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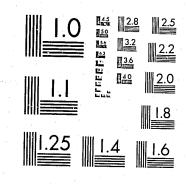
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LAW ENFORCEMENT BULLETIN

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

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FBI

This special issue centers on the Pedophilla /pēd-e-fil-ē-e/ n sexual perversion in which children are the preferred

theme of child sexual exploitationa crime which remains a potentia threat to every child in America.

Federal Bureau of Investigation United States Department of Justice Washington, D.C. 20535

William H. Webster, Director

The Attorney General has determined that the publication of this periodical is necessary in the transaction of the public business required by law of the Department of Justice. Use of funds for printing this periodical has been approved by the Director of the Office of Management and Budget through June 6, 1988

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Director's Message

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

William A Wrber

William H. Webster Director January 1, 1984

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INCEST: The Last Taboo (Part I)

By

ROBERT J. BARRY

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The reported cases of incest represent only a small percentage of the actual figure. It has been estimated that between 60.000 and 100,000 female children are sexually abused annually, and yet, only 20 percent of these crimes are reported.1 Authorities believe incest affects over 10 percent of all American families, with at least 5,000 cases of father/daughter incest.² In a 1965 survey of over 1,000 college-aged women, more

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

to withdraw her accusations.

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

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

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

The following myths concerning incest have proved to be false:

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

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

The incestuous father is seduced by a promiscuous daughter.

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

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

Children born of incestuous relationships will be retarded or handicapped.

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

Incest is always confined to one child

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

Incest is harmless.

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

The Proincest Lobby

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

Laws

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

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

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

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

"Incest generally develops in multiproblem families."

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

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

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

The Family

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

ousy.

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

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

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

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

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

Incest with Parent

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

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

Incest with Functional Parent

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

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

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

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

Sibling Incest

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Father/Daughter Incest

Incest is always a devastating and emotionally disturbing experience for the victim.13 The emotional and psychological impact is a long drawn- ter continually running away from throughout her lifetime, causing depression, withdrawal, alcohol and drug abuse, poor self-image, suicide attempts, promiscuous sexual behavior, and homosexuality.14

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

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

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

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

Incest often results in the daughhome. Problematic sexual behavior also characterizes the sexually abused child. She will either have an aversion to sex or be sexually promis-CUOUS.15

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

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

The Father

Studies of incestuous fathers reveal that the incestuous father was

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

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

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

The incestuous father is typically authoritarian, domineering, and inspires fear in his family.19 His demonstration of power typically manifests itself in a tendency to be over controlling and overly restrictive. He may require that his teenage daughter come

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

When the incestuous relationship is discovered, the father almost always denies the accusation. He never himself.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There are two different types of daughters involved in incest: The Lolita type-a temptress-and those who are terrorized into accepting advances 24

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

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

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

The Mother

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

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

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

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

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

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

selves as individuals, and they are desperately in need of psychological treatment. The conclusion of this article will discuss the physical, psychological, and emotional effects of incest and incarceration vs. treatment of offend-FRI

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

Father/Son Incest

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

Mother/Son Incest

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

Mother/Daughter Incest

Although mother/daughter incest is rare, it does occur. The women who commit these acts are disturbed women who seem to see their daughters as extensions of themselves. They may not have a sense of them-

(Continued next month)

Footnotes

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19 Supra note 17, p. 155. ²⁰ Blair and Bita Justice. The Broken Taboo (New York: Human Sciences Press, 1979), p. 83

²¹ Ibid., pp. 63-65.

lbid., pp. 112-120. ²³ Supra note 17, p. 143.

²³ Supra note 17, p. 143.
²⁴ Louis Armstrong, Kiss Daddy Goodnight (New York, N.Y.: Hawthorne Books, Inc., 1978), pp. 132–136.

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26 Supra note 17, p. 112

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