuity can be motivated by hostility toward the parents (Gordon; Howard).

Another finding in the literature concerns the factor of prostitution in post-incest daughters. One of the earliest follow-up studies (Sloane and Karpinski) reported that one out of three cases of father-daughter incest they studied experienced a period of prostitution some years after the incest. Lukianowicz found four cases of prostitution in a sample of 26 daughters (Lukianowicz, p.). Many other studies have mentioned finding prostitution as an aftereffect of incest in a minority of women who became promiscuous in adolescence (Kubo; Peters; Weinberg).

One study approached the issue of the correlation between sexual abuse and prostitution from a different angle. Greenwald obtained case histories for 20 upper-class call girls. In his study, he noted the regularity of finding early sexual abuse in their case histories. He found that in many cases adult males had rewarded these women for sexual favors when they were girls. In several of his cases, the abuser of the victim was a stepfather, relative, or close friend of the father.

Another finding which, until recently, has been overlooked is the influence of early sexual abuse as a contributing factor to homosexual orientation. Early studies do not look for this factor in their samples. Clinical studies of incest, especially recent studies, do find it more commonly. Kaufman, Peck, and Tagiuri mention the presence of homosexuality in their sample, together with promiscuity. They speculate that homosexuality might be motivated by the daughter's wish to be loved by older women to make up for the rejection they experienced by their mothers. Medlicott, in his study, found 29 percent of the victim daughters had serious homosexual problems (Medlicott, p.). Meiselman notes several cases in her sample of lesbian involvement. Some women experienced a homosexual conversion many years after incest, following several years of unsatisfactory heterosexual activity. The researcher theorizes that this mode of sexuality was sought because it allowed daughters to experience sexual feelings in a less conflictual atmosphere than in heterosexual relationships. That is,

their homosexual contacts would be less conflict-arousing than their heterosexual, chronically masochistic relationships (Meiselman, p.).

Some research has studied this problem from another aspect by studying the life history of lesbian women. Gundlach and Riess, in their nationwide study of 217 middle-class lesbians and 231 comparable non-lesbians, found that more of the lesbians had experienced heterosexual trauma in the form of rape or attempted rape at age 15 or earlier. However, it is not known from this study how many of these earlier sexual experiences were incestuous. Rosen, in his study of 26 lesbians, found that two women had had early sexual experiences with violent, abusive stepfathers (Rosen, p.).

The link has also been made between early sexual abuse, prostitution, and runaway behavior in recent research. Studies on juvenile prostitution have found that many of the adolescents left home because of poor parental relationships, often characterized by sexual abuse ().

Several authorities have noted the frequency of familial sexual abuse as a causative factor in teenage runaway cases (Bigras; Browning and Boatman; Cowie, Cowie, and Slater). Other sources have noted a correlation between subsequent prostitution and early sexual abuse (Greenwald; Lukianowicz; Peters; Sloane and Karpinski; Weinberg). Both Gray's and James' works on juvenile female prostitution have noted the occurrence of early sexual abuse and runaway behavior in the backgrounds of these girls. Deisher's and Coombs' studies on juvenile male prostitutes have noted these same factors in their backgrounds.

Another aftereffect of father-daughter incest that has been cited in the literature is its "transmissibility." That is, the occurrence of father-daughter incest between the adult daughter's husband and daughter. Weinberg noted that some incest daughters manifested suspicion of the relationship between their husbands and daughters, and became anxious at any displays of affection between them. Berry has discussed this theory by explaining that the incest victim as an adult may reenact her mother's role and set up her daughter for the occurrence of incestuous activities. The mother accomplishes this by encouraging the daughter to play the little mother role, by refusing to have sexual relations with her husband, and by leaving the daughter alone with the husband for long periods of time.

The incest victim as an adult thus may unwittingly act as an "incest carrier" (Berry, p.). Greenberg (1976b) has noted another transmissible generational effect cited in the literature. He remarks on the aspect that incest victims frequently manifest disturbances in their parenting behavior of their children, which take the form of child abuse and neglect.

The suggestion has also been advanced that incest is learned behavior, and that presence of early sexual abuse may contribute to perpetration of such sexual abuse when the earlier victim becomes a parent. Raphling, Carpenter, and Davis give a detailed case history of multiple incest which demonstrates this potential consequence. A son witnessed intercourse between his father and sister, then became sexually involved with the sister himself. As a youth, his mother engaged in genital fondling with him. As an adult, the man approached three of his daughters for sexual activity. His psychiatric evaluation determined that he was not psychotic and functioned well in his job as a church-going member of his community. He was, however, sadistic in his sexual relations with his wife. Little is known about the transmissibility of sexual abuse because few studies exist studying this aspect of the long-term aftereffects of incest. More research is critically needed on the subject of how early sexual abuse affects parenting behavior in the abused victim.

Several factors which characterize the lives of these sexually abused women have only been noted in recent studies. This may be attributed to several explanations. First, until recent decades there was a lack of knowledge about female sexuality. The prevalent belief, according to Meiselman, was that there was less expectation of sexual responsiveness and orgasm in women. Older studies were concerned more with women's sexual delinquency and promiscuity than with other sexual issues. Thus, issues of adult sexual adjustment in marital relationships and homosexuality were often overlooked.

Similarly, many issues affecting adolescents have only come to attention in recent years. Teenage depression, suicide, runaway behavior, and juvenile prostitution have been recognized as social problems affecting youth only in the past decade. Thus, the fact that research is only beginning to note the correlation between these problems and early sexual abuse is not surprising.

The above findings must be viewed with caution. It must be noted that in samples of sexual abuse cases collected through reports of psychotherapists, the probability is enhanced of finding victims with psychological disturbances of all kinds. In addition, clinical samples provide data on the abused victims who seek psychotherapy, but do not tell what happens to those women who do not seek psychotherapy.

Another word of caution in interpreting the above findings is in order. Many incest victims come from chaotic family backgrounds. It is difficult to establish a causal relationship between various psychological outcomes and the incest as an isolated factor. The long-term aftereffects the victims experienced were conditioned by many more factors than their early sexual abuse. The seriousness of the outcome must be viewed in light of other factors, including the age of the child, the duration of the relationship, the inherent vulnerabilities of the child, the quality of care by parents, the parent-child relationship in other regards, the parental relationship vis-a-vis each other, the presence of other aspects of abuse and neglect, or substance abuse. Sexual abuse must be seen as only one factor, albeit an important one, in contributing to subsequent social and psychological consequences in later life experienced by these victims.

Much more is known of the long-term aftereffects of sexual abuse for victims of father-daughter incest. Less research in the literature has focused on the social and psychological impact of incestuous relationships for other victims of incest (males, homosexual incest victims) or for victims of stranger molestation.

Few studies in the literature focus on mother-son incest, and therefore knowledge of the psychological impact of such sexual abuse is very limited. The few studies suggest varying degrees of psychopathology in both the mother and the son.

Barry asserts that the son subsequently became psychotic in almost all cases of mother-son incest. Frances and Frances conclude that either or both partners are almost always psychotic. Among the clinical reports on mother-son incest, only one (Barry and Johnson) found a consensual marriage-like relationship between a mother and son, neither of whom was found to be mentally defective or suffering obvious disturbance.

One finding noted in the literature is the presence of schizophrenia in the male victims of mother-son incest (Medlicott; Shelton; Wahl). The incest may occur in the context of an acute psychotic breakdown, or the schizophrenia may result in later years brought about in part by the early sexual abuse.

Meiselman concludes that the mothers in mother-initiated incest present a different picture than in son-initiated incest. In son-initiated cases, the sons appear to be more grossly disturbed, although the mothers are sometimes so promiscuous as to sexually tempt the sons. Mother-initiated incest reveals more psychopathology apparent in the mother than the son. The son's psychological problems tend to occur in these situations after the incest, as a result of it.

Other psychological outcomes of mother-son incest can only be tentatively suggested because of the paucity of data on such abuse. In addition to severe psychological disturbance which has been noted in the victims, Yorukoglu and Kemph note behavior problems, setting fires, making sexual advances to other children, guilt and shame, and phobic reactions. Another study notes heavy drinking, suicidal thoughts, and an obsession with thinking about incest while having sexual relations within marriage (.

Some authorities contend that the outcomes for the child are less disturbing for the child victims of a sexual experience with an unknown adult than for victims of incest (Bender and Blau; Landis; Peters). This results from the fact that in the stranger molest situation, the family often unites in its support for the child. The child is not held to blame by the family members for having contributed to the abuse. Thus, the child does not experience the same negative psychosomatic short-term or long-term outcomes as does the incest victim.

Another reason explaining why victims of stranger molestation experience less psychological difficulties lies in the nature of the offense. As explained earlier, most stranger molests consist of exhibitionism. Such early sexual abuse is, by its nature, less traumatic to the victim than genital fondling or sexual intercourse.

Little is known about the effects of the incestuous relationship, both pre- and post-disclosure, on other members of the family, particularly other siblings. One study which is singular in this regard has

posed a theory of "incest envy" (Berry). In incest envy, a female sibling is aware that her father has been sexually involved with her sister, and such knowledge becomes a source of serious psychological disturbance many years after the occurrence of the incest. Berry notes that the unchosen daughter experiences fear of incest, plus feelings of rejection by her father and guilt centering on envy of the chosen daughter. In the case histories studied, these siblings were perceived as more disturbed than the actual incest victim.

The point has also been made in the literature that the psychological consequences for the child victim of sexual abuse are aggravated by the experiences the child is subject to in the legal process. It is generally agreed by psychiatrists that the degree of psychic trauma is as much, or perhaps more, dependent on the way the child victim is treated after discovery than at the time of the offense itself (Guttmacher). The need to protect child victims from damage by legal proceedings has caused great concern in the field of law and psychiatry in the United States, England, France, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries (Cavanaugh; "Das Sexuelle Gefahrde..."; Gibbens and Prince; Guttmacher; Halleck; Libai).

Psychiatrists have identified certain components of legal proceedings which are capable of putting a child victim under mental stress. These consist of repeated interrogations and cross-examination, facing the accused again, the official atmosphere in court, the acquittal of the accused for want of corroborating evidence to the child's trustworthy testimony, and the conviction of a molester who is the child's parent or relative (Gibbens and Prince; Kaufman, Peck, and Tagiuri; Mullins; Savage).

Maisch has written that psychological and psychiatric research has demonstrated that the harmful effects on the family brought about by the official discovery and punishment of the offense are more serious than those which might arise during the course of incest. The economic effects of the father's imprisonment are serious for the family. The daughter may be sent to a detention center, thus further fragmenting the family. Such "psychological poisoning," as Maisch notes, was more likely to destroy the family than to protect it.

Adler notes that children testifying against their parents in sexual abuse cases can be particularly traumatic for the child because a high level of guilt and ambivalence is involved. The proceedings also cannot help but affect the parents' relationship with the child. Adler remarks that court procedures can be harsh, reinforcing the abusive parent's proclivity toward punitive behavior. There tends to be an atmosphere of depersonalization that adds to the parent's already low self-esteem. Parents who later reassume the parenting role toward their children see the child as the cause of their increased problems and vent their anger on the child accordingly.

The child is subject to double messages because of the demands of testifying. The district attorney is requesting the child to testify, while the parents frequently encourage the child not to cooperate with prosecutors because of the fear of legal repercussions. When the child is separated from the family and placed in detention or institutional care, it is the child who feels they are being victimized or punished for the abuse.

COUNSELING AND REHABILITATIVE PROGRAMS FOR VICTIMS AND THE FAMILY

Four primary perspectives characterize the problem of sexual child abuse, and each results in a different type of intervention in the family. These perspectives include the following:

- child abuse and neglect perspective
- rape crisis perspective
- psychoanalytic perspective
- criminal justice perspective.

Child Abuse and Neglect Perspective

The basic assumption of this perspective is that the child is a vulnerable and dependent human being in need of long periods of nurturance, sustenance, and support. Upon occurrence of an act of sexual abuse, this perspective views the child as the abused party and the adult responsible for the act as the abuser. The child is seen as the victim of inadequate or inappropriate caretaking by a parental or quasi-parental figure.

The primary modes of intervention which characterize this perspective are the provision of assistance to the parents and family by social service agencies, or intervention by juvenile court, such as by declaring the child a ward of the court. Both modes of intervention have the objective of improving the quality of care the child is receiving and eliminating the abuse. This perspective is a recent one, owing its origins to the "discovery" of physical child abuse and neglect and its varied forms in the 1960's.

Rape Crisis Perspective

Studies on rape have found a significant percentage of the victims who report to medical facilities to be children below the age of 16. According to this perspective, an act of sexual trauma has been inflicted upon the child-victim. This traumatic event necessitates immediate crisis intervention to assist the victim, and, occasionally, the victim's family to deal with the stress of the event and its aftermath. Here the focus is on counseling the victim, and the offender is disregarded, viewed only as a dangerous criminal to be apprehended.

Unlike the retrospective mode of the psychoanalytic method, the rape crisis perspective is present-oriented, having as its objective the re-establishment of the equilibrium and well-being of the victim. This perspective, similar to the child abuse and neglect perspective above, is also recent and owes its origins to recent attention focused by the women's movement on the social problem of rape.

Psychoanalytic Perspective

This perspective has two branches, each with its basic assumptions and primary modes of intervention. In the first branch, based on Freudian theories, incestuous behavior results from a breakdown of the incest taboo, and stems from instinctually-derived incestuous fantasies and urges which are forbidden and repressed. The primary mode of intervention is through psychoanalysis, either of the offender, focusing on conscious and unconscious forces to arrive at the origins of his pathological behavior, or psychoanalysis of the victim to explore the effects of the incestuous experience in impaired social and psychological adjustment.

The second branch of this perspective, the family systems approach, views the sexual abuse as a symptom of family dysfunction. The entire family is viewed as responsible for the deviant sexual behavior. The primary mode of intervention is psychological counseling or family therapy aimed at re-establishing the equilibrium of the family. All members of the family engage in counseling. The objective here is to keep the family intact, based on the assumption that the victim will be further damaged by the ensuing fragmentation of the family if the perpetrator is removed.

Both branches of this perspective start with the assumption that early childhood sexual abuse is generally harmful. And, both approaches are concerned with the short-term and long-term effects on the participants.

Criminal Justice Perspective

The primary assumption of this perspective is that sexual child abuse is a criminal act committed by the perpetrator. The primary model of intervention is to identify the offender and assess culpability. Once a determination of guilt is completed, the law recommends action. This action takes the form of imposing sanctions on the offender, intended to have punitive, rehabilitative, and deterrent consequences.

The criminal perspective is perhaps the most longstanding view, as evidenced by sanctions in primitive cultures against incest and rape. The focus of this perspective is on the punishment and rehabilitation of the offender, and as such, it is little concerned with the role of the victim. The assumption of this perspective is that the most effective method of dealing with the problem of sexual child abuse is to punish the offender. Only recently has the viewpoint been advanced that punishing the offender also has the unintended consequence of revictimization of the child.

In recent years, several effective programs for treating sexual abuse have been developed throughout the United States. These programs tend to be based on many of the above perspectives, but stem primarily from the psychoanalytic and family systems approach and the rape crisis perspective.

MAJOR ISSUES, PROBLEMS, AND NEEDS

The sexual abuse of juveniles is a major social problem. The underlying theme of much of the literature on sexual child abuse is that this is a family problem. The family backgrounds of these victims share the characteristic of an absence of, or inadequate, parenting behavior. This form of maltreatment, when perpetrated by a parent, reveals a serious departure by that adult from the recognition that children have special needs and must be protected from harm. Role reversal typically accompanies familial sexual abuse, in which the child assumes responsibilities far beyond their years, whereas the parent abdicates parental tasks. Lack of parental warmth and affection often has the result of predisposing other children to being victims of other forms of sexual abuse, such as stranger molestation, child prostitution, or pornography. Some of these family environments often contain a host of additional social problems, such as physical abuse, alcoholism, unstable employment histories, and a breakdown in marital communication and relationships.

Unlike physical abuse, sexual abuse has little concrete evidence to identify it. No characteristic physical scars are left from the abuse. Yet, research indicates that sexual child abuse has long-term consequences not only for the child victims, but also for society. These victims manifest, in varying degrees, runaway behavior, delinquency, promiscuity, learning problems, suicidal behavior, depression, and anxiety. In later life, many of these victims turn to prostitution, homosexuality, and manifest marital problems and sexual dysfunction. The most serious consequence for society is that many of the victims of sexual abuse become, in turn, abusive parents. Thus, the "legacy" of sexual child abuse is transmitted to future generations.

The legal approach to sexual abuse is piecemeal and fragmented. Until recently, the focus was on the perpetrator. Penalizing the perpetrator was thought to be synonymous with helping the victim. The inadequacies of this approach become apparent in light of the fact that many perpetrators are never apprehended nor convicted. And, of those familial perpetrators who are convicted, the persons who are penalized are the other family members--the victim who must testify and feels responsible for bringing this on the family, and other family members who may lose a provider.

Reporting statutes currently attempt to facilitate early identification of the victims of child abuse and sexual child abuse. Yet, many State reporting statutes are directed at medical professionals who see only a small fraction of sexual abuse cases. Teachers, social workers, and psychologists are not mandated by law in all States to report sexual abuse.

The legal approach to child sexual abuse in the form of prostitution and pornography is likewise fragmented. Because such offenses occur in private, and many of the victims are so transient that they are not available to testify, the culpable parties remain outside the reach of the criminal process. Not only does the criminal justice system fail to deal with the majority of these offenders, it also fails to assist the youthful victims. If the victims are apprehended, they are frequently labeled as juvenile offenders and placed in juvenile institutions, rather than receiving assistance of social welfare agencies, which they need.

Medical identification of the phenomenon of sexual child abuse is plagued by other problems. This form of child maltreatment only comes to medical attention in its most severe forms of venereal disease, anatomical injuries, and pregnancies. Many of the victims of milder forms of abuse evade public attention. Of those cases which do appear before medical professionals, many such cases are not reported because of physicians' inability to trace the cause to sexual abuse, or because of their fear of repercussions or loss of confidentiality.

Significant gaps exist in current knowledge of sexual child abuse. Although there is a growing body of literature on the sexual abuse of children, much remains unknown. Much current knowledge focuses on the heterosexual relationship between the father and daughter. Yet other forms of familial incest do occur and need to be researched. Knowledge is extremely limited about certain types of sexual abuse, especially sibling incest, mother-son incest, and homosexual incest. More data is needed on the incidence and extent of these forms of incest, the factors which predispose the participants to this form of abuse, and the consequences of this abuse for the victims.

Little is known about the phenomenon of sequential incest. Incest appears to be an "addictive" phenomenon in which the perpetrator, without outside intervention, is often unable to cease incestuous behavior. As each child approaches puberty, the sexual misconduct commences, only to terminate when the child leaves home. Then, a hiatus occurs until the next child approaches puberty, when the cycle begins anew. The incidence and extent of this problem need to be researched in order to prevent the continual reoccurrence of this form of sexual abuse.

Little is also known about sexual abuse among the middle and upper classes, except for the fact that it also occurs in these higher socio-economic strata. Because sexual abuse among lower-class families more frequently comes to the attention of authorities, data is skewed and tells much about only certain family structures. It would be valuable to learn more about sexual abuse among the higher socioeconomic strata in order to determine if the same etiological factors are present, and if the sexual abuse results in the same psychosocial consequences for these victims.

The literature also tells little of sexual abuse of the very young. The bulk of the literature focuses on the adolescent victim, with some data on the prepubescent victim. However, little is known about sexual abuse of infants or young children, except when it comes to the attention of medical authorities in the form of victims of venereal disease. Further studies of this age group would add much to sexual abuse research.

Although much is known about the perpetrators of sexual abuse, little is known about one type of perpetrator--the juvenile sex offender. A large number of sex crimes are committed by juveniles, including sexual abuse of children. Table 1 (Appendix C, p. 83) shows that 23,442 of the arrests of persons under 18 in 1978 involved possible sex-related offenses. These possible sex-related offenses accounted for 1.0 percent of the total arrests for all persons under 18. Table 7 (Appendix C, p. 95) shows that 11,250 persons under 18 were referred to juvenile court for forcible rape and other sex offenses for 1977. Although the majority of persons under 18 arrested or referred to juvenile court are 15 years or older, it is significant that a large number of the cases involved juveniles under 15 years old. A paradox becomes apparent: are these youthful perpetrators to be treated as offenders, or are they really victims of sexual abuse themselves who are imitating learned behavior? Treatment is often sadly lacking for such youth,

who are handled as juvenile offenders by juvenile court, if apprehended, and who therefore fail to obtain the psychological assistance they need.

Most of the current data concerns female victims of sexual abuse.

Little is known about the male victims of sexual misconduct. Such offenses tend to be especially underreported, perhaps because of the taboo and fears surrounding homosexuality. Are these youth victims of mother-son incest, sibling incest, or father-son incest? Are males more frequently victims of stranger molestation than females? What are the consequences for these youth of the sexual abuse, and do they suffer the same psychosocial effects as do female victims?

Little is known about the effect of sexual abuse on other children in the family. Since incest is a family problem, it is certain that this family constellation would have effects on the family structure, which would be felt by other siblings. Especially important would be data about the vulnerability of these other siblings to sequential incest. What predisposes some siblings to fall victims of incest, while others go unscathed? Do these siblings manifest the same psychosocial consequences of the familial sexual abuse as the abused victims? Do they, in turn, become abusive parents?

The problem of juvenile prostitution and pornography is only recently coming to public attention. Knowledge on these phenomenon consists of a limited number of studies conducted in the flower child era of the 1960's, and from impressionistic accounts in the popular literature.

Because of this paucity of research, much of the knowledge of the child victims is speculative. Little is known about the initiation process by which children are introduced to these occupations. Are they introduced by parents or peers? Are they inducted into the business from the pool of runaways? What are the short-term and long-term effects on children who participate in prostitution and pornography? How are these effects similar and dissimilar for victims of incest and stranger molestation?

In addition, little is known about the link between sexual abuse and other current social problems. Several authorities mentioned above have suggested a correlation between runaway behavior, teenage suicide, delinquency, and prostitution. Yet, much remains unknown about these interrelationships. Why, for example, do some abused children manifest

these behavioral symptoms while others do not? What other factors in conjunction with the sexual abuse, contribute to the manifestation of this behavior?

Finally, little is known about the translation of etiological factors into treatment approaches. For example, which intervention techniques (e.g., child abuse and neglect, rape crisis, psychoanalytic, or criminal justice) function best for what type of families? For example, are immediate rape crisis techniques or family therapy more likely to result in a favorable prognosis for the victim in terms of the long-term consequences of the abuse? What types of families respond best to the intervention techniques of the criminal justice system or the juvenile court? In which families should the criminal justice system remove the offender, and in which families is such intervention most harmful? Which families and which victims respond best to the various intervention methods?

Only by increasing knowledge about the sexual abuse of children can one hope to arrive at an understanding of this social problem. In so doing, not only will the victims of sexual abuse be helped to deal better with the event and its aftermath, but the consequences of sexual abuse to society in terms of the next generation's social problems of delinquency, runaway behavior, prostitution, and perpetrators of the new cycle of child abuse and neglect may be significantly reduced.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- More research is needed on the problems of adolescent victims which often accompany sexual abuse, including runaway behavior, delinquency, acting out, sexual dysfunction, learning problems, suicidal behavior, depression, and anxiety.
- More research is needed on the effect of the sexual abuse on the other members of the household, especially on the victim's siblings.
- More research is needed on the link between physical abuse and sexual abuse--are the perpetrators of sexual abuse themselves victims of physical abuse? Are the victims of sexual abuse also victims of physical abuse?
- More research is needed on the appropriate legal response to sexual abuse, especially in terms of differential treatment of stranger molesters and familial perpetrators, and on the effectiveness of the reporting system.

- More research is needed on additional forms of sexual abuse of children, especially juvenile prostitution and pornography--particularly whether adolescent prostitutes and victims of pornography were themselves also victims of early sexual abuse, and what should be the appropriate legal response to these forms of abuse.
- More research is needed on other forms of familial sexual abuse besides the father-daughter incestuous relationship, especially homosexual incest, mother-son incest, and sibling incest. These forms of abuse should be compared to the heterosexual father-daughter form to determine what are the similarities and differences of these types of incestuous behaviors and the consequences for the victims.
- More research is needed on the phenomenon of sequential incest, and the addictive nature of incest which causes the perpetrator to continue sexual misconduct with successive children.
- More research is needed on juvenile offenders--juveniles who sexually abuse other juveniles. Were these perpetrators themselves abused children, and what should be the appropriate legal response to these children?
- More needs to be known about sexual abuse of juveniles that occurs while they are in custody of the juvenile justice system by other inmates or staff.
- More needs to be known about the translation of etiological factors into treatment approaches, especially in terms of determining the intervention techniques which are most effective for the various types of victims and perpetrators.

The gaps in current knowledge about sexual abuse are large. Considerably more research is needed to illuminate the vast areas of unexplored terrain. One suggestion is that a national symposium be held to further identify, clarify, and highlight the major problems and needs in the area of sexual child abuse as related to the juvenile justice system. Such a symposium could then enable the coming to a consensus about the most effective methods of translating existing knowledge about sexual abuse into action--action which would be efficacious to assist the victims, perpetrators, and their families, and to deal with the legacy of sexual abuse for society.

III. A PRELIMINARY PLAN FOR A NATIONAL SYMPOSIUM
ON THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM AND
SEXUAL ABUSE AND EXPLOITATION OF JUVENILES

The following preliminary plan briefly presents selected major elements of a national symposium which focuses on the juvenile justice system in relation to sexual abuse and exploitation of juveniles. In addition to these elements and suggested major topics to be covered during the symposium, a preliminary list of presenters is provided. This design is presented in order to facilitate further discussion between the National Juvenile Justice System Assessment Center and the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention in planning such a symposium.

A DISCUSSION OF BASIC ELEMENTS OF THE NATIONAL SYMPOSIUM

The following elements are discussed in order to provide a preliminary framework for developing a plan for a national symposium on sexual abuse and exploitation of juveniles.

Purpose

The symposium will be a national forum for the assessment of current knowledge and practice and their implications for providing fair, humane, and effective handling of juvenile victims of sexual abuse and exploitation and their families by the juvenile justice system. The major issues, problems, and needs of the juvenile justice system will be discussed with regard to processing and effectively meeting the needs of juvenile victims and their families, and the requirements of justice. The symposium will serve to establish a foundation for the development of effective strategies, expansion of resources, and creation of coordinated approaches within a Federal, State, and local community context, in order to better accomplish the function and meet the responsibilities of the juvenile justice system in the area of sexual abuse and exploitation of juveniles.

Major Emphasis

The symposium will focus on the problem of sexual abuse and the exploitation of juveniles from the perspective of the juvenile justice system. Although requiring a multidisciplinary and coordinated community approach, the essential role and function of the juvenile justice system in relation to dealing with the problem of juvenile sexual abuse and exploitation is in need of re-examination and assessment. The symposium will consider major issues confronting the juvenile justice system, such as the effective utilization of alternative handling and sentencing, as well as the development and expansion of community resources which can assist in meeting the many and diverse demands placed upon the juvenile justice system with regard to sexual abuse and exploitation of juveniles.

Symposium in Relation to Previous Conferences

Sexual abuse and exploitation has been recognized as an area of major national concern for professionals and the public. Recently a number of regional conferences (e.g., the Symposium on Child Abuse and Child Sexual Abuse held at Palm Springs, CA on June 15, 1979, in cooperation with the Desert Community Mental Health Center and Riverside County Department of Social Services, Children's Services) were held to address issues such as outreach, child advocacy, the medical perspective, and court and law enforcement intervention. In addition, a "National Conference on Sexual Victimization of Children Trauma, Trial, and Treatment," was held (Nov. 29-Dec. 1, 1979) in Washington, D.C., sponsored by the Child Sexual Abuse Victim Assistance Project and the Children's Hospital Medical Center. As the title for the national conference suggests, an all-inclusive, multidisciplinary orientation was adopted because it was felt that collaboration among agencies and across disciplines was essential for the effective management of cases of child sexual abuse. The design for the conference provided an important initial and much-needed forum for sharing of promising new approaches to service delivery, as well as problems or obstacles that hinder fair, humane, and responsible care. While this conference and other regional conferences mark an important beginning, they have been unable to adequately cover the entire area, especially the many

complex issues, problems, and needs in relation to the juvenile justice system. Therefore, it is necessary for a national symposium to be held which focuses primarily on the juvenile justice system in relation to sexual abuse and exploitation of juveniles, and which can continue the momentum of exploring the issues and strategies touched upon at previous conferences and symposiums.

Affiliations

It is felt that it would be constructive in terms of participation and impact for the national symposium to be developed with the cooperation and assistance of a selected number of national organizations. For example, the National District Attorney's Association, American Bar Association, International Association of Chiefs of Police, National Council of Juvenile Court Judges, and other organizations involving probation officers, social service and community agencies, should be contacted in order to enable their involvement and assistance.

Proposed Audience

The major audience for the symposium will be juvenile justice system personnel and individuals who come into frequent contact with the juvenile justice system in carrying out their responsibilities for meeting the needs of juvenile victims and their families. Therefore, in addition to probation, law enforcement, and judicial personnel--social service, medical, advocate, and legislative representatives will participate in order to focus on the juvenile justice system within a broad social and organizational context.

Potential Benefits and End Products

One of the major benefits of the symposium will be the identification and exploration of the role and function of the juvenile justice system in relation to sexual abuse and exploitation of juveniles. This exploration will enable the participants to prioritize and begin to address major issues, problems, and needs with regard to the role and function of the juvenile justice system. In addition to making audio tapes

(cassettes) of the presentations and seminars available to the participants and other interested parties, the seminar discussions should be carefully summarized and compiled in a document which can be used by policymakers at the Federal, State, and local levels, as well as program planners, administrators, researchers, and juvenile justice system trainers.

Types of Presentations

Since the purpose of the symposium is to exchange information and stimulate the development of new ideas and approaches, a varied format will be utilized. A few keynote speakers will present a synthesis of research findings and experience, as well as their assessments, in order to stimulate the discussions to follow in small, focused seminars. In addition, various audio/visual and multi-media presentations will be used to supplement the presentations and serve as illustrations or elaborations of some of the major issues, problems, or needs addressed during the symposium. A major goal of the presentations will be to involve the participants as much as possible in dialogue considering the various perspectives and approaches to the problem as they relate to the operation of the juvenile justice system, and the needs of juvenile victims and their families.

Suggested Process for Developing a Final Plan

It is suggested that the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) provide a grant for the development of a comprehensive plan for a national symposium, as well as the administration of the symposium once it is approved. The selected grantee would secure the assistance of appropriate national organizations and knowledgeable professionals to develop the final plan, as well as obtain or create documents to be distributed to participants prior to attendance. (The description of the problem contained in the present document would be distributed to participants prior to the symposium, in order to provide a conceptual framework and raise significant issues which can be addressed during the symposium.) In addition to the administration of the symposium, the grantee would be

responsible for the development of documents utilizing the information exchanged or developed during the symposium, to be distributed nationally to a diverse audience (e.g., legislators, juvenile justice system administrators, practitioners, community leaders) following the symposium.

MAJOR TOPICAL AREAS

The following are major topical areas for workshops, seminars, and presentations (speakers).

- Achieving Integrative Action on the Federal, State, and Local Levels
 - medical
 - legal
 - social service
 - private care agencies and facilities
 - voluntary community organizations
- Research, Planning, and Development: Expanding and Utilizing the Knowledge Base
 - incidence of sexual abuse and exploitation
 - attitudinal and behavioral patterns associated with sexual abuse and exploitation
 - psychological and behavioral impact of sexual abuse and exploitation
 - treatment and rehabilitation strategies for the juvenile victim and the family
- Illicit Entrepreneurs: Juvenile Prostitution
 - incidence
 - female prostitution
 - male prostitution
 - the economics of prostitution--who profits?
 - the law enforcement perspective
 - the human service perspective
 - programs that work
- Juvenile Pornography: The Victims
 - the incidence
 - the pornographic enterprise: economic and commercial aspects
 - Federal and State legislative actions
 - law enforcement and criminal prosecution
 - the impact on juvenile participants and observers
 - treatment and programmatic strategies for victims

- Juvenile Victims of Sexual Abuse
 - the incidence of sexual abuse and characteristics of victims and offenders
 - the state of knowledge regarding sexual abuse
 - impact of sexual abuse on the juvenile and family
 - treatment and programmatic strategies
 - Federal, State, and local initiatives
- The Legal Processing of Sexual Abuse and Exploitation of Juveniles
 - child custody
 - child protective civil court proceedings
 - alternative sentencing and processing
 - criminal prosecution
 - law enforcement (police) and prosecution roles and functions
 - the impact of legal processing on the juvenile and family
 - humanizing the legal process
- The Training of Justice System Personnel
 - identification of sexual abuse and exploitation
 - intervening to protect the victim(s)
 - the investigative process
 - protecting the juvenile and family during the trial process
 - alternative processing and handling of cases
 - locating and receiving appropriate community services (emergency, temporary shelter, long-term placement)
- The Legislative Arena
 - definitions of sexual abuse and exploitation
 - the identification of incidents
 - central registers and reporting laws
 - legal sanctions
 - establishing and maintaining social services
- Juvenile Advocacy: Who Speaks for the Juvenile and the Family?
 - What does "in the best interests of the child" mean in relation to sexual abuse and exploitation?
 - What are the legal and human service needs of victims and families?
 - How responsive are social service systems to the needs of juveniles and families?
 - What types of advocacy are needed?
- Strategies for Action: Justice, Protection, and Rehabilitation
 - Federal
 - State
 - community

LIST OF PROSPECTIVE PRESENTERS

Topical Area: Achieving Integrative Action on the Federal, State, and Local Levels

Pat Anderson
Community Justice Programs, Inc.
16 North Chestnut St.
Augusta, Maine

John Wedemeyer
Community Congress of San Diego
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Marian Wright Edelman
Director, Children's Defense Fund
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G. Lewis Penner
Executive Director
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Program Specialist
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Topical Area: Research, Planning, and Development: Expanding and Utilizing the Knowledge Base

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Children's Hospital Medical Center
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Ray E. Helfer, M.D.
Department of Human Development
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East Lansing, MI 48824

Topical Area: Juvenile Prostitution

Speakers:

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Los Angeles Police Department
Los Angeles, CA

Jennifer James
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Sgt. Jim Greenlay
Officer Warren MacGinness
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Topical Area: Juvenile Pornography: The Victims

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Ira Glasser, Attorney
American Civil Liberties Union
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Topical Area: Juvenile Victims of Sexual Abuse

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Topical Area: The Legal Processing of Sexual Abuse and Exploitation of Juveniles

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Honorable James J. Delaney
District Judge
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(NCJGCJ)

Honorable John F. Mendoza
District Court Judge
8th Judicial District
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David Binder
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Topical Area: The Training of Justice System Personnel

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Topical Area: Juvenile Advocacy: Who Speaks for the Juvenile and the Family?

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APPENDIX A

NATIONAL JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM ASSESSMENT CENTER

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AND PROGRAM MONITOR**

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APPENDIX B
REFERENCES

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APPENDIX C

TABLES

Table 1

NUMBER OF PERSONS UNDER 18 ARRESTED FOR POSSIBLE SEX RELATED OFFENSES,
BY AGE, 1978

Offense \ Age Group	10 and Under N . %	11-12 N %	13-14 N %	15 N %	16 N %	17 N %	Total N	%
Forcible Rape	75 2	185 4	842 18	820 18	1,156 26	1,439 32	4,517	19
Prostitution and Commercialized Vice	33 1	78 2	548 13	735 17	851 20	1,967 47	4,212	18
Sex Offenses*	426 4	892 8	3,109 26	2,248 18	2,444 22	2,723 23	11,842	51
Offenses Against Family and Children*	671 23	161 6	398 21	476 18	530 20	635 28	2,871	12
TOTAL	1,205 5	1,316 6	4,897 21	4,279 18	4,981 21	6,764 29	23,442	100

*"Sex offenses" includes statutory rape and offenses against chastity, common decency, and morals. Attempts are included. "Offenses against the family and children" includes nonsupport, neglect, desertion, or abuse of family and children.

Source: U.S. Department of Justice. Federal Bureau of Investigation. Uniform Crime Reports for the United States--1978. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979), p. 194.

Table constructed by the NATIONAL JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM ASSESSMENT CENTER (Sacramento, CA: American Justice Institute, 1979).

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1 OF 2

Table 2

NUMBER OF PERSONS UNDER 18 ARRESTED FOR POSSIBLE SEX RELATED OFFENSES,
BY SEX, 1978

Offense	Sex		Male		Female		Total
			N	%	N	%	
Forcible Rape			3,526	98	58	2	3,584
Prostitution and Commercialized Vice			891	31	2,031	69	2,922
Sex Offenses*			8,953	91	897	9	9,850
Offenses Against Family and Children*			1,171	55	953	45	2,124
TOTAL			14,541	79	3,939	21	18,480

*"Sex offenses" includes statutory rape and offenses against chastity, common decency, and morals. Attempts are included. "Offenses against the family and children" includes nonsupport, neglect, desertion, or abuse of family and children.

Source: U.S. Department of Justice. Federal Bureau of Investigation. Uniform Crime Reports for the United States--1978. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979), p. 193.

Table constructed by the NATIONAL JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM ASSESSMENT CENTER (Sacramento, CA: American Justice Institute, 1979).

Table 3

TRENDS IN ARRESTS FOR PROSTITUTION AND COMMERCIALIZED VICE
FOR PERSONS UNDER 18, BY SEX, 1969-1978

Sex \ Arrests	Arrests (1969)		Arrests (1978)		% Increase
Sex	N	%	N	%	
Male	236	28	814	32	245%
Female	617	72	1,748	68	183%
TOTAL	853	100	2,562	100	200%

Source: U.S. Department of Justice. Federal Bureau of Investigation.
Uniform Crime Reports for the United States--1978. (Washington, D.C.:
U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979), p. 189.

Table constructed by the NATIONAL JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM ASSESSMENT
CENTER (Sacramento, CA: American Justice Institute, 1979).

Table 4

INCIDENCE OF VALIDATED REPORTS OF SEXUAL ABUSE
BY SEX OF VICTIM, FOR JUVENILES,
BIRTH THROUGH 17 YEARS OLD, 1976

Sex Offense	Sex		Males		Females		Total	
			N	%	N	%	N	%
Statutory Rape			10	5	175	95	185	9
Molestation			72	13	502	87	547	29
Sexual Deviant Acts			94	44	122	56	216	11
Incest			35	9	377	91	412	21
Sexual Abuse (Unspecified)			99	17	489	83	588	30
TOTAL			310	16	1,665	84	1,975	100

Source: American Humane Association. National Analysis of Official Child Neglect and Abuse Reporting. (Denver, CO: American Humane Association, 1977), Table 4.6, p. II-22.

Table constructed by the NATIONAL JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM ASSESSMENT CENTER (Sacramento, CA: American Justice Institute, 1979).

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Table 5

INCIDENCE OF VALIDATED REPORTS OF SEXUAL ABUSE
BY TYPE AND AGE OF VICTIM, 1976

Sex Offense \ Age	0-2 N	0-2 %*	3-5 N	3-5 %	6-8 N	6-8 %	9-11 N	9-11 %	12-14 N	12-14 %	15-17 N	15-17 %	Total	%
Statutory Rape	4	2	20	10	26	14	36	20	58	32	40	22	184	9
Molestation	23	4	88	16	95	17	101	18	144	25	114	20	565	29
Sexual Deviant Acts	7	3	31	14	44	21	63	30	42	20	25	12	212	11
Incest	6	2	14	3	29	7	67	16	158	39	135	33	409	21
Sexual Abuse (Unspecified)	31	5	58	10	97	17	99	17	192	33	108	18	585	30
TOTAL	71	3	211	11	291	15	366	19	594	30	422	22	1,955	100

Note: 28 States and three territories reporting.

*Percents as rounded.

Source: American Humane Association. National Analysis of Official Child Neglect and Abuse Reporting.
(Denver, CO: American Humane Association, 1977), Table 4.7.3, pp. II-27 and II-28.

Table constructed by the NATIONAL JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM ASSESSMENT CENTER (Sacramento, CA: American Justice Institute, 1979).

Table 6

REPORTING PARTY OF CHILDREN ABUSED, NEGLECTED, AND MOLESTED,
CALIFORNIA, 1977

REPORTING PARTY	CALIFORNIA			PERCENT		
	A	N	M	A	N	M
Victim	322	63	615	10.2	4.3	24.1
Father	114	62	273	3.6	4.2	10.6
Mother	455	102	1,184	14.4	7.0	46.4
Social Worker	222	146	77	7.0	9.9	3.0
Religious Practitioner	7	1	1	0.2	0.0	0.0
Nurses	271	22	8	8.5	1.5	0.3
Babysitter	45	50	11	1.4	3.4	0.4
Other Relative	163	89	124	5.2	6.1	4.8
Neighbor	220	321	42	6.9	22.0	1.6
Doctor	515	122	21	16.4	8.3	0.8
Teacher	530	28	34	16.7	2.0	1.3
Other	297	458	173	9.5	31.3	6.7
Unknown						
TOTAL	3,161	1,464	2,563			100.0%
Total Cases: 7,352						

A=Abused

N=Neglected

M=Molested

Source: Department of Justice. Bureau of Identification. Special Services Program. Child Abuse Unit. Identification and Information Branch. Unpublished memo. (Sacramento, CA: n.d.).

Table 7

NUMBER OF PERSONS UNDER 18 REFERRED TO JUVENILE COURT INTAKE FOR SELECTED OFFENSES,
BY AGE, 1977

Offenses \ Age	0-9	%	10	%	11	%	12	%	13	%	14	%	15	%	16	%	17	%	Total
Forcible Rape	38	2	34	1	37	1	83	3	190	8	366	15	450	19	644	28	553	23	2,395
Sex Offenses	128	1	89	1	148	2	319	4	761	9	1,188	13	1,686	19	2,114	24	2,422	27	8,855
TOTAL	166	1	123	1	185	2	402	4	951	8	1,554	14	2,136	19	2,758	25	2,975	26	11,250

Source: National Center for Juvenile Justice. "1977 National Estimates, Reason for Referral by Age." Special request processed by National Center for Juvenile Justice and National Juvenile Justice System Assessment Center. (Pittsburgh, PA: National Center for Juvenile Justice, 1977).

Table constructed by the NATIONAL JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM ASSESSMENT CENTER (Sacramento, CA: American Justice Institute, 1979).

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