UNDERSTANDING CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT, 6/e

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8

Extrafamilial Sexual Abuse, Misuse, and Exploitation

The prevailing myth has been that children are sexually abused by strangers. It is now known that a significant percentage of sexual abuse is perpetrated by family members or by surrogate caregivers who are close to the child. Yet there is also danger that friends, acquaintances, and, yes, even strangers abuse and exploit children.

Child sexual abuse in the broadest sense encompasses not only the inappropriate touching of children but also using children in sexual trafficking, pornography, and prostitution. Perpetrators may meet their victims in person or through the computer. Often perpetrators abduct their victims. This chapter covers the wide range of extrafamilial sexual abuse—from molestation by acquaintances and strangers to the sexual exploitation of children through a variety of misuses of adult power. For the purpose of this chapter, *abuse* refers to the touching or molestation of a child by a perpetrator, whereas *misuse* and *exploitation* refer to the perpetrator's encouraging sexual contact with or photographing of the child for the perpetrator's own financial gain.

Dynamics and Characteristics of Sexual Abuse outside the Family

It has been concluded that the greater the emotional bond between the perpetrator and the victim, the greater the potential for harm, but the trauma precipitated by an abuser outside the family cannot be minimized. Several factors (mentioned in Chapter 7) are said to cause the greatest trauma in children who have been abused. Consider how each of these factors can be seen in relation to incest and to extrafamilial abuse.

From Table 8.1, it would seem obvious that children do experience trauma from extrafamilial abuse. The degree and types are explored later in this chapter. This chart has also been updated to reflect the difference between the stranger who encounters the child initially in person and the offender who begins his or her engagement of the child online.

TABLE 8.1 *Factors Influencing Degree of Trauma*

		Extrafamilial		
Factor	*Incestual*	*Acquaintance*	*Stranger*	*Online Victimization*
Continues for a long period of time	Probable	Possible, but often not as long as in familial	Usually not	Possible
Close emotional bond	Almost always	Possible, but not always	Usually not	Often develops through online contacts
Involves penetration	More likely, due to progression and duration	Possible, but may not	Possible, but may not. If penetration, usually forcible rape	If offender and child meet, possible
Is accompanied by aggression	Majority of cases are not	Possible	Often	Usually not
Child's "participation" to some degree	Usually	Possible	Unlikely, but possible	Yes, the child is engaged and learns to trust through online contacts
Child is cognizant of taboo against or violation	Possible in older children	Possible	Probable (due to admonishments about strangers)	Often not due to being in security of home

It should be noted that there are cultural implications that also affect the degree of trauma felt by children who are sexually abused both within and outside the family. For example, children of a culture that has experienced a great deal of oppression or prejudice might be either hypervigilant to abuse from the outside or emotionally numb due to having dealt with non-familial emotional assaults throughout childhood (Ertz, 1995). This is important to consider when making an assessment of the degree of trauma experienced by an individual child.

Children are vulnerable to abuse from many different individuals. Of the women who were abused prior to the age of 18 by males outside the family, Russell (Russell and Bolen, 2000) found that 15 percent were molested by strangers, 40 percent by acquaintances, 14 percent by friends of the family, 2 percent by unclassified authority figures, and 18 percent by a friend or date of the victim. Of those women who reported being abused by females, 2 percent named acquaintances and 2 percent cited friends of the family or of the respondent. The availability of the Internet may alter these statistics.

The perpetrator's ability to molest in an extrafamilial situation often depends on lack of parental judgment or inadequate parental supervision. This statement seems to imply

blame, but parents allow access to their children for different reasons, some unrelated to intent or irresponsibility. Why might a parent not perceive potential harm from a perpetrator?

First, the *perpetrator may have an emotional bond* with the parent. The individual may be a family friend who has gained the trust of the parent, or the abuser may be a babysitter who is assumed to be reliable. Or abuse is *not within the parents' frame of reference.* Parents who have had no experience with abuse, or who have blocked the memory of their own experiences, do not expect other adults to sexually abuse children. Native American families, for example, give children a great deal of freedom on the reservation, not expecting that they will come to any harm. Parents whose children use the Internet may not recognize how potentially dangerous unmonitored use can be for children. Because of current media attention, parents may be more cautious, but even cautious parents often tell themselves their fears are groundless. Some parents *need the services of the potential abuser.* The increased reports of abuse in daycare settings, in schools, and by babysitters point out that parents are not always discerning about the providers of those services. Even with thorough checking of references, it is not possible to know that these individuals are reliable. Financial constraints may necessitate using whatever facility or person is available. And finally, the *parent may trust the potential abuser.* Parents who trust coaches, youth-group leaders, or even ministers and priests, for example, may not realize that these individuals could be harmful (Baker, 2002).

Parents may not provide adequate supervision for several reasons: They may *feel their children can care for themselves.* Parents who allow children freedom in walking home from school or playing in the neighborhood may not even consider the danger of potential abuse or may feel that the children can take care of themselves. Some parents have unrealistic expectations about their children's ability to care for themselves. In this era of the Internet, some parents may not realize that children need supervision when they are online. Today, the Internet provides an opportunity for children to be seduced into future abuse while they are on the computer in their own homes. Parents *may feel unable to provide supervision.* Latchkey children, who come home to an empty house and remain alone until the parents return from work, are becoming the trademark of two-career families. Child care is expensive, and some parents feel financially unable to provide an alternative. In addition, the parents may not be able to find a program or a sitter to supervise. Or parents *may be unaware of unsupervised periods.* The child who misses a ride, or for some reason is left unsupervised, is vulnerable despite the parents' good intentions. Some parents *may be otherwise occupied.* Caring for a child is a demanding and full-time job. For some parents the responsibility is sometimes overwhelming. Others may be so involved in their own crises or conflicts that they are not able to concern themselves with their children's whereabouts. And finally, the *child may initiate the separation.* Children who wander off, run away, or become distracted sometimes separate themselves from supervising caregivers.

The above presupposes that a perpetrator meets a child and begins his/her seduction. But over the last decade, the complexion of seduction by non-familial perpetrators has changed. Today, the easiest way for an abuser to meet and engage a child for abuse, pornography, or prostitution is over the Internet. So parents may now have difficulty with supervision while the child is in his/her own home. While the parent innocently watches TV or goes about his/her household duties, a perpetrator could be luring a child into seduction in

the very next room (Hughes, 1998; Jenkins, 2001; Lin, 2002; Cooper, 2002; Taylor and Quayle, 2003).

Finkelhor et al. (2000) estimate that close to 24 million youths between the ages of 10 and 17 were online regularly in 1999. Between August 1999 and February 2000, these authors studied 1,501 of these youths and found that 1 in 5 had been approached for sexual solicitation during the past year. For 1 in 33 of these children, the solicitation was aggressive. One in 4 were exposed (unwantedly) to pictures of people who were nude or having sex (p. ix).

Thus, we are forced to recognize that, whether a perpetrator has access to a child initially met in person or initially met on the Internet, children are vulnerable to abuse. Children may be exposed to one or more of the variety of types of abuse, misuse, or exploitation—from abuse at the hands of one perpetrator to involvement in sex rings and prostitution. Let us consider some of these forms of sexual deviation.

Pedophilia

Pedophiles are individuals who have a sexual interest in children. Although some incestuous fathers may be pedophiles in their orientation, the term is mostly reserved for the abuser whose victim is outside the family. Perhaps one difference between the pedophile and an incestuous father is that incest is indicative of family dysfunction (although some pedophiles abuse in the home), and the perpetrator is a participant in a complex web of dysfunctional relationships. Pedophilia is related to the individual pathology of the abuser. A pedophile may be either fixated or regressed (see Chapter 6), and his choice of victim may reflect his particular type of pathology. Pedophiles seek a relationship with a child because they see children as nonconflictual partners who can satisfy their unmet emotional needs. The fixated perpetrator has probably nurtured his interest in children for some time. He has become expert at engaging children. He becomes emotionally involved with these children and sees himself at their level. Outside of his relationship with children, the fixated pedophile views himself as helpless and ineffective (Schwartz and Cellini, 1995; Flora, 2001).

Fantasy is an important part of this individual's life. He may fantasize sexual and emotional involvement with children and often acts out his fantasies. Interestingly, the perpetrator projects his feelings of powerlessness and often perceives that it is the child who initiates the relationship (Schwartz and Cellini, 1995; McLaughlin, 2000; Flora, 2001).

The victim is usually vulnerable to the advances of the pedophile. In the classic movie *Fallen Angel,* a male softball coach befriended and molested Jennifer, whom he called Angel, a needy and isolated young girl. Concerned but caught up in her own conflicts, the girl's mother was emotionally unavailable to her. Angel's primary motivation for not disclosing the abuse before she did was her need for attention and affection and her trust in Howie, the perpetrator. Howie lured his victim with great skill. He provided companionship, a sense of belonging, and affection to the emotionally starved, confused child. Gradually he cajoled her into the abuse, demonstrating his consideration for her feelings but pressuring her with gifts and thinly veiled threats.

This type of relationship is not uncommon between the abused and the abuser. The fixated pedophile suffers from a "temporary or permanent arrestment of psychosocial

maturation resulting from unresolved formative issues that persist and underlie the organization of subsequent phases of development" (Groth, 1978b, p. 6). This molester has failed to develop normally; he sees himself as a child and finds no gratification in the accomplishment of adult tasks. As children, these perpetrators' needs were unmet, and having lost faith in adults they now look to children to meet their dependency and nurturing needs. They find themselves at ease with children and become "sexually addicted" to them (Groth and Birnbaum, 2001; Flora, 2001).

The regressed pedophile usually does not demonstrate his interest in children until his relationship with adults breaks down. He is often married, and, in fact, may prefer an adult partner if she validates his need to feel adequate. When relationships with peers are too conflictual, he chooses children. Frequently the onset of his molestation behavior can be traced to a crisis in his life. His relationship with a child becomes an impulsive act that underlies his desperate need to cope.

> *Perry was 35 years old when his sexual abuse of children was discovered. He was married and had three sons, all of whom were good athletes and did well in school. Perry was proud of them but vaguely resentful, as he had never excelled at anything. His wife, Trudy, was employed by a large company where she had worked herself up to a position of some importance. She frequently attended corporate meetings in the evenings and left Perry alone and feeling neglected. His sons were rarely home either, so he'd often go out for a walk or a drive "to think." He was trained as a plumber and made good money. He was much in demand because his customers liked his efficiency and his quiet, friendly manner. Customers' children often watched him work, and he would explain what he was fixing.*
>
> *As Trudy became less and less of a companion, Perry's depression increased. He began to spend his evenings on the Internet talking to children. He found them interesting and somehow sexually stimulating. Often he would think about these contacts as he took long nighttime drives. One night on one of his drives, he saw the daughter of a customer walking home. He pulled over and offered her a ride. The child had talked with him on numerous occasions and got in readily. The offer of an ice cream cone was also accepted, and Perry found himself stopping on a deserted road and molesting the child. When she became frightened, he took her home and urged her not to tell. When he arrived home several hours later, an irate Trudy and the police greeted him. The girl had told her parents.*
>
> *After his arrest, Perry admitted that he had "maybe done the same kind of thing before." He remembered molesting a girl while he was in the service, but she apparently never told anyone. He also remembered a brief relationship he had had with a child, when Trudy was pregnant with their last child. Neither he nor his wife had wanted another child, and there had been considerable friction between them. Perry described his relationship with these children as "comforting." He said they gave him something no adult could.*

Regressed pedophiles may abuse less frequently than fixated pedophiles because the assaults are usually triggered by some event. If their lives are relatively conflict free, the abusers may act only infrequently.

As mentioned in Chapter 6, both fixated and regressed pedophiles approach children in a variety of ways. Some pressure their victims and others threaten or physically force them.

The pedophile who pressures does so without using physical force. He may use *enticement* in which he cajoles the victim with gifts, treats, and affection. Or he may convince the child of how important he or she is to him. *Entrapment* is also used by abusers

who try to make the child feel indebted or obligated to them in some manner. The pressuring pedophile hopes to gain the child's "consent" in the relationship and thus convince himself that the union is mutual rather than abusive or exploitive. If the child refuses, the perpetrator may intensify his efforts to cajole or entrap, but will rarely force the child (van Dam, 2001).

The abusers who force their victims use either *intimidation* or *physical aggression*. Children are in awe of adults. The perpetrator who intimidates uses his power as an adult to commit the abusive act.

> *"He didn't say much," remembers Suzannah. "In fact, I'm not sure he spoke English well; but he was so overpowering." She spoke of the man who had worked at her father's ranch for a short while. Suzannah's family was strict. Her parents insisted that she respect adults. She describes not knowing what to do when the workman took her into the cabin and began undressing her. "His size scared me; he was so big. It was just understood that I'd comply." Suzannah was molested on several occasions by the 6-foot, 7-inch ranchhand. Only after the man had drifted away at the end of the season was she finally able to tell her parents, who admonished her for "making up stories." Suzannah tried to forget; the memories, however, continued to haunt her.*

The motivation of abusers who force themselves on their victims is to complete the sexual act. Force is used when the abuser perceives it necessary. Most likely, he intends no injury to the child, but sees her or him as an object to be exploited and manipulated to his own satisfaction. He is not concerned about the trauma for the victim and he will usually not take no for an answer (Pryor, 1999; van Dam, 2001).

Other abusers actually prefer physical aggression. They, too, are exploiting and plan to do so without the child's consent. This type of abuser is often called a child rapist because of the likelihood that his assault includes penetration. Any type of pedophile may reach the point of intercourse with his victim, but this individual's act more closely approximates the rape of an adult female. Two motivations seem to play a role in child rape—anger and the need for power (Bolen, 2001).

Anger toward a child or something that the child symbolizes may cause the perpetrator to use sex as a weapon. His purpose is to hurt the victim and he often combines physical battering with the sexual assault. Often he does not anticipate abuse, but acts instead on impulse or emotion (Schwartz and Cellini, 1995; Groth and Birnbaum, 2001). One abuser was apprehended after raping the 6-year-old daughter of his girlfriend.

> *"I was so angry when she [the child's mother] broke up with me," he said, "that I just had to find a way to hurt her. The kid was there and it wasn't 'til after I raped her that I realized what I'd done."*

The power rapist sees the child as weak, vulnerable, and unable to resist. The child once again is seen as an object that he uses and discards. Some rapists who have unsuccessfully tried to take their aggression out on adults may make children their targets (Groth and Birnbaum, 2001).

A small minority of child molesters are sadistic in their assaults. They are sexually stimulated by hurting the child. Their act is totally premeditated, often taking on an almost

ritualistic pattern. The sadistic abuser uses more force than necessary to overcome the child and sometimes kills the child. The child sometimes symbolizes something the abuser hates in himself or perhaps evokes a memory of his disturbed childhood (Whetsell-Mitchell, 1995; van Dam, 2001; Groth and Birnbaum, 2001).

Statistics from a variety of agencies attest to the fact that numerous children are abducted and murdered each year. Many of these crimes have a sexual component.

The age of the pedophile can vary, but heterosexual abusers tend to be adolescents, in the mid-30s, or over 60.

Pederasty

Chapter 1 briefly discussed the practice of pederasty among early Greeks. But this practice is not confined to ancient times; pederasty thrives in our culture today.

Geiser (1979) speaks of pederasts as "eternal adolescents in their erotic life. They become fixated upon the youth and sexual vitality of the adolescent boy. . . . Pederasts love the boy in themselves and themselves in the boy" (p. 83). Rossman (1976) describes pederasts as males over age 18 who are sexually attracted to and involved with young boys who are between ages 12 and 16.

Are pederasts considered pedophiles? In England the answer is affirmative. In the United States, however, the answer lacks clarity. Geiser (1979) differentiates by saying that pedophiles exploit children, whereas pederasts prey on "willing children." Many might disagree with this premise and the semantics, but most agree that pederasty is the abuse of boys, especially those between 12 and 16 years old.

In the 1970s, Rossman (1976) used questionnaires and interviews with 300 adolescent boys who were sexually involved with adult men and reviewed the writings of more than 1,000 pederasts. Although there is a small fraction of promiscuous pederasts (called *chicken-hawks*) who seek out boys between ages 12 and 16 for sexual exploitation, Rossman's study found a larger percentage drifted into sex play or sexual relationships with boys as a result of their fantasies or contacts with these youths. Rossman estimated that at least 1 million men in the United States have been sexually involved with teenage boys.

Rossman's study is dated but there is a lack of similar recent studies. One reason for this is that the picture of child sexual abuse has been altered significantly by the Internet (see Techophilia).

Although illegal in our society, pederasty may still be practiced through underground movements. Several organizations currently exist that are only half-hidden from the public. The North American Man Boy Love Association, known as NAMBLA, was created in 1979 in response to the break-up of the "Revere Ring" outside of Boston. The ring had operated for many years and included numerous professional men and more than 60 boys. After several of the men were charged of illegal sexual acts with boys, 32 men and 2 teenage boys organized to protect these kinds of sexual relationships and to defend the "rights" of these youths (Rush, 1980; deYoung, 1982). NAMBLA publishes newsletters and now has a Website. Through these, the organization provides a network for pederasts. The René Guyon Society believes that sexuality between men and boys is a natural type of education. Based in Los Angeles, the group argues that the age of consent should be lowered, as reflected in their motto, "Sex by eight is too late" (Freeman-Longo and Blan-

chard, 1998). The Childhood Sexuality Circle, founded in 1974, argues that children are inherently sexual beings and that sexual relations between children and adults should be encouraged. VOCAL (Victims of Child Abuse Law), an organization started in the 1980s by several individuals who asserted that they had been falsely accused of child sexual abuse, dedicates itself to protesting many of the child abuse laws, often arguing that agencies have no right to interfere in family life (Freeman-Longo and Blanchard, 1998). Such groups sometimes appear on TV talk shows to argue for a lower age of consent or the importance of such sexual education for children.

Should pederasty be considered abusive? Since there is so little research available on male sexual victimization, it is only possible to speculate. Organizations of pederasts argue that their proponents neither abuse nor exploit boys. Some say that, unlike the fixated pedophile, the pederast is not reliving the trauma of a sexual assault in his own youth but rather is seeking a reciprocal relationship of sexual pleasure with a boy (Rossman, 1976). Because of this difference in motivation, the pederasts interviewed by researchers indicate that they see themselves as guided by a particular code of ethics. This ethical code suggests that the boys are not merely sexual objects, but have feelings and interests of their own. Pederasts are admonished to keep photos taken of boys to themselves, a practice that appears to have changed. Further, the pederast is encouraged to protect the best interests of the boy by discouraging drugs and alcohol and encouraging him to stay in school (Rossman, 1976; Freeman-Longo and Blanchard, 1998). There is some question as to whether the ethical code first discovered by Rossman's study still operates.

On the other hand, many argue that a child under age 18, by virtue of his insufficient knowledge and lack of authority, cannot consent, and that to ask consent is taking unfair advantage. Another issue for consideration is that of harm to the child. It is known that many boys involved with pederasts do not see themselves as exploited or harmed. The possibility of trauma increases when a boy has been forced. If he agrees to the alliance and is treated gently and with respect, is trauma precluded? While organizations as vocal as NAMBLA might argue for the sexual education of boys, survivor groups insist that, for some, trauma is still the result (Freeman-Longo and Blanchard, 1998; Gartner, 1999).

Technophilia

The term *technophilia,* coined by New Hampshire police detective Jim McLaughlin, refers to those who use the computer to engage in sexual deviance involving children (McLaughlin, 1998).[1] After an extensive 3-year study of sexual exploitation of children over the Internet, McLaughlin and his colleagues, funded by a grant from the Justice Department's Office for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, uncovered over 200 perpetrators of sexual solicitation and abuse via the Internet in 40 states and 12 foreign countries.

McLaughlin (1998) suggests that there is no real profile for offenders who engage in technophilia, but he suggests what might be a typical scenario.

> A 35-year-old man anxiously watches the clock on his office wall in anticipation of ending his workday. His co-workers would describe him as a person who tends to isolate himself from others. He really doesn't have a friend, just acquaintances, and these relationships are shallow at best. He has withdrawn over the years from his extended family and often turns

down social invitations. He spends considerable time alone. He leaves work as soon as the clock strikes four. Without any delay he heads straight home. If waylaid in any manner he experiences anxiety. He has a compulsion to follow through with his daily routine of leaving work at the same time and going straight home to his computer. He arrives home and doesn't even take his coat off before turning on his computer. After a few key strikes he has his modem logging on to the Internet. Around his computer is evidence of his long hours in front of the monitor. The last microwave meals he has eaten are stacked nearby. The rest of the apartment appears unlived in. The computer, which he has set up in his bedroom, is the central feature of the residence. He double clicks on the special icon he has set up as a shortcut to his favorite chat system. He selects one of his many fictional characters, deciding on this day to be a 14-year-old boy, "Donny14." He enters a chat room called "#little-boysex" and joins a cyber community of persons with similar interests. The hunt begins (McLaughlin, 1998, p. 1).

The author adds that this offender might be married or not, have his own children or not, or be involved in any type of profession. A list of offenders who have been investigated includes activities and professions such as college or high school student, computer tech operator, teacher, laborer, nurse, engineer, self-employed, and all manner of other work related areas (McLaughlin, 1998). In short, the individual who uses the Internet to lure children might be anyone fitting any of the offender typologies mentioned above. The relative anonymity of the computer world offers him/her a chance to groom a child before he/she ever has to take the risk of meeting that child. And this seduction can be done under the seemingly watchful eyes of parents.

McLaughlin (2000) and his colleagues did identify several categories of perpetrators depending on how he/she used the Internet and pornography. The *collector* is what McLaughlin calls an "entry level offender," who begins by pulling up and possibly later printing pornographic pictures for his own use as well as by chatting with children online. Perhaps the anonymity of the Internet allows these offenders to overcome both the internal ("It's okay, no one will know") and external (in the safety of the home) inhibitions mentioned by Finkelhor in his pre-condition model. They are often involved with children already and find that their sexual interest increases as they become desensitized by pornographic stimuli.

Travelers may chat with children with the goal of using manipulation to get these children to meet them for sexual purposes. Most also collect child pornography. Many of these offenders present themselves on the Internet as peers to the child with whom they converse electronically. Unsuspectingly, the child ends up giving the perpetrator personal information about him/herself that allows the technophile to push toward a more intimate relationship and eventually a meeting (McLaughlin, 2000).

Manufacturers produce their own pornography and scan it onto the Internet for others to access. They may photograph children in public areas such as bathrooms or they may lure children into being photographed or into taking sexual or nude photographs of themselves. They may simultaneously be involved in molesting children (McLaughlin, 2000).

Finally, *chatters* are usually not involved with child pornography and may actually warn children against those who might be involved with pornography on the Internet. Their goal is to chat with children and to present themselves as the only adults in cyberspace who can be trusted. They present themselves as teachers and encourage children to ask them

questions about sex, getting their own stimulation from this activity. This chatting may escalate to sexual talk over the Internet and possibly to phone sex with children. Once these offenders find a method of luring children in this way, they will usually stick to it, becoming quite ritualistic (McLaughlin, 2000).

McLaughlin cautions that these categories are merely an attempt to understand online perpetrators more fully as the exact nature of this type of paraphilia continues to be studied.

Sexual Abuse by Clergy

An increased amount of attention has been given in the news media to the abuse of children by religious figures such as priests and ministers. (Currently, no major news story has surfaced about a rabbi.) In August 1993 *Newsweek* featured major coverage of "Sex and the Church" with a discussion of priests who abuse. Jason Berry's book *Lead Us Not Into Temptation* (2000) met with much controversy (when it was first published in 1992) as it chronicled the abuse by a number of priests during the 1980s. Berry supports the need for such a book by commenting that

> [B]etween 1983 and 1987, more than two hundred priests or religious brothers were reported to the Vatican Embassy for sexually abusing youngsters, in most cases teenage boys—an average of nearly one accusation a week in those four years alone. In the decade of 1982–1992, approximately four hundred priests were reported to the civil authorities for molesting youths. The vast majority had multiple victims. By 1992, the church's financial losses—in victim settlements, legal expenses, and medical treatment of clergy—had reached an estimated $400 million (p. xix).

The Catholic church should not be singled out as the only religious organization to be plagued by deviant activities among its clergy (despite the fact that in the relatively new body of literature, most has been aimed at abuse by priests). Across the nation, other religious orders and denominations are being disillusioned by reports of clergy abuse (Cozzens, 2002).

> *"When our minister was arrested,"* reported one mother, *"I couldn't believe it! He used to run the youth group. He was so great with the kids. He'd taken them on trips and was even involved with a Boy Scout troop. I refused to believe that this minister who we all loved could have molested kids. That is until my own son told me that he'd been abused too."*

Some critics contend that the reports of abuse by clergy are "manufactured panic" (Jenkins, 1994, p. 167). Jenkins (1994) points to the issue as providing an ". . . excuse for a frontal assault on celibacy" (p. 173). (See also Gerdes, 2003.) Jenkins believes that the magnitude of reports is really a movement, led to some extent by feminists, to question the authority of the church.

> The panic is in a sense a perfect weapon, because so few are prepared to question this orthodoxy and hence to challenge its practical consequences. Realizing this, the liberals and

feminists have used the abuse ideology as a Trojan Horse to enter and subvert many traditional institutions (p. 175).

Others would say that abuse by priests and clergy has been a fact for years and is only now coming to the surface (Cozzens, 2002). For example, James Porter, the former priest, who later left the priesthood and married, admitted to abusing between 50 and 100 children over a period of 30 years. (He was eventually convicted of molesting his children's babysitter in Minnesota.) Frank Fitzpatrick, investigator and former victim of Porter's, finally confronted the ex-priest, who was living with his wife and children while his former victims sought to repair their lives (Berry, 2000; Bruni and Burkett, 2002). Fitzpatrick now offers support and a newsletter as a method of communication to others who were abused by clergy. In addition, SNAP (Survivors Network of those Abused by Priests), founded in 1991 by Barbara Blaine, uses a Website (www.snap-net.org) to keep its 2,400 members informed about its activities and to offer tips to survivors and investigators.

Motivation of Perpetrators

What could possibly motivate a priest, minister, or other religious leader to sexually abuse children? This is a question that has been explored by a variety of authors of late. Perhaps the only way to deal with this conundrum is to consider what religious life offers and how this fits into the needs of a perpetrator. First and foremost, church leadership brings with it respect and often unquestioned authority. Ministers and priests are usually held up as people who are trustworthy, loyal, and who want the best for those to whom they minister. For an insecure individual, which perpetrators appear to be (Flora, 2001), this lauded position would hold great appeal. Further, the trust with which a clergyman or woman is surrounded, offers opportunity to be alone with children, often in a close or nurturing role. Until recently, when abuse by clergy has come under scrutiny, being a religious leader also offered one some degree of protection. The church community will often go to great lengths to deny that their leader is guilty of any deviance (Kearney, 2001; Gerdes, 2003). Like the mother quoted earlier, most parishioners find abuse by their priest or minister unbelievable. Some felt the media was just inventing a panic (Cozzens, 2001). And finally, Freudian interpretation might suggest that the perpetrator, often abused, neglected, or abandoned by his own mother, is searching for the "all-loving mother." What better candidate for this role than the "mother church"? Some might also argue that celibacy in the Catholic church provides the perpetrator, who is not interested in adult women, with an acceptable alternative.

It should be made clear that despite the fact that the perpetrator may find a haven in the church for the above reasons, there are many healthy members of the clergy who have never and will never be abusive to children. Perpetrators seek out, whether consciously or unconsciously, situations and positions which give them opportunities to be with children. The position of church leader, like numerous other positions, provides that vehicle. (See Table 8.2.)

Crisis in the Catholic Church

Given the fact that there have been perpetrators found among the ranks of clergy of other denominations, why has the Catholic Church been blamed for so much of the current in-

TABLE 8.2 *Comparison of the Offerings of an Ecclesiastical Career and the Needs of Perpetrators*

What Is Offered by the Priesthood/Ministry	*What an Offender Searches For*
Respected as priest or member of clergy Due to faith of parishioners, usually unquestioned	Unquestioned acceptance/respect
Due to profession, is elevated in status	Respect in the community
Held apart from general community in minds of most	Some isolation from general community
Authority based on a higher power, an association that makes him powerful	Power
Head of the congregation	Control
Contact with youth in a variety of ways, often unsupervised, with the trust of both parents and youth	Opportunity with children
Under the protection of the "Mother Church," also nurtured by parishioners	An all-loving parent or nurturance
Provided with housing and structure in daily tasks	Limited self-care responsibility
Celibacy in some denominations. Ethical concern for not becoming romantically involved with congregation in others	Threatened by adult relationships and prefers not to have them on an intimate level

Adapted from Gartner, 1999; Pryor, 1999; Sipe, 1999; Barry, 2000; Cozzens, 2001; Flora, 2001; van Dam, 2001; and Flynn, 2003.

cidence of clergy abuse? Several researchers of the crisis contend that the responsibility lies not only within the structure of the denomination, but also with the authorities within the Church who denied the crisis (Sipe, 1999; Bruni and Burkett, 2002; Cozzens, 2002; Flynn, 2003). Bruni and Burkett (2002) suggest that:

> In the end, the Roman Catholic Church wound up alone on the hot seat simply because it seemed to have done such a terrible job of coping with the problem. The United Methodist Church and Southern Baptists both conducted surveys to gage the extent of the problem in their ranks; the National Conference of Catholic Bishops insisted it did not even keep records of reported cases. The Presbyterians required background checks on pastors who relocate; the Catholics transferred known abusers. The Unitarians passed out pamphlets to their members on how to make complaints against abusive clergy and the Evangelical Lutheran Church spelled out a formal disciplinary process in its constitution; most Catholic dioceses keep their policies under lock and key (p. 40).

In addition, several critics point to the structure of the Catholic Church, which may provide a harbor for perpetrators. The hierarchy so central to the administration of this denomination is encumbered with numerous layers of authority amidst which reports of clergy misconduct can be lost. Instead of being answerable to their parishes, as is the case in many denominations, Catholic priests work for their bishops. If a bishop does not know what is transpiring at the parish level, or if he chooses not to respond, an abusive priest may be allowed to continue his perpetration. And, traditionally, priests were seen as

representatives of God and therefore not subject to public scrutiny (Cozzens, 2002; Bruni and Burkett, 2002; Flynn, 2003).

Several analysts of the current crisis offer other explanations as to why it might have been inevitable for the Catholic Church. Bruni and Burkett (2002) point to a study undertaken by Eugene Kennedy in the 1970s and published under the title *The Catholic Priest in the United States: Psychological Investigations* (1971). This research found that 57 percent of the 218 priests in the sample had not passed through all of the developmental stages necessary for healthy adulthood and were, therefore, considered to have arrested psychological development (p. 54). Kennedy noted that "their lack of maturity involved not just sexual feelings but a poor sense of personal identity and command of interpersonal relationships" (Bruni and Brackett, 2002, p. 54). This may be the result of the fact that boys are often expected from childhood to become priests and, therefore, robbed of the typical developmental tasks available to their counterparts in the secular world. In addition, the seminary, with its absence of heterosexual relationships and emphasis on inner focus as well as celibacy, further stunts the young man's emotional growth (Bruni and Burkett, 2002).

Is celibacy a contributor to child sexual abuse? Amidst the scandal that has rocked the Catholic Church, there is an ongoing debate about the contribution of celibacy to child sexual abuse. Jenkins (2003) explains that celibacy, a product of the very early Church, was designed to insure that priests focused on their spiritual life rather than on worldly concerns.

> The idea of celibacy is based less on a fear of sexuality than on a deep respect for its power, and with proper training, a celibate could transform or channel this power into a source of strength (p. 33).

He does not feel that celibacy among Catholic priests contributes to child sexual abuse, and argues that "there is no evidence that the rate [of perpetration] for these priests is higher than that for any other non-celibate group" (p. 34). Kennedy (2003), author of *The Unholy Wound: The Church and Human Sexuality* (2002), believes that, although celibacy does not *cause* pedophila, pedophiles, often intimidated by relations with adult women, may seek refuge in a profession where celibacy is required.

Whether celibate or not, clergy may often be placed in a position in which they feel they cannot be wholly themselves with those in their parishes. In fact, loneliness may contribute to the inevitability of perpetration by those with a tendency to abuse children. Because of their positions, members of the clergy may feel segregated from parishioners in a manner that promotes feelings of isolation and loneliness. Seeking to relieve this alienating emotion, a perpetrator may seek out affection in inappropriate ways from those who also seem vulnerable—children (Bruni and Burkett, 2002; Cozzens, 2002; Kennedy, 2003). Although the Catholic Church has come under the most fire, this latter factor may be true of Protestant clergy as well.

Impact on Victims

Abuse by a minister or priest brings with it the same trauma as abuse by any other trusted adult. There may, however, be an additional factor compounding the trauma. As one survivor put it:

I was so invested in the church as a kid. To me, being an altar boy was a big deal. It made me feel like somebody. At home things weren't great. My Dad left us when I was little. My Mom had a whole string of boyfriends, most of whom had drug problems. And here was the church where the minister made a big deal of me and I loved the attention. When he started touching my genitals, I didn't know what to think. Before it had gone too far, I found out that he was doing it to other kids. It made me feel like I didn't really count. It also rocked my faith. How could a man of God do that to me?

Survivors often report losing their faith and the desire for a spiritual life after they have been abused by a priest or minister. As many from troubled homes have sought the church as a form of comfort, these victims feel especially shaken by this betrayal. In addition, many wonder how their parents have not known. Why did these parents continue to allow them and even urge them to go to church? Some survivors describe feeling alienated from parents as a result of these feelings (Berry, 2000; Cozzens, 2001; Kearney, 2001; Bruni and Burkett, 2002).

Kearney (2001) writing about the treatment of sexually abused children and their families, proposes that abuse raises such questions as: "Why does God let this happen?" "Has God abandoned me?" Or "Am I being punished?" and creates theological concerns that are difficult for families to address.

Addressing Clerical Perpetrators

What should be done when a member of the clergy has been found to be abusive? Until recently such matters were handled within the Church and did not always come to the attention of the civil authorities (Barry, 2000; Bruni and Burkett, 2002). As a result, clerical perpetrators were often moved from one parish to another in order to cover up their transgressions. The seeds of a scandal, sewn long before, began to sprout in the 1980s when reports of abuse by several priests began to appear in the media (Jenkins, 1996; Barry, 2000; Bruni and Burkett, 2002). The States of Louisiana, California, Wisconsin, Illinois, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Washington, and Massachusetts all found themselves embroiled in particularly distressing scandals that pitted congregations against clergy and sent the authorities scrambling to expose what seemed to be an unending array of coverups.

One well-known case was that of James Porter, a Catholic priest who served in several parishes and left in his wake a multitude of victims and a number of other clergy who had either looked the other way or ensured that he was transferred. Serving in the communities of North Attleboro, Fall River, and New Bedford, Massachusetts, Porter molested both male and female children in numbers that some estimate amounted to two to three hundred victims. After leaving Massachusetts and a brief stay in a treatment center, Porter was reassigned to a parish in Minnesota where he continued to molest until he eventually left the priesthood in 1974. However, he continued to abuse children and was later reported to have molested a baby-sitter at his home in Minnesota (Jenkins, 1996; Barry, 2000; Bruni and Burkett, 2002).

In 1989, Frank Fitzpatrick, an insurance investigator included among Porter's former victims, tracked down the former priest, called him and tape-recorded an interview in which Porter admitted to his myriad abuses. By 1992, the case, with its incriminating

interview, had made the Boston television station and later the ABC news program *Prime-time Live.* Finally tried for his Massachusetts and Minnesota crimes, Porter was sentenced to eighteen to twenty years in prison after one of the most publicized cases in history (Jenkins, 1996; Barry, 2000; Bruni and Burkett, 2002).

The Roman Catholic Church was not alone in uncovering the fact that clergy had abused children. Protestant churches of many denominations began to discover that some of their clergy were also guilty of sexual improprieties. Many of these church bodies scurried to survey the extent of the problem and began to explore ideas to address future instances of abuse (Jenkins, 1996; Bruni and Burkett, 2002).

The Catholic Church's failure to take the same proactive stance did not bode well for the future. Fingers began to point at not only perpetrators but at those who had protected them under the veil of ecclesiastical secrecy. Hard-hit by such criticism was the Archdiocese of Boston and its head, Cardinal Bernard Law. An investigative report from the Massachusetts Attorney General's Office documented that, from 1940 to 2002, over 700 children were reported to have been abused by over 200 priests within the diocese (Office of Attorney General, 2003, p. 1). In response to the crisis, in the spring of 2002, Cardinal Law sought out appropriate external expertise and impaneled the Cardinal's Commission for Child Protection to study what had transpired and to make recommendations as to how to the Archdiocese policies and procedures for the protection of children and the prevention and investigation of sexual misconduct could be strengthened. This Commission brought together a wide variety of professionals in all aspects of child abuse as well as in judicial and Canon law. Four subcommittees were formed to address policies and procedures, education and training in prevention (for both adults and children), screening for employment, volunteer ministry and entry into seminary programs, and outreach and service to abuse victims. Coincident with the completion of the Commission's work, and on their recommendations, the Archdiocese created the Office for Child Advocacy, Implementation, and Oversight, whose task it was to orchestrate the Archdiocese's momentous prevention/educational initiative, review and revise policy, and respond to the ongoing needs of victims and survivors. An Implementation and Oversight Committee was also established to assist the office's efforts. The committee is comprised of professionals from both public and private sector organizations with expertise in the clinical, medical, educational, public policy, and social service fields. The parent of an abuse victim and several victim/survivors also sit on the committee (Rizutto, 2003).

Cognizant of the increasing seriousness of the crisis of child abuse as well as the criticism of both the media and national sentiments, the United States Catholic Conference of Bishops (USCCB) addressed the problem of perpetration by clergy in their 2002 meeting. From this came the Church's stance on the problem, which included the establishment of a National Review Board, the publication of the national Charter for the Protection of Children and Young People, and plans for national audit (see http://www.usccb.org/ocyp/charter.htm).

As a result of concerns in both the sacred and secular communities, an increasing number of denominations have taken steps to create churchwide policies. Now, not only do many churches require that those who work with children undergo a criminal records check, but child abuse prevention is becoming increasingly a part of adult leader training. And Catholic dioceses have not only been challenged to recognize the problem and de-

velop policies, but the traditional structure of the Church has become a subject of debate (Bruni and Bruckett, 2002).

Sexual Abuse in Day-Care Settings

In the last few years much publicity has been given to the sexual abuse of children in day-care settings. The Manhattan Beach, California, case, one of the largest and most publicized, involved numerous children and their parents in lengthy investigation and court proceedings. Some of these day-care settings involved ritualistic abuse (see Chapter 6). From this and other such situations evolved a near hysteria over day care.

Is day care a safe alternative for child care? asked many parents. Day-care facilities, in general, became suspect. The reality is most adults have a sincere interest in taking care of children, but unfortunately those who have the potential to be or are abusive gravitate to settings where children are available. Faller (2003) concludes that "although sexual abuse in day care is not rampant, it poses a significant problem for young children" (p. 217).

Types of Day-Care Abuse

Of the cases of sexual abuse in day-care settings to date, three patterns have been identified: (1) single offender–single victim, in which one adult develops a relationship with a particular child that allows the abuse to occur; (2) single offender–multiple victims, in which one adult, usually associated with the day-care facility, abuses various children while supervising naps, or bathroom trips, before or after hours, and so on. (These offenders are usually male pedophiles, and their victims have been of either gender [Schumacher and Carlson, 1999; Faller, 2003]); (3) multiple offenders–multiple victims, in which a group of offenders has been found to be abusing a number of children, sometimes with sadistic or ritualistic overtones (Schumacher and Carlson, 1999; Faller, 2003). These cases have often received significant media attention, for example, the McMartin Preschool in California.

Reactions and Resulting Changes

High-profile cases resulting in parental concerns have stimulated changes—some positive and some negative—in the provision of day-care service. On the negative side, day-care centers found their insurance rates rose significantly. Centers may pass on this cost in their fees, so they become beyond the financial reach of some parents. Especially vulnerable to insurance hikes were those facilities based in private homes. The increased rates meant that some of these providers were no longer able to operate.

Relationships between children and staff members are also under closer scrutiny. Once available for comforting pats and hugs, some child-care workers express fear about touching their charges and thus deprive the children of a valuable means of communication and demonstration of caring. Although both men and women have been found guilty in recent abuse trials, men seem to be more suspect. Children who have no male contact outside of day-care centers may be denied this opportunity because of the center's hesitancy in hiring

or retaining male employees. In addition, more stringent licensing regulations may be decreasing the number of centers available to parents.

On the other hand, some providers applaud the changes brought about by concerns of abuse. Many parents have become more positively involved in their children's substitute care arrangements. The media, as well as concerned organizations, have published guidelines for choosing a day-care center. Parents are cautioned to interview staff attentively and be cognizant of policies about discipline, nap time, bathroom visits, and off-limit areas. Protective workers postulate that, if just one child can be protected by such publicity, then it is warranted.

Sex Rings

A *sex ring* is an arrangement in which at least one adult is involved sexually with several underage victims (Burgess and Clark, 1984; Lanning and Burgess, 1989; Lanning, 1992). These rings may be dedicated to any or many of the following activities:

- Production of pornography
- Prostitution
- Molestation by adults of children in the ring (group)
- Sale or transportation of minors for sexual purposes
- Use of juveniles to recruit other youths into the ring
- Use of blackmail, deception, threats, peer pressure, or force to coerce or intimidate children into sexual activity.

Lanning (1992) characterized sex rings as having four dynamics: (1) multiple young victims, (2) multiple offenders, (3) fear as a controlling tactic, and (4) bizarre and/or ritualistic activity (p. 126).

The organization of such rings ranges from small, informal neighborhood groups to intricate, national networks. One of the largest and best-publicized child sex rings was uncovered in December 1977 in Revere, Massachusetts. The media reported that 24 men, including a psychiatrist, a psychologist, and several educators, were indicted. The ring had allegedly exploited 63 boys between the ages of 8 and 13. The boys were reportedly plied with beer and marijuana to induce them into sexual activities. The adults paid between 30 and 50 dollars for their visits with the boys, and of this the boys were allowed to keep 5 to 10 dollars. Along with the arrests, the police confiscated more than 100 pornographic photographs and films of young boys. The ring was obviously well organized and had been in operation for several years. The case rocked conservative Boston and brought to light a phenomenon that few had ever considered. The reactions prompted the Massachusetts House Subcommittee on Children in Need of Services to establish a statewide hotline to deal with other potential victims. A backlash of a different sort gave rise to Boston's North American Man Boy Love Association (NAMBLA), which argued for the justification of sexual experience between men and boys (Geiser, 1979).

Sex rings may involve both boys and girls. Burgess and Clark (1984) suggest that these rings may fall into several categories. The *solo sex ring* usually consists of one adult

who is involved in sexual activities with multiple victims. The engagement of these victims is premeditated and well planned. The perpetrator meets these children or teens in a variety of legitimate ways (schools, baby-sitting, youth groups, etc.) and gains control over them by isolating them from others, initiating sexual behaviors, and using shame to convince the children that they are to blame and therefore must keep the secret of these activities. *Transition sex rings* involve multiple adults and the victims are most likely to be teens. The adolescents may be initiated into such a ring through a solo sex ring, as a result of incest at home, as runaways, or through peer group recruitment. These rings are often used to initiate teens into prostitution. *Syndicated sex rings* are more formalized organizations that recruit children, produce pornography, sponsor prostitution, and can have a vast network of customers. Today, the Internet provides an excellent tool for these rings to recruit both teens and keep in touch with customers. Because pornography, prostitution, and profit are the motives of these rings, their activities can become quite structured and difficult to uncover.

Perpetrators gain access to children in a variety of ways. Most often these adults were already involved in the lives of the children. Some had met children in their capacities as teachers, coaches, youth-group leaders, or as neighbors. Sex rings have also been discovered in day-care centers.

How do children become involved in sex-ring activities? Exposed to adults who play roles in their lives, children are often initiated into sex rings without recognizing the implications. They may observe sexual activity between adults and other members and be presented with the idea that such activities are part of group membership. Perpetrators may approach children by showing them pornographic pictures or allowing them to see the perpetrator nude. The perpetrator works to increase the cohesiveness of the group, often building in an element of fear, for these are keys to encourage cooperation and discourage disclosure (Lanning, 1992). There seem to be no significant characteristics of children involved in these rings. Burgess and Clark (1984) found that children involved in sex rings come from different family backgrounds and vary in age from 6 to 16.

Disclosure comes about in various ways. Some children tell adults of their activities either accidentally or in order to extricate themselves. One crisis hotline worker talked frequently with an anonymous youth. He was afraid to tell anyone about his involvement but did not want his young brother to become involved in the ring. Eventually he was convinced to go to the police. The victims may also act out their message through running away or delinquent behavior. Perpetrators are often investigated for other deviant acts, or concerned adults become suspicious of the activities of the perpetrator (Burgess and Clark, 1984).

Jenkins (1998) argues that physical sex rings in the United States are passé owing to the openness and prevalence of pornography and sexual solicitation on the Internet. Admittedly, the introduction of the Internet as a tool to recruit and operate such rings increases the complications involved in detection.

Parents who discover that their children have become involved in group sexual activity may have a variety of different reactions that might be problematic for the victim. Some totally *avoid* the fact that abuse had taken place, wishing not to know any details. Others *minimize* the seriousness of the event, convincing themselves that their children would not be harmed by such involvement. Some *rationalize,* arguing that the mere fact that other children were also involved offered support for their child and minimized the trauma. It is also not uncommon for parents to want to *conceal* what has happened to their

child from relatives and friends. Some parents *blame* themselves and their children, not only the perpetrator. Fortunately, some parents are also able to recognize where the responsibility lies and support their victimized children.

Children who were abused in sex rings also demonstrate a variety of reactions. Some can *process the trauma and integrate the effects* so that there are few residual results, especially when they are supported by those that they told. Some children remain *anxious,* prolonging the duration of the symptoms. Still others repress their anxiety in an *avoidant* pattern, either consciously or unconsciously. Children may become *disorganized* in their behavior and, in some cases, exhibit *aggressive or delinquent behavior* (Burgess and Clark, 1984).

Involvement in sex rings can have a variety of long-term effects on children. Their early indoctrination into adult sexuality certainly distorts their sexual development. Possible outcomes of this sexual trauma are prostitution, sexual dysfunction, delinquency, and substance abuse (Burgess, and Grant, 1988). Some research also suggests that sex ring participants may later act out sexually against others (Taylor and Quayle, 2003).

Child Pornography

The production, possession, and distribution of child pornography are deeply interwoven in the activities of pedophiles, pederasts, and those involved in rings, sexual trafficking, child prostitution, and, more recently, the Internet. Pornography is a stimulant and a byproduct, in many forms, of sexual exploitation of children. Sometimes referred to as *kiddie porn,* child pornography is currently a multimillion dollar business. In his 1976 study, Lloyd estimated that more than 260 child pornography magazines were being sold in the United States. Indications are that this figure has increased. Pornographic sites on the Internet have now surpassed magazines. With little effort, and sometimes even by accident, children can pull up a variety of pornographic images on the computer screen. Pornography appears to be more available now than at any other time in history. Perhaps this may be due to some misconception we have about it. Our society has come to believe that obscenity is in "the eyes of the beholder" and is also protected by the First Amendment. In reality, there are legal guidelines for what is considered pornographic and therefore illegal. Some feel that pornography is either harmless or that it is an acceptable outlet for those who might otherwise act out sexually. And yet, exposure to pornography actually desensitizes so that some individuals are more likely to play out their fantasies (Hughs, 1998). Research attests to the fact there is a strong correlation between pornography and sexual abuse (Freeman-Longo and Blanchard, 1998).

It is difficult to define *child pornography*. Usually, the definition includes sexually explicit material with children as the subject. According to the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC), child pornography is the "sexually explicit reproduction of a child's image, voice, or handwriting—including sexually explicit photographs, negatives, slides, magazines, videotapes, audiotapes, and handwritten notes." The NCMEC further classifies pornography as commercial (produced for wide distribution and sale) or homemade (intended for individual consumption). Child erotica is "any material relating to children that serves a sexual purpose for a given individual." Types of erotica include

souvenirs, letters, toys, games, and sexual aids. The difference between erotica and pornography is that, in the production of the latter, children are victimized.

Pornography represents specific uses to the pedophilic consumer. First, it provides him with a means of sexual arousal. With pornographic pictures, films, tapes and websites, he stimulates his fantasies, often as a prelude to masturbation or sexual activity with children. Child molesters also use pornography to lower children's inhibitions (Jenkins, 2001; Cooper, 2002; Taylor and Quayle, 2003). Children who see peers engaging in sex and apparently enjoying it may be more likely to comply with the molester's demands. The exploitation of a child may include taking pictures or movies of the child, which the pedophile subsequently uses as a form of blackmail to compel the child to keep the sexual activities a secret.

Second, NCMEC (1992) also notes that pornographic collections are important to pedophiles. Some perpetrators use the materials they have produced as a medium of exchange. By trading pornography with others, the pedophile broadens his own collection and varies his stimuli. And finally, pornography is used for profit. Those who reap the most significant profit, however, do not appear to be pedophiles. Although those interested in children consume and sometimes produce the materials, commercial dealers, who reproduce and distribute, amass the bulk of the financial gains (Jenkins, 2001; Cooper 2002; Taylor and Quayle, 2003).

True collectors of pornography place a great deal of emphasis on the acquisition of materials, never feeling that they have quite enough. Collections are often organized, filed, documented, or catalogued—even on computers. Currently computers, especially e-mail, figure largely in the communication system between pornographers and victims (see the earlier section on technophilia.). Concealment is necessary because the illegal nature of much of this business makes collectors vulnerable. Yet others take pride in their collection and share the materials with other pedophiles. The risk of sharing versus concealment often provides a bonus in the way of excitement.

Until recently, much of pornography was produced at a local level by men who are pedophiles or who run sex rings. Some use low-grade equipment of retail quality and engage their victims from among their acquaintances. Their materials are sold directly or by mail to interested parties. In addition to local production, pornography is also developed on a regional, national, and international scale. Regional producers hire freelance photographers who use low-grade equipment but develop materials in their own studios. Sometimes parents are encouraged to volunteer their children through bribes or blackmail. The producers may be transient, moving their business if disclosure seems imminent. The material is distributed by mail, direct purchase, or through adult book stores. Now, many perpetrators use the Internet to distribute materials. Cybertechnology is also taking its place in the production and form of such materials.

National and international production of child pornography is undertaken on a large scale. Equipment is sophisticated and mass production techniques are more advanced. Nationally, organized crime as well as freelance photographers are involved. Internationally, syndicate sex rings and entrepreneurs in addition to freelance people are responsible for the actual photography and reproduction. Mobile production sites and intricate business fronts are used to ensure secrecy. Materials are mailed, sold in adult bookstores, purchased through catalogues, and distributed over the Internet. For these producers, child pornography is a sophisticated, smooth-running business.

There are few common characteristics to identify the victims of child pornography. Most fall between the ages of 10 and 16, but younger and older models are also used. Blondes are often preferred.

> *Debbie is an example of a girl involved in pornography. At age 9, she frequented a local shopping mall, mainly to escape from her alcoholic mother who often beat her. From the age of 3 to 5, Debbie had been molested by an uncle. When he was killed in a bar, Debbie was freed from his exploitation. Adult sex wasn't new to Debbie, either. She had observed her mother's activities with boyfriends on numerous occasions.*
>
> *At the mall, Debbie hung around the arcade. She was bored and lonely and quite vulnerable to a nice-looking man who began to pay attention to her and treat her to candy bars and soda. Before long he was taking her to his apartment and videotaping her in various activities. She met his other "young friends" and heard how they "made movies." By the time her benefactor offered her "a movie contract" to do pornographic films, Debbie was thoroughly enmeshed in his way of life. For her, the type of acting required of her meant little, but the attention and status she gained for doing it meant everything.*

Male victims are often engaged by peers. Certain characteristics make some boys vulnerable to being lured into pornography: boys without close religious affiliation, with no strong father figure, in need of money, or upset by family unrest (such as death, divorce, or a recent move). Boys and girls who are runaways, come from broken or impoverished homes, or who are estranged from their families make excellent targets for the pornographer (Hughes, 1998; Flowers, 2001).

The engagement of children for pornography can follow several steps. The amount of contact the perpetrator has with the child as he/she undertakes this engagement depends on how the child has been recruited. The perpetrator, whether in person or online, first uses *enticement* by offering psychological or material rewards. Children who meet perpetrators online in chat rooms may be intrigued by the attention of an adult, or they may assume that the person with whom they are chatting is a peer. Many online perpetrators pose as peers to gain knowledge of the child. However accomplished, enticement involves understanding the child—his/her likes and dislikes—in order to begin to know what will interest him/her (Hughs, 1998; Mc Laughlin, 2000; Cooper, 2002). Fostering trust and a certain intimacy helps the perpetrator progress. Many children are now recruited via the computer and may never even meet the pornographer.

Excitement is the next step. Self-conscious children with fragile egos and awkward, growing bodies find excitement in the perpetrator's assurances that they are "movie star quality." The perpetrator then encourages them to pose for pictures, flattering them and inviting them to display more and more of their bodies. When a perpetrator meets a child online, he/she may suggest ways that the child can photograph him/herself or be photographed by peers. The child is then asked to electronically scan the picture and send it via e-mail to the pornographer. Sometimes these pictures are altered to appear sexual when they were not taken for that reason (Hughs, 1998). Eventually, children are talked through "action shots" of sexual acts with other victims or with adults. Drugs may be used to heighten the excitement or lower the child's resistance.

The child who begins to feel guilty and wants to tell then becomes a victim of *entrapment,* making him/her feel unable to escape the relationship. "After all I have done for

you," the perpetrator insists, and the child feels compelled to continue and to keep their activities secret. Perpetrators use a variety of methods to avoid detection. They may threaten to blackmail or harm the child or may play on the child's fondness for them. If a child is involved in a pornography circle, pressure from peers may encourage the child to keep the secret.

Exit, or disclosure, takes place in many ways. For some children, exit comes with their parent's realization that their activities on the computer need intervention. Some children and teens have met the perpetrator and even run off with him/her. For children recruited initially in person and involved in a sex ring, exit comes about in a number of ways. The most difficult part of disclosure for a child is overcoming the guilt of having "voluntarily" participated.

The long-term effects for children involved in pornography are not unlike those of children in sex rings. Certainly, the duration of the incident, the degree of contact with the perpetrator, and the depth of involvement of the child—including how much he/she has been made to shoulder the blame—make a difference in the degree of trauma. Even with brief contacts online, Finkelhor et al. (2000) found that some of the children in their study felt stress and fear about the contacts. Those more involved suffered to a greater degree. For children who have become deeply involved in pornography, the most significant problems seem to involve the direction and values of their lives. They may have difficulty separating love and sex, gaining a true sense of their own worth, and seeing themselves on a par with their peers. Because their experiences differ so completely from "normal" children, pornography victims may find themselves becoming involved in a deviant lifestyle. Sex is something they know; using sex for attention or for a feeling of importance or to make money is part of their history. It is not surprising that pornographic "stars" often continue in the business or turn to prostitution. It is not unlikely for such individuals to later become involved in the production of child pornography (Flowers, 2001).

Child Prostitution

Child prostitution has long been a concern of child advocates. In the 1970s, after three years of study, Lloyd (1976) estimated there were 300,000 males under age 16 prostituting in the United States. The studies by Densen-Gerber and Hutchinson (1978) and Densen-Gerber (1980) suggested that there were equally as many girls. Today, child prostitution continues to be a problem of significant importance in the United States (Flowers, 2001). Child prostitution is rooted in antiquity. More recently, the history of various cultures abounds with reports of child prostitution. For example, early Chinese immigrants included girls who were sold by their fathers and brought to America to serve as prostitutes (Mass, 1991). Why, then, has it only recently come to the attention of researchers, therapists, and theorists? Perhaps several factors contribute to its incidence and to its study.

The so-called hippies and the counterculture of the 1960s was one that brought this type of exploitation into focus. In the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco, the urban working class residences gave way, in the mid-1960s, to the hippies—middle-class young people dedicated to the overthrow of the political and social views of the previous generation. Approximately 7,000 young people were said to have inhabited this one district. The

hippies espoused the power of innocence, the importance of "doing one's own thing," as well as a life of instant gratification, which encompassed sexual permissiveness. This sexual laissez-faire attitude, compounded by the transient nature of their lifestyle and the often immediate need for food, shelter, and money to live, created a vulnerability for involvement in prostitution. Groups seeking to deal with the burgeoning problem were faced with epidemics of venereal diseases and drug abuse. Although the hippie problem died out quickly, their existence had a great impact on our culture (Weisberg, 1985).

The hippie population was commonly made up of teens who had fled their homes. The problem of runaways began to take on its own identity as the media told the story and social agencies explored new solutions. In the early 1970s, the mass murder in Houston of young runaways further highlighted the problem. The general public was alerted to the issues by countless articles and by Ambrosino's popular book, *Runaways* (1971). The attention given the problem culminated in the Runaway Youth Act in 1974. The legislation offered funds and technical assistance to communities seeking to combat the problem (Weisberg, 1985).

Lloyd's *For Money or Love* (1976) was one of the first studies to illuminate the prostitution of male children as a byproduct of the runaway problem. Lloyd's book made a formal connection between runaways and prostitution and intensified the focus on both.

The child abuse movement has helped reveal the widespread problem of child prostitution. Many feel that child prostitution is the most overlooked form of child abuse today. As professionals explored the after-effects of maltreatment, prostitution was noted as a major consequence. Prostitution was also found to be intertwined with pornography, physical abuse, and other types of exploitation. In 1974, the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act expanded the definition of *sexual abuse* to include "negligent treatment or maltreatment," which, by many, is interpreted to include child prostitution.

The children's rights movement is the last significant influence on our attitude toward child prostitution. Surfacing in the mid-1960s, children's rights have been the basis for a variety of court decisions. The Gault case in the late 1960s had a major impact on the recognition of the rights of children. When 15-year-old Gerald Gault was placed in a detention center after allegedly making an obscene phone call, neither he nor his parents were offered legal counsel. The result was Gault's incarceration in the Arizona State Industrial School, ostensibly until his majority. The American Civil Liberties Union eventually brought the case to the U.S. Supreme Court on May 15, 1967, and established the precedent that children—like adults—have constitutional rights to counsel, to face the accuser, and the right to avoid self-incrimination (Giovannoni and Becerra, 1979). The Gault decision alerted the public and the legal system to the importance of children's rights.

Throughout the 1970s, the movement for the rights of children blossomed. Today, the recognition of these rights includes protection from exploitation and abuse.

In 1977, Congress concluded that the sexual exploitation of children is an extension of the concerns over child abuse as well as children's rights. The concerns stressed the harm done to children through their engagement in prostitution and the inefficiency of current laws dealing with the problem. Since that time, the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect has awarded four grants to study child prostitution and pornography, through which more has been learned about child prostitution and exploitation (Weisberg, 1985).

Today, agencies such as the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children emphasize the seriousness of the problem and urge intervention.

Profile of Prostitutes

Background

Juveniles who enter prostitution are often from similar backgrounds. Most are from dysfunctional family systems. James (1980) discovered that 70 percent of the girls in prostitution reported the absence of one or more parent during childhood. Silbert and Pines (1981) stated that 75 percent, or three-fourths of the girls in their study, were raised by one parent. Juvenile prostitutes report poor relationships with parents and other family members (National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, 2002). Some girls had mothers who were themselves prostitutes. Many of these juveniles begin their careers as young as 12. Some have been as young as 9 (Dean and Thompson, 1997; Klain, 1999; Flowers, 2001).

Sexual abuse in the family of origin has long been associated with later prostitution in adulthood. Juvenile prostitutes also report incestuous experiences in their younger years (Silbert and Pines, 1981; Klain, 1999; Flowers, 2001; NCMEC, 2002). The sexual abuse they suffered at home was often of long duration. Many have become runaways (Flowers, 2001). Acquaintance with sexuality in this exploitive manner teaches the young girl that sex can be used. She learns to separate her feelings from the sexual experience—a technique that accounts for her survival and now enables her to prostitute herself. James (1980) noted that a large percentage of girl prostitutes were raped at least once in their lives. Immigrant children, exposed to sexual assault in their native countries, may also fall into prostitution when they reach this country. The association between sex and violence further insulates the prostitute from emotional involvement. Between 60 and 70 female child prostitutes were physically abused—many with extreme brutality—prior to their emancipation (Silbert and Pines, 1981, Klain, 1999; Flowers, 2001). Other girls are from neglectful homes. Some spent their lives in institutions and see prostitution as a means of escape (Densen-Gerber, 1980; Klain, 1999; Flowers, 2001).

Boys enter prostitution from similar backgrounds. Many are raised by one caregiver. The indifference or hostility in their family of origin is marked. It is not unusual for boy prostitutes to have had different caregivers during their younger years. A few may have spent time in institutional care (Weisberg, 1985; Flowers, 2001). Physical and emotional abuse are often significant elements in the boys' backgrounds. The emotional abuse tends to center on belittling the youth or derisive comments about his budding homosexuality.

An even larger percentage of young male prostitutes are victims of neglect. Some felt compelled to leave their homes, whereas others were forcibly evicted by unconcerned parents. These boys were often exposed to early sexual experiences, though they may not label it as abuse.

When he was 9 years old, Teddy was molested by a man in the men's bathroom at a park. As Teddy started to come out of the bathroom, the man pushed him back in, locked the door, pulled a knife, and insisted that Teddy comply with his demands. At first Teddy was frightened. Once the man felt Teddy would not resist, he began to be more gentle and even talkative. On several other evenings, Teddy found himself returning to the park—almost hoping to meet the man. Anything was more enjoyable for him than listening to the fights of his alcoholic mother and her equally drunk boyfriend. On the fourth meeting, Teddy's acquaintance gave him five dollars. That was the last time he saw the man, but this was Teddy's

initiation into prostitution. Teddy does not see his experience as abusive. Rather, he sees it as a bright spot in his childhood.

Boys and girls seem to have somewhat different reasons for going into prostitution. Girls are reported to be motivated by the rage, depression, and a sense of helplessness they experience as a result of deprived childhoods. They feel worthless and can therefore be easily exploited by pimps, who praise their worth as sex objects (Dean and Thompson, 1997; Klain, 1999; Flowers, 2001). Flight from dysfunctional homes often leads to being picked up by pimps who provide some security. Police estimate that a runaway seeking to exist on the streets of a city will be driven to prostitution within four days. Although some authors suggest that girls usually start prostituting themselves when they are on their own and need money to survive, James (1980) argues that although economic issues are important, the meeting of other needs is more influential in their entrance into prostitution. NCMEC (2002) explains that most girls do have a poor self-concept and seek the money as compensation.

Boys, on the other hand, cite money as the primary factor in choosing to prostitute themselves. Weisberg (1985) indicates that 87 percent of her respondents engaged in prostitution for the money. Many youths described their earnings as "easy money" (Flowers, 2001). Boys who consider themselves homosexual reported that they were drawn to prostitution for the sexual contacts (27 percent), for adventure (19 percent), and for sociability (11 percent); only a few boys in Weisberg's study prostituted to obtain drugs (3 percent) or to seek attention (5 percent). Both boy and girl prostitutes may also be motivated by the need to buy drugs or may prostitute themselves as a form of barter (Klain, 1999; Flowers, 2001).

Lifestyle

Not all juvenile prostitutes pursue their trade full time. Four types of prostitute styles are identified by several authors: (1) situational (those who only engage in prostitution under certain circumstances); (2) habitual (those who are full-time participants of street life); (3) vocational (those who consider prostitution a skilled profession); and (4) avocational (those who also see themselves as professionals but not on a full-time basis). Most juvenile prostitutes are habitual or situational (Weisberg, 1985; Flowers, 2001).

Sometimes called *weekend warriors,* the part-time or situational prostitutes devote themselves to the "trade" while maintaining a seemingly normal life. The youths work on weekends, evenings, or perhaps when an old customer or a new referral comes along. Full-time prostitutes use this activity to survive rather than to make extra money. This need to survive makes them much more vulnerable as they are not as likely to "screen" clients (Flowers, 2001).

The setting of the hustling also varies. Street solicitation takes place in truck stops, on roadways (hitchhiking), arcade game rooms, tourist locales, bus and train terminals, city parks, bars, convenience stores, and military bases. Sheltered settings include sex clubs, adult book stores, homes, escort services, hotels, massage parlors, and pornographic theaters (Weisberg, 1985; Flowers, 2001).

The life of a boy prostitute or "chicken" varies according to his age, his degree of experience, and the setting of his activities. While one boy waits on the street for customers or "chickenhawks," another is "on call" at his apartment, waiting for his client to come to him. Lloyd describes how many boys meet their customers. Boys in New York City wait

for their Johns in one of many arcades. The John stops by the machines one particular boy is playing and appraises him. Eye contact means that the complex ritual is about to begin.

> The boy asks for a quarter. A "no" indicates no interest in that particular boy. With a "yes" the man makes his interest known. While the boy plays the machine, he and the man look each other over. The man offers encouragement—and increasing interest—with additional quarters.
>
> The second stage is usually initiated by the boy. He says he's hungry and would like to eat. . . . If the adult and boy agree to use each other, they will then check into a hotel. In that midtown section of New York, there are many cheap hotels that depend on prostitutes for much of their business. . . . By the time the chicken and chickenhawk start to undress the man knows just what he's going to get for the fifteen dollars he must pay. The boy has detailed just what he will and won't do though it's not uncommon for the "won't do" to be done in return for supplemental payment (1976, pp. 12–13).

Other boy prostitutes pick up customers in movie houses or at train or bus stations. If the men do not choose to rent a hotel room, boys are adept at servicing their customers in a darkened theater or restroom. The street boy is often of lower socioeconomic origin. Middle-class boys often use hitchhiking as their introduction to clients (Geiser, 1979).

Violence is a constant threat for young male prostitutes. Unprotected by pimps, they must be constantly watchful of the men they accommodate. It is not uncommon to be assaulted by a customer. On the other hand, boys have been known to rob their clients, often with the help of a juvenile colleague.

Boys may very well be taking or selling drugs. In fact, prostitution may be the way they support their habit. Drugs not only relax the defenses but also may be a medium of exchange instead of money.

The girl prostitute or "hustler" usually depends on a pimp for her connections and her protection. She may engage in one or more types of prostitution. Some girls are "on the street," meaning they solicit their own customers. The encounter is often brief, lasting only about 30 minutes from the initial contact until parting. The girl attracts her customers, and the two agree on a price as well as the services that will be provided. The prostitute directs the customer to a location—often an inexpensive hotel catering to by-the-hour traffic. Young prostitutes learn to service customers in cars and other settings as well (James, 1980; Flowers, 2001).

Another girl may be involved in the "circuit" or in a bordello. The circuit is a string of cities in which a child prostitute works—usually for a period of two to four weeks. A booking agent, or sometimes the girl's pimp, arranges where she will go, transportation, and the length of the stay. The agent is compensated for this service by a commission; in the case of the pimp, his girl's "take" is enough. The girl is met immediately when she arrives to ensure that she keeps the agreement. This type of arrangement is difficult to intercept because investigation requires a lengthy, costly, and cumbersome cross-state search (Klain, 1999; Flowers, 2001).

Bordellos are often used to house girls who work the circuit. Bordellos are especially favored by pimps because the girl can be easily watched and cared for by the owner of the house. The prostitute's earning power increases as she need not hunt for customers on the street.

Although somewhat safer than the street girl, the bordello girl still worries about violence. Customers may beat her or rob her. Possession of large sums of money makes girls vulnerable to violence and robbery. Pimps, too, use violence to keep their girls in line. This can be particularly difficult as she depends on her pimp for managing and keeping her money, clothes, protection, and making her feel important. Pimps are often loved by their girls (known as their "stable"), and pimps guide and teach them during their earlier years. The girls turn over their earnings; he in turn protects them from the police, violent customers, and sometimes pregnancy (Silbert and Pines, 1981; Flowers, 2001).

In addition to the above risks, prostituting youths face significant health risks. Klain (1999) estimated that 83.7 percent of homeless youths have unprotected sexual encounters. A large number of these also prostitute. There is therefore a significant threat of HIV/AIDS and venereal disease facing these prostitutes on a daily basis. Even if they want to use condoms, client resistance usually prevents them. Many are also involved in drugs and alcohol, making the risks related to substance abuse a significant threat in their young lives.

Pimps or personal managers play a significant role in the lives of juvenile prostitutes. Pimps have usually come from dysfunctional families themselves and often learned early about prostitution and the possibility of making money by selling it. They have frequently learned from experienced pimps in bars, reform schools, and other gathering places. Sometimes young male prostitutes "graduate" to becoming managers. Their self-importance then becomes derived from exploiting and controlling others (NCMEC, 2002). Pimps are often involved in other deviant activities such as drugs and crime. In addition, they may use violence to maintain control over their prostitutes (Flowers, 2001).

Pimps range from those who recruit largely from the runaway population, maintain their cooperation through violence, and have few emotional ties with their prostitutes to more stable, less violent ones who use psychological manipulation rather than violence and may align themselves with particular girls. At the far end of the spectrum, pimps may be more professional, good businessmen who manage their "stable" well (Flowers, 2001).

Both male and female prostitutes lead precarious and often short lives. Their earnings may be significant, but they rarely have the opportunity to fully enjoy them.

Missing Children

Every year, thousands of children turn up missing from their homes. A recent study conducted by the United States Department of Justice suggests that missing children fall into six categories: (1) nonfamilial abduction; (2) stereotypical kidnapping; (3) familial abduction; (4) runaways or throwaways (e.g., children told to leave by parents); (5) children who are missing involuntarily, lost, or injured; and (6) children who are missing with a benign explanation (Sedlak, et al., 2002). The latter two categories refer to situations in which the parents do not know the child's whereabouts, are alarmed, and may report their concern to law enforcement.

Custody disputes during divorce proceedings may also result in children being taken from one parent by another. Some see parental kidnapping as a form of emotional maltreatment, and such a problem must be addressed by courts settling divorce and custody cases. The remaining categories, however, often place a child at risk for being raped, sex-

ually molested, or involved in pornography, prostitution, or even murdered (Flowers, 2001). Thus, the issue of missing children may be influenced by efforts to protect them against physical or sexual abuse and exploitation. For more information on missing children, see the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children's Website at www.missingkids. com. Only by recognizing the need to join forces can society truly ensure the protection of its children.

Summary

Recognition that a significant percentage of children are abused by family members does not negate the need to consider those children abused or misused outside the home. The first component necessary for a child to be abused outside the family is for the perpetrator to gain access to the child or have the opportunity. Children are abused by pedophiles— individuals who either prefer children sexually or for whom sexual contacts with adults have become too conflicted. Pedophiles could have contact with children in a variety of ways—as friends, teachers, coaches, or even ministers, priests, or through the Internet. Pederasty is another type of exploitation of children. Pederasts prey on young boys whom they befriend and initiate into sexuality. Since pederasty is illegal in this country, pederasts often operate in underground groups such as NAMBLA, the René Guyon Society, or the Childhood Sexuality Circle. Organizations of pederasts are guided by a code of ethics and see themselves as benefiting rather than harming the child. There is some controversy over whether or not inclusion in pederasty has lasting traumatic effects for the young victim.

Children are sexually abused and exploited in a variety of situations. Recently the media has been filled with reports of abuse by clergy. Clerical perpetrators may fall into any category psychologically but may be attracted to ecclesiastical life as a result of pre-existing pathology. Fortunately, the majority of clergy are not abusive. The impact on the victims of abuse within the Church can be profound, often robbing them of their faith as well as other trauma.

In the last decade, there has been a number of high-profile reports of sexual abuse in day-care settings. These cases have resulted in an increased awareness of the importance of screening staff and using other safety measures.

Sex rings are another threat to children. These rings consist of groups of children and one or more perpetrators who now often use the Internet for recruitment, arranging to meet children whom they plan to molest or use for prostitution and for the production of pornography.

Trauma resulting from these activities may be based, in part, on the reaction of concerned adults at disclosure. Parents understandably deny, avoid, rationalize, and minimize their children's involvement in such rings, often blaming their children as well as the perpetrator and themselves.

Child pornography is a significant problem in the United States. Efforts have been made since the 1800s to curb this type of exploitation of children. Pornography is used to engage children in sexual abuse relationships and may also be the end product of the perpetrator's exploitation. Today, the Internet figures prominently in an offender's access to children and ability to seduce them. Both male and female children are used in pornography. The child

is enticed and entrapped by the skillful perpetrator and may find that the only alternative is through continuing in the career, often as a producer or through prostitution.

Child prostitution, although an old form of exploitation, has more recently been brought to light by several groups: (1) the hippies in the 1960s, (2) runaways and their helpers, (3) the child abuse movement, and (4) the children's rights movement. Both male and female children, often seeking refuge from disturbed or abusive homes, become involved in prostitution. Boys are less likely to be sponsored by pimps but are more subject to violence. Girls typically are "managed" by adult males who do so either as surrogate fathers or lovers or from a purely business perspective. Some pimps are abusive and use threats and blackmail to ensure cooperation. Children are indoctrinated into prostitution by skilled adults. Boys are promised money and freedom, while girls value the attention and a sense of belonging provided by pimps—as well as the promise of financial gains. While boys are often able to exit from prostitution and lead relatively normal lives, girls are more likely to go into adult prostitution as a means of survival.

Our nation continues to be concerned over the plight of missing children. Children are abducted by parents, and many run away or are lured away by perpetrators. Until society fully understands the dangers to children who are separated or unsupervised by caregivers, it will be difficult to provide our children with the protection they need and deserve.

Endnote

1. McLaughlin, with the Keene, New Hampshire, police department, was part of the Regional Task Force on Internet Crimes Against Children. Along with the Portsmith, New Hampshire, Police Department and the Education Center in Newton, Massachusetts, Keene received a grant from the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention to study Internet Crimes Against Children through the formation of this task force.

Review Questions

1. What might make a child vulnerable to being abused outside of the family? What new threats are there?

2. What causes pedophiles to be interested in children? In what ways might a pedophile engage a child in sexual activities?

3. Why might clergy abuse children?

4. What is a pederast? On whom do pederasts prey? What types of pederast are there?

5. What argument do pederasts give as to why their contacts with children should not be considered abusive?

6. What is a sex ring? What characteristics do sex rings have?

7. What are the reactions of parents at the disclosure of their child's involvement in a sex ring? What problems does this create?

8. What is child pornography? What efforts have been made to curb it?

9. What are the uses of child pornography for perpetrators?

10. What is the danger of the Internet to children?

11. What factors created the current public awareness of child prostitution?

12. What are some similarities and differences between male and female child prostitutes? What types of prostitute are there?

13. Why might a child be missing?

Suggested Readings

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Web Exploration

1. http://www.missingkids.org/   The National Center for Missing and Exploited Children: Latest research done for NCMEC is posted at this site. What new trends have developed?

2. http://www.missingkids.org/en_US/publications/NC21.pdf   Here is a list of the publications available free from this excellent information source. You may explore such issues as: the effects of abduction, exploitation of children in sex rings, victims of molestation, and the social and legal issues involved. The sources for these publications represent a wide range of expertise: The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, the FBI, University of Pennsylvania School of Nursing, the American Bar Association's Center for Children and the Law, and others. Many of these publications are available in Spanish and other languages besides English. After exploring this Website: How do you feel that these publications contribute to the fight to protect children?

3. http://www.unh.edu/ccrc/jovis.htm   Crimes against Children Research Center: Examine the current research at the CACRC. Use the search engine to find the latest study on Internet sex crimes against minors. How would such information benefit a social worker in the field, a counselor, a teacher, and a parent? How could you personally use this site to improve your understanding and skills in handling cases involving crimes against children? Why would adding this site to your personal "favorites" list be important?

4. http://nccanch.acf.hhs.gov/index.cfm   A return to the National Clearinghouse on Child Abuse and Neglect to examine the impact of the extrafamilial abuse will bring rewards. Using the advanced search engine, try searches using the words *extrafamilial, Internet, child, pornography, prostitution, missing, exploited, day care, sex, rings,* and *clergy.* Try variations and combinations. Use other words found in Chapter 8 that might apply; be creative.

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Neglect—a very common type of child abuse—is a pattern of failing to provide for a child's basic needs, which include adequate food, clothing, hygiene, or supervision. Child neglect is not always easy to spot. Sometimes, a parent might become physically or mentally unable to care for a child, such as in cases of serious illness or injury, or untreated depression or anxiety. A mentally ill or traumatized parent may be distant and withdrawn from their children, or quick to anger without understanding why. Treatment for the caregiver means better care for the children. Lack of parenting skills. Chapter 3. child abuse and neglect by parents and other caregivers . 59. Background. Child abuse has for a long time been recorded in literature, art and science in many parts of the world. Reports of infanticide, mutilation, abandon-ment and other forms of violence against children date back to ancient civilizations (1). The historical record is also filled with reports of unkempt, weak and malnourished children cast out by families to fend for themselves and of children who have been sexually abused. Solving this global problem, however, requires a much better understanding of its occurrence in a range of settings, as well as of its causes and consequences in these settings. How are child abuse and neglect defined? Cultural issues. Child abuse and neglect often leave long-term scars on the child, ones that are difficult to erase from the mind and the body too. It can have a massive impact on the way the child will manage relationships during adulthood and can dent their self-confidence. Children are unable to function normally at school, college or work when they grow up National Research Council. 1993. Understanding Child Abuse and Neglect. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press. doi: 10.17226/2117. Ã—. Save. Cancel. Understanding Child Abuse and Neglect. Panel on Research on Child Abuse and Neglect. Commission on Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education. National Research Council. This is the first study on child abuse and neglect undertaken by the National Research Council, but it was developed at a time of expanding activities in areas of violence and youth. For example, in early 1993 the Academy published the results of a major study on research on the causes, prevention, and control of violent behavior (Understanding and Preventing Violence, National Academy Press, 1993). An overview of child abuse and neglect terminology, including broad definitions of physical abuse, emotional maltreatment, neglect and sexual abuse. Throughout this resource sheet, the term 'children and young people' is used. Although young people under the age of 18 are legally children (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare [AIHW], 2018)1, calling a young person a child can fail to acknowledge some important differences between children and young people, such as the difference in their desire and capacity for self-determination. It is important to note that within much of the professional literature the terms 'child abuse and neglect' and 'child maltreatment' are used interchangeably.