

Pedophilia /pēd-ə-fil-ē-ə/n: sexual perversion in which children are the preferred sexual object





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This special issue centers on the theme of child sexual exploitation— a crime which remains a potential threat to every child in America.

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William H. Webster, Director

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## Director's Message

Last Spring, in a conference with religious and political leaders concerned over law enforcement's efforts against pornography, the President of the United States told the group that having "identified the worst hazardous-waste sites in America—we have to do the same with the worst sources of pornography." As hazardous wastes destroy this Nation's environment, pornography permeates the backbone of American society and destroys one of our most valuable resources—our children.

Public concern over this perverted assault on children was directly expressed in 1978 when Congress passed the Protection of Children Against Sexual Exploitation Act. The FBI investigates criminal conduct defined by the Act and gives high priority to those pornography cases involving children. One of the problems encountered in the investigation of this type of pornography is that much of the material is produced by a clandestine subculture with perverted sexual interests focusing on children. Because the pornographic material produced by this subculture is for members self-gratification rather than for commercial profit, these investigations are complicated.

The FBI has achieved notable success in combating the child exploitation problem that affects our Nation. Undercover operations conducted in major U.S. cities have resulted in a number of arrests, indictments, and convictions. Laboratory examination of pornographic materials often provides valuable information which can identify sources and locations of manufacture and distribution. Also, steps are being taken to expand our investigative techniques regarding these investigations to include storing data on violators in the Organized Crime Information System. However, the key element to a more effective enforcement program is cooperation.

The exploitation of children transcends jurisdictional boundaries. And because of the nature and national scope of this crime, many of the thousands of children who disappear without a trace each year fall victim to sexual exploitation, no single law enforcement agency can cope with the inherent investigative problems. Our efforts need to be coordinated—not fragmented. Information must be shared—not withheld.

The FBI has already established one joint task force specializing in child sex exploitation cases. Operating out of the New York City Office, the task force is composed of FBI Agents, U.S. Customs Service officers, investigators from the U.S. Postal Service, and officers from the New York City, Nassau, and Suffolk County Police Departments.

As another means to assist those in law enforcement who investigate child sex offenders. a network of Federal, State, and local officers has been formed through the efforts of members of the Behavioral Science Unit at the FBI Academy, Quantico, Va. Twenty-five officers from various agencies throughout the United States took part in a 5-day seminar, during which attendees presented and participated in a discussion of various topics concerning the sexual exploitation of children. A major goal of this seminar was to foster personal contact among officers who work in this sensitive and difficult-to-penetrate area. Opening lines of communication between agencies eliminates one of the stumbling blocks to effective investigation and prosecution.

The dangers of sexual exploitation and pornography to its victims are only too evident—physical and emotional suffering and ruined lives. As a civilized society, we cannot afford to let our children pay the price for our inaction. Every child in America is a potential victim of sexual abuse and exploitation. For this reason, all of us in law enforcement must join together in the protection of our Nation's most valuable resource—our children.

William H Wirber

William H. Webster Director January 1, 1984

## **INCEST: The Last Taboo** (Part I)

Bv ROBERT J. BARRY

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The reported cases of incest represent only a small percentage of the actual figure. It has been estimated that between 60,000 and 100,000 female children are sexually abused annually, and yet, only 20 percent of these crimes are reported.1 Authorities believe incest affects over 10 percent of all American families, with at least 5,000 cases of father/daughter incest.2 In a 1965 survey of over 1,000 college-aged women, more

than 25 percent reported having a sexual experience with an adult before age 13.3 In only 6 percent of those cases were the incidents reported to the authorities. It has been estimated that one out of every four women will be sexually abused before reaching the age of 18.4

Because incest occurs within the family, it often goes unreported. Unlike rape or molestation, incest is initiated by a loved and trusted adult upon whom the child is dependent. Therefore, the child may allow it to continue for years without reporting it.

Oftentimes, when the child does report incest, she is faced with disbelief or punishment, or the mother blames the child for seducing the father. On other occasions, the mother believes the child and takes legal action against the husband. However, when faced with the possibility of losing him, she withdraws her charges, and likewise, forces the child to withdraw her accusations.



## "The bulk of the responsibility in seeing that incest cases are reported . . . lies with society."

In other cases, the child will allow the incest to continue because she sees it as a way of saving the family. She may foresee the potential consequences, such as the dissolution of the family, and therefore, continues to endure the behavior.

Not all cases of incest involve feelings of guilt. In some cases, the child assumes that incest is normal, accepted behavior.

The bulk of the responsibility in seeing that incest cases are reported, however, lies with society. American society is having a difficult time accepting the fact that incest does occur. It is a serious societal problem that will continue in a vicious cycle from one generation to the next if steps are not taken to alleviate the problem.

Americans have always viewed sexual relations among family members as taboo. The horror and shock of incest makes people feel uncomfortable—they pretend it does not exist or it is a fabrication of a child's active imagination. Others believe that incest is very rare, occurring only when the participants are mentally or emotionally abnormal.

Many theories have been advanced on the origin of incest as a taboo. Some authorities believe that this labeling was not a result of a natural repugnance of sex with offspring but a psychological defense against a natural experience. It is not entirely surprising that people who live together would develop sexual relationships. Parents and children respond willingly to affectionate contacts. The responsibility to define the limits of intimacy lies with the parents. For some parents, a taboo fails to ensure that they meet that responsibility.

It is often believed that children fall prey to strangers who fit the mythical "dirty old man in the raincoat" stereotype. However, most sexual abuse cases involve individuals known to the child. Indeed, most cases involve intrafamily persons—fathers, step-fathers, uncles, live-in boyfriends, and others who have access to the child.

Adult sexual involvement with a child is complex. It may be an effort by the adult to compensate for feelings of inadequacy; the adult may be retreating from conflicting or intimidating relationships with other adults to less threatening nonadults.

Incest, like child abuse, wife beating, and rape, is a subject more victims are now willing to talk about. Contrary to popular belief, incest occurs most commonly in middleclass families. It is a problem that affects all social and economic levels, influencing the lives of millions of Americans.

The following myths concerning incest have proved to be false:

The aggressor—the father in most cases—is inferior in intelligence and psychotic.

The incestuous father is usually a churchgoer, a decent provider, and is usually of average intelligence. It may be only when his activities are discovered that he displays neurotic behavior.

The incestuous father is seduced by a promiscuous daughter.

A promiscuous or seductive daughter is often the result but never the primary cause of an incestuous relationship.

Incest is less traumatic than rape or other types of sexual molestation. This is not true since, unlike rape or molestation, incest occurs within the home, leaving no escape from the assaults.

Children born of incestuous relationships will be retarded or handicapped.

While this is a possibility, not all children born out of incestuous relationships are abnormal.

Incest is always confined to one child.

Although a father will usually "target" one child, there are many cases in which a father has had sexual contact with more than one daughter. Even more surprising are those cases where the father has sexual contact with both sons and daughters.

Incest is harmless.

Although there is often no use of physical force, studies show that emotional damage is usually done. About 20 to 30 percent of disturbed children have been involved in an incestuous relationship.<sup>5</sup>

#### The Proincest Lobby

Recently, certain academic communities and popular writings have begun to question the incest taboo.<sup>6</sup> A master's thesis presented to the American Psychiatric Association's Institute on Hospital and Community



Mr. Barry

Psychiatry contended that some incest experiences appear to be positive and even beneficial to some individuals.

The Sex Information and Education Council of the United States (SIECUS) recently reported the incest taboo as a mindless prejudice and advanced the idea that society is roughly in the same position today with respect to incest as it was 100 years ago with respect to our fears of masturbation.<sup>7</sup>

Currently, there are three major arguments for easing the incest taboo, including:

- The rate of incidence is so high as to make prohibition absurd;
- Guilt about the act may cause more damage to persons involved than does the act itself; and
- The incest fear has a chilling effect on the expression of loving feeling within the family.<sup>8</sup>

One international organization, the Rene Guyon Society, argues "sex before eight or it's too late!" This would appear to be in agreement with the current trend toward a more permissive society.

These proincest lobbyists have presented themselves as saviors of the American family. They frequently argue that incest would be a remedy for the divorce rate, teenage pregnancy, alcoholism, and other problems families are currently facing.

#### Laws

Laws involving incest differ from State to State with respect to how closely related two people must be before copulation is unlawful. They also vary in degrees of punishment. One thing every State has in common is the prohibition of marriage between parents and children, between siblings, between grandparents and grandchildren, uncles and nieces, and aunts and nephews.

Incest is usually defined as sexual exploitation between persons so closely related that marriage is prohibited by law. While this definition indicates that there is sexual intercourse, it is important to note that not all incestuous relationships involve intercourse. The term "intercourse" refers specifically to sexual activity between two individuals of the opposite sex. Beyond this usual definition are two other types of sexual child molestation that are closely related to incest and share some common features.

The first type, psychological incest, does not require that the individuals be blood relatives. It only requires that the adult assume the role of a parent. This type of incest extends to other nonrelated family members as well, such as step-uncles and aunts and step-siblings. This type of incest often occurs in families that include a step-parent, a foster parent, or a live-in boyfriend of the mother.

The second type of incest involves sexual contact between persons of the same sex, such as father/son, mother/daughter, or siblings of the same sex. Because, father/son and mother/daughter incest are basically unstudied areas, very little can be written about their frequency of occurrence, the dynamics of the situa-

#### "Incest generally develops in multiproblem families."

tion, the traumatic effects, or mode of treatment. It is known that in these types of incest, the parent is usually either a latent or overt homosexual.<sup>9</sup>

Even though the penalties for incest range from 90 days to life imprisonment, the laws are difficult to enforce. The perpetrator is rarely apprehended, convicted, sentenced, or imprisoned since there is usually little physical evidence of abuse, no eye witnesses, and the credibility of children is often questioned in court.

However, in many States, there are child abuse reporting laws that are starting to reverse the trend. The law requires the reporting of all suspected cases, instead of only those in which there is physical evidence or an eyewitness, and further requires cross-reporting between police and child protective service agencies. As reporting laws spread across the country, there is the possibility that there will be increased reporting, intervention, treatment, and prosecution in cases of incest.

#### The Family

Incest generally develops in multiproblem families. Family members are often emotionally isolated from one another, and there is a great deal of loneliness and hostility before the act occurs. Early sexual abuse imposed on a child can be devastating to her development. The child may be more likely to become involved in drugs, prostitution, or other demeaning lifestyles as a result of this abuse. 10 Society must trust parents to raise chil-

dren in a way conducive to the personal growth and development of the child. This is a tremendous responsibility for parents. They must learn to tread the grey line between healthy loving support and a lustful sexual intrusion.

There are many reasons that drive a parent into a sexual relationship with a child. Incestuous parents have a lack of impulse control.<sup>11</sup> This lack of control is often combined with mental instability that makes for a potentially dangerous situation.

The incestuous parent is often caught up in a confusion of roles or an attempt to escape from adult realities. The child is looked upon as another personality. Often, the participating father is going through a midlife crisis. The problem is further complicated by the wife's relationship with her spouse, combined with her rejection of the daughter because of jealousy.

There are many long term effects from this type of family dysfunction. If the problem is brought to the attention of authorities, the family may be separated. The victimized girl will often grow up expecting rejection, betrayal, and punishment. Sigmund Freud believed that incest often causes neurosis later in life. Many of these abused children will grow up to abuse their own children.

The typical incestuous family is character disordered. Acting-out behavior is the basis for interaction between family members, serving as a substitute for any direct communication. This type of atmosphere tends to foster narcissistic and self-centered individuals.

#### **Incest with Parent**

Although the dynamics of parent/ child incest and pedophilia are similar, there are some differences. Pedophilia primarily involves the dynamics of an individual; in every case of parental incest, there is some form of family dysfunction.<sup>12</sup>

Based on experience with patients of both psychotherapy and special treatment centers organized to treat victims of sexual abuse and incestuous families, many clinicians and social workers have concluded that father/daughter incest is rampant and of epidemic proportions.

#### Incest with Functional Parent

Stepchildren are sometimes more vulnerable to incest for several reasons. First, the taboo on incest between two partners who do not have true blood relationship may be less severe. Second, stepfathers, who may not have known their stepchildren as young children, may have less of a paternal impulse to act as a shield or deterrent to incest. They may also be more likely than natural fathers to have unrepressed sexual feelings. Third, families with stepfathers may be more disorganized.

These factors suggest that step-father incest may have dynamics that distinguish it from ordinary natural father incest. Although the man is not the true parent, the dynamics of the situation bear some similarity to a case of parent/child incest. Such relationships set up a volatile triangle of conflict and rivalry that can be extremely damaging to family ties. The sexual encounters place the child's relationship to his most trusted adults in jeopardy. In some instances, parents themselves have complicity in

## "Incest is always a devastating and emotionally disturbing experience for the victim."

the situation by virtue of their negligence in failing to protect the child.

#### Sibling Incest

Incest between brother and sister is believed to be the most common form of incest. It is also considered to be the least reprehensible and least reported.

Sibling incest may not be as traumatic if the victims are the same age and if there is no betrayal of trust. It may well be the "show me yours and I'll show you mine" activity that many young children play.

The most common type of sibling incest involves a younger sister and older brother. Since the sister is naive, she may not actually know that she is doing wrong. The greater the age difference, the more violent and traumatic the act can be.

The older sister/younger brother incest pattern is similar to that of mother/son. The boy is insecure and unable to relate to women. The older sister believes that she is inferior and inadequate and feels threatened in peer relationships.

There is also a large amount of homosexual incest between siblings. Brothers are sexually involved with brothers almost as often as they are with sisters. Sisters also have a fair number of homosexual experiences. When homosexual experiences are lumped together with heterosexual ones, it is clear to see that sexual acts among siblings are impressively common. Many of the experiences involve different types of coercion, both for the boys and girls.

The use of force is not limited to partners who are adolescents or to much older partners. Some of the experiences that take place between siblings that are close in age may involve force and coercion.

Sibling incest should not be romanticized as it sometimes is in literature and in men's magazines. The stereotype of innocent childhood sexual games has only limited applicability. Sexual experiences among family members are more frequent than many people would expect.

#### Father/Daughter Incest

Incest is always a devastating and emotionally disturbing experience for the victim.<sup>13</sup> The emotional and psychological impact is a long drawnout problem. It may affect the child throughout her lifetime, causing depression, withdrawal, alcohol and drug abuse, poor self-image, suicide attempts, promiscuous sexual behavior, and homosexuality.<sup>14</sup>

Incest is bewildering to the child who is assaulted by the very people she has come to love, trust, and depend upon. The child may feel trapped because, unlike rape or child molestation, the child has nowhere to hide, no home to which she can run. She cannot feel safe in her own house.

Seldom does the father use physical force or violence. Tremendous sexual coercion is built into the father/daughter relationship. The daughter has been taught to obey her father and looks to him for moral guidance. Another characteristic often found in the daughter is a tendency to be passive and obedient, not oppose her father's will.

In many cases, the incestuous relationship makes the daughter feel special and satisfies her craving for affection, attention, and physical closeness. In other cases, the victim may remain silent out of fear of being punished. She may be afraid of not being believed or of being beaten or asked to leave the house. She may even fear breaking up the family. Finally, the child might actually believe that she is to blame, that she is the quilty one, not her father.

Incest often causes pain, fear, and revulsion. The child is aware that what is happening is not right. The sex act itself may cause physical, as well as psychological, damage.

Incest often results in the daughter continually running away from home. Problematic sexual behavior also characterizes the sexually abused child. She will either have an aversion to sex or be sexually promiscuous.<sup>15</sup>

According to some authorities, over 70 percent of incestuous relationships lasted more than 1 year, and over 10 percent lasted more than 3 years. One study revealed over 70 percent of the relationships lasted more than 3 years! Incestuous acts tend to last for long lengths of time. In about a quarter of the cases, sexual contact is a one-time experience. 16

As the victim matures, she may continue to punish herself for the crime she believes she has committed. She may lose all confidence in herself and never be able to trust again. Once the trust of a parent/child relationship is destroyed, it is very difficult to reconstruct.

#### The Father

Studies of incestuous fathers reveal that the incestuous father was

sexually abused as a boy or he witnessed sexual relations between his own father and sisters.<sup>17</sup> These men had typically left home at a very early age and lived in nonfamily environments. The absence of an authoritarian parent figure enabled him to disregard the incest taboo since his experience had failed to emphasize the special value of the parent/child relationship.

Incestuous fathers tended to be emotionally deprived of affection and attention as children, and desertion by their own fathers was often cited as a primary causation factor.

It has also been noted that father/daughter incest is sometimes characterized by chronic alcoholism on the part of the father.18 He may have feelings of frustration and may initiate sexual contact with his daughter because of his inability to cope with stress from his environment. He believes he is not living up to his potential-his manhood is questioned. Through incest, the incestuous father inflates his ego and his masculine strength and power. Through sexual contact with his daughter, the father attempts to find love, warmth, and attention that he may not be receiving from his wife. Incest seems safer and more convenient than having an extramarital affair.

The incestuous father is typically authoritarian, domineering, and inspires fear in his family. His demonstration of power typically manifests itself in a tendency to be over controlling and overly restrictive. He may require that his teenage daughter come

home directly after school and forbid her to interact socially with boys her own age. Frequently, the father exercises control through excessive disciplinary actions or by granting the victim special favors. These favors alienate the victim from the mother as well as siblings, who may be jealous and perceive the child as being spoiled by the father.

When the incestuous relationship is discovered, the father almost always denies the accusation. He blames his daughter, his wife, but never himself.

Incestuous fathers usually can be classified as symbiotic personalities.<sup>20</sup> The symbiotic father is one who has strong unmet needs for warmth, for someone to be close to, for someone to touch and hold him. He does not know how to be close and affectionate in a nonsexual sense or how to meet his needs to belong and have a warm relationship in a nonphysical way. He sometimes uses the relationship as a channel for hostility, stimulation, and excitement.

There are four types of symbiotic personalities—tyrant, rationalizer, introvert, and alcoholic.<sup>21</sup> The tyrant rules over the family with strict discipline. He may use threats of physical force in demanding submission by his daughter. However, she usually submits without the use of physical force

because the father often has genuine feelings of affection and the daughter is starved for attention. The prospect of someone coming between him and his daughter is terrifying to the father and produces a violent reaction. This jealousy can create paranoid behavior. He has a great basic distrust of people. It is this characteristic that keeps him removed from others and anxious for the closeness that he attempts to satisfy physically.

The rationalizer justifies incest with his daughter by believing that it is his way of expressing love to her. He has great unfulfilled needs for warmth and closeness and therefore sometimes confuses sex with love. Other rationalizers justify incest as sex education—they are teaching their daughters the correct procedures. The rationalizer feels guilt for his misdeeds and attempts to assuage his guilt by giving reasonable-sounding explanations for his behavior. This is an ego defense mechanism.

The introvert is the father who turns inward to the family for all needs. He seldom leaves home except for work. He has little contact with other people and looks upon his home as a haven from the pressures that have built up with his additional responsibilities in his career. Many times, the introvert is depressed. If his relations with his wife deteriorate and sex is discontinued between them, he turns to his daughter to meet his needs. These fathers are generally ineffectual in their social relationships outside the home.

The alcoholic incestuous father has a strong need to be independent—to have someone take care of him. He seeks comfort in drink and uses it as a vehicle for getting closer

#### "The mother's denial of the incest is usually based on either a desire to keep the family intact or on a financial or emotional dependence on her husband."

to people, either physically, emotionally, or both. An incestuous father who drinks is trying to blot out his dependency needs at the same time he is turning to his daughter to satisfy those very same needs. Alcohol weakens his self-control, and later on, alleviates his guilt. The alcohol serves to lower the father's inhibitions. After the sexual activity, he often blames the drinking, not himself, for the incest.

Two important factors that are present in most cases of father/ daughter incest are stress due to change or crises and opportunity. 22 Any change, good or bad, that reguires a person to make an adjustment generates stress. Too much stress leads to trouble. People respond in different ways to stress. One may have a heart attack, another may suffer from severe depression, a third may start beating his child, and a fourth may commit incest. The recent occurrence of stressful events in the family has often been associated with the onset of incest.

The other important factor in incest is the opportunity for the act to occur. Conditions that leave father and daughter alone together for long periods of time provide an opportunity for incest. In families where the mother is away, father and daughter are often alone together. This, coupled with stress, may cause the father to seek in his daughter a haven from the pressures in his life. He would normally look to his wife for this relief, but she is unavailable. The daughter, who is lacking the motherly love she desires, turns to the father for attention and affection. Some mothers will intentionally set up the opportunity by starting to work at night or going out socially at night.23

#### The Daughter

The personality of the daughter plays an important role in the father/ daughter incestuous relationship. The typical incestuous daughter has either a poor relationship with her mother or none at all. She feels rejected by her mother. She has low self-esteem. feels unattractive, unloved, and inadequate. She is looking for attention and affection but does not make friends because she fears rejection. If the father makes sexual advances toward her, she learns that she can get special favors or privileges by engaging in sex with him. Daughters note their father's frustration over lack of sexual activity with the mother. They take the mother's place as a sexual partner to save the family from dissolution and satisfy their own needs for affection as well. When the mother and father fight, a teenage daughter may attempt to calm the father by offering him sex. She sees herself as a rescuer of her father, sensing that he is unhappy or needs somebody to nurture, sooth, and love

There are two different types of daughters involved in incest: The Lolita type—a temptress—and those who are terrorized into accepting advances.<sup>24</sup>

A popular theory of the abused child is that of Lolita, the beguiling woman/child who embarks on the seduction of an older man. This absolves that man of all guilt—he was tempted and fell and now begs for-

giveness for this act. Authorities usually disagree with the validity of the seductress theory. More often than not, the daughter is made to comply by the use of physical force or psychological coercion.

Many of these children grow up believing that their father is a magical hero who holds the family together. In this atmosphere, the true deterrent that comes with a taboo does not exist. These terrorized women grow up believing that they are helpless. There is an awareness that things are a bit different from how things should be. The critical factor present is fear. Added to this is shame, intimidation, and a feeling that if the child can just get it over with, it will end.

#### The Mother

The mother portrays a very enigmatic figure in the father/daughter incest relationship. Quite often, she is the silent partner who consciously or unconsciously fails to take appropriate action.

There are three distinct types of mothers of incest victims.25 The most common is the passive, silent type who reverses roles with her daughter. This mother is unable to have an affectionate, maturing relationship with her family. The daughter assumes the responsibility of supplying the emotional needs for other family members, as well as the mother. Once the burden of the mother's duties has been passed along to the daughter, it is not long before the transfer of the sexual duties follows. The mother is involved in this transfer either by ignoring the activity or by subtly promoting it. The daughter feels betrayed by her mother's failure to come to her aid and her willingness to believe the husband instead of her daughter.

The second type is the mother who is actively involved in the promotion of incestuous behavior. This type is usually disturbed and may be mentally ill. She is very dependent and leans heavily on her husband and daughter. She grows to resent her daughter for replacing her. As her resentment grows, she seeks out ways and means to punish and demean her daughter. There have been incidences where the mother has witnessed the father rape the daughter.26

The third and last common type is the strong mother who is financially independent. This woman takes her duties seriously. When the incestuous relationship is discovered, she does not hesitate to leave the husband and protect her daughter.

The typical mother who finds her husband and daughter involved in a sexual relationship is caught in a dilemma-she must side with either her husband or daughter. She may feel inadequate, undesired, and guilty. Often, she will vent her rage to the daughter.

The mother's denial of the incest is usually based on either a desire to keep the family intact or on a financial or emotional dependence on her husband. In most instances, she is the passive wife of a domineering husband, unable to protect her children. Occasionally, her inability to protect her daughter is simply the result of absence from the family due to employment, divorce, illness, or death. She may even make excuses for her husband, such as he was drunk or he simply lost control.

The mother's reactions can be a determining factor in the amount of psychological damage caused to the child. Unfortunately, that reaction is usually one of hostility.

#### Father/Son Incest

Father/son incest involves homsexual behavior. The son learns to hate his father, and therefore, he grows to hate himself. He loses his feelings of manhood and self-esteem.

#### Mother/Son Incest

Mother/son incest is not very common. In a vast majority of the cases, the father is no longer an active part of the family or is frequently away from home. This drives the mother to seek a safe sexual partner-her son. She will seduce him and maneuver him into the role of the father/husband. Although she may realize that incestuous relationships are wrong, her emotions may overpower her. This woman suffers enormous guilt by rationalizing that their relationship in one of a special kind of love.

#### Mother/Daughter Incest

Although mother/daughter incest is rare, it does occur. The women who commit these acts are disturbed women who seem to see their daughters as extensions of themselves. They may not have a sense of themselves as individuals, and they are desperately in need of psychological treatment.

The conclusion of this article will discuss the physical, psychological, and emotional effects of incest and incarceration vs. treatment of offend-

(Continued next month)

#### **Footnotes**

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  - 22 Ibid., pp. 112-120.
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- <sup>24</sup> Louis Armstrong, Kiss Daddy Goodnight (New York, N.Y.: Hawthorne Books, Inc., 1978), pp. 132-136.
  - 25 Supra note 18, p. 156. <sup>26</sup> Supra note 17, p. 112.

## Child Pornography and Sex Rings A counterculture child sex in reported

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Over the past 10 years, the availability of literature on sexual assault has increased significantly. Due primarily to the feminist movement speaking out on rape 1 and incest,2 clinical studies suggesting interventions have been initiated.3

The incidence data on child sexual assault reveal that one in four females will be molested or raped by the time she reaches age 20 and that she will be at risk for sexual victimization by a family member.<sup>4</sup> The numbers for male victimization are more hidden, perhaps because boys are reluctant to admit to being victimized. However, clinical data are increasingly suggesting that boys may be at equal risk for sexual victimization <sup>5</sup> since they are the preferred target of habitual pedophiles <sup>6</sup> and victims of child sex rings.<sup>7</sup>

A counterculture movement for child sex is reported in the media to be gaining momentum through radical writings and opinions of proincest groups, organized pedophiles, and sexologists who argue for children's sexual rights.8 Also, self-styled therapists are publicly arguing that the issue under debate is the child's perception of consent and freedom of choice.9 Even in professional circles of psychiatry, law, and law enforcement, sexual activity between adults and prepubertal children tends to gain more sympathy for the child and outrage for the adult than does sexual activity involving adults and adolescents, especially when the activity includes the exchange of money and/or material goods. Sympathy for victims seems to be inversely proportional to their age.

This article seeks to contribute to an understanding of the nature, organization, and operation of the type of sexual victimization of children and adolescents which occurs when groups of children are formed into rings and when molesting, pornography and/or prostitution are the major sexual components of these rings.

#### Study

An exploratory research project focusing on methodology development regarding the study of child victims, the perpetrators, and the consumers of child pornography was designed as a first step toward increasing recognition and understanding of the problem of the use of children in pornography. The project constituted a field-initiated model and used consultants working with and investigating child sexual assault or counseling the child victims and their families

to establish an information network on the phenomenon of child sex rings and the production of pornography within these rings. Information was regularly pooled on clinical case studies of particular rings, as well as an analysis of the types of cases coming under law enforcement jurisdiction.

Project consultants were asked to review their files for cases involving one or more adults who were known to be simultaneously involved sexually with several children or adolescent victims. Single victim/offender cases were excluded from the study.

The sample for this article consists of the first 40 cases received from the project consultants. While all of the cases were known to law enforcement agencies, only a minority were concurrently involved with a mental health agency.

#### **Adult Component of the Rings**

In all 40 cases, adults (at least 10-15 years older than the victims) were the dominant leaders and organized and operated the sex rings. In no case did groups of children or youths seek out an adult for sex, pornography, or prostitution. people were selectively gathered together for a sexual purpose, usually implicit in the initial stages. The timing of the initiation into the sexual activity varied from the first contact to months, with the longest time periods occurring in those cases where prepubescent children were involved.10 All of the cases involved male ring leaders and a few cases involved female codefendants, usually husband/wife pairs. The youngest adults were in their twenties and the oldest in their seventies.



Special Agent Lanning



Dr. Burgess

#### **Victim Component of the Rings**

Although the number of victims actively involved in a ring at a specific time generally ranged from 3 to 11, cases involving hundreds of children could be reported if the numbers of victims were added consecutively over the tenure of the adult's operation of the ring. In this article, the term "victim" is used to denote all underage persons for several reasons. First, in adult/child and adult/youth relationships, there is an imbalance of power and thus the young person is unable to make an informed consent when sex is the issue.11 Second, empirical research strongly suggests that there is a high amount of unresolved sexual trauma in the life histories of prostitutes 12 and sex offenders 13 and thus, youth prostitutes may represent a victimized child. Third, the majority of these cases were processed through the criminal justice system and were so defined in the process.

The majority of these cases involved primarily male children and youths. Cases involving females only and cases involving both genders were fairly equal in number. However, cases involving male victims outnumbered female only and both gender cases by 2 to 1. There were very young children represented in the sample, i.e., nursery school-age children. The youngest child molested and photographed was noted in a letter exchanged by an incest pedophile who wrote of performing cunnilingus on his 1-week-old daughter and reported trying all sexual acts with the daughter until he was apprehended when the child was 8 years old.14

#### Solo Sex Rings

The organization of solo sex rings is primarily by the age of the child, e.g., toddlers (age 2-5), prepubescent (6-12), or pubescent (13-17). Sex rings are interactional situations involving an adult as organizer or ringleader and a child or adolescent as victim. From a psychiatric point of view, the offender's conscious and overt sexual responses and contacts are directed toward prepubertal children (pedophilia) and/or pubescent children (hebephilia). From a sociological perspective, the adult capitalizes on the developmental needs of children, specifically the peer group membership and competition and pressures the young person for sex in exchange for a variety of material and psychological rewards. This type of offender prefers to have multiple children as sex objects in contrast to the offender who seeks out one child at a time.

To organize a ring, whether it be for child molesting, pornography, prostitution, or any combination of these, the offender needs access to a group of children. Access routes for group victimization include occupation, a child, and the neighborhood.

#### Occupation

Almost half of the offenders used their occupation as the major access route to the child victims. The adult had a legitimate role as an authority figure in the lives of the children selected for the ring or was able to survey vulnerable children through access to some type of family records or history. This offender used his occupational role to impose authority and control on the children. The offenders in this category included teachers (nursery school, grammar,

and junior high levels), a city health physician, an engineer, a school bus driver, a camp counselor, a photographer, a gas station owner, and scout leaders.

#### Child

On occasion, a ring is formed by the adult targeting a child to use his connections via peer pressure to bring other children into the group. The initial child could be a relative of the offender or the adult could solicit the help of a previously unknown child. One technique used was posting a notice on a store bulletin board requesting girls to help with the housework.

#### Neighborhood

The adult's status in the neighborhood sometimes helped to legitimize his presence with the children and their parents and permitted the unquestioned exchange of young people into his home. Often such an offender is well-liked by many of his neighbors. However, more careful investigation will usually reveal that he has befriended and interacted closely only with those neighbors who have children of the sex and age that he sexually prefers. In some cases, he may be willing to develop such a friendship for years while waiting for a neighbor's child to reach his age preference.

In order to understand the dynamics of child sex rings, it is important to understand the seduction process used by pedophiles. The child is not forced into sexuality, as in rape. Rather, the child is pressured into being an accessory to the sexual activity-to go along with it at least once. The child may be totally unaware that sexual activity is part of the exchange by the offender. Many times, the child describes encounters with the offender that are nonsexual. These usually occur in early meetings, and then progressively, the child becomes a sexual partner.15

Molestation involving pressure does not have physical force as part of the act. The offender behaves in counteraggressive ways. Two patterns of sex pressure are enticement, in which the offender attempts to engage the child through persuasion or cajolement, and entrapment, in which he takes advantage of having put the child in a situation where the victim feels obligated in some way to the offender. Many times bribes and rewards are part of the offense. The victim is rewarded with good times, affection, money, approval, gifts, and treats. The offender's motive is to gain sexual control of the child by developing a sexual relationship. Sexuality appears to be in the service of dependency needs for physical contact and affection from children. However, such an offender may use blackmail and threats to maintain control of a child previously seduced.

These offenders are very attracted to children and find it very difficult to avoid them. They feel comfortable with a child and seek out opportunities to be with children.16 The offender may seek groups of victims rather than one victim because of his psychosocial development and occupation. The majority of adults in this sample were employed at skilled and white-collar positions and some worked with children in groups. Organizational skills, knowledge in child psychology, and the ability to communicate and interact with children are important common characteristics of child sex ring operators. They know how to use peer pressure, rewards and punishment, and competition to maintain control of the group and ensure their continued access to the children.

The following is an example of a typical solo-sex ring case which involves an interesting, but increasingly more common, technical innovation:

In a small southern city, police identified a pedophile named Ralph, who was sexually involved with more than 50 young boys in the local area. Pursuant to a search warrant, the police seized the following items believed to be of evidentiary value: Photographic equipment, polaroid cameras, film, a

typewriter, an address book, a calendar book, ledgers, cancelled checks, biorhythm charts, a computer, and computer tapes.

Ralph was a meticulous recordkeeper. He had a notebook with the names, addresses, and telephone numbers of many of his victims. He had a calendar book showing dates and types of sexual activity. He had a diary containing photographs and narrative information about over 50 victims. He had a small memoranda book which contained a summary and analysis of his sexual activity with 31 victims over a certain period of time. In this book, he recorded information such as the youngest (5.26 years), the oldest (19.45 vears), and the average (10.89 years) age of his victims, the average duration of sexual relations (2.2 years), the average number of sex acts per person (64.68), the number of various types of sexual acts performed, the number of sperm ejaculated by his victims per day, and biorhythm information for each of his victims.

For many of his "regular" boys, he maintained even more information. For each of these boys he had a chronological list of sexual acts, with each act assigned a consecutive number. This was then cross-referenced to his account ledger for each boy. The ledger was a running balance of the amount of money each boy had on account. Money would be added for doing work around the house, for sexual acts, and for picture-taking sessions. Money would be subtracted for clothing, cigarettes, games, cash, and other presents. He kept the cancelled checks showing the payments to each victim. He also had his victims make handwritten notes stating how much they enjoyed the sexual activity. He had photographs of the boys, many of which he kept in a green metal box.

The key to Ralph's meticulous recordkeeping was his computer. The computer contained information about sexual activity with over 400 boys and a few girls. He crossreferenced all the information he maintained on his victims. It contained a sexual history of each of his victims. He used it to keep track of the biorhythm charts of his victims. He also used it as an index for his child pornography collection so that he could locate photographs on specific sexual acts. The computer was accessed by using the name and an assigned bank account identification number of each victim. The computer also had a self-destruct program which the subject did not have an opportunity to initiate prior to his arrest.

Ralph's victims were primarily neighborhood boys whom he had befriended. He paid many of these boys for doing odd jobs around the house. His sexual acts with them consisted primarily of oral sex with some occasional anal sex. The subject always referred to the sexual acts as "projects." He frequently used alcohol to lower their inhibitions. Once the sexual acts began with the boys, he constantly reminded them not to tell anyone because it was their secret. He would attempt to justify the sexual acts by reading to his victims passages from the Bible which he claimed stated that this type of sex was of benefit to humans.

All of Ralph's victims who were interviewed by the police stated that Ralph was a very nice man who was individually concerned with each of them. He paid them for work, sexual acts, and for photography sessions. He always encouraged the boys to compete with each other in the "projects." There were rewards of extra points and money for completing a sexual act better or longer than previously or better and longer than another boy. He created an "88 Club," in which a boy could become a member only after completing four

different sexual acts. Progress in joining this club was maintained on a chart.

After arresting Ralph, the police learned that he was on 5-years' probation for sexually molesting children in another city. Ralph had also been convicted and served time for sexually molesting children 20 years earlier in another State. Ralph lied about this conviction on several job applications. Less than 1 month before his most recent discovery and arrest, Ralph's psychiatrist wrote a letter to his probation officer stating that "there is no indication that there has been recurrence of symptoms. I feel, therefore, that his problem remains in remission."

#### **Transition Sex Rings**

Although pedophilia is a sex offense in all States, there is a strong need among pedophiles to communicate with others regarding their interest in children. In transition rings, experiences can be exchanged; in solo rings, the pedophile keeps his activities and photographs totally secret. Photographs of children may also be traded and sold, as well as sexual services.

The study of child pornography has identified this component of pedophilia in which a communication network is developed to share common interests, e.g. preference for boys or girls and fantasy scenarios, such as sexual acts with children. The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual III (DSM III) describes the essential features of the group of paraphiliac disorders as unusual or bizarre imagery or acts that are necessary for sexual excitement. Photographing children in both sexual and nonsexual poses appears to be a common practice among pedophiles. This practice was noted in all three types of sex rings. In the sample, there was a wide range of pornography noted, from "innocent" poses to bondage, sadomasochism, and beastiality. The pedophile who also takes photographs can be called a collector and he always has a personal collection.17 At the point the photographs begin to be traded to other pedophiles, the development of a transition ring may be observed. The participants send letters, photographs, and video and audio tapes back and forth through the carefully developed network of pedophiles. The trading of pornography appears to be the first move of the victim into the possession of other pedophiles. The photographs are traded, and victims may be tested by other offenders and eventually traded for their sexual services. In one search of a pedophile's apartment, many photographs of naked youths were found. This led to the discovery of a youth prostitution ring that had developed with some of the children from the child ring.18 In another case, a pedophile took the home computer method one step further by using it to communicate with other pedophiles possessing similar equipment and interests.

As pubescent children grow up, the pedophile has the task of deciding how to end the sexual activity since he loses sexual interest in the child. The transition rings suggest that some of the pubescent children are tested for their role in pornography and prostitution as a way to end the relationship.

#### **Syndicated Rings**

The third type of ring noted in the sample was the syndicated ring. This ring involves a well-structured organization that recruits children, produces pornography, delivers direct sexual services, and establishes an extensive network of customers. The number of adults operating the ring ranged from two to nine.

The major access of adults to children is often through adult association. In his study on pederasty, Rossman notes that the subculture of

adults with a sexual preference for prepubescent or pubescent vouths also likes to associate with other sympathetic adults. 19 This sense of camaraderie can serve to provide children for sexual purposes between adults with similar interests once they reach that level of trust and communication. This method of access to victims did not preclude the adults in this sample from using their occupation to act out other paraphilias. For example, in the youth prostitution ring, the occupation of five of the defendants included a pediatrician/adolescent psychiatrist. assistant to the headmaster of a private boy's school, a psychologist, an investment broker, and a business executive.

Interviews with young people under the authority of the first two defendants revealed incidents of exhibitionism and voveurism. The assistant to the headmaster was reported to have conducted room checks in the dormitory wearing only a loosely tied bathrobe which clearly exhibited his genitals. The physician was well known in a college community for writing medical deferments for the military. The students only knew that the deferment letter was expensive and required several office visits. It appears that on the last office visit, the physician would monitor EKG and blood pressure readings and require the students to masturbate and eiaculate in front of him. A report was then written documenting postural hypotension: the students kept this practice secret in exchange for the 4-F letter. At the trial, it was learned that the physician and the assistant to the headmaster met when the physician was hired as a consulting psychiatrist to the school. They discovered their mutual interest in boys during a social function, and it was another year before there was talk of the availability of boys for sex. The physician's defense was that he was conducting research on male youth prostitution. After his conviction, an article was published in a journal on sexual behavior.

Many pedophiles organize into support organizations. On the surface, they claim to advocate change in age of consent laws and the sexual liberation of children. Although they certainly have interest in such things, in reality, they are often networks for the mutual exchange of information and victims among pedophiles.

Recent syndicated rings have involved a Boy Scout troop, a boy's farm operated by a minister, and a national boy prostitution ring.

#### Victimology

The followup of some of the children who were involved with adults <sup>20</sup> indicates post-traumatic stress response, both acute, chronic, and delayed. <sup>21</sup> Prominent features of intrusive thoughts, avoidance behavior, gender identity conflicts, and stylized sexual behavior were noted.

Because much of the sexual victimization that occurs in childhood and adolescence is not disclosed and thus remains a silent trauma reaction. it is crucial that psychiatrists and mental health professionals diagnose the conditions. Signs of suspected child or youth sexual victimization include such somatic symptoms as stomach aches, headaches, sore throats, and earaches; enuresis and urinary tract infection; sexually explicit behavior, either physical, verbal, or written; social withdrawal and difficulty with peers, classmates, and family; minor mood swings; and disruption in normal life activities. Chronic conditions such as dissociative reactions (multiple personality), depression, and psychosis may also be present.

It is extremely important for persons involved in the intervention, investigation, or prosecution of child pornography and sex ring cases (police, prosecutor, social workers, etc.) to recognize that a bond often develops between the offender and the victims. Many of these victims find themselves in a situation where they are willing to trade sex for attention

and affection and other benefits. Pedophile ring operators are, by definition, skilled at gaining the continued cooperation and control of their victims through well-planned seduction.

Pedophiles are skilled at the seduction process. They know how to use bribes, attention, affection, adult authority, and even threats to establish continued access to, and ongoing relationships with, children. They know the "in" games, toys, television shows, and moves. They are skilled at recognizing and then *temporarily* filling the emotional and physical needs of children. They know how to, and actually enjoy, listening to children, an ability many parents lack. They are willing to spend all the time it takes to seduce the child.

If one understands the dynamics of this seduction process and is familiar with the developmental stages of children, the existence of an offender/ victim bond in a sex ring case should not be totally unexpected. Child victims frequently have mixed feelings about the discovery of such a sex ring-they do not necessarily want to see the offender punished and sent to jail. They may describe him as a nice man who, despite the size of the ring, treated each of them as an individual. They may be reluctant to be interviewed or to be witnesses against the offender. They may be embarrassed about others discovering what they have been doing. This is particularly true of the discovery of their involvement in child pornography or unusual sexual acts. Some victims have even assisted the offender with his defense, hindering the police investigation. Often, their victimization is perpetuated or even worsened by the criminal justice process.

Not all victims have negative feelings toward discovery and intervention by authorities. Many of these victims have been desperately searching for a way out and welcome police inter-

vention. The possibility of a positive offender/victim bond must, however. be recognized. It must not be misinterpreted as consent, complicity, or guilt. In one case, a prosecutor announced to the television media that the victims were as quilty, if not more guilty, than the offenders. The police investigator, in particular, must be sensitive to this problem. In cases of this type, he must be willing to replace at least part of this victim/offender bond with a new bond. He must be willing to spend the time and effort necessary to develop rapport with, and the trust and confidence of, the victim. He must not ridicule, degrade. or condemn either the offender or the victim. The police investigator must be able to use some of the techniques the pedophile uses to gain the cooperation of the children.

The police investigator should do everything possible to ensure that victims receive the necessary medical and psychological help to deal with the problems of their victimization. Although the identification and conviction of offenders is the main objective for law enforcement, considerable satisfaction for the police investigator can come from knowing that police intervention was beneficial to the victim. Regardless if the offender is punished, the victim can usually be helped.

When you recognize the effect and scope of the trauma caused by nonviolent sexual manipulation, the amount of consideration given by the criminal justice system to such offenders simply because they are nonviolent is baffling. Physically batter a child and you are locked up, but psychologically batter 100 children and you are left on the street because you are nonviolent. The devastation caused by such "nonviolent" victimization is psychological violence of the worst kind.

#### Offender Reactions

When a child pornography and sex ring is discovered, there are certain reactions by the pedophile offender that are fairly predictable. Knowledge and anticipation of these reactions are beneficial to the investigation and prosecution of such cases. The intensity of these reactions may depend on how much the offender has to lose by identification and conviction. At least one case known to the authors involved a female ring leader. The possibility of a female offender should not be overlooked by investigators.

Usually the first reaction of a pedophile to discovery is complete denial. The offender may act shocked. surprised, or even indignant about such an allegation of sexual activity with children. He will claim to know nothing about the alleged activity. He might claim it was a misunderstood act of simple affection or he might claim that he does not remember. His denial will be frequently aided by friends, neighbors, relatives, and coworkers, who insist that he is such a wonderful person there is no way he could have done what is alleged. These associates will be uncooperative and may even hinder police investigation of the offender.

If the evidence against him rules out total denial, the offender may switch to a slightly different tactic. He will attempt to minimize what he has done in both quantity and quality. He might claim that it happened on one or two isolated occasions or that he only touched or caressed the victim. He will be knowledgeable about the law and might possibly admit to acts he knows to be lesser offenses or misdemeanors. It is important to recognize that even seemingly cooperative victims will also often minimize their acts in quantity and quality. If a certain act was performed 100 times. the victim might claim it happened only 30 times, and the offender might claim it happened only twice. A victim may admit to having sex but not to having received money for sex.

Either as part of his effort to minimize or as a separate reaction, a pedophile typically attempts to justify his behavior. He might claim that he cares for these children more than their parents do and that what he does is beneficial to the children. He might claim that he has been under tremendous stress, has a drinking problem, or did not know how old a certain victim was. A large part of his efforts to justify his behavior centers around blaming the victim. The offender will claim that he was seduced by the victim, that the victim initiated the sexual activity, or that the victim is promiscuous or even a prostitute. In one case, an offender claimed that the children had such a desperate need for attention and affection that they practically threw themselves at him and misunderstood his resulting affection for sexual advances.

Some of the more clever pedophiles come up with ingenious stories to explain their behavior. One offender claimed he was trying to teach his victims to stop sucking their thumbs. In another case, a nursery school operator, who had taken and collected thousands of nude and seminude photographs of young children in his care, claimed that they were not for sexual purpose. A ballet instructor convicted of taking indecent liberties with five pupils claimed that the sexual activities with the young girls may have stemmed from "the pressure, the fantasy involved in the production of 'The Nutcracker.' "22

When various reactions do not result in termination of the investigation or prosecution, the pedophile may then try the "sick game." This tactic involves claiming that he is sick and cannot control what he is doing. Pedophile manuals advocate this tactic when all else fails. It is interesting to note that few pedophiles admit this sickness until they are arrested or until other tactics fail.

Another effective tactic for the pedophile at any stage of an investigation is the "sympathy game." This is designed to make as many people as possible, especially judges, jurors, and the community, feel sorry for him. This is best illustrated by the "nice guy defense." In this defense, the offender says he is sorry and then presents evidence to show that he is the pillar of the community-a devoted family man, a military veteran, a church leader, is nonviolent, has no prior arrests, and is a victim of circumstances with many personal problems. A pedophile first arrested at age 40 for his involvement in a child sex ring probably sexually victimized dozens, if not hundreds, of children previously. Since many people still believe in some variation of the myth that child molesters are "dirty old men in wrinkled rain coats," the "sympathy game" combined with the "sick game" is a very effective tactic for the pedophile to use to escape responsibility for his behavior.

It is important not to overlook one final reaction of the identified pedophile—that of attacking or going on the offensive. It involves such things as harassing, threatening, and/or bribing victims and witnesses; attacking the reputation and personal lives of the investigating officers; attacking the motives of the prosecutor; claiming the case is selective prosecution; raising issues such as gay rights if the child victim is the same sex as the offender; and enlisting the active support of peer groups. Pedophiles are not passive, inadequate people who are easily intimidated.

When all else fails, the offender will usually try to make a deal in order to avoid a trial. The unfortunate aspect of this is that the offender is often allowed to plead nolo contendere in order to avoid civil liability. At this point, the pedophile will frequently

"The police investigator should do everything possible to ensure that victims receive the necessary medical and psychological help to deal with the problems of their victimization."

claim that he is pleading guilty because he "doesn't want to put the children through the trauma of having to testify" or because he "has no more money to defend himself." This problem is compounded by the fact that it is possible, under the provisions of a 1970 U.S. Supreme Court decision,23 to plead guilty to a charge while at the same time not acknowledging that you committed the crime. This relieves the pedophile of having to accept public responsibility for his behavior. Increasing in popularity is the pedophile pleading not guilty by reason of insanity. If State insanity criteria allow it, he will claim that although he knew his acts were wrong, he lacked the ability to conform his behavior to the law-that he was driven by irresistible impulses. The judge and jury are then given the difficult task of differentiating between an irresistible impulse and an impulse not resisted.

Although a wide variety of criminals may react in similar ways when their activity is discovered or investigated, these reactions have repeatedly been seen in offenders involved in child sex rings, and their occurrence should be anticipated.

#### Summary

Society outwardly projects strong disapproval and anger toward child molesters. A more conflictive area is when a child is pubescent and is sexually victimized. This represents a neglected area—one fraught with bias and attitudes regarding adolescent sexuality.

In order to deal effectively with this serious and complex problem, police officers and prosecutors must be aware of the dynamics of the organization, types, structure, victimology, and offender behavior involved in child pornography and sex rings. This awareness will increase the chances that offenders will be identified and effectively prosecuted and decrease the chances that child victims will be mistreated and further traumatized.

#### Footnotes

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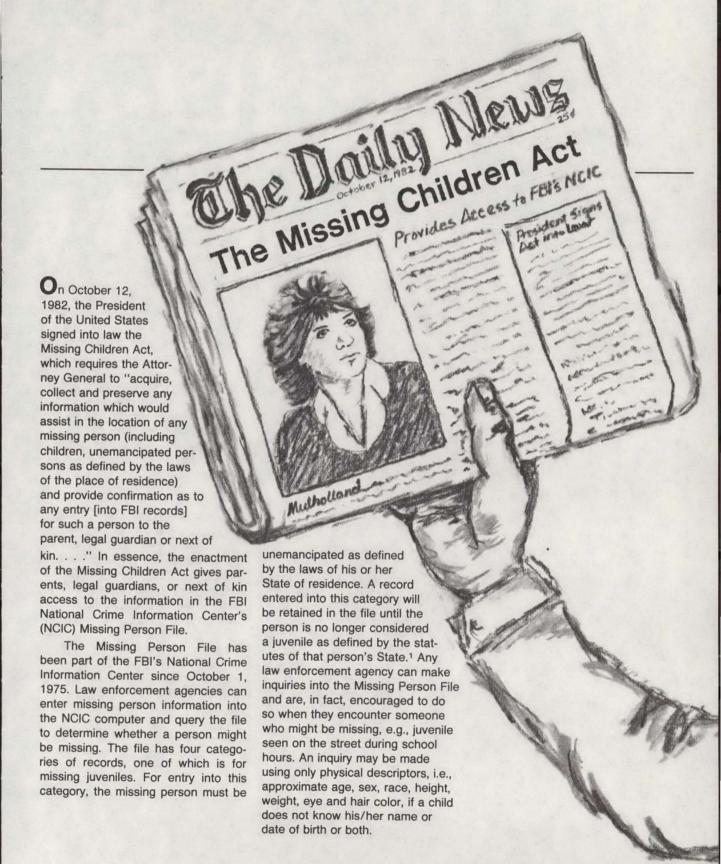
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One aspect of the Missing Children Act authorized the collection and dissemination of data on unidentified deceased persons. This resulted in creation of the Unidentified Person File in NCIC, which became operational on June 30, 1983. Unlike other NCIC person files containing unique numerical identifiers searching purposes, records in the Unidentified Person File will use such descriptive data as blood type, dental characteristics, broken bones, etc. The Missing Person File has been expanded to include these identifiers for comparison purposes.

As a means to assist agencies in

gathering dental, medical, and optical information for entry in missing and unidentified person records, the NCIC is in the process of preparing forms designed to supplement standard police missing person reports. This will allow the officer taking a report to give a copy to the parent, legal guardian, or next of kin in order that complete medical data on the missing person can be obtained from medical personnel. The completed form is then returned to the same police agency for entry of data in the existing missing person record.

The Missing Children Act requires the FBI, when properly requested by a

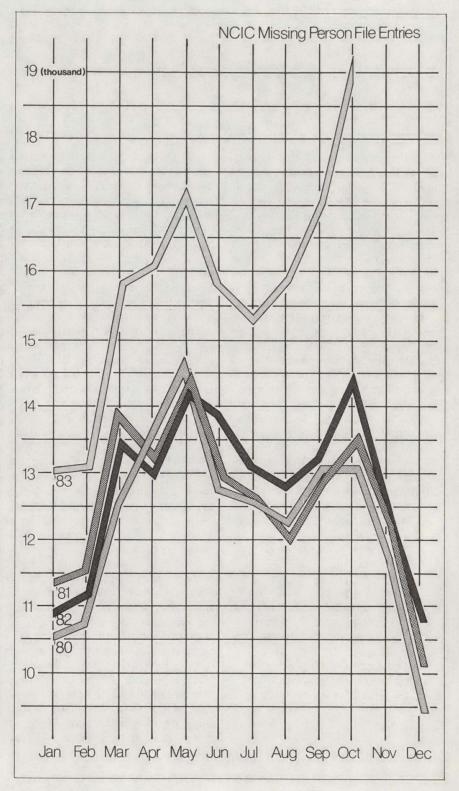
parent, legal guardian, or next of kin, to check to see if data on a missing child has been entered into the Missing Person File. The individual making the request is notified of the results of the check, and if a record has not been entered, he is instructed to contact local law enforcement authorities to determine whether the disappearance of the missing person meets the criteria for entry into the NCIC computer. If a case should arise where data has not been entered and local police decline to enter the missing person record, the FBI is authorized to enter the record. However, before this is done, the appropriate FBI field office will confirm the action of the local agency. If this is substantiated, the FBI field office will enter the missing person record, notifying the requester of this action and stressing the importance and necessity for being promptly advised of the individual's return. In such cases, the FBI field office becomes the originating agency of the record and receives any "hit" confirmations. The field office will then attempt to notify the parent, legal guardian, or next of kin and/or the investigating agency of the missing person's location and advise them to contact the inquiring agency immediately. The FBI does not have the authorization to detain the individual and is not responsible for returning the individual to the parent, legal guardian, or next of kin.



In response to national concern over the plight of missing children, police departments and civic organizations across the Nation have started fingerprinting children as part of a voluntary program to identify children who may, at some later date, become lost or missing. The FBI recommends that the child's parent or legal guardian retain the card until such time as the child is reported missing.

On March 18, 1983, the FBI initiated a new service as a result of the Missing Children Act. The FBI's Identification Division will now accept from criminal justice agencies fingerprint cards relating to missing children and other missing persons meeting the criteria for entry into the NCIC Missing Person File.

When the fingerprint card of a missing person is received at the FBI, the card is searched against those cards already on file. If the fingerprints submitted match an already existing record, the criminal justice agency submitting the card will be furnished with a copy of that record and all other pertinent information. If a later fingerprint card submission is matched to the missing person's fingerprint card, the contributor of the current submission and the contributor of the missing person's fingerprint card will be promptly notified. As with records in the NCIC Missing Person File, fingerprint cards of missing children are removed from the Identification Division files when the individual reaches the age of emancipation.2



Unfortunately, since the passage of the act, several misconceptions as to the FBI's responsibility in missing children cases have arisen. The act did not confer upon the FBI any new investigative jurisdiction, that is, the act does not empower the FBI to investigate every missing child case in America. The FBI can initiate a preliminary inquiry in such cases only when there is an indication that a crime has been committed which falls within its jurisdiction, such as kidnaping. Even so, the Federal Kidnaping Statute specifically excludes the kidnaping of a minor by a parent thereof. Cases of this nature are more appropriately handled by State and local authorities. However, under certain circumstances, the FBI can enter parental kidnaping cases through the Fugitive Felony Act. The following conditions must be present for the FBI to enter such a case:

- A State arrest warrant must be issued charging the parent with a felony violation;
- There must be evidence of interstate flight;
- A specific request for FBI
   assistance must be made by
   State authorities who must agree
   to extradite and prosecute on
   the charge for which the parent
   is being sought; and
- The appropriate U.S. attorney must authorize issuance of an unlawful flight warrant.

If circumstances indicate an abduction, the FBI field office receiving the report notifies FBI Headquarters immediately, providing specific details or circumstances. The field office is required to conduct a preliminary inquiry in order to determine the need for a full investigation. No ransom demand or evidence of interstate travel is required for the FBI to conduct a preliminary inquiry. There must be reasonable indication that an abduction has occurred before the FBI will initiate a full-scale kidnaping investigation, or under the Federal Kidnaping Statute, if an abducted victim is not released within 24 hours, a presumption is created that the victim has been transported in interstate or foreign commerce.

#### Summary

Missing children cases, as all missing person cases, almost always fall within the jurisdiction of local and State authorities. Yet, there are ways in which the FBI can be of assistance during such investigations.

Besides offering access to information in the FBI's NCIC Missing Person File and adding fingerprints of missing or abducted children to the repository of fingerprint cards maintained by the FBI's Identification Division, the FBI maintains liaison with local authorities to ensure the FBI is notified should information develop that a kidnaping has occurred. Also, Special Agents are instructed to offer any type of assistance necessary, in compliance with Federal statutes.

They will handle out-of-state leads when asked to do so by local authorities, locate and transmit records, or verify an individual's location should local authorities wish to interview him.

The goal of the FBI is the same as that of the parents of missing or abducted children—to seek the safe return of the child and to ensure that any criminal involved is brought to justice.

#### Footnotes

<sup>1</sup> For more detailed information on the Missing Person File, see Demery R. Bishop and Timothy J. Schuessler, "The National Crime Information Center's Missing Person File," *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, vol. 51, No. 8, August 1982, pp. 20–24. <sup>2</sup> For more detailed information on the policy of the

<sup>2</sup> For more detailed information on the policy of the FBI's Identification Division, see Division's "Letter to All Fingerprint Contributors," dated 3/18/83. If a copy is not available at your department, one can be obtained by writing: FBI Identification Division, Washington, D.C. 20537, Attention: Recording Section.

## Law Enforcement Training

## **Priorities Identified**

During the early part of 1983, Nationwide Law Enforcement Training Needs Assessment materials were distributed to over 16,000 State and local law enforcement agencies. Recipients were requested to complete the questionnaire to assist the U.S. Department of Justice in its efforts to make available efficient and effective law enforcement training. Agencies employing 90 percent of the sworn officers in the Nation responded to the survey. Analysis of their responses revealed findings of interest to all law enforcement professionals. The FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin will report the results of this study.

Also, your agency's copy of the 1984 training needs assessment package is being forwarded. Your participation is extremely important in the 1984 study, since the questionnaire will solicit your ratings regarding supervisory activities in State and local law enforcement.

## **National Meeting Centers on the**

# Issue of Child Sexual Victimization

The 3d National Conference on Sexual Victimization of Children will be held in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area on April 26–28, 1984. The conference will bring together professionals in medicine, health care, mental health, social and protective services, and law enforcement, as well as those in community-based services who work with or are concerned about sexually abused children and their families.

Topics addressed during the conference will include programing for prevention, juvenile prostitution, proving the child's complaint, innovative intervention strategies,

research on cultural and ethnic factors, the victims' rights movement, assessment and treatment of juvenile offenders, moral and ethical concerns of health professionals, offender punishment vs. rehabilitation, and protecting the very young victim. For further information on this conference, contact:

Conference Coordinator Division of Child Protection Children's Hospital National Medical Center 111 Michigan Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20010 (202) 745–5682 Registration fee: \$110



By SETH L. GOLDSTEIN

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## Investigating Child Sexual Exploitation: Law Enforcement's Role

The sexual exploitation of children in America poses unique and special investigative problems for law enforcement. The crime has been misunderstood for many years, and as a result, has not been adequately addressed. As law enforcement did with the issue of rape in the early 1970's, it must now recognize the fact that sexual exploitation of children must be addressed in a different manner.

Since child exploitation is multijurisdictional in nature and crosses lines of investigative responsibility, unique specialized units and investigative training are necessary to address the problem. The underground subculture of persons who sexually exploit children through child pornography, prostitution, and molestation also requires a similar response on the part of law enforcement.

## "The basis of sexual exploitation of children in America is pedophilia—the sexual attraction to children."

#### The Problem

The basis of sexual exploitation of children in America is pedophilia—the sexual attraction to children. There are many people with this desire, and several groups have been formed which profess sex with children. They have written and produced manuals and writings supporting their perspective. They have also lobbied legislative bodies and pressed for elimination of age-of-consent laws. One such group produced a pamphlet entitled *Paedophilia*, which explains the sexual attraction to children:

"... [pedophiles] can be of either sex or any [sexual] orientation [i.e.: homosexual, heterosexual or bisexual] ... [some pedophiles] believing that their sexuality is natural, harmless, and an integral part of their personality, would not wish to be changed [of their sexual orientation] even if this were possible—which it is not ... paedophiles haven't chosen their sexual feelings. They just find themselves attracted to children." 1

What the quote implies is that pedophilia may be a way of life—a life-style instead of an illness.<sup>2</sup> The sexual attraction and feelings may be as strongly and as deeply rooted as those of heterosexuality, homosexuality, or bisexuality. To try to change or alter a pedophile's sexual persuasion may be impossible. For this reason, law enforcement's direction in dealing with pedophilia should reflect the recognition that it may be a way of life and is a major subculture to be reckoned with.

The definition of sexual exploitation of children is best understood when the crime problems related to pedophilia are discussed. In 1978, the Texas State Legislature examined the problem of sexual exploitation of children, defining it as a problem which placed children in positions where they were taken advantage of sexually because of their inability to cognitively assess or resist the contact or who were placed into positions where they became dependent upon the offender.3 Those contacts, and the basis for sexual exploitation of children, can be broken down into three distinctive, yet directly related, crime categories: Pedophilia (sexual molestation), child prostitution, and child pornography. In the vast majority of cases, it is the pedophile who seeks out and produces child pornography, often using children as young as a few months old. and who seeks sexual encounters with those same children.

The distinction between molestation and prostitution is often not easily made, especially when one considers how formal some of the "sex rings" have become.4 Ordinarily, prostitution is considered the act of sex for money; however, when the dynamics of child molestation are examined, this definition, by necessity, may have to include the act of sex for satisfaction of other needs. Most children involved are trapped by the need to survive, having been cast into their situations by abuse, neglect, abandonment, or poverty. Few, if any, enjoy what they do, and strangely enough, most find a means of financial and emotional support in prostitution and pornography. They perceive a distorted feeling of being wanted and a sense of importance which is, in the absence of true and sincere emotion, a temporary degree of satisfaction. Regardless of the many explanations for a child's involvement, the true and ever-present underlying factor is addressing the child's need for love, friendship, interest, and survival.<sup>5</sup> Study after study has found that the prostitute and porn model do what they do as a means of dealing with an impossible situation.<sup>6</sup>

Like the child prostitute, the child molest victim is similarly looking to address unsatisfied needs. Children still in the home who are seeking the satisfaction of these same needs may become entangled in sexual activities with adults, seduced by video games, candy, or a trip to a fast food restaurant. One molester had actually visited the homes of the children he was molesting and had convinced the parents that he was genuinely interested in the children and was doing good things for them.<sup>7</sup>

The truth is that most pedophiles operate within their own neighborhoods; they don't go out seeking the services of child prostitutes.8 Some subscribe to the underground publications and correspondence which supply them with a ready number of child victims. One article appearing in an underground sex publication explained how a child molester could acquire access to children by volunteering to become involved in programs dealing with children, noting that access is not only easy to obtain but such participation by adults is encouraged. In 1977, an official of Boy



Mr. Goldstein

Scouts of America (BSA) was charged with various pornography and delinquency violations. He had been recruiting children from his job at a local YMCA. Found in his apartment were 5,000 pictures and slides of children as young as 2 years old. Investigators reported that he had worked for the BSA for 5 years.<sup>9</sup>

Just as molestation and prostitution are distinctly related, so are pornography and molestation. The three form a triad of law enforcement problems which, traditionally, had been considered unrelated. The lynch pin of this triad is the pedophile. Pornography and prostitution are only "sidelines" to the sexual desires of the pedophile and all else becomes "ancilliary to the act of child molestation." 10 In one study, without exception, producers of child pornography were found to be child molesters and that child pornography was either an "adjunct or tool to the crime" of molesting children.11

It is clear from the discussions in literature that the problem of child pornography is a byproduct of child molestation and that the relationship child pornography has to child molestation is a greater threat to children than had been previously considered.12 A case which may illustrate this is a clergyman who ran a farm for wayward boys. He had the boys engage in sexual orgies with sponsors and clients of the farm which were filmed and sold as a remembrance or memento of the acts which transpired. 13 This is a good example of how the illicit desires of the pedophile have created networks of pedophiles who seek out children for sexual purposes. These networks often have national and international connections, making this a "conspiracy" of crime which has, to date, not yet been adequately addressed by the law enforcement community.<sup>14</sup>

To better understand this conspiracy, it is necessary to take a different look at the problem than has been done in the past. Like rape and the issues of sexual assault, new directions must be taken to comprehend and successfully address the crime problem of sexual exploitation of children. In seeking those new directions, it is important to recognize that many misconceptions have distorted what we have believed to be the truth about the problem. The result has been that these fallacies have misguided law enforcement's posture in trying to resolve this problem. (See fig. 1.)

#### Magnitude and Scope

The true magnitude of the sexual exploitation of children in America has yet to be determined. One reason is that child molestation may be the "perfect crime" because of the manner in which it is committed and the fact that few victims report it. 15 Finding definitive statistics is a difficult, if not an impossible, task due to nonuniform reporting of crimes and integrating child molestation cases into the broader category of sex crimes/assault by the agencies reporting to the FBI and State governments.

Studies of the number of victims and people involved in the sexual exploitation of children in America provide confusing and misleading information. One study suggests that 25

## "... the problem of child pornography is a byproduct of child molestation and that the relationship child pornography has to child molestation is a greater threat to children..."

Figure 1

#### The Offense

FALLACY: Child molestation is committed by sex-starved maniacs.

TRUTH: Child molestation is like rape and not an offense committed for sexual gratification, but rather committed as a result of other psychological factors.

FALLACY: This crime happens only in "open cities."

TRUTH: This crime is widespread and occurs in every community in the country, and perhaps, the world.

FALLACY: This crime problem only perils children when they are playing on playgrounds and alleys.

TRUTH: Child molestation is not committed solely on the street, in the playgrounds, or near schools. It is committed in areas once considered safe and impervious to threats of such things—our home, schools, juvenile programs, and day care centers.

FALLACY: Child molesters and child pornographers work alone and only molest one child at a time.

TRUTH: Single incidents are not isolated and often involve or are connected to a number of other offenders and victims.

#### The Offender

FALLACY: It is easy to recognize a child molester because he is the "typical dirty old man who always wears a raincoat."

TRUTH: He is not easily recognizable. FALLACY: Only "criminal types" and people of lower social status commit these crimes.

TRUTH: The offender may be a wellrespected, prominent member of the community. He comes from all walks of life and may be from any aspect of the social spectrum. Child molestation knows no cultural or economic boundaries.

FALLACY: Children should be warned only to stay away from strangers.

TRUTH: In the majority of cases, the offender is not a stranger, but rather, someone not only known to the victim but the family as well.

FALLACY: Homosexuals molest children.

TRUTH: The offender is not a homosexual. Pedophilia, per se, must be viewed as a completely separate issue from one's gender and sexual preference.

FALLACY: Only men molest children. TRUTH: The offender can be a woman.

FALLACY: It doesn't matter which child a molester goes after, (s)he is attracted to any and all children. TRUTH: Pedophiles have identifiable sex and age preferences.

#### The Victim

FALLACY: We should only warn girls about being molested.

TRUTH: Girls are not the only target of the pedophile. There may be an equal number of boys victimized.

FALLACY: Only lower-class children are photographed or molested.

TRUTH: Victims are representative of every social and economic status.

FALLACY: The only way a child could be molested or involved in pornography is to be forced against his/her will.

TRUTH: Children are not forced, compelled, or enticed into acts with threats of harm. They are, in many cases, willing, noncomplaining victims. Some children have actually described the people who molest them as their "best friends."

percent of the women in this country will have been molested before they reach age 13. This translates to 25 million women. 16 Another study suggests that 19.2 percent of all girls and 8.6 percent of boys are victimized as children. This calculates to 28 million boys and girls molested in this country.17 Defrancis first estimated that the problem of sexual abuse of children in America was of "enormous incidence," however, conceded that its national dimensions could not be adequately measured because of the lack of accurate statistics.18 Several investigative reports have concluded that the reported incidence is "only the tip of the iceberg" and that actual incidence is far greater than the reports received.

Like rape, child molestation is one of the most underreported crimes in the Nation, and virtually every study of the crime problem acknowledges the fact that only 1 to 10 percent of the incidents are ever disclosed.19 The American Humane Association estimates some 200,000 to 300,000 molestations of females alone occur every year.20 Dr. Caroline Swift, Director of the South West Community Health Center, Columbus, Ohio, testified that she estimated there are 500,000 to 5 million incidents each year.21 Florence Rush, in her book The Best Kept Secret: Sexual Abuse of Children, suggests that there are some 5 to 35 million victims and 5.000 to 1 million incidents each year.22 Pedophiles themselves claim 2 to 20 million men in this country are attracted to boys alone.23 A study

## "The problems inherent in the investigation of the sexual exploitation of children in America all relate to the 'conspiracy' which bonds its participants together."

conducted by Dr. Gene G. Abel, Director of the Sexual Behavior Clinic in the New York State Psychiatric Institute, suggests that "child molestation is a more serious and frequent crime than rape." Abel found that the child molesters he studied were "responsible for molesting an average of 68.3 victims, more than three times the number of adult women assaulted by each rapist." <sup>24</sup>

Police investigations have also revealed some frightening findings regarding the number of those involved in sexual exploitation of children. In 1982, police in Los Angeles arrested Catherine Wilson for commercial distribution of child pornography. They found a mailing list of 30,000 customers.25 Police in North Syracuse, N.Y., broke another child porn ring, finding another mailing list with over 20,000 customers.26 In 1972, officers of the Los Angeles, Calif., Police Department arrested a child pornographer who had produced a travel guide for the child molester which listed 378 places in 54 cities and 34 States where a child could be found. Records found by the investigators revealed the publication entitled Where The Young Ones Are sold over 70,000 copies at \$5 each in a 13-month period. 27

Interviews conducted by police investigators with pedophiles also reveal some startling information. A 52-year-old man told an investigator of 5,000 boys he had molested in his lifetime; a 42-year-old man admitted to molesting more than 1,000 boys; a 62-year-old man, an oil executive with an \$11,000-a-month trust fund, stated he molested a boy a day for 30 years.<sup>28</sup>

Florence Rush points out that the problem of adult-child sex has been with us for centuries and that it is not something recently encountered.29 Child pornography was found to be sold in the "adult bookstores" as early as the 1960's, and by 1976, it became a featured item made popular by the pedophile's demand. Kids age 3-16 were featured in every conceivable sex act and lewd pose.30 In the early and mid-1970's, the primary source of child porn was the adult bookstore which sold commercially produced magazines and books. In these publications, pedophiles would find mail order forms which allowed them to select and buy this sensitive material in the privacy of their homes. These magazines also contained addresses and ordering information for publications created by the pedophile underground, which enabled the pedophile to establish contacts with others who had similar interests.31 Once contacts were established, pedophiles would exchange magazines. homemade photographs, experiences, and the children themselves.

What these pedophile pornographers do is cater to the perverse desires of the pedophile underground, satisfying sexual fantasies through the medium of pictures. The persentative of the type of publications available are *Child Discipline*, a primer on how to derive sexual satisfaction from beating children, and *Lust For Children*, which comes complete with instructions on how to avoid prosecu-

tion and which claims that a child's screams while being attacked are actually cries of pleasure.<sup>33</sup> Pictures, magazines, films, and video tapes depicting children in acts of sexual intercourse, sodomy, bondage, bestiality, sadomasochistic acts, boy/boy, boy/girl, girl/girl can be purchased for less than \$50.<sup>34</sup> The sale of child pornography has been estimated to be as high as \$500 million annually.<sup>35</sup>

#### Why Change Is Needed

The problems inherent in the investigation of the sexual exploitation of children in America all relate to the "conspiracy" which bonds its participants together.36 Dr. Ann Burgess details the dynamics of a "sex ring," outlining the reasons why discovery, disclosure, or infiltration are so difficult to accomplish. Threats of retaliation by physical harm, blackmail, peer pressure, the "pledge of silence," obedience to the authority figure (offender), and guilt or fear of exposure all hold a tight, impervious bond which is difficult, if not impossible, to break,37 In 1980, the Northern Califor-Juvenile Officers Association (NCJOA), in an unpublished survey of northern California police agencies, determined that incidents of sexual exploitation of children were on the rise and that law enforcement, on the whole, had maintained a reactive stance to it, simply responding to complaints of violations of law rather than seeking or ferreting it out on its own. Seldom do any of the participants come forward and complain and therefore few, if any, cases come to light. If child molesters cannot be apprehended, if they simply continue to repeat their offenses, if law enforcement is unable to break the conspiracv. millions of children will be victimized. For these reasons alone, there ought to be a strong motivation on the part of law enforcement to eradicate this problem.

Conspiracy also makes the investigation of child porn very difficult. Often, the porn producer insulates himself by hiding behind a myriad of "dummy" corporations. In addition, the sources of child porn are often "fly-by-night" operators who are "here-today-gone-tomorrow." Because of this clandestine method of operation, an investigator who has to prove the producer, possessor, or distributor knew the material is obscene and contains a minor under the stated age has an impossible task before him. That difficulty was faced when Catherine Wilson, one of the largest commercial distributors of child porn in the country, was arrested after 10 years of investigation.38 A San Jose investigator stated that it takes an average of 11/2 years to effect an arrest, citing 8 arrests in 2 years.39 Generally, because of the conspiracy, it is impossible to locate and bring forward the children who are involved to testify.

Another reason investigations fail is the manner in which the problem of sexual exploitation of children in America is being handled by law enforcement. It has yet to recognize the conspiracy. Although most police agencies across the country operate on the "specialist system," wherein the initial crime report, in most cases, is investigated by a patrol officer and followed up by a person who "specializes" in investigating that particular

crime, this crime problem is not properly handled in this fashion. In other types of cases, the entire investigation, from initial report through final disposition (arrest or otherwise), is conducted by a specialist. It is this type of investigation which is most successful in cases involving sexual exploitation of children.

In most police agencies, the practice of using the skills of specialists to investigate certain types of crime is common and accepted. Vice, for instance, requires investigators who not only are specially trained to recognize and investigate complicated schemes of narcotics sales, prostitution rings, gambling, and similar offenses but who can also work in a covert capacity and "fit into" the type of group under investigation without question. Sexual assault and child abuse are also types of crime which are generally accepted as crimes which require the skills and understanding of specialists who recognize the symptoms, who are sensitive to the psychological needs of the victims, who are specially trained to understand the motive of those who commit the offenses, and who know the unique characteristics of the offenses.

The crime problems related to the sexual exploitation of children are varied in nature and often span the boundaries of investigative responsibility both within local jurisdiction (one or more police departments) and State and Federal enforcement agencies. For example, if a child is molested and photographed in sexually explicit acts, the responsibility for investigation might fall within a police department's juvenile unit which investigates child abuse. However, it may

also fall within the investigative responsibility of that same police agency's vice detail because of the pornography involved. In addition, the pictures may have been taken in other cities or molests may have been committed in places out of the city in which the investigation was initiated, all of which may mean that other law enforcement jurisdictions (local, State, Federal) may have investigative responsibility. In each of the above situations, officers in the units responsible for investigating one aspect of the offense may not have the training, experience, ability, interest, or desire to investigate the other aspects. As a result, the case suffers and may be lost because of indifference or inadvertent errors made by disinterested, inexperienced, or untrained personnel.

The following case illustrates the investigative problems encountered by Federal and local authorities. Child pornography was seized by U.S. Custom officers and turned over to U.S. postal authorities. They, in turn, notified the local jurisdiction for which the child porn was destined. A delivery was made to the suspected recipient, and a search warrant served. The search warrant yielded substantial amounts of child pornography which the subject had either collected or made himself, taking pictures of children he had molested. The subject was depicted in the pictures engaging in sexual acts with children, some of whom the local agency were able to identify. Although interviews were conducted with some of the persons identified, the local investigators (who were vice officers) missed a great deal of evidence and failed to ask questions which would have produced more evidence and probably resulted

## "... there are many inadequacies and complexities in the manner in which sexual exploitation of children is being dealt with by law enforcement."

in more sex-related charges, as well as a more believable story on the part of the victims interviewed. The investigators accomplished a great deal with their limited experience. However, realizing their limitations, they sought the specialized skills they didn't have to bring a better case to trial, freely admitting their shortcomings. The inability to obtain certain items of evidence, destroyed by the subject because the investigators were unaware of their significance, was detrimental to the prosecution because essential elements of the sex crimes they were investigating could not be substantiat-

Child sex offenses are multijurisdictional crimes, committed by persons whose travel are limited only by the particular individual's means. Rarely is a case found to involve only one city or county; it is not uncommon to find interstate, as well as international, connections.

In order to investigate this type of crime successfully, specialized personnel must be assigned to work on the problem. However, few agencies have such investigators. Investigators normally assigned to sex crimes or child abuse units often do not have the expertise or experience to undertake such a sensitive and often prolonged investigation. It takes people who are aware of the fallacies and truths which abound about the problems of sexual exploitation of children to properly recognize and handle such cases. By recognizing that the case at hand is not an isolated incident, that it may be connected to others, that it may involve other victims, and that certain evidence may be found which will corroborate the victim's story, the investigator will provide the prosecution with a case that has a greater chance of conviction.

In 1976, a Los Angeles Police Department task force was created to examine the problem of sexual exploitation of children. In the first 2 weeks of investigation, it identified over 300 local adults molesting or exploiting children. Additional information from their covert operations resulted in 34 crime reports and 10 adult arrests, totaling 44 felony counts of various sexrelated charges. From the investigations, 17 juvenile victims were contacted, 11 under the age of 15, from which they identified 50 more victims and 30 additional offenders.40 The task force's recommendations included developing a more "aggressive" approach to child sex crimes and specialized units to deal with the problems of child molestation, pornography, prostitution, and runaways. They have also recommended greater detailed followup on such cases. The result of the study conducted by the task force was the formation of the Sexually Exploited Child Unit (SECU).

The SECU has apprehended pedophiles who otherwise would not have been discovered. The examination of the information obtained from the arrest of pedophiles or gained from their address books and correspondence provided many leads. SECU's examination of Catherine Wilson's mailing list, for example, revealed that 30 to 40 percent of her clients were registered sex offenders.<sup>41</sup>

The SECU also has an excellent method of covert operations and ability to deal with the problem because it recognizes the conspiracy and existence of the pedophile underground. Only with such recognition and nontraditional investigative procedure can the related problems of child pornography and sexual exchange of children be dealt with effectively.

Child pornography, contrary to popular belief, has not been produced traditionally by large organized operations, but rather involves a network of individual pedophiles who share the spoils of their work, taking advantage of both the porn they produce and the children involved in making the product: Some loosely organized groups or rings of adults and children discovered by police may simply be an early stage of evolution of this network. For example, a Boy Scout troup of 40 boys was found to have been created for the sole purpose of supplying sexual services to older men who would accompany the scouts on outings. Sexual acts and filming of those acts would occur with the knowledge of all involved, including the scoutmaster who was charged, along with 19 other men, with molestation and child pornography.42 Other such networks have been discovered, many with the sanction of churches or other similar organizations.43

Pedophiles have been found to use the underground network as a means of trading, exchanging, and trafficking photographs of children, video cassettes, films, and even the children themselves. One group, which had tapped into the network, was found to be receiving 300 pieces of mail each week; another, 600 pieces of mail. The same individuals operated both groups, which grossed

over \$70,000 in 1973. The ads listed by these groups sought sexual contacts with children.45 With the advent of the home computer, the home sex business can be run with the ease and relative security (computer entries and informational release necessitate passwords and "secret" codes) of a legitimate enterprise. In one case, a computer network listed children by sex, race, hair and eye color, type of sexual act performed, and other particulars on a mailing list that was "hundreds of feet long."46 The list contained names from six different countries.

Such findings might support the contention that there are well-organized and financed connections from small towns of America to large markets of sexual desires in major cities throughout the world. The fact is that such organizations are the exception rather than the rule. However, for those networks which do exist, only covert investigative tactics will work to infiltrate and expose them.

Recognizing that only special, concentrated, and sophisticated tactics are the proper way to deal with the problem successfully, the City of Berkeley, Calif., after creating a task force to look into the problem and make recommendations, budgeted a position for a special investigator. The attorney general of the State of California also concluded that the resources of his office should be made available to local jurisdictions for the same reasons. The use of specialized techniques will be the only proper way to deal with the problem.<sup>47</sup> NCJOA

found that proactive investigations and education of the public are also the prime deterrents. The Queens Bench Foundation found that changes in training of police officers, victim sensitivity, and support provided by police were necessary.48 When a different approach was tried in Anchorage. Alaska, the law enforcement community found that they had the confidence of the public and that they got successful "results" they otherwise might not have achieved.49 Those results are what the American Bar Association meant when it found that there are many inadequacies and complexities in the manner in which sexual exploitation of children is being dealt with by law enforcement. Its conclusion was that in order to attain successful results, law enforcement, among others, is going to have to change its perspective on the crime.50

To date, little effective investigative concentration by law enforcement has been accomplished because of a lack of coordination and a great deal of ignorance on the part of local agencies. The underground has better communication modes than do most law agencies. In addition, the underground communicates among themselves, something many police agencies do not do.

These investigations must be carefully planned, implemented, and analyzed for additional leads. Generally, one case mushrooms into many, many more. From the names found in address books, correspondence, and associates of the offender, properly trained investigators will discover other offenders, victims, and incidents. At minimum, 7 to 8 additional cases could be generated from a properly reviewed and analyzed investigation. Part of the problem is that

there is no central bureau or collection point for leads or information obtained. As a result, many leads are never connected and many cases go unsolved. In California, leads which would have provided the identities of several of the victims in the L.A. Freeway Strangler case were not put together for several months. In the early stages of the Atlanta child killings, there was little, if any, cooperation among local agencies. In the computer matching operation run by two men from Los Angeles and San Jose, it took the combined efforts of the respective agencies to make the connections and effect the arrest. These two agencies ran into the same difficulty many others encounter. When the crime reaches beyond jurisdictional boundaries, they had to rely upon each other and State or Federal authorities as they had little or no ability or resources to legally act.52

Although the sexual exploitation of children is clearly a law enforcement problem,53 most agencies give it a low priority as compared to other "major crimes." The New York Police Department, however, considers the problem to be "immediate . . . major . . . (and) serious" and has created a task force with other enforcement agencies to address the problem.54 Many acknowledge the fact that there are unique aspects of this problem, yet there are few investigators who are specifically assigned to these cases. Federal laws are seldomly enforced, and there are few full time Federal investigators working on the problem. One U.S. Customs agent said that in 2 years, he conducted 150

#### "... pornography and prostitution are only symptoms of the greater problem of pedophilia and that all three aspects are a serious and grave threat to our communities."

investigations which led to 40 arrests and 25 convictions. He noted, however, that the prosecuters were not "enthusiastic about going to trial."55 When authorities arrested Catherine Wilson, they claimed they had put a stop to 80 percent of the child pornography in this country. This is gravely misleading, as the arrest may have put a big dent in the commercial industry, yet did little to affect the underground networks operated by pedophiles.56 Research conducted by individual States and local inquiries had found they "only scratched the surface and that there is a great deal of the problem which will never be uncovered."57 The underground networks are so extensive that the only successful means of penetration can be through specialized concentration.

#### Conclusion

It was estimated that 95 percent of the arrested child molesters in California do not go to prison. Of the possible 30,000 child molests committed each year in the same State, the Bureau of Criminal Statistics reports that only 58 molesters went to prison and that 104 went to Atascadero State Hospital for the year 1979.58 These figures are frightening when one considers that they represent only a minute portion of the actual number of offenders. Statistics like these should stir law enforcement to action, to take an "activist" and "leadership role" in addressing the problem. 59 Because the nature of this

crime is much like a "victimless" crime, little attention is given or devoted to it. Yet, police devote manpower and resources to narcotics, gambling, and prostitution. When asked why this is so, many police agencies simply deny they have such a problem. <sup>60</sup>

Florence Rush says its "time to break silence which protects molesters and endangers children." 61 Several Congressional committees have examined the problem and recognized that different measures must be taken than have been followed in the past. Several federally funded programs have been undertaken to determine the scope of the problem and find new methods to address it. In the interim, the U.S. Supreme Court, in its New York v. Ferber decision, 62 finally recognized that child pornography is child abuse and not a form of expression. This is only a step in the right direction. Now law enforcement has to take the cue and work to eradicate the abuse. In an article on the topic of legislation to cope with the problem of sexual exploitation, C. David Baker wrote that two distinct, but directly related, problems had to be addressed. What he, in essence, did was become one of the first to tie the problems of child molestation (child abuse) and sexual exploitation (prostitution and pornography) together. 63 The problem is that many have yet to recognize, as the Supreme Court did, this relationship.

In virtually every State in the country, law enforcement has a legal mandate to be involved in child abuse and neglect investigations. The issues are not over whether they will be involved, but rather, how and to what degree. What is expected of the law

enforcement agency is that they report, investigate, and provide emergency services for suspected cases of abuse or exploitation. Two law enforcement agencies in California are now faced with multimillion-dollar law suits for not properly following these provisions.64 Similar law suits could be the possible result of any agency's mishandling of an abuse case of this nature. Law enforcement must recognize that pornography and prostitution are only symptoms of the greater problem of pedophilia and that all three aspects are a serious and grave threat to our communities. 65 Ethically, law enforcement has the sworn duty and obligation to uphold the law and the responsibility of the welfare of the citizens it serves. Those same ethics will not permit law enforcement to ignore the abused or endangered child. As early as 1977, experts have been crying for law enforcement to do more than it does to eradicate the problem. The experts have exposed the problem, baring its true magnitude and threat. To ignore it any longer would be unethical and a denial of all that law enforcement is sworn to carry out.

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#### Footnotes

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<sup>9</sup> Illinois Legislative Investigative Commission, Sexual Exploitation of Children, Report to the Illinois General Assembly. Order 18345, Chicago, Ill., August 1980. p. 14.

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<sup>20</sup> National Committee for Prevention of Child Abuse, Basic Facts About Sexual Abuse, Chicago, III.,1978.

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<sup>23</sup> Parker Rossman, Sexual Experience Between Men and Boys (New York: Association, 1977), p. 12. 24 Supra note 15, at 45.

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- 32 Supra note 9, at 54-55.
- 33 Peter Bridge, "What Parents Should Know and Do About Kiddie Porn," *Parents Magazine*, January 1978, p. 43.
  - 34 Supra note 9, at 39. 35 Supra note 12, at 812.
  - 36 Supra note 14, at 46.
  - 37 Supra note 4, at 114. 38 Supra note 26, at 9.

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- 53 R. P. "Toby" Tyler, Child Pornography: The International Exploitation of Children, Fourth International Congress of Child Abuse and Neglect, Paris, France, September 9, 1982, p. 1.
  - 54 Supra note 5, at 40.
  - 55 Supra note 7, at 58.

56 Ibid., p. 53.

57 Supra note 14, at 47.

58 Letter to author, Irv Prager, Deputy District Attorney, Ventura County, Calif., August 18, 1980.

59 Stephen F. Hutchinson, "The Use of Legislation

As a Tool for Change as Related to the Problems of Sexually Victimized Children," remarks prepared for a conference on "Intra-familial Childhood Sexual Assault," Chicago, III., October 26-28, 1978.

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62 New York v. Ferber, 50 U.S.L.W. 5077 (July 2,

63 Supra note 12, at 824-25.

64 The parents of a group of children have filed a \$50 million law suit against a southern California law enforcement agency for not properly investigating allegations of sexual misconduct on the part of a day care provider. That suit is still pending and should serve notice of the possible result of mishandling such an investigation.

65 Densen-Gerber and Hutchinson, supra note 10, at

# FBI FBI



Photographs taken 1979

Photographs taken date unknown

#### Susan Lisa Rosenberg

Susan Lisa Rosenberg, also known as Susan Rosenberg, and Elizabeth

#### Wanted for:

Racketeering; Racketeering Conspiracy; Armed Bank Robbery

#### The Crime

Susan Lisa Rosenberg is being sought in connection with the armed robbery of an armored truck which resulted in the killing of two police officers and one guard and the wounding of one officer and two guards.

Federal warrants were issued on July 15, 1982, and September 20, 1982, in the Southern District of New York.

#### Description

Age	28, born October 5, 1955, New
	York, N.Y., (not
	supported by birth
	records).
Height	
Weight	
Build	
	Brown, curly Afro.
Eyes	
Complexion	
Race	White.
Nationality	
Social Security No	).
used	
FBI No	135 188 AA5.

#### Caution

Rosenberg is known to associate with revolutionary organizations which have a great propensity for criminal activity and violence against law enforcement officers. She should be considered armed, extremely dangerous, and an escape risk.

#### Notify the FBI

Any person having information which might assist in locating this fugitive is requested to notify immediately the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. 20535, or the Special Agent in Charge of the nearest FBI field office, the telephone number of which appears on the first page of most local directories.

#### Classification Data:

NCIC Classification:

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Fingerprint Classification 16 0 29 W IOM

Ref: 29

1 31 W 000 16

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I.O. 4925



Right index fingerprint

## Change of Address

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## Complete this form and return to:

Director Federal Bureau of Investigation Washington, D.C. 20535

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Address

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State

Zip

### Questionable Pattern

The pattern presented this month is classified as a loop with seven ridge counts. However, close examination reveals two ending ridges plus a delta underneath the innermost loop. Having met the requirement for two different pattern types, a reference search would be conducted as an accidental whorl.



**U.S. Department of Justice**Federal Bureau of Investigation

Official Business Penalty for Private Use \$300 Address Correction Requested Postage and Fees Paid Federal Bureau of Investigation JUS-432

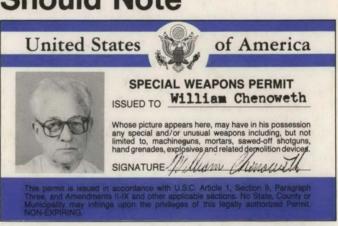
Second Class



Washington, D.C. 20535

## **Police Officers Should Note**

The California Highway Patrol confiscated the "United States of America—Special Weapons Permit" illustrated here from an intoxicated driver recently and noted these "permits" are being made available at west coast gun shows. The "permit" purports to allow the holder to have in his possession unusual weapons "including, but not limited to, machineguns, mortars, sawed-off shotguns, hand grenades, explosives and related demolition devices."



The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms verified that the enclosed card has not been issued by the U.S. Government nor is such a card legal for registration of weapons. (Photograph and signature fictitious.)