Notes

Angelides: Historicizing affect, psychoanalyzing history: pedophilia and the discourse of child sexuality

1. Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and its Discontents* (1930 [1929]), Pelican Freud Library (PFL) 12 (Harmondsworth: Penguin), p. 338.

2. "FBI: Internet pedophiles a growing threat," CNN News, 8/4/97, *http://cnn. com/US/9704/08/kiddie.porn.fbi/index.html*; "1800 names on secret paedophile database," *Age*, 3 April 1998, p. 6.

3. Jodi Wilgoren, "Scholar's Pedophilia Essay Stirs Outrage and Revenge," *New York Times*, 30 April 2002.

4. For a useful discussion of the question of the shifting conceptual boundaries of 'child abuse' and the effect of this on how we quantify child abusers and victims, see Ian Hacking, "The Making and Molding of Child Abuse," *Critical Inquiry*, 17 (Winter 1991): 253-88.

5. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*. Vol. 1: *An Introduction*, trans. by Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1980).

6. Jock Young, *The Drugtakers: The Social Meaning of Drug Use* (London: Paladin, 1971).

7. Stanley Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1972), p. 9.

8. Kenneth Thompson, Moral Panics (Routledge: New York, 1998).

9.

- ^o Joel Best, *Threatened Children: Rhetoric and Concern About Child-Victims* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990);
- Philip Jenkins, *Moral Panic: Changing Concepts of the Child Molester in Modern America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998);
- ^o J. Richardson et al. (Eds.), *The Satanism Scare* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1991);
- ^o Chris Atmore, "Towards Rethinking Moral Panic: Child Sexual Abuse Conflicts and Social Constructionist Responses," in Christopher Bagley & Kanka Mallick (Eds.), *Child Sexual Abuse and Adult Offenders: New Theory and Research* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).

10. Vern Bullough, "Boy-Love and Pedophilia–The Contemporary Storm," Interview by Joseph Geraci, in Joseph Geraci (Ed.), *Dares to Speak: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Boy-Love* (Swaffham: The Gay Men's Press, 1997), p.172. See also Best, *Threatened Children*, pp. 180-181.

11.

- ^o Interview with Gilbert Herdt, conducted by Joseph Geraci, in Geraci (Ed.), *Dares to Speak*, p. 31;
- ^o Lawrence A. Stanley, "The Hysteria over Child Pornography and Paedophilia," in Geraci (Ed.), *Dares to Speak*, pp.179-206;
- ^o David T. Evans, *Sexual Citizenship: The Material Construction of Sexualities* (London: Routledge, 1993);
- ^o Harris Mirkin, "The Pattern of Sexual Politics: Feminism, Homosexuality and Pedophilia," *Journal of Homosexuality*, 37 (1999), pp. 1-24.

12.

- Henry Jenkins, "Introduction: Childhood Innocence and Other Modern Myths," in Henry Jenkins (Ed.), *The Children's Culture Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), p. 24;
- Lea Redfern, "The Paedophile as 'Folk Devil," Media International Australia, 85 (1997), pp. 47-55;
- ^o Simon Watney, *Policing Desire: Pornography, AIDS and the Media* (London: Methuen, 1987).

13. Philip Jenkins, *Intimate Enemies: Moral Panics in Contemporary Great Britain* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1992).

14. The problem with this kind of explanation, as Lloyd de Mause points out, in "The Psychogenic Theory of History," *The Journal of Psychohistory*, 25 (1997), p. 113, is that

"the explanation that 'culture determines social behavior' is simply a tautology. Since 'culture' only means 'the total pattern of human behavior' . . . to say 'Culture is what makes a group do such and such' is merely stating that a group's behavior causes its behavior."

15. See also Philip Jenkins, *Pedophiles and Priests: Anatomy of a Crisis* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996; and Judith Levine, *Harmful to Minors: The Perils of Protecting Children from Sex* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).

16. P. Jenkins, Moral Panic, pp. 6, 7.

17. Tim Dean, Beyond Sexuality (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), p. 96.

18. I have borrowed this formulation of "(dis)positions" from Mark Bracher, *Lacan, Discourse, and Social Change: A Psychoanalytic Cultural Criticism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993) p. 19.

19. See Tim Dean & Christopher Lane, "Homosexuality and Psychoanalysis: An

Introduction," in *Homosexuality and Psychoanalysis*, edited by Tim Dean & Christopher Lane, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2001, pp. 3-42; David M. Halperin, "Homosexuality's Closet," *Michigan Quarterly Review*, 41 (2002), pp. 21-54.

20. Elements of the child sexual abuse and protection movement have responded to the moral panic theorization by arguing that it is part of a "backlash" against acknowledging the severity of child sexual abuse. Interestingly, 'backlash' theorists also attempt to explain the highly emotive nature of child sexual abuse, but similarly offer no adequate psychical analysis, other than to presume as self-evident certain tenuous assumptions about human subjectivity.

In one particularly absurd example, which I feel compelled to quote at length, John E.B. Meyers, "Definition and Origins of the Backlash Against Child Protection," in John E.B. Meyers (Ed.), *The Backlash: Child Protection Under Fire* (London: Sage, 1994), offers the following explanation:

"To appreciate why child sexual abuse evokes such strong emotions in adults, it is helpful to engage in a simple mental exercise. First, put any thought of child abuse completely out of mind. Shift your thoughts entirely away from child abuse. This done, ask the following question: What do adults feel strongly about? Children come immediately to mind. Normal, healthy, nonabused children evoke strong emotions in adults.

Now put children to one side and ask the same question: What else do adults feel strongly about? Victimization. Few subjects evoke stronger emotions than victimization.

Most of us are victims at some point, and the anger and helplessness that accompany victimization are strong emotions indeed.

Finally, put children and victimization aside, and ask once more: What do adults feel strongly about? Sex! Few subjects evoke stronger or more varied emotions than sex and sexuality.

Now, put the three together –children, victimization, and seks – to form child sexual abuse, and the stage is set for emotional fireworks. Few events evoke stronger feelings of outrage, scandal, and pity than the sexual victimization of helpless children.

Thus one element of the backlash movement is the sheer strength of emotion the subject stirs up in adults" (19-20).

This is nothing short of baffling to me, and unfortunately I don't have the space to offer a critique. I share no such responses to those questions. I see this not as analysis or explanation but as an exercise in normative pedagogy.

21. Bracher, *Lacan*, p. 10.

22. Sigmund Freud, "Negation" (1925), PFL 11; Bruce Fink, A Clinical Introduction to Lacanian Psychoanalysis: Theory and Technique (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 112-113.

23. Dean, Beyond Sexuality, p. 159.

24. As unlikely as my analysis might seem to many readers, the fact that any discussion of sexuality appealing to psychoanalysis tends to elicit extremely passionate, if not hostile, responses, leads me to believe that at the very least this might be an effective strategy for kick-starting debate.

25. It seems to me that too often rigid disciplinary boundaries function to foreclose interdisciplinary exchanges; exchanges that may very well lead to productive theoretical debates and conceptual innovation.

26. Freud, Inhibitions (1926), PFL 10.

27. In his earlier work, Freud often used repression interchangeably with defense, suggesting anxiety, and thus neurosis, to be the result of repression and the damming up of instinctual impulses.

The introduction of his structural model of mental functions in *The Ego and the Id* (1923), PFL 11, led to a revision of the theory of anxiety. In *Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety* (1926 [1925]), PFL 10, Freud reversed his earlier formulation, arguing not that repression causes anxiety but anxiety repression (Freud, 1926). See Sigmund Freud, *New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis* (1933), PFL 2, p. 118, where he reiterates this view.

I would argue that neurosis is dependent upon both of these formulations of anxiety.

28. Sigmund Freud, *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis* (1917 [1916-1917]), PFL 1, p. 404.

29. Sigmund Freud, An Outline of Psychoanalysis (1940 [1938]), PFL 15, p. 420.

30. Freud, *New Introductory Lectures*, p. 127. According to Freud, the typical developmental events identified by psychoanalysis as most likely to give rise to traumatic situations for every child are birth, separation anxiety, castration anxiety, loss of love objects, and loss of super-ego love (*Inhibitions*, 1926 [1925]).

31. See Evans, *Sexual Citizenship*; Alice Miller, *Thou Shalt Not Be Aware: Society's Betrayal of the Child* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1984); Vikki Bell, *Interrogating Incest: Feminism, Foucault and the Law* (London: Routledge, 1993). In a footnote appended to *Three Essays* (1905), PFL 7, in 1920, Freud argued that

"There is, of course, no need to expect that anatomical growth and psychical development must be exactly simultaneous" (93).

Moreover, as he stated in "The Sexual Enlightenment of Children" (1907), PFL 7, "except for his reproductive power, a child has a fully developed capacity for love long before puberty; and it may be asserted that the 'mystery-making' [i.e., dialogic repression of child sexuality] merely prevents him from being able to gain an intellectual grasp of activities for which he is psychically prepared and physically adjusted" (176). After summarizing more recent research on child sexuality, L.L. Constantine, "Child Sexuality: Recent Developments and Implications for Treatment, Prevention, and Social Policy," *Medicine and Law*, 2 (1983), argues

"nothing in the preceding summary supports the notion that child sexuality is in any fundamental way different from adult sexuality" (61).

Ronald and Juliet Goldman, *Show Me Yours! Understanding Children's Sexuality* (Penguin: Ringwood, 1988), claim that the

"evidence is that earlier experience and understanding of sexuality is well within the moral competence of children" (226).

32. Christopher Bollas also argues that sexuality is inherently traumatic for all children.

For a different reading of this than the one offered here, see his *Hysteria* (Routledge: New York, 2000).

33. See Steven Angelides, "Feminism, Child Sexual Abuse, and the Erasure of Child Sexuality, *GLQ*, 10.2, 2004"

[* < <u>https://www.ipce.info/library/journal-article/feminism-child-sexual-abuse-and-erasure</u> >]

34. P. Jenkins, Moral Panic, p. 130.

35. Among exemplary feminist texts are:

- ^o Gladys Shultz, *How Many More Victims?* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1965);
- Diana E.H. Russell, The Politics of Rape: The Victim's Perspective (New York: Stein & Day, 1975);
- ° Diana E.H. Russell, *The Sexual Trauma* (New York: Basic Books, 1986);
- Susan Griffin, *Rape: The Politics of Consciousness*, 3rd ed. (San Francisco: Harper&Row, 1986);
- Florence Rush, "The Sexual Abuse of Children," in Noreen Connell & Cassandra Wilson (Eds.), *Rape: The First Sourcebook for Women* (New York: New American Library, 1974), pp. 65-75;
- Florence Rush, The Best Kept Secret: Sexual Abuse of Children (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1980);
- [°] Judith L. Herman & Lisa Hirschman, *Father-Daughter Incest* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981);
- Ann W. Burgess et al., *The Sexual Assault of Children and Adolescents* (Lexington: D.C. Health, 1978);
- ^o David Finkelhor, Sexually Victimized Children (New York: Free Press, 1979);
- ^o Susan Forward & Craig Buck, *Betrayal of Innocence* (New York: Penguin, 1979).

36. Angelides, "Feminism, Child Sexual Abuse"; P. Jenkins, Moral Panic.

37. For a summary of research on child sexuality until 1983, see Constantine, "Child Sexuality" (1983), pp. 55-67. For discussion and references to child sexuality in decades prior to the 1980s, see P. Jenkins (1998); Sterling Fishman, "The History of

Childhood Sexuality," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 17 (1982), pp. 269-283; Angelides, "Feminism, Child Sexual Abuse."

38. Myre Sim, *Guide to Psychiatry*, 3rd ed., (London: Churchill Livingstone, 1974), p. 778.

39. Quoted in Rush, *The Best Kept Secret*, p. 98. See also Lindy Burton, *Vulnerable Children* (London: Routledge&Kegan Paul, 1968), pp. 87-98 for an account of around thirty studies on child sexual assault between the 1930s and 1960s that recognized child sexuality.

40. James R. Kincaid, *Child-Loving: The Erotic Child and Victorian Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1992); James R. Kincaid, *Erotic Innocence: The Culture of Child Molesting* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998); Fishman, "The History of Childhood Sexuality."

41. Lynn Ponton, The Sex Lives of Teenagers (New York: Plume, 2001).

42. See Angelides, "Feminism, Child Sexual Abuse."

43. For instance, it is very rare to describe a young child as being gay or lesbian, even within biologically determinist discourses.

44. Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, p. 34. It seems that throughout the last two decades we have spent immense effort evacuating sexuality from the conceptual field of childhood at the same time as we have evacuated asexuality from the conceptual field of adulthood. This might be seen as one way of securing the distinction between child and adulthood.

45. I will detail this argument below.

46. In fact, I argue that it is negligent to continue to avoid the subject; in my mind, we are morally and ethically obliged to address child sexuality.

47. Anthropology has also often incorporated discussions of child sexuality; unlike psychoanalysis, though, it has not been a central organizing concept. In "Has Sexuality Anything to do with Psychoanalysis," *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, 76 (1996), André Green laments the fact that within the last ten years or so there has been a waning of interest in the concept of sexuality within psychoanalysis. He puts this down to the "contemporary fashionable focus on object relations" within the United States (871).

As I have been suggesting, I would see this development as also bound up with the feminist discourse of child sexual abuse and the fear of pedophilia.

48. Melanie Klein, "Love, Guilt and Reparation" (1937), in *Love, Guilt and Reparation and Other Works* 1921-1945 (Virago Press, London, 1988), p. 307. For an excellent

attempt to revive this psychoanalytic insight into a popular book, see Noelle Oxenhandler, *The Eros of Parenthood* (St. Martin's Press: New York, 2001).

"The language of Eros is the language of touch," she says, "and we learn this language as infants, in the arms of those who first care for us. As we grow into adult sexuality, we alter this language, extending its range sand our own fluency. But its deep structure, the grammar of how we experience touch, is absorbed in the context of our earliest relationships" (6).

49. Sigmund Freud, An Autobiographical Study, PFL 15, p. 220.

50. Freud, *Three Essays*, pp. 151-152.

51. For a comprehensive reading of Laplanche's theory of seduction and the enigmatic signifier, see John Fletcher, "The Letter in the Unconscious: The Enigmatic Signifier in the work of Jean Laplanche," in *Jean Laplanche: Seduction, Translation and the Drives,* edited by John Fletcher & Martin Stanton (Institute of Contemporary Arts, London, 1992), pp. 93-120.

52. Jean Laplanche, "Seduction, Persecution, Revelation," *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, 76 (1995), p. 663.

53. Jean Laplanche, *New Foundations for Psychoanalysis*, David Macey (trans.) (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1989), pp. 89-90.

54. Jean Laplanche, Interview by Martin Stanton, in Jean Laplanche, p. 10.

55. Laplanche, Interview, p. 10.

56. Jean Laplanche, *Life and Death in Psychoanalysis*, Jeffrey Mehlman (trans.) (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976 [1970]), p. 48.

57. Laplanche is attempting to draw out what is already there in Freud's work, but which remains mired by the limitations of his time and discourse. For instance, in *An Outline of Psychoanalysis* (1940 [1938]), PFL 15, Freud says "By her care of the child's body she [the mother] becomes its first seducer" (423).

58. Laplanche, New Foundations, p. 128.

59. Laplanche, Interview, p. 10.

60. Freud certainly recognized the sexually stimulating, or seductive, nature of the parent-child relation. See, for example, *Three Essays* (1905), PFL 7, where he notes that:

"A child's intercourse with anyone responsible for his care affords him an unending source of sexual excitation and satisfaction from his erotogenic zones. This is especially so since the person in charge of him, who, after all, is as a rule his mother, herself regards him with feelings that are derived from her own sexual life: she strokes him, kisses him, rocks him and quite clearly treats him as a substitute for a complete sexual object" (145).

61. See also Jean Laplanche, "The Drive and Its Object-Source: Its Fate in the Transference," in John Fletcher & Martin Stanton (Eds.), *Jean Laplanche: Seduction, Translation, Drives* (London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1992), pp. 190-191; Jean Laplanche, "The Theory of Seduction and the Problem of the Other," *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, 78 (1997), pp. 653-666.

62. Laplanche rejects the Lacanian idea that the unconscious is structured like a language.

63. Freud, *Three Essays*, 145. Or as he noted in *Leonardo da Vinci and a Memory of his Childhood* (1910), PFL 14:

"A mother's love for the infant she suckles and cares for is something far more profound than her later affection for the growing child. It is in the nature of a completely satisfying love-relation, which not only fulfill every mental wish but also every physical need; and if it represents one of the forms of attainable human happiness, that is in no little measure due to the possibility it offers of satisfying, without reproach, wishful impulses which have long been repressed and which must be called perverse" (209-210).

64. At the same time as our culture desperately attempts to purge childhood of the stains of sexuality, it also attempts to construct the normative child as one who is free from forms of psychological conflict and trauma.

The recently invented conditions of Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) and Oppositional Defiant Disorder (ODD) are examples of the increasing medicalization and pathologization of childhood conflict and anxiety.

In psychoanalytic terms, it would not be unlikely that, in many instances, there might well be childhood sexual conflicts at the heart of such conditions as ADHD and ODD.

The more we essentialize seemingly 'deviant' child behaviors and continue to confuse psychological symptoms with diseases or medical conditions, the further away we are from understanding childhood psychological dynamics.

The end result of attempts to eradicate conflict, anxiety, and trauma from childhood psychology is often more insidious forms of child abuse. Recent deaths of children medicated for ADHD in the US with such stimulant drugs as Ritalin and Dexedrine is a tragic case in point.

See John Merson, "The Wild Ones," Good Weekend, 11 May 2002, pp. 20-25.

65. In *An Outline of Psycho-Analysis* (1940 [1938]), PFL 15, Freud says, "No human individual is spared such traumatic experiences" (419).

66. I am not here suggesting that we must accept the entire Freudian theory of the

Oedipus complex. At a minimum, however, I accept the notion of oedipal desire. In other words, we do not have to jettison the notion of oedipal desire entirely just because we may not agree with Freud's formulation of the Oedipus complex. Unfortunately, however, the feminist discourse of child sexual abuse has done just that, ostensibly on the grounds that Freud covered up the reality of child sexual abuse when he abandoned his seduction theory. See Miller (1984).

67. Sandor Ferenczi, in "Confusion of Tongues Between Adults and the Child" (1933), *Final Contributions to the Problems and Methods of Psycho-analysis* (London: Hogarth, 1955), pp. 156-167, describes as inevitably traumatic the imposition of the adult's language of passion onto the child.

"If *more love* or *love of a different kind from that which they need*, is forced upon the children in the stage of tenderness, it may lead to pathological consequences in the same way as the *frustration or withdrawal of love*" (164).

68. The psychoanalytic literature on love and guilt is enormous. For a classic example, see Melanie Klein, *Love, Guilt and Reparation and Other Works* 1921-1945 (London: Virago Press, 1988).

69. Oxenandler's *The Eros of Parenthood* is a superb attempt at initiating just such a language.

70. As we will see, however, this is an expanded and reformulated notion of repression.

71. Anna Freud, in *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defence* (London: Hogarth Press, 1948 [1936]), p. 54.

72. Freud argues that repression proper requires a repressing agency, the ego or super-ego. On after-pressure, see *Inhibitions* (1926 [1925], PFL 10, p. 245; "Repression" (1915), PFL 11.

73. On "scapegoats as poison containers for traumas," see Lloyd de Mause, "The Psychogenic Theory of History," p. 154.

74. Michael Billig, *Freudian Repression: Conversation Creating the Unconscious* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 56.

75. One of the problems with Billig's approach, however, is that he evades the question of intra-psychical dynamics. In his attempts to broaden the concept of repression and avoid some of the shortcomings of the Freudian over-emphasis on intra-psychical functions, Billig leaves unspecified the relationship between dialogic repression and intra-psychic repression.

We are therefore left with an account that privileges repression as a function of language/discourse and leaves unanswered the question of what happens *within the actual psyche* to the discursively repressed (or the unsaid).

76. Somewhat like Lacanian theorists, Billig elevates the role of language as constitutive of the un/conscious (although he does not specify what the structure of the unconscious might be). In following Laplanche, I resist the idea that the unconscious is structured like a language, just as I resist the idea that the unconscious is solely a function of language.

Of course, language acquisition and use must entail retroactive and ongoing effects on the formation and action of the unconscious, but I think it is not necessary, and is indeed unproductive, to attempt to specify any precise contents or structure of the unconscious. In specifying this, one cannot fail, on some level, to posit an ahistorical notion of language and discourse relations.

While I have argued that a form of primal repression is achieved without the preverbal infant having attained the broader skills of language use, it is a repression that is still situated within-and thus can be viewed as an effect of-language/discourse.

By this, I mean that because the (m)other is a language user, her subject position is situated firmly within relations of signification. As such, her unconscious messages (enigmatic signifier) are also inextricably bound up with language/discourse. Therefore, while it is possible to argue that language/discourse does not directly constitute the child's primordial unconscious – thus implying a one-way transposition of language into the child's psychic structure – a certain *relation* to (the world of adult) signification does constitute the child's primordial unconscious.

77. Wendy Hollway, "Gender Difference and the Production of Subjectivity," in Julian Henriques et al. (Eds.), *Changing the Subject: Psychology, Social Regulation and Subjectivity* (London & New York: Methuen, 1984), p. 258.

78. Sigmund Freud, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* (1921), PFL 12, p. 95.

79. In *Studies on Hysteria* (1893-1895), PFL 3, and "Repression" (1915), PFL 11, Freud used the term repression as a general category to refer to the different ways of pushing aside certain desires. A. Freud, in *Ego*, reformulated this to argue that the term defense mechanisms should be used as the general category, within which repression is but one of its forms. Within this category, she included such things as regression, reaction formation, isolation, undoing, projection, introjection, turning against the self, reversal, sublimation, or displacement.

In order to stress the *interpsychic* (dialogic) rather than primarily *intra-psychic* nature of repression, I am using repression as the general umbrella category. In other words, I consider the nine defense mechanisms Anna Freud identified as different forms of repression.

80. Jean Laplanche and J.B. Pontalis, *The Language of Psycho-Analysis*, D. Nicholson-Smith (trans.) (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1973), p. 144. Or as Freud put it, in *Group Psychology* (1921), PFL 12, this is when

"a number of individuals who have put one and the same object in the place of their ego ideal and have consequently identified themselves with one another in their ego" (147).

81. Elaine Showalter employs a more generalized psychoanalytic framework to argue that phenomena such as Chronic Fatigue Syndrome, Gulf War Syndrome, Recovered Memory, Multiple Personality Syndrome, Satanic Ritual Abuse, and Alien Abduction are modern forms of hysteria.

See Hystories: Hysterical Epidemics and Modern Culture (London: Picador, 1998 [1997]).

82. Psychoanalyst Jeanne Lampl-de Groot notes, in "Symptom Formation and Character Formation," *International Journal of Psycho-analysis*, 44 (1963), "projection . . . promotes the distinction between self and outer world" (6).

83. Hollway, "Gender Difference," p. 256; Cathy Urwin, "Power Relations and the Emergence of Language," in Henriques et al., *Changing the Subject*.

84. See Angelides, "Feminism, Child Sexual Abuse."

85. See Steven Angelides, "Child Sexuality and the Culture of Melancholia" (unpublished manuscript) for a discussion of the way these unresolved and unsymbolized affects are producing melancholic cultures of considerable proportions.

86. Although referring to abusive sexual encounters between adults and children, in "Confusion of Tongues" Ferenczi comments on the way in which children identify with adults and easily introject "*the guilt feelings of the adult*" (162).

87. See Angelides, "Feminism, Child Sexual Abuse" for a discussion of some of the social and psychological problems this erasure of child sexuality creates. *Steven Angelides 109*