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AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF
PARTICIPANTS IN INCEST

by

Teresa Turnbull Coughlin

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies through the School of
Social Work in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Social Work at
The University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

November, 1976

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1976

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
ABSTRACT.....	vi
CHAPTER	
I PURPOSE OF THE STUDY.....	1
II REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE.....	4
Definition of Incest.....	4
Incest Taboo.....	5
Mythical and Erotic Literature.....	8
Incest and the Law.....	9
Incidence of Incest.....	11
Occurrence of Different Types of Incest.....	15
Characteristics of Participants In Incest.....	16
The Father	
The Daughter	
The Mother	
Circumstances of Incest Behaviour.....	31
Sex Activity	
The Family	
Termination	
Sibling Incest	
Mother-Son Incest	

CHAPTER	Page
Other Types of Incest	
Theories of Incest Behaviour.....	44
Post-Incest Behaviour.....	54
Initial Phase	
Adult Life	
Significant Others	
Sibling Incest	
Mother-Son Incest	
Father-Son Incest	
Variables.....	95
III RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY.....	101
Classification	
The Focus	
Assumptions	
The Setting	
Population	
The Sample	
Definitions	
Data Collection Procedures	
Ethical Considerations in the Research	
Data Analysis	
Limitations	
Summary	

CHAPTER	Page
IV PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS.....	118
Presentation of Cases.....	121
Summary of Data.....	155
Description of the Sample	
Incest Behaviour	
Termination	
Post-Incest Behaviour	
Families of Participants	
Perceived Effects of Incest Behaviour	
Discussion of the Findings.....	170
V SUMMARY, MAJOR FINDINGS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	195
The Major Findings.....	196
Implications for Social Work.....	200
Recommendations.....	203
APPENDICES.....	207
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	219
VITA.....	224

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research project was to stimulate insight into the behaviour of incest participants after their incest involvement terminated. It was felt that such insight would be of some value to social workers and other helping professionals who undertake treatment intervention with people who have been involved in incest.

An extensive survey of the literature was conducted to bring to light the available knowledge on the subject of incest. More specifically, the review was undertaken to search out variables which appeared to link the experience of incest to subsequent behavioural problems of the participants.

The research sample consisted of ten subjects from Windsor and Essex County who voluntarily responded to media requests for research information. A focussed telephone or in-person interview was conducted with each of the subjects.

The information gathered through the subjects' self-reports provided information on the following: the nature of the incest in which they had been involved; their perception of their own involvement in incest; their behaviour since the termination of incest; and their perception of how incest has influenced their adult lives.

Among the major findings were: 1) the majority of subjects were involved in uncle-niece, brother-sister or father-daughter incest, while one person was involved in mother-son incest; 2) the average age of the subjects at the start of incest was approximately ten years and the protracted incest relationships lasted an average of three years; 3) incest is a dynamic interaction which has many unique features such as the sexual activity involved, the emotional tenor of the relationship and the subject's emotional response to it; 4) the emotional response of the subjects tended to change over time both during and after their incest involvement; 5) the most frequent problems reported by the subjects in their adult lives were difficulty relating to members of the opposite sex during dating years, feelings of guilt related to their incest involvement and continuing difficulty relating to their former incest partner; 6) some serious, long-standing problems were reported by people who had been involved in incest that was initiated and maintained by physical abuse; 7) most subjects reported that they were free of serious problems in their married life, employment history, educational history, medical history, child-rearing capacity and none were addicted to drugs or alcohol.

The implications of the findings were discussed.

and they included: 1) social work intervention should be unique; 2) incest should not be viewed by social workers as a form of child abuse, unless physical abuse accompanies the incest behaviour; 3) intervention should be directed toward discussion of the former incest by the two former participants, supportive counselling with participant presenting the problem and toward assisting the participants' mother in understanding the behaviour; 4) termination should be the focus of intervention only in cases where it seems essential to the continued well-being of the child participant.

CHAPTER I

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study was to gather information which would stimulate insight into the behaviour of people who had, in their past, been involved in incest.

The need for such research became evident when discussion of incest with social work colleagues revealed that while many had worked with clients who had been involved in incest, some were not familiar with the dynamics of an incest encounter or relationship; some did not have evidence about how incest influenced the lives of participants; nor did some know of any specific forms of social work intervention which might be of benefit to clients who were concerned about their involvement in incest. It also became apparent during these discussions that, despite this information gap, decisions were being made about social work intervention in families where incest occurred, particularly by those working in the child welfare system. These decisions and the intervention which followed were often based on the assumption that a child involved in incest with a parent was a "victim" of child abuse which would invariably have serious negative consequences for the child and that sibling incest, while more understandable, was not to be tolerated even if

separation of the siblings was required to terminate the behaviour.

An extensive review of the literature, however, revealed that the current state of knowledge derived from psychiatric and sociological studies of actual cases of incest was not clear about the possible consequences of such behaviour. This review yielded very limited information about the subsequent behaviour of incest participants. Opinion about the little information available on the consequences of incest behaviour was divided. Some researchers simply assumed that incest had negative consequences (Kaufman et al., 1954), while others reported evidence that involvement in incest did not necessarily have damaging effects on the participants, whether shortly after termination or in later adult life (Yorukoglu and Kempf, 1966; Rasmussen, 1934). Further, in later research, it was noted that it was not possible to develop causal hypotheses about the relation of incest to subsequent behaviour (Gagnon et al., 1965), yet some variables which seemed to be important in such a relationship had been developed.

Consequently, a study was designed to elicit information from subjects who had been involved in incest which had terminated prior to the planned interview. The intention was to gather information from the subjects about a) the nature of their incest relationship, b) their

perception of how their incest experience had affected them and c) their behaviour subsequent to the termination of their incest involvement in designated areas of their adult life. It was hoped that examination of this information, in light of other research, would provide insights which would be of value to social work practitioners.

Accordingly, an extensive review of the literature will be conducted and findings will be summarized in Chapter II. The design of the research will be drawn up and will be reported in Chapter III and the findings of the study which was conducted will be summarized and discussed in Chapter IV. Conclusions, recommendations and suggestions for further research in the study of incest will be presented in Chapter V.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The following review of literature related to incest was conducted to stimulate insights for the researcher. Its inclusion in the text serves to put the present research effort into perspective for the reader.

A brief sketch of the cultural context of the subject of incest is made based on information from classical and erotic literature. A more intensive survey of the literature pertaining to incest behaviour and those involved in it is provided so that the main focus of the research, i.e., the behaviour of participants subsequent to an experience of incest might be viewed in context.

Definition of Incest

Incest has had both cultural and legal definitions. Culturally, it has been defined as sexual relations between persons related within the degree of kinship wherein marriage is prohibited by law (Wahl, 1960; Lester, 1972; Magal and Winnik, 1968; Webster, 1974). Consequently, incest socially and culturally is related to the laws of exogamy of a given society. In Canada, a woman may not marry her: grandfather, grandmother's husband, husband's grandfather, uncle, aunt's husband, husband's uncle,

father, step-father, husband's father, son, husband's son, daughter's husband, brother, grandson, granddaughter's husband, husband's grandson, nephew, niece's husband, husband's nephew or husband's brother. A man may not marry the female counterparts of the above relations. Barred relationships involved those of consanguinity and affinity and included half-blood and illegitimate relations (Statutes of Canada, 1954). This study of incest, as most others, has used the term incest to refer to relationships outlined in the laws of exogamy, even though sexual relations between two people so related may, or may not, be a criminal offense.

The Incest Taboo

Incest is a behaviour which is subject to taboo, or very strong social disapproval. Anthropologists have discovered that the taboo against incest, once thought to be the only universal taboo, has not been enforced in all societies, Ancient Egypt and Iran being two exceptions (Middleton, 1962). In some cultures incest has, in fact, been encouraged and seen as desirable behaviour. However, in Western culture incest has been subject to taboo since the days of the Roman Empire (Weinberg, 1955). Myths about the disastrous consequences of incest matings were prevalent in primitive folklore, where breach of the incest taboo was said to cause destruction of the family,

suicide, or even the sun to fall from the sky (Maisch, 1973). Offspring of incestuous unions were considered monsters, witches, or freaks. Even today, many people believe, despite firm evidence to the contrary, that albino children are the result of incestuous matings. Historically, those born of royal blood were the only groups who had, in societies where the taboo is reinforced, been excluded from it, presumably because of their special exalted status (Masters, 1963).

The persistence and pervasiveness of the incest taboo has fascinated social scientists since the 19th century. Sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists, and biologists have postulated many theories in attempting to explain the origin and maintenance of the incest taboo. To illustrate, the genetic theory (Morgan, 1877) suggested that early peoples recognized the negative psycho-biological harm wrought upon descendants of incestuous matings and avoided incest to promote survival of the human species. Westermarch (1902), suggested that propinquity of family members caused sexual indifference between them which was reflected in the taboo, while Freud (1919) suggested that a strong universal attraction existed between family members which was counteracted by the presence of a taboo suppressing the incestuous desire and fostering the socially demanded departure of offspring from the home. More recently, Fox (1963) focussed on sibling incest and

suggested that the close interaction of child siblings leads to sexual aversion between them after puberty. Physical touch in siblings' play can be sexually arousing and since satisfaction of coitus is usually not attained, sexual frustration results. This repeated frustration of sexual desire during children's play, Fox postulated, causes siblings to avoid sexual contact with each other after puberty (Fox, p. 132). Coult (1963) suggested that rules against incest and exogamy developed and have persisted to prevent role conflict in the family. Parsons (1954) noted that the family, particularly parents, are expected to provide the essential erotic stimulation of young children, yet the family is also responsible for socializing the child to the external world. The incest taboo, he suggested, prevents continuance of the erotic gratification which would inhibit the efficient process of socialization.

It was recognized that none of the theories formulated to explain the origin of the incest taboo have been, in themselves, sufficient. In more recent years, speculation about the origin of the taboo against incest has given way to interest in the function of the taboo, the occurrence of actual cases of incest, and studies of incest participants.

Mythical and Erotic Literature

Despite, or perhaps because of, the taboo against incest, the subject remained a matter which people have found fascinating through the ages. The incest theme was woven through Greek, Japanese and Egyptian mythology (where incest was seen as acceptable behaviour on the part of the gods) and was evidenced in ancient Hebrew literature. "There are numerous incestuous relations of all sorts in the Old Testament and God by no means gives evidence of disproving them all" (Masters, 1963, p. 12). The theme of ancient myths was perpetuated in modern literature, as well, but these works differed from the former in that they often focus on the tragic consequences of contravening the incest taboo. Some of the works of noted writers such as Shakespeare, Shelly, Byron and Mellville, to mention a few, have kept alive the incest theme to the present day (Maisch, 1973). Biographical works such as The Rescue of Edith Wharton (Lewis, 1975) have given us much insight into the experience of incest.

Incest is a major theme in erotic literature. In works by the Marquis de Sade, Miller and Southern the taboo against incest seems to be deliberately mocked by the detailed descriptions of the pleasure of incestuous sexual unions. Magazines, notably Penthouse Forum (November, 1976), for example, have provided an avenue

for both writer and reader to express both the satisfaction and excitement of the incestuous liaison, material repressed in the society as a whole. In Penthouse letter-to-the-editor section, and in Penthouse Forum, the editors have provided a format for a bold attack on a cultural taboo, be the letters fact, or fantasy, as writing about "the forbidden" removes some of the customary secrecy and mystery shrouding a taboo. Given the current popularity of magazines like Penthouse, it was interesting to speculate on the possible long-term effects of such frequent expression against this cultural taboo.

Incest and the Law

As with many cultural taboos, the prohibition against incest was frequently reinforced through legal means. However,

The definition of incest, the motivations behind the legal formulations, and the threat of punishment for incestuous acts, are characterized across the centuries and from state to state by their variability (Maisch, 1968, p. 66).

Some laws prohibited sexual relations between all persons forbidden to marry because of either affinity or consanguinity, while others prohibited specifically sexual intercourse when it occurred between blood relatives within the first degree of kinship. It has been suggested that laws against incest are derived from Biblical prohibitions (Caprio and Brenner, 1961), yet incest is illegal in countries like the People's

Republic of China where laws were not likely motivated by Christian Biblical tradition. Punishments for incestuous acts can range from a ten-month suspended sentence to a full twenty-year jail term.

In only three countries was incest not a criminal offense, Luxemburg, Portugal and Turkey (Maisch, 1973). In Holland and France, incest was punishable only when under-aged children were involved in the act (Maisch, 1973).

In Canada, the taboo against incest has been re-enforced through the Criminal Code (1971) which stated:

- (1) Every one commits incest who, knowing that another person is by blood relationship his or her parent, child, brother, sister, grandparent or grandchild, as the case may be, has sexual intercourse with that person.
- (2) Every one who commits incest is guilty of an indictable offence and is liable to imprisonment for fourteen years, and in the case of a male person is liable, in addition, to be whipped.
- (3) Where a female person is convicted of an offence under this section and the court is satisfied that she committed the offence by reason only that she was under restraint, duress or fear of the person with whom she had the sexual intercourse, the court is not required to impose any punishment upon her.
- (4) In this section "brother" and "sister", respectively, include half-brother and half-sister.

It is worthy to note that uncles, step-fathers and step-mothers, cousins, nephews and nieces were not included within the limits of the Canadian legal definition of incest although they were included in Canadian

exogamy laws. While the punishment for incest may be severe, in practice judges often assign less than the maximum penalty of fourteen years.

There has been a growing awareness among social scientists that the effects of legal intervention aimed at specific social ills (such as incest) are often negative. Being labelled a victim or offender, or being incarcerated in penal institutions, for example, may have a profound deleterious effect not only on the individual but also on his family, friends and, perhaps, on society as a whole. The fact that incest is a criminal offense has complicated the lives of people involved in detected cases of incest, and has complicated studies of incest behaviour, as well.

Literature both of a classical and erotic nature, and the law of the land reveals the cultural milieu of incest itself.

One gains the impression of dealing with a phenomenon which man has always approached with a peculiar kind of ambivalent fascination. Attraction and repulsion, approval and stigmatizing, . . . typify the polarity of human attitudes and values which betrays the ambivalence of the feelings behind it (Maisch, 1973, p. 9).

Incidence of Incest


Virtually all of those people who have conducted research on incest agreed that current statistics describing the incidence of incest were underestimates of the actual cases of incest occurring in society. (For

example, Cormier et al., 1962; Lester, 1972; Maisch, 1973; and Masters, 1963.) This underestimation has been primarily due to the fact that most data available came from police or court records of detected cases of incest where criminal charges have been laid against one, or more, of the participants. The inadequacy of these official records as accurate in indicating the number of actual cases of incest derived from four primary factors: 1) since, as indicated previously, the legal definition of incest varied so widely from one court jurisdiction to another, figures are difficult to group together, to estimate the occurrence of incest in an area involving more than one legal jurisdiction; 2) because incest is a crime which occurs within the family, detection of incest by an outside agent is very difficult; 3) family members have a large stake in keeping the matter away from the attention of the authorities as divulging the offense would likely lead to the breakup of the family unit; and 4) those who participated voluntarily in the act would most likely fail to see the necessity of reporting their behaviour to anyone, while others who do perceive themselves as guilty of the offense, or as a coerced victim, have been reluctant to divulge information out of fear of reprisal from the state, or from their incestuous partner. Evidence in Windsor suggested that social workers and other helping professionals hear of incest more frequently

than do the police. During 1975, for example, Windsor police were aware of no cases of incest, while Windsor's two child protection agencies had contact with more than twenty families where incest was a part of the family life.

Official records, however inadequate, have given some indication of the incidents of incest behaviour processed through the legal system and have provided, perhaps, a base line for our thinking about how often incest occurred. Reported number of convicted incest offenses in the United States were estimated at two persons per million, as of 1963 (Masters, 1965). In 1937, Canada was described by Weinberg as having 5.1 convictions per million inhabitants (Weinberg, 1955).

Some researchers have attempted to arrive at more realistic estimates of actual incest cases by questioning subjects in study and control groups. Gebhard et al. (1965) conducted a study of sex offenders where a group of male prisoners and a control group of men who had never been convicted of any offense resulting in a jail sentence were asked about their involvement in incest. Three point nine per cent of the 409 men comprising the control group had been involved in incest with coitus. (The Gebhard study included only incest which involved intercourse; a more narrow definition than that used in the present study.) When the prison study group, which did not include men convicted of sex offenses, were asked



by Gebhard and his associates if they had been involved in incest, the results from the 888 males who responded indicated that thirteen point nine per cent had been involved in incest at some time in their lives.

Gagnon (1965) reanalyzed Kinsey's data on female sexuality, and results from the sample of 1200 female university students indicated that approximately one point two per cent of the sample had been involved in sexual behaviour with their father, or other relatives.

Further insight into the occurrence of incest as a criminal offense was provided by a study done of female victims of sex crimes perpetrated by adults. In a study of 500 such victims, Weiss et al. (1955) indicated that more than one-third of all reported sex crimes by adults were crimes of incest.

The actual number of people involved in incest in a given country or state during a specific period will likely never be known, but the above-mentioned studies, particularly that of Gagnon and Gebhard, whose estimates resulted from sources other than official police or court records, have yielded some evidence that estimating the occurrence of incest at a little more than one per cent for a large population in North America would be a reasonable figure.

Occurrence of Different Types of Incest

It has long been assumed that father-daughter incest was the most frequently occurring type of incest behaviour. Studies such as that conducted by S. Kirson Weinberg (1955) supported this notion. In his study of 203 cases of incest brought to the attention of the authorities in the State of Illinois, he found 159 cases of father-daughter incest, thirty-seven cases of brother-sister incest, two cases of mother-son type, and five situations where more than two people were involved in the incest relationship. It was possible, however, to assert that since Weinberg's cases were cases brought to the attention of the authorities, the types of incest may be biased, as adult males (fathers) involved sexually with young girls might have been brought to the authorities more frequently than young boys, such as brothers, who were involved in incest.

Karpman (1954) and Guttmacher (1951) held that brother-sister incest was more common than father-daughter incest. Gebhard's results supported this assertion (Gebhard et al., 1965). Gebhard's results concurred with Weinberg's (1955) assertion that mother-son incest was the least common type of incest. Homosexual incest has been reported very infrequently to authorities (Langsley, 1968). Since sexual play and sensations were found to be common in children and adolescents among the general population (Kinsey, 1948, 1953), common sense suggested

that brother-sister incest may well be the most frequent type of incest, due to the physical proximity of brother and sister in most families. Masters (1963) suggested that brother-sister incest was a more tolerable form of behaviour than incest between an adult and child and was, therefore, less likely to be reported than other types.

Characteristics of Participants in Incest

Incest behaviour and those who have participated in incest have been subjects of many studies by scholars from a variety of disciplines, including psychiatry, sociology, psychology and legal medicine. In a study reported in 1969, Christopher Bagley reviewed a total of 1025 cases of incest which were published in English and foreign language journals. Studies which have been published since 1969 have added substantially to that number (Maisch, 1973; Lucianowicz, 1972, for example). Some common features of research on incest are predominant and have had a bearing on the quality of results obtained. Before presenting a review of the valuable contributions of other researchers studying cases of incest, it was seen to be of value to discuss these common elements present in the research, which have been seen to bias the results obtained.

One feature particularly evident in early studies of incest was an attitude of negative bias expressed by

the researcher. Kirson Weinberg, a sociologist whose work made a significant contribution to the understanding of incest behaviour (1955), clearly stated his bias, which could be seen as typical of early studies:

Incest, the universal crime, violates a taboo that is as forceful among primitives as among sophisticated moderns. It is behavior that disrupts or destroys the social intimacy and sexual distance upon which family unity depends. It is the recourse of very disturbed and very perverse persons (p. 3).

He further stated: "Incest in this book is viewed as a very extreme form of deviant behavior." (Weinberg, p. vii).

By examining the kinds of families and the types of persons who resort to this abhorrent behavior and by describing its effects upon them, this book can then present from empirically based facts why the incest taboo is so necessary a prerequisite to personality development and to family organization (p. 1).

When a strong negative bias such as that indicated by Weinberg was held by a researcher, one need not assume that the facts a person reported would be erroneous, but there would seem to be reason to consider any interpretation given carefully, recognizing that this bias may have distorted such interpretation. It was, of course, possible that the strong biases of the researcher may have had an adverse effect on the subjects studied, particularly when a face-to-face interview was the method of data collection in studies such as Weinberg's.

Two sources of sample bias frequently present

in research on incest seemed to derive primarily from the source of subjects used in studies. Many subjects who have been studied in research on incest are persons who have been brought to court as a result of incest behaviour.

(See, for example, Gebhard et al., 1965; Weinberg, 1955; Cormier et al., 1962; Cavallin, 1966.)

This increases the apparent incidence in families from the lower social classes and the likelihood of incest being noted in disorganized, unstable families, since these variables increase the chances that the incest will be reported and legal action instituted (Lester, 1972).

Henderson (1972) asserted that "In general the socio-economic variables associated with incest in a given study appear to be those characterizing the population from which the study sample is drawn" (p. 300).

Another frequent source of subjects for studies on incest was psychiatric treatment centres (Rhinehart, 1961; Machotka et al., 1967; Wahl, 1960; Lustig et al., 1966; and Magal and Winnik, 1968). "This increases the likelihood that participants will be seen as psychologically disturbed" (Lester, 1972). Research has been heavily weighted toward study of incestuous fathers or their daughters. Three studies were available on other forms of incest.

With these difficulties having been noted, the rich fruit of this extensive research was examined. From this examination emerged a composite description of those who participated in incest behaviour. Major emphasis was

given to father-daughter incest and other forms of incest were discussed separately.

The Father

Men who engaged in incest with their daughters were characteristically raised in poor rural backgrounds (Kaufman, 1954). The father was raised in a miserably unhappy family situation (Gebhard et al., 1965) where their mothers were either hostile toward them or physically absent from the home (Cavallin, 1966 and Gebhard et al., 1965). Little warmth or understanding was shown toward the child by his father (Kaufman et al., 1954). Most men were raised in large families (Cavallin, 1966) and eighty per cent of fathers who would later become involved in incest with daughters sixteen years or older had sisters in their families (Gebhard et al., 1965). "Many of them came from a cultural background wherein sexual morality was publicly emphasized but privately breached" (Gebhard et al., p. 271). More than one-half of the men who were later involved in incest with daughters under twelve years of age were men raised in homes which broke up when they were around seven years of age (Gebhard et al., 1965). Often the fathers left their parental home while still young to escape from their hostile environments (Kaufman et al., 1954).

Most of the incestuous fathers studied by both

Gebhard et al., (147 cases), and Weinberg (159 cases) had a low level of education, with the majority having between five and eight years of schooling (Gebhard et al., 1965; Weinberg, 1955). Cavallin's sample of twelve middle-class men had an average of nine point two years of education (1966).

There was disparity in the findings related to the intelligence of the incestuous father at the time of study. Gebhard et al. (1965) and Weinberg (1955) both indicated that many of their subjects were below average in intelligence while Lucianowicz (1972), Cavallin (1966) and Cormier et al. (1962) indicated that the men in their samples all were of average, or higher than average, intelligence.

The sexual histories obtained by Gebhard et al. (1965) and Cavallin (1966) showed that the incestuous men were not promiscuous as a group, did not indulge in sexual perversions, and had little experience in, and a strong aversion to, homosexuality. Few had extramarital affairs according to Cavallin (p. 1124). Gebhard et al. (1965) studied the sexual behaviour of their subjects and provided more detailed information on their sexual behaviour. These authors have divided their subjects into three groups; those who engaged in incest with a daughter under twelve years of age (children); those whose daughters were between twelve and fifteen years

of age (minors); and those whose daughters were sixteen or over at the time the incest occurred (adults). Those men who engaged in incest with child-daughters had engaged in much pre-pubertal sex play with girls. Later in life they became more preoccupied with sex, in particular mouth-genital contact, high variation in coital position, lengthy forplay in sex, high incidence of masturbation while married, and a strong sexual response to thinking of or seeing females (Gebhard et al., 1965). The subjects who had been involved in incest with a daughter between twelve and fifteen years of age presented a quite different picture, and were not preoccupied with sex or sexual fantasy, had low occurrence of masturbation, petting, and coitus, whether before, after or during marriage (Gebhard et al., 1965). When fathers who had engaged in incest with adult daughters were studied, they were seen to be the least sexually active when compared against other sex offenders studied on the prison or control group used. Sexual techniques were limited and sexual activities of all types were restrained throughout life. They did, however, frequent prostitutes more often than other male incest participants. These men were impulsive and raised in an atmosphere where sexual morality was breached frequently (Gebhard et al., 1965).

Weinberg (1955) differentiated the incestuous fathers he studied according to their apparent sexual

habits: the endogamic men whom he described as typically a person

who confines his sexual objects to family members, resorts to incest with a daughter or sister because he does not cultivate or crave social and sexual contacts with women outside the family (p. 94).

The second type differentiated by Weinberg (1955) was the paedophilic man who had a craving for young girls and a fear of, and aversion to, older women (p. 95). The third group delineated by Weinberg (1955) was the indiscriminately promiscuous person, the psychopath (p. 97). Weinberg, however, assigned no proportions of his sample to these various categories.

Few incestuous fathers who have been studied have been convicted of other criminal offenses in the past, and seldom were they convicted for aggressive acts. Most were convicted for misdemeanors such as disorderly conduct, or drunkenness in a public place (Gebhard et al., 1965; Cavallin, 1966; Cormier et al., 1962; Weinberg, 1955).

Very few men involved in incest with their daughters showed signs of severe mental disorder or deficiency (Gebhard et al., 1965; Weinberg, 1955). Many, however, were seen as neurotic, being characteristically dependent on their wives, suspicious, ineffectual, but dominating, and socially inept (Gebhard et al., 1965; Maisch, 1973; Weinberg, 1955). Cavallin (1966) administered the M.M.P.I. to twelve subjects and found that all had

1) weak object relations; 2) weak psychosexual identity; 3) signs of unconscious homosexual strivings and 4) projection as a major defense, with signs of paranoia present (Cavallin, p. 1134).

Since this testing was done after the men had spent time in prison, it was apparent that some of these results could have been influenced by their reactions to incarceration.

Gebhard et al. (1965) on the basis of their study results, suggested that the incestuous man has

the ability to be religious, moralistic, intolerant and sexually inhibited and at the same time to live a life of disorganization, drunkenness, violence and sexual activity opposed to religious tenets (p. 269).

The number of incestuous fathers seen to drink to excess habitually, ranged between eight per cent and twenty per cent in the sample of Gebhard et al. (1965); fifteen per cent in Lucianowicz's (1972) subjects; thirty-three per cent of Cavallin's (1966) research subjects.

Men who participated in incest with their daughters generally got married around twenty-two to twenty-four years of age, according to the data of Gebhard et al. (1965). Most married only once and often their marriages were long-standing (Cavallin, 1966; Gebhard et al., 1965), although not happy, characteristically (Gebhard et al., 1965).

Most incestuous fathers studied in social science research were engaged in skilled or semi-skilled labour. Almost half, (forty-three per cent), of Weinberg's sample


were unemployed at the time of the initiation of incest (Weinberg, 1955). Gebhard et al. (1965) noted that many of the incest offenders interviewed had poor employment records and were financially dependent on their wives during their marriage (p. 226). On the other hand, all but one of Cavallin's sample were seen to be steady workers, employed full-time and Cormier et al. stated that their sample of men were good workers who had steady employment records (Cormier et al., 1962).

The Daughters

Much less information was available about the daughters who participated in incest behaviour with their fathers, than was available about incestuous fathers. This lack of information may have been due to the fact that daughters were not as available as men who have committed incest with their daughters, since they were less likely to be in prison or psychiatric treatment than the fathers, and consequently less available for study.

Most daughters in incestuous relationships were single at the time of the incest, although four of the girls in Weinberg's study were married before their incestuous relationship with their father terminated (Weinberg, 1955).

There was no reported preponderance of intellectual deficiencies evidenced in daughter participants



studied (Lucianowicz, 1972; Weiss et al., 1955), although Weinberg did suggest that daughter participants were of two types, those who were seen to be "feeble-minded" and those who were of average intelligence or above. Those girls who were described by Weinberg as "feeble-minded" were less well-adjusted outside the home and were more family centred in their relationship than the more intelligent girls. Since he presented no data indicating what percentage of the daughter-participants were in either group, it was difficult to know to what extent daughter participants were mentally deficient (Weinberg, 1955). Heims and Kaufman (1963) described the daughters they studied as precocious in learning.

At the time of the incest relationship, the girls in Weinberg's study had completed an average of seven years of schooling. Since the daughters were an average of fifteen years old at that time, it would appear that, as a group, the girls studied were not exceptionally deficient or impaired in school performance.

The daughter involved in incest with her father, or father-substitute (step-father, or father in common-law marriage) was typically the eldest daughter in the family (Weinberg, 1955; Gebhard et al., 1965). Weinberg explained further that when the daughter was not the eldest girl, she was the second eldest who was approached when the eldest girl refused the father's advances, or

she was the eldest girl at home when the father initiated sexual contact.

The daughter participant is not usually promiscuous or criminal (Weinberg, 1955). Both Weiss et al. (1955) and Bender and Blau (1937) have noted that daughter participants studied

had unusually attractive and charming personalities. They made personal contact very easily. Moreover, such personal association seemed to be essential for their happiness and contentment (Bender and Blau, p. 511).

Heims and Kaufman (1963) noted that the daughters they studied who had had incestuous relations with their fathers were precocious in reality mastery and mobility during childhood.

Kaufman et al. (1954) administered psychological tests to seven daughter-participants and concluded from the test battery results of the Stanford-Binet, Wechsler-Bellevue I.Q. test, Rorschach, TAT, and Goodenough Draw-a-Man test that: performance scores were generally higher than verbal scores; the girls showed depression, anxiety, fear of sexuality, oral deprivation and oral sadism; and that the girls used denial, repression and projection as their major defence mechanisms (p. 308). (These tests were administered after discovery of the incest relationship and some results may well have been affected by the state of the girls at the time they were tested.)

Lustig et al. (1966) have noted that: "Each

daughter's behavior within her family constellation was unusually precocious in nutrient functions" (p. 36) and indicated that the six girls they studied showed a

pseudomaturity in the area of sexual activity and nurturance. Despite their apparent maturity and competence, the girls felt helpless and overwhelmed when faced with the possible disintegration of the family (p. 36).

Lustig et al. further asserted that the girls they studied had primitive concepts of mothering focussed on "gross feeding and care functions to the exclusion of supportive and protective functions" (p. 37). All of the girls in Lustig's study "viewed woman's role as depreciated and self-sacrificing, requiring much with very little in return" (p. 37).

Kaufman et al. (1954) observed that daughter participants had long felt that their mothers had abandoned them as a protective adult which was their "basic anxiety" and indicated that the "craving for an adequate parent, then, dominated the lives of these girls" (p. 277).

The early life of the incestuous daughters has been outlined by Kaufman et al. (1954), who stated that the daughters were treated as special by their mothers from early infancy, given excellent physical care and encouraged to assume responsibility beyond their years, including becoming the mother's confidants, helpers and advisers (Kaufman et al., p. 271). These observations

were collaborated by Lustig et al. (1966) who noted that "In all cases (they studied) the overprotected infant had become the female authority in the household by the age of eight" (p. 34).

Weinberg (1955) noted that the daughter participants were not very attached to their fathers, although a few girls had extremely close relationships with their fathers, particularly the feeble-minded girls.

The Mothers

While not participants in the actual incestuous act of father-daughter incest, the wife and mother in the family was seen as an important person in the initiation and maintenance of the relationship (Kaufman et al., 1954; Lustig et al., 1966; Gebhard et al., 1965; Lucianowicz, 1972; and Lester, 1972). One researcher has suggested that: "in effect she is the cornerstone in the pathological family" (Machotka, 1967). Consequently, understanding the wife and mother has contributed to a better understanding of incest behaviour between father and daughter.

The mother in the family where father-daughter incest occurred was raised, herself, in an unhappy home, where her father had typically deserted her (Kaufman et al., 1954; Lustig et al., 1966) leaving her to be raised by a "stern, demanding, controlling, cold and extremely

hostile woman, who rejected their daughters and pampered their sons" (Kaufman et al., p. 269). When deserted by their husbands, the mother would typically select one daughter (later the mother in the father-daughter incest relationship) on whom to vent her hostility, denying her pretty clothes or normal feminine activities (Kaufman et al., 1954). The mother participant was invariably psychologically or physically deserted as a child (Lustig et al., 1966).

To escape the hostile environment, the mother/wife participant left home at an early age to marry or take employment (Kaufman et al., 1954).

Most mother participants were of normal or above-average I.Q., (Lucianowicz, 1972; Kaufman et al., 1954), although they left school early and typically achieved far below their potential (Kaufman et al., 1954).

The mothers marry in their late teens or early twenties, typically. Both Weiss et al. (1955) and Weinberg (1955) suggested that these women typically find themselves in one of two roles, supporter of the household for a helpless dependent man and their children, or as a timid person dominated by a strict, demanding man. Having been deserted as children created strong dependency needs in these wives/mothers (Lustig et al., 1966) who had minimal tolerance to the anxiety of desertion (Kaufman et al., 1954) and a very poor self

image. The most typical adjectives used to describe women studied are dependent (Lucianowicz, 1972; Kaufman et al., 1954; Lustig et al., 1966; and Machotka et al., 1967) and infantile (Henderson, 1972; Machotka et al., 1967).

These mothers were, as a group, younger and more promiscuous than other women (Lester, 1972; Weinberg, 1955), they were not typically psychotic or grossly disturbed (Lucianowicz, 1972), although they were often seen to exhibit psychosexual disorders (Lucianowicz, 1972; Gebhard et al., 1965; Kaufman et al., 1954; Lustig et al., 1966). While trying to maintain a public facade of female role competence (Lustig et al., 1966) many women were seen to be frigid and hostile (Cormier et al., 1962; Lucianowicz, 1972; Gebhard et al., 1965), and sexual relations between them and their husbands were often disturbed to the point of sexual estrangement (Machotka et al., 1967; Weinberg, 1955; Kaufman et al., 1954). Kaufman et al. noted that if these women left the first discordant marriage their second marital partner was even more unsuccessful and irresponsible than the first. Henderson (1972) adds that the women he studied were "pathologically attached to their own mothers and prone to panic in the face of responsibility" (pp. 307-308).

A little more than two-thirds of the marriages between the mothers and their partner succumbed to the pressures introduced by employment problems of the

husband, poverty, and the pathology of the couple and ended in separation or divorce (Gebhard et al., 1965; Lucianowicz, 1972).

Circumstances of Incest Behaviour

In the cases of father-daughter incest which have been studied, some common elements have emerged which have shed light on when and how the sexual relationship between father and daughter began, was maintained and terminated.

The incestuous relationship most often began when the father was in his late thirties or early forties (Weinberg, 1955; Cavallin, 1966; Lucianowicz, 1972). While the age of the daughters ranged from below six years to twenty-five years of age (Weinberg, 1955; Gebhard et al., 1965; Cavallin, 1966; Kaufman et al., 1954; Lucianowicz, 1972), the majority of girls were twelve or thirteen years of age at the start of the incestuous behaviour (Mäisch, 1973; Weinberg, 1955; Gebhard et al., 1965). The large size of the participants' family has been noted by Weinberg (1955) and Gebhard et al. (1965) who indicated that the average family had five children.

As expected, most incestuous activity of this type was initiated in the home of the participants. The behaviour was usually protracted, lasting from one

incident to more than six years, with most relationships lasting between six months and three years (Gebhard et al., 1965; Weinberg, 1955). Maisch (1973) noted that in the seventy cases he studied, seventy-one per cent of the cases went on for one year or more (p. 109). In only a small percentage of cases was incest initiated by a father who was intoxicated (less than ten per cent according to Maisch, 1973 and Gebhard et al., 1965) at the time. With a rare exception, the initiation of incest occurred at a time when both participants were in private, with no one else at home. Very seldom did the daughters actually initiate the incest behaviour (four per cent of cases, Maisch, 1973; Weinberg, 1955; Gebhard et al., 1965).

Once the behaviour was initiated by the father, however, the great majority of daughters reacted either passively (Maisch, 1973; fifty-seven per cent of sixty-five cases, p. 186; Weinberg, 1955; "typically passive," p. 53) or in an encouraging, provocative manner (twenty-three per cent according to Maisch, 1973; thirty per cent, Gebhard et al., 1965; sixty per cent, Weiss et al., 1955). Seldom was the father's initial incest action met with strong resistance, i.e., five per cent (Maisch, 1973) and twelve per cent (Gebhard et al., 1965).

(However, since Gebhard et al., (1965), Weiss et al., (1955) and Maisch (1973) have studied cases of detected incest, it was possible that other daughters in the

family resisted while the daughters studied did not.)

The stereotyped views about this vary between seeing the girl as a sexually precocious 'seductress' and as an innocent 'victim'. Neither view corresponds to reality (Maisch, 1973, pp. 177-178).

The variety of motivations given for the daughters' participation was wide and included: 1) fear of the father; 2) fear of threats; 3) fear of family breakup if incest was revealed; 4) sexual pleasure derived from the relationship; 5) gratitude for caring and protection if exhibited by father; 6) fear of punishment by mother; 7) belief that incest was father's right; 8) confession rejected by mother (Gebhard et al., 1965; Maisch, 1973; Kaufman et al., 1954; Weinberg, 1955; Cormier et al., 1962; Lucianowicz, 1972).

The father-daughter relationship was maintained not merely by the participation of the two principals, but through the collusion of the mother.

As a rule they tolerate the incestuous activity with little protest, or they exercise such massive denial that the incest continues apparently unknown to them (Henderson, 1972, pp. 307-308).

The mother's collusion was made possible by their very strong denial of the behaviour (Machotka et al., 1967; Kaufman et al., 1954; Lucianowicz, 1972; Lustig et al., 1966; Cormier et al., 1962; Weinberg, 1955; Maisch, 1973). In some cases, the collusion of the mother was so obvious that she, too, was arrested at the time of detection of the incest, as an accomplice in the act,

with her husband (Gebhard et al., 1965).

Sex Activity

The sexual activity involved in the incest relationship varied according to the age of the female participant, with cases of completed coitus occurring more often between father and daughter over twelve years of age (more than fifty per cent of cases examined by Gebhard et al., 1965) and other forms of sexual activity, particularly mouth-genital stimulation occurring more frequently than coitus between fathers whose daughters were under twelve at the initiation of the relationship (Maisch, 1973; Gebhard et al., 1965). Seldom were incestuous relationships confined to non-genital sexual activities (Maisch, 1973). Coitus between a father and very young daughter was not absent, however,

Virtually every writer who examined incest cases has noted two factors which appear to be present consistently in families prior to the occurrence of the behaviour.

Generally, a role reversal between mother and daughter was well-established prior to the initiation of incest behaviour (Henderson, 1972; Machotka, 1963; Weinberg, 1955; Cormier et al., 1962). Unconsciously, the mothers gave the daughters permission to extend this role reversal to the sexual realm, taking on the role

of wife to the father (Kaufman et al., 1954; Henderson, 1972). Cases have been reported where the mother told the daughter to sleep with her father "to keep him company" while she is out of the house (Maisch, 1973). Secondly, the disturbed sexual relationship between parents had typically broken down altogether, due to the unavailability of the mother as a sexual partner (Weinberg, 1955; Henderson, 1972; Kaufman et al., 1954; Machotka, 1963). The unavailability of the mother as a sexual partner was due to one of a number of reasons: 1) frigidity of the mother (Lucianowicz, 1972); 2) mother involved in promiscuity with men outside the marriage (Maisch, 1973); 3) mother pregnant or physically ill (Kaufman et al., 1954); 4) mother separated or divorced from husband (Gebhard et al., 1965) or mother working at different times of the day than the father (Maisch, 1973).

Incest usually began when the father and daughter felt the mother had abandoned them either by giving birth to a new sibling, turning to the maternal grandmother or developing some new interest outside the home (Kaufman et al., 1954, p. 276).

The Family

A picture of the family in which father-daughter incest more frequently occurred has begun to emerge. The parents, having each been raised without much love and affection, meet, marry and have a large number of

children. As time passes, the dependency of both personalities begins to take its toll. The father begins to have employment difficulties and becomes either more tyrannical or more withdrawn in his family environment. The emotional and sexual relationship between man and wife begins to break down. When the eldest daughter reaches five to seven years of age, the mother begins to give up duties as wife and mother to the daughter. This role reversal is almost complete within a few years. The mother then retreats physically and emotionally from the other family members, for example, by going to work, or becoming ill, thus setting the stage for the sexual relationship between father and daughter. Feeling abandoned and resentful by the mother's departure, father and daughter turn to each other for comfort which they find in a sexual relationship. The mother, fearing the breakup of the home, denies the unusual relationship between her husband and daughter, perhaps enjoying freedom from the sexual demands of the father. Frequent sexual activity between the two participants continues for an extended period of time until some crisis occurs which precipitates termination.

Termination

The incest relationship continued for some time, typically, until one of the family members brought the

relationship to the attention of the authorities or one of the participants took steps to end the relationship.

In cases where incest has been detected by the authorities, less often than might be thought was the child's mother the informant. Lucianowicz noted that in only two of the twenty-six cases she studied did the mother report the incest to authorities, and Gebhard et al. noted that when a child under twelve was involved, two-thirds of the mothers revealed the incest, while only one-third of the mothers whose daughters were minors (between twelve and sixteen years) did the daughter bring the behaviour to the attention of the authorities.

Henderson noted:

When these wives report the incestuous liaison it is not so much because they object to the incestuous act, but rather because they are angry over some other matter. As a rule, they are too guilty over their own collusion or too fond of their husbands to report the offense (Henderson, 1972, p. 308).

Gebhard et al. reported:

This is not a matter of the outraged mother springing immediately to the defense of her young. . . . Some wives did not report their husbands until he had broken his promise not to repeat the incestuous behavior. One gains the impression that still other wives tried to blind themselves to what was going on and did nothing until reality was forced on them by some blatant act or insistent confession (Gebhard et al., 1965).

Seldom did the fathers themselves confess to the behaviour (one per cent, Maisch, 1973) because of a bad conscience or for some other reason.

When the relationship was detected by authorities, the daughter was a frequent informant. In a few cases, (only eight per cent according to Maisch, 1973) the daughter went directly to the authorities herself, while less than half told their mothers (Maisch, 1973) about the relationship. Often the girls chose to reveal the incest to other relatives or friends. Those who received the information then proceeded to tell the police or other agent.

In cases where the incest relationship ceased without the intervention of the authorities, the daughter was most often responsible for termination. Evidence suggested that as the daughter grows older she becomes increasingly resistant to her father, desiring to increase her extra-familial social orientation, associate with people her own age, find work, or continue studies (Maisch, 1973). Consequently, "They rebel against their father and achieve liberation" (Cormier, 1962, p. 212). In unusual cases, the termination was related to a suicide attempt made by the daughter (three per cent, Maisch) or pregnancy of the daughter resulting from the incestuous relationship (between ten and 20 per cent, Gebhard et al., 1965; Maisch, 1973).

In a few instances, a jealous brother or sister was responsible for bringing the "secret" into the open in the family (Gebhard et al., 1965).

Successful termination would occur when the daughter left the family on her own, to work or marry (Maisch, 1973). Sometimes the mother would send the daughter to live with relatives to protect her from the father.

Sibling Incest

Although a common form of incest, few cases of sexual relations between siblings have been reported in the literature. Weinberg's analysis of thirty-seven cases represented a wealthy source of information. The average age of both participants was higher than that for the daughter participants, as brothers were an average age of twenty-four years at the time that the incest occurred, and sisters were an average nineteen point two years of age. In both groups, the range of ages was higher, with brothers between twelve and forty-four years old while sisters' ages varied between eleven and thirty-seven years of age.

Weinberg differentiated three groups of participants: those where both brother and sister were adolescents; cases where both participants were past twenty-five years of age; and some cases where an older brother engages in incest behaviour with a much younger sister (Weinberg, 1955, pp. 44, 45). More than ten per cent of the sisters were older than the brothers.

The sisters had an average of six point four years of schooling (Weinberg, 1955, p. 46). Fifty per cent of the brother participants were judged to have a dull-normal, or lower, I.Q. (p. 49). As a group, the brothers "seemed less disturbed and more socially adjusted than the fathers were" (p. 53) while the sister participants were more promiscuous and more criminal. "She was co-operative and aggressive in the incest affair and became pregnant more frequently than the daughter" (Weinberg, 1955, p. 53).

In cases where the sister was older than the brother, the sister was the aggressor in the relationship, while the brother was most often the aggressor with a sister who was "mentally defective" (p. 47). Six pairs of sibling participants were separated from childhood and, in some cases, the relationship began when these girls came to live with a married brother (Weinberg, 1955). Such pairs did not feel that their incest behaviour was wrong. It was noted by Weinberg that some parents so severely restricted their daughters social life that these girls turned to their brothers for sexual experimentation (Weinberg, 1955, p. 77).

In fifteen cases, reported by Lucianowicz (1972), the average age of the brothers was fifteen and a half years with a range of twelve to nineteen years. Sisters had an average age of thirteen, with a range of eight to eighteen years. Sexual activity was frequent in these

relationships. The incest behaviour was continued for four years on the average, although the range was high with one relationship lasting two years and another lasting fourteen years. Thirteen brothers and fourteen sisters were considered to be free of gross personality disorders, however, two brothers and one sister were "aggressive psychopaths." Two cases were continued through the violence of these psychopathic brothers. All of those studied by Lucianowicz came from low income families. Parents usually turned a blind eye to the pattern of sexual exploration, play and later intercourse which was part of the relationship between these siblings (p. 310). These incestuous relationships continued until either partner found a sexual partner outside of the home.

Mother-Son Incest

The results of seven cases discovered in the literature, of mother-son incest, a relatively rare type of detected incest, were reported here (Weinberg, 1955, two cases; Bender and Blau, 1937, one case; Wahl, 1960, one case; Yorukoglu and Kempf, 1966, one case; Brown, 1963, in Masters, one case). Most often mother-son incest occurred between a woman who is widowed, separated, or divorced and her son. The age of the women at the initiation of incest varied from thirty to fifty years, while the sons ages ranged from six to twenty-seven

with most sons being in their teens when the behaviour began. In three cases, the incest involved one incident (two) or a few instances. In these three cases the son initiated the behaviour after being treated in a seductive manner by the mother. In the remaining four cases, the mother initiated the sexual contact between her and her son. There was greater evidence of serious personality problems evident in the participants in mother-son incest than in the sibling or father-daughter group. Six of the seven mothers showed signs of disturbance; one was schizophrenic; one neurotic; three were very promiscuous and alcoholic; and one was grossly overprotective of her children. Three of the sons were schizophrenic when studied; one was alcoholic with a history of psychotic episodes; while the others were considered as being "normal" personalities. One mother was involved in incest with both her son and daughter. The duration of the incest behaviour varied from one incident to seventeen years. Most of the relationships terminated when the sons were taken to psychiatric hospital for treatment (possibly a function of the samples studied), although one son was arrested after one instance of aggression, and one relationship ended when the son, a boy in his early teens, beat his mother to death with a curtain sash! (Brown, 1963).

Other Types of Incest

Five cases of father-son incest have been noted, with one case described in some detail. This one relationship, reported by Langsley (1968), began when the son was twelve years of age, and lasted for one and a half years. The father initiated mutual masturbation with his son and this form of sexual activity was typical in the relationship. The father had had homosexual experiences with a cousin when he was young, and encouraged his own son to explore homosexuality with the son's cousin. The wife and mother in this family was described as "passive aggressive," "castrating" and "manipulative" (Langsley, 1968, p. 223). It appeared that the father's pathology was the main cause of the father-son incest.

One case of mother-daughter incest and four cases of incest between grandfather and granddaughter were noted by Maisch (1973), although no analysis of these cases was provided.

Lucianowicz has described two cases of incest between aunts and nephews which lasted from two to five years. One aunt was promiscuous and had many affairs during her marriage and seduced her nephew initially. The other aunt suffered from hyponemia and she too seduced her nephew.

Four cases of uncle-niece incest were noted. One uncle was described as a psychopath and alcoholic

while the remaining participants were considered normal (Lucianowicz, 1972). Three of the uncles did not consider their relationships with their nieces as criminal.

Five cases of incest between grandfather and granddaughters were described by Lucianowicz. This one grandfather, aged fifty-five, had frequent intercourse with both his daughters and his granddaughters with the exception of his eldest daughter who refused to participate. In fact, "one of his granddaughters was . . . his own daughter!" (p. 309). All participants were described as normal, healthy individuals.

Theories of Incest Behaviour

While information about incest behaviour and those who participate in it was useful since it provided a picture of the personality of those involved in incest, the family environment in which incest occurred and the dynamic observed in such a family, such information does not, in itself, explain why incest occurs in some situations and not in others. It is possible that many families exist which have sociological and interactional characteristics similar to the families in which incest occurs, yet incest does not occur. For example, many husbands faced with sexual rejection by their wives find other solutions.

They may accept the frustration of an unhappy family situation and find satisfaction elsewhere,

in work ~~or~~ in outside interests, or they may indulge in affairs outside the marriage (Cormier et al., 1962, p. 204).

Many theories have been formulated to explain the origin and meaning of incest behaviour and it is these theories which were reviewed in the following section.

The study of incest played a significant role in the field of psychoanalysis. Freud, during the early stages of his work with patients, thought that parent-child incest, being reported to him by many of his patients, was one of the causes of psychoneurosis. He later discovered that patient material related to sexual relationships between patients and their parents was fantasy, not fact, and he shifted his concern to the incestuous desires of children, rather than continuing his interest in actual incest behaviour (Freud, 1959). A cornerstone of psychoanalytic theory, interest in human subjective incest desires, for many years took precedence over the study of objective cases of incest. Accordingly, Rank (1925) and Fenichel (1945), in their turn, devoted their interest to the unconscious desire and drive for incest.

In more recent years, however, some writers of the analytical school have again turned their attention to cases of consummated incest. It was from them that many of the theoretical formulations which seek to explain the occurrence of incest have come. Father-

daughter incest was the primary source of these theoretical formulations.

L. Gordon (1955) suggested on the basis of her study of cases of father-daughter incest, "the incestuous activity is an elaboration of a masochistic attachment to the mother of the oral phase" (p. 284). What seems, on the surface, to be an over-attachment to the father, was seen as primarily satisfying revenge against the pre-Oedipal mother, a way of using the father to hurt the mother. It was further an attempt to take revenge for frustration experienced by the daughter during early childhood from a mother to whom she was strongly attached. Incest was an attempt by the daughter to break that early attachment with the mother.

Rhinehart (1961), another theoretician of the analytical school, suggested that incest satisfied the needs of both mother and daughter in the family. Coming from a disorganized family herself, the mother married a man who was like her father. By reversing wifely roles with her daughter, the mother indicated a desire to give herself to her own father. The daughter, for her part, rejected this hostility and exploitation by the mother and turned to her father for "gratification of her intensely frustrated infantile affectional needs" (Rhinehart, 1961, p. 346). The resulting sexual contact, then, satisfied basically non-genital needs of the

daughter. The projective tests administered to the daughter-participants in his study supported this notion in that the daughters saw themselves as deprived and rejected. The strength of the daughter's need was exemplified by one girl, studied by the author, who was involved in incest with her natural father until it was disrupted. She then seduced her step-father when her mother remarried. When incest with the step-father was disrupted, she committed suicide (p. 346). The descriptive social background combined with the dynamics of all the participants to cause overt incest, in Rhinehart's view.

Studying a sample of middle-class male participants, Cavallin's (1966) theoretical stance was focussed on the father-participant in incest. Results of the MMPI indicated that the fathers had

- 1) inadequate or weak objective relations; 2) weak psychosexual identity; 3) signs of homosexual strivings; 4) projection as a major defense (p. 1143).

He saw incest as an expression of the fathers'

displaced positive Oedipal striving toward their mothers but also an old hostility toward their mothers reactivated by the relationship with their wives and possibly also their mothers (p. 1137).

The fathers' actions resulted from severe pregenital and genital conflicts, in particular the fusion of oral aggression and positive sexual striving. Cavallin suggested that the fathers' defective ego organization combined with the accessibility of the child as a partner,

the powerlessness of the daughter as perceived by the father, and the child's own sexuality may result in incest. He noted that the child's behaviour which leaves out the pleasures of the primary processes and yet confronts the adult with them threatens to shake ego defenses which these fathers have erected with some difficulty and revived the tortures of the father's early anxieties (Cavallin, 1966).

B. Cormier, M. Kennedy and J. Sangowicz (1962) also focussed on the psychopathology of the father who participated in father-daughter incest and suggested that in the daughter the father saw a substitute for both the young girl whom he married and his childhood mother. By taking the daughter he satisfied the unresolved incestuous desire for his own mother in a process which was described as follows:

- 1) the daughter becomes the substitute for the wife;
- 2) the daughter is the substitute not for the present wife but for the girl he courted many years ago;
- 3) parallel to this, too, he has the illusion that he is the young man he was when he wooed his wife;
- 4) the real wife now symbolizes the forbidding mother;
- 5) the daughter herself has been transformed into the early giving mother (p. 212).

M. Rascovsky and A. Rascovsky (1950) analysed a variety of father-daughter incest cases to arrive at their theoretical formulations. They postulated that the daughters had experienced extreme frustration in relation to their mothers and their attempts to cope

with this basic depressive position led to a precocious transition to the oral search for a father. An over-evaluation of the father's penis occurred. An aggressive fixation on the father's penis seeks satisfaction in the form of an urge to castrate. Substituting for the primary relation with the mother's breast the daughters incorporate the penis. There follows a masculine identification with the penis and the selection of a feminine object disguised as a womanly man. Anxiety arises from sexual frustration and the ego develops a greater capacity for sublimation favouring the real satisfaction afforded by incest.

I. Kaufman, A. Peck and C. Tanguiri (1954) have put forward a theory which included three generations, the parents of the adult participant, the adult participant and the child participant. They noted that both the adult participants (mother and father) came from backgrounds characterized by physical and emotional deprivation. Both left home and school while young to find work and presumably to escape from their hostile environments. The maternal grandfathers of the children had deserted their families and both of the adult participants in their turn deserted their children, the father through physical desertion or alcoholism, the mother by leaving home to work, or have a baby. The researchers saw "desertion and the reaction to this as being the prime common source of anxiety motivating all

the individuals involved in the incest situation" (p. 269). Incest occurred when the daughter and father turned to each other for comfort upon rejection by the mother. The specific factor which caused the participants to handle their anxiety by acting out was not pinpointed by the authors.

Focussing on the mother of the family where incest took place between father and daughter, other writers have suggested that the denial of the non-participating member both makes the incest possible and allows it to continue for a lengthy period. This denial was seen to be a factor, motivated by guilt which "creates a family 'secret' which then congeals family relations and makes them even more resistant to change than they might have been otherwise" (Machotka, Pittman, and Flomenhaft, 1967, p. 100). Recognizing the complex intrapsychic and interreactional determinants of incest, the above authors provided startling evidence of the importance of the non-participating member's denial, both in their discussion of cases and in the presentation of a partial transcript from a therapy session involving a daughter and her mother. The transcript revealed that even when the daughter repeatedly confronted her mother in a very explicit fashion with her sexual involvement with the father, the mother was unwilling to admit that such a thing

could have happened (pp. 104-109). In addition to prolonging the incest, this denial typically created an atmosphere of hostility and tension between the mothers and their daughters.

N. Lustig, J. Dresser, S. Spellman and T. Murray (1966) used a transactional framework and ego psychology in their study of the family unit involved in incest. They regarded incest as a transaction which protects and maintains the family in which it occurs. A non-institutional role relationship, incest satisfactorily reduced family tension by preventing confrontation with underlying sources of anxiety as long as each family member was able to maintain the facade of role competence. If established, this behaviour pattern contributed to the homeostasis of a dysfunctional family and tended to become self-perpetuating. It served partly to alleviate the parents pre-genital dependency needs, to defend against feelings of sexual insufficiency as a mechanism against the daughter's revenge against the non-nurturing mother, as a device for reducing separation anxiety and as an aid to the maintenance of a facade of role competence for all participants. Both parents seemed to relate to the daughter as a maternal object, projecting onto her their respective maternal and sexual fantasies. Some "fathers well may have acted as vehicles for the mothers' unconscious homosexual impulses toward

the daughters" (p. 34).

The daughter's fear of desertion causes her to comply to both the mother's and father's demands for the sexual activity with the father and nurturance to all. "The preservation of the family group is the essential function of incest to the group" (p. 39), according to Lustig and his associates.

Homosexual incest between father and son has been reported in two articles. Raybin (1969) examined a case of multi-generational homosexual incest and speculated that "there has actually been a positive, albeit pathological identification between father and son over the three generations" (p. 108). He suggested further that the son may have accepted homosexuality as a behavioural trait as part of his identification with a homosexual father or that the incest may have represented a defense by the son against incestuous urges for his mother (Raybin, 1969).

In the other case of homosexual incest, it was suggested that the incest generated not so much from the family interaction as from the father's pathology. By initiating his two sons to incest, the father was clearly living out his own adolescent homosexual conflicts (Langsley, Schwartz, and Fairbairn, 1968).

In his examination of incest between mother and son, Wahl (1960) outlined factors which lead to overt

incestuous expression of this type. Based on the notion that propinquity annihilates desire, he suggested that a rejecting or absent mother would likely heighten a son's incest temptation more than an overly protective or constantly present mother. The absence of a strong parent of the same sex as the child eliminates an external limiting factor. Overt sexual behaviour by the mother or loss of maternal control might also contribute to mother-son incest. Undue physical manipulation of the child by the parent, overt sexual behaviour by the mother, or witnessing of intercourse by the child may be additional factors. Objective sexual frustration on the part of either participant may heighten the incest wish to the point where the sexual desire is greater than the fear of the incest taboo.

French-speaking authors interpreted incest in terms of toxic psychosis, mental deficiency or alcoholic encephalopathy (Lucianowicz, 1972).

From an analysis of the aspects of incest which have been outlined it was apparent to the writer that father-daughter incest probably results from a combination of factors including the pathology of the individuals involved (including the maternal and paternal grandparents of the child); the environmental milieu of the family; in some cases the cultural background of the participants and, most importantly, the interaction between the father

and mother and the child. It would seem that the interpersonal triangle of mother, father and daughter holds the key to the understanding of most cases of protracted father-daughter incest relationships. It seemed reasonable to suggest that if the mother were unwilling to deny the relationship between father and daughter, the incest behaviour would soon terminate. If, on the other hand, the father was not afraid of desertion, it is likely he would seek satisfaction for his sexual frustration outside the family instead of choosing his daughter as a sexual partner. It also seemed likely that if the daughter were to experience acceptance by the mother, she would not be as liable to express resentment of the mother by engaging in incest behaviour with the father. The denial or absence of the mother, the sexual desire and desertion fear of the father and the resentment of the daughter were acted out in a family setting where the pathology of each member triggered the pathology of the others.

A further analysis of the families involved in incest, in light of role theory or transactional analysis, may help to provide insight into how father-daughter incest is developed, maintained and sustained.

Post-Incest Behaviour

A review of the literature about incest revealed

that investigators have been concerned about what happens to participants in incest once the behaviour has ceased. Concern has been focussed primarily on the subsequent behaviour of those children involved in incest with their parents, and, more specifically, girls who have participated in father-daughter incest. Further, variables which might be important in the relationship between incest and subsequent behaviour of the child participant have been brought to light and hypotheses have been derived to guide further research. In the following discussion, the behaviour of the child participant of incest following termination of the behaviour or relationship shall be the major focus. The hypotheses which have evolved about variables which may be significant in the relationship between incest and subsequent behaviour of the child participant will be explored.

Information presented has been gathered from a variety of sources:

- 1) Studies on incest. These studies typically included information about the behaviour of the child participant after termination in case studies or in the discussion of a group of cases (for example, Weinberg, 1955; Maisch, 1973; Cormier et al., 1962). One study by Sloane and Karpinski (1942) focussed on the "Effects of Incest on the Participants."

- 2) Studies of female victims of sex crimes.

Such studies included information about "victims" of a variety of sexual crimes, including incest (for example, Gagnon, 1965; Bender et al., 1952 and 1937 and Rasmussen, 1934). These first two types of studies represent the primary sources of information about incest and its relation to later behaviour of child participants, yet valuable information has been added from other sources.

3) Comparative studies of women who were juvenile delinquents who were sexually maladjusted as children (O'Neal, 1960).

4) Sexological studies of orgasm capacity in selected women (Terman, 1951).

Samples used in these studies were of three types: subjects who have been referred to the researchers from legal sources, i.e., detention centres, police records; those subjects studied from a client group in a treatment setting; and selective samples where subjects have not been recruited from treatment or court-related sources.

Legal intervention in the termination phase of incest comes about because incest is a crime in many places and detection by law enforcement bodies necessitated such intervention. Often the father has committed incest with his daughter or son, is removed from the home and brought before the court for punishment. Frequently the child participant is also removed

from the home for protection purposes. The legal process, itself, has the potential for disrupting the family of the incest participants. It was felt that this potentially disrupting influence could influence post-incest behaviour of the participants, consequently information about court samples have been reported separately from other samples so that the difference in the experience of the groups might not be confused.

In addition, preview of the literature revealed that there were two distinct phases in the observed behaviour of the incest participants after termination of incest, behaviour observed immediately following the detection of incest in court subjects, or termination of incest on the initiative of one or both partners in treatment subjects, and behaviour observed a long time after termination of the incestuous relationship. Although these two phases are distinct, they are not demarcated in time, one subject might recover from the first phase of the reaction to termination quickly while another person might take longer to recover from the first phase. Most information which has been gathered, however, was easily assigned to the initial phase of post-incest behaviour or to the adult phase (second phase) of behaviour; consequently, these two time categories of observable behaviour have been reported separately.

There was little consensus as to the role of incest in promoting pervasive subsequent psychopathology in the children (Henderson, 1972, p. 309). It has been presumed in the past that the psyche of the child participant would be harmfully affected by the experience (Bender and Blau, 1937); on the other hand, Freud (1959) assigned a secondary role to sexual traumas in youth as a cause of neurosis or psychosis. The result of more recent studies have not resolved this difference in opinion, although there was growing evidence that the relationship between incest and later behaviour problems experienced by participants is not as clear as once thought. It has been noted, for example, in recent studies, that "it is not possible to trace the current condition in a direct causal line from the previous condition" (Gagnon, 1965, p. 412) of incest. Where early psychiatric studies blithely discussed the "effects" of incest on the participants (implying the existence of a causal relationship), more scientific efforts have been directed toward observing post-termination behaviour and searching out significant variables which link it to incest.

Court Samples - Initial Phase

Bender and Grugett (1952) and Bender and Blau (1937) studied sixteen children who had been involved in sexual relations with adults, including two who had

been sexually involved with their fathers. These children were seen for psychiatric evaluation the first time shortly after legal intervention. A general finding was that:

the children often showed no guilt but this tended to develop as they were separated from their sex object and means of gratification, and as they were exposed to the opinion of parents and court officials (Bender and Blau, p. 511).

They noted that the more intelligent children developed guilt feelings which seemed to reflect the opinions of adults around them rather than reflect personal trauma. Raphling et al. (1967) and Barry and Johnson (1958) have noted this initial lack of guilt and suggested that in such cases both parents condoned the incest. Barry and Johnson (1958) stated further that:

From our studies of father-daughter incest, collected from all economic classes, it is the rule that the daughter is compliant if the father manifests no sense of guilt and the mother is collusive or indifferent (p. 492).

Other difficulties these girls had as noted by Bender and Blau (1937) included a strong need for adult attention and affection, truancy or poor grades at school, hyperactivity and restlessness and incompatibility with other children. More specific to incest, one girl who was involved with her father did not adjust well to the hospital setting where the evaluation was conducted, was unusually preoccupied with genital play and was very seductive with males, while the other girl had a

behavioural disorder characterized by restlessness, over activity, irresponsibility, school retardation, precocious sex interests and a mental confusion about her family relationships evidenced when the child told a variety of stories about what her father did, and how many brothers and sisters she had. This confusion about her family was accompanied by considerable anxiety and ambivalence. These two children appeared to exhibit more behavioural difficulties than did the others.

Results indicated that seven of the sixteen children studied, suffered "no apparent acute emotional or behavioural disturbances" after termination of their sexual relationships with adults (Bender and Blau, p. 512). Bender and Blau concluded that "the experience of the child in its sex relations with adults does not seem always to have a traumatic effect" (p. 516). In explanation of this (at the time a rather surprising lack of dire consequences), Bender and Blau suggested that the experience of sexual relations with adults satisfied institutional drives or urges and allowed the child to test out an infantile fantasy which resulted in a gratified pleasure sense.

In contrast to Bender and Blau's findings about lack of guilt in children, Kaufman et al., (1954), Yorukoglu and Kempf (1966), Cormier et al., (1962), and Weiss et al., (1955), found that the girls they studied

who had been involved in father-daughter incest did experience much guilt, anxiety and pain when seen after the incest had been terminated and legal procedures had begun. The fathers had been removed from the home and were preparing for or undergoing punishment or forced treatment for their participation in the incest relationship.

Kaufman et al., (1954) shed some light on the source of this guilt in their report on eleven girls, five of whom were involved in father-daughter incest. They indicated that:

All these girls were depressed and guilty. Their verbalized guilt . . . was in connection with the disruption of the home and not over the incest itself (p. 265).

Cormier et al., (1962), who worked with twenty-seven girls explained this process in more detail.

The victimized daughter . . . is now in a situation where the father is no longer in the scene. This liberation is not achieved without emotional storm. The fact that in attaining her freedom the father is humiliated, degraded and punished carries with it pain and guilt for her, and some regret. It is rare for a victimized daughter to wish to inflict on the aggressor-father punishment as hard as that imposed by society (p. 214).

One girl studied by Yorukoglu and Kempf (1966) felt guilty about her part in placing her father in a state hospital, the disposition of the court in this case (p. 121). In addition to the consistent evidence of guilt about the family breakdown resulting from court

intervention, Kaufman et al., (1954) and Yorukoglu and Kempf (1966) have made other comments about their samples of victimized girls. Yorukoglu and Kempf (1966) administered psychological tests including the Rorschach, to the girl they studied and discovered that she exhibited no serious psychological problems but did have an almost compulsive drive to achieve (p. 124). Kaufman et al., (1954) discussed their cases at length. They indicated that, in addition to guilt, the girls studied suffered from anxiety and depression. Girls gave signals of their depression by making suicide threats, or demonstrating mood swings, according to Kaufman and his associates. Many girls sought forgiveness from their mothers, to whom they expressed a great deal of hostility after termination. Some girls sought punishment and became delinquent and/or promiscuous. When unable to continue acting out in these ways the girls became seriously depressed. Some had persisting symptoms of sleeping and eating disturbances, somatic complaints, school problems and hyperactivity.

When the girls studied by Kaufman et al., (1954) were removed from their homes and placed in foster homes, as many were, their reaction to this new dependent role was often severe.

The resultant dependent position caused them to regress and reveal their hostility, demanding orality in the most primitive forms. The re-

gression which occurred in many of these girls approached psychotic states such as prolonged, confusional and stuporous periods or rage reactions (pp. 276-277).

It was noted, too, that this group of girls related in a hostile, dependent way to older women, making impossible demands on them and reacting with dramatic hostility when their demands were not met (p. 277). Some evidence of homosexual content was observed both in the verbal material and actions of the girls.

Weiss et al., (1955) as part of a large study of girl sex victims, observed fourteen girls who were involved with their fathers. This sample was divided into accidental, collaborative and participant victims with girls involved in incest being considered part of the participant/victim group. About the group called participant victims, Weiss et al., (1955) reported "all the participant victims had guilt about their sexual activities, guilt which, if not expressed directly, was manifest in phobias, nightmares, anxieties, etc." (pp. 7-8).

Children of this type are sexually promiscuous; they steal, play truant from school, run away from home and, in brief, have severe behaviour problems of many sorts. They are subject to extreme fluctuations of moods and they react to stress and anxiety with impulsive, often self-damaging behaviour. They have no friends, and no hobbies. Often they show many profound neurotic symptoms such as phobias, tics and compulsive rituals (pp. 23, 24).

However, they also point out, "Without exception, the children have been subjected, from early infancy, to

neglect and to cruel and inconsistent treatment" (p. 24).

Initial Treatment Samples

The following discussion summarized the findings of Sloane and Karpinski (1942); Magal and Winnik (1968); Heims and Kaufman (1963) and Lucianowicz (1972). The samples used were drawn from cases encountered in treatment facilities and did not include court intervention. Findings relating to the problems or lack of them that girls who were involved in father-daughter incest had just prior to treatment were brought together. In some cases, incest terminated when one or other participant was hospitalized for psychiatric treatment; in other cases incest terminated when undertaken by the female participant who wanted to be free of her father's influence; in still other cases the incest was revealed within the family and the mother took steps to terminate the relationship by sending her daughter or husband for treatment or sending the daughter away from home, or separating from or divorcing the husband.

Magal and Winnik (1968) studied four cases of father-daughter incest. The first case concerned a girl who had had sexual relations with her father from age eleven until age sixteen. Termination took place when the daughter became pregnant by her father and was placed in a detention home for a two-week period

after having an abortion. When she and her father were at home again the relationship continued until a second pregnancy and abortion created upheaval in the family resulting in both father and daughter being hospitalized. The girl said she felt guilty, not about her relationship with her father but about the breakup of the family which resulted from her second pregnancy. She felt ambivalent toward her father being at once afraid of him, yet wanting to be close to him sexually. She was extremely hostile toward her mother for not terminating the relationship sooner. No evidence of psychiatric illness was found from psychodiagnostic testing (pp. 175-178).

In another case, a girl came for treatment in adult years. She had experienced incest with her father for a brief period of time at six years of age. When the father terminated the relationship after a couple of months she reported that she had felt discriminated against by her father, was afraid and confused, and gnashed her teeth badly during sleep for some time after termination. She also had a temporary fantasy that she was pregnant by her father (p. 180).

In a third case, a girl who was placed in an institution after her mother's death was studied. She had had incest relations for years with her father, who was an abusive alcoholic. She did not feel any

guilt about the sex act between she and her father as she felt he needed her and she was attracted to him. She was pleased he was attracted to her more than the other girls or her mother and she wanted to go home again and take care of him when he was drunk. When seen, she was experiencing difficulties in school, problems in learning and concentration and periods of depression. No signs of psychosis were evident but there was evidence of sexual disturbance and promiscuity with men outside the home (pp. 181-182).

In a fourth case, a girl was seen after a suicide attempt had brought her to hospital. She was married at the time she was seen, but had been involved sexually with her father for a number of years (five to eighteen years of age). She experienced depressive periods before and after termination of the relationship and had attempted suicide before termination, apparently because she was unable to free herself from her relationship with her father (pp. 183-184). Magal and Winnik found that "In all of our cases, sexual disturbances were manifest in promiscuous tendencies" (p. 187).

Three cases of father-daughter incest were reported by Sloane and Karpinski (1942) and on the behaviour of these girls after the termination of incest.

In one case, the incest terminated when the girl,

age nineteen, refused to give in to her father's demands for sex. He immediately kicked her out of the family home. Initially she felt depressed and sought reassurance from others to assuage her feelings of guilt for having refused her father (p. 668).

In another instance, the girl was seen initially while still involved in incest with her father. She was mentally retarded and had sexual relations with her father from her early teens until age twenty-one years. At fifteen years of age, her generally promiscuous behaviour was obvious to school authorities and at age nineteen she became pregnant from an affair with another man. This pregnancy aroused considerable guilt and anxiety over her incest with her father and she began to express hostility toward him for doing "bad things" to her. She began to make verbal requests to be moved from her home where she lived alone with her father a short time after the birth of her baby, yet at the same time she was unwilling to accept any steps taken to have her removed from the situation. She began to experience psychosomatic intestinal ailments during this period. "She made many plans to leave home but never made any effort to carry them out" (p. 669). She did terminate the relationship however, by getting married. No evidence of psychosis was present (pp. 668-669). They note further that:

In each case the girl sought forgiveness from her mother or mother substitute even though the latter did not articulately condemn her suggesting that guilt feelings which prompted these apologies may have stemmed from the girls' hostile feelings towards their mothers (Sloane and Karpinski, 1942, p. 671).

A second feature of these cases was the guilt which developed in these girls that finally caused them to give up their incestuous relationships. "This is all the more remarkable because the segment of the community in which these girls lived was notorious for its sexual laxity" (p. 670).

The authors noted that the girls, upon giving up the relationship "sought a substitute in promiscuous sex relations with other men. The promiscuity had a certain recklessness about it" (p. 671). Some had been promiscuous before termination as well. It was further suggested that the individual nature of the forcible reactions which followed the attempt of the girls to break away from the incest was dependent on the predisposition of the personality and the strength of the ego and superego of each girl (p. 673).

Heims and Kaufman conducted individual psychotherapy with a group of girls who had been involved in father-daughter incest and noted that with interruption of the incest at adolescence, the girls seemed depressed, developed learning disabilities and frequently regressed to a homosexual position, "preoccupied with their un-

gratified mother-child needs" (p. 311).

In a study of twenty-six cases of father-daughter incest, Lucianowicz (1972) noted that eleven of these girls had become promiscuous following the termination of incest and had been arrested many times for drug or alcohol abuses or petty crimes. The author also pointed out, however, that all of these groups of girls had come from very disturbed homes where their fathers were alcoholic and mothers were promiscuous. "Thus there was perhaps also a great deal of subconscious imitation of parental behaviour" (p. 306).

Four girls who had been threatened by their fathers developed psychiatric symptoms, while three others developed depressive reactions with repeated suicide attempts (p. 306).

In six girls there was no apparent ill effects of their relations. One of them expressed it thus: 'Oh, I don't mind it. I know he really loved me. Besides, I enjoyed our relations too' (p. 306).

Using a questionnaire administered to university classes, J. Landis (1955) has reported on the experiences of 500 children who had sexual encounters with adults. While incest participants were not isolated in the study, a comparison was made between those who had known the sex offender before the incident and those who did not know the offender. There was a significant relationship between the emotional shock victims reported and their knowledge of the offender. "If the offender was known

to the child, the shock was greater" (p. 100).

It has been seen that there are girls who exhibit a number of problems after the termination of the incestuous relationship with their fathers while others did not experience any obvious problems immediately after the relationship was terminated. The most frequent type of initial reaction included guilt over breakup of the family which was predominant in those girls whose incestuous relationship ended when the court intervened to remove the father from the home and punish him by imprisonment. Legal intervention appeared to add to rather than ameliorate the observed difficulties of girls who were involved in father-daughter incest. It should be noted, however, that in some cases derived from treatment samples, revelation of the existence of incest relationship between father and daughter also caused family disruption and similar guilt responses upon termination. Depression and promiscuity emerged as two responses which were consistent from both treatment and court samples. Sexual acting out and a variety of psychosomatic ailments were also found during the period immediately following termination of incest in both groups of girls. Unfortunately, the study by Landis (1955) did not provide sufficient information for comparison purposes. There was little evidence of serious psychotic behaviour during the period immediately

following the termination of father-daughter incest.

The relatively large number of girls who appeared to exhibit no acute emotional or behavioural disturbance is worthy of note. Seven of sixteen children observed by Bender and Blau (1937) apparently had no acute difficulties at termination and six of twenty-six girls studied by Lucianowicz (1972) were also free of serious disorders.

In some instances, it appeared that these initial reactions to the experience of incest were transitory in nature. Bender and Grugett (1952) asserted about their sample that:

Certainly most of these children were able to abandon their sexual preoccupations and practices when improved opportunities allowed fulfillment of their individual capacities and drives towards identification and constructive behaviour (p. 829).

They noted that girls who had been seriously disturbed may also have been reacting to the threatening changes of maturity. They concluded from a study of their sample that:

Overt sexual behaviour of several kinds described did not necessarily forecast either their retention into adult life or maladjustments specifically rooted in such experience (p. 836).

They noted that none of those involved in father-daughter incest needed correction or treatment for further sexual activities, even though it was sexual behaviour difficulties which first brought them into treatment (p. 836). These children went on to attain moderately successful adjustment

which "suggests that the consequences of incestuous relationships, usually regarded by both primitive and modern societies as unfailingly disastrous, need not be so" (p. 827).

Generally, these studies indicated that: 1) there are some people who do not show any serious problems following termination of father-daughter incest; and 2) many of those who did have behavioural or emotional disturbance immediately after termination were disturbance free after a short period of time.

Post-Incest Behaviour - Adult Life

The concern about post-incest behaviour and any connection between that behaviour and the experience of incest has extended beyond the period immediately following termination of the incest to what has been called, by most writers, adult adjustment (e.g., Gagnon, 1965 and Sloane and Karpinski, 1942). Very few studies have focussed on the adult adjustment of incest participants, per se, (Bender and Grugett, 1952; Sloane and Karpinski, 1942). Consequently, studies on incest which gave some information about the adult adjustment of some subjects in the sample and studies of women who experienced sexual traumas of all sorts as children were used to supplement the findings of studies related specifically to adult adjustment of incest offenders.

Adult Life - Court Samples

Weinberg (1955), who studied the largest sample of father-daughter incest participants available, was able to make some comments about how these daughter participants had fared later in life. He was of the opinion that twenty-six point one per cent of the daughter participants were well adjusted some time after termination of the incest, pointing to the fact that these girls later married and were good wives and mothers (p. 151). However, others did not fare so well and had a variety of problems. Some were shy and hostile toward men; some became promiscuous, though they were married; others needed psychiatric care and institutionalization for long periods of time; while still others were suspicious of the relationship between their husbands and daughters (pp. 151-152). Promiscuity had become a way of life for some women who "became kept women, sex delinquents and lone or professional prostitutes" (p. 152). Weinberg did not indicate how many women demonstrated which specific difficulties, thus no predominant adjustment pattern was revealed.

Maisch (1973) was also able to provide information about a large court sample of subjects that he observed. He indicated that:

In 13 cases incestuous activity was completely decisive as the direct cause of personality disturbances; in 10 girls the set of symptoms as they existed before the act were possibly

heightened by the act and in 14 cases there was no tracable connection between the incestuous activity and pathological phenomenon (p. 217).

In reflecting on the variety of types of adjustment witnessed in his subjects, he stated:

The reactions of the victims go from attempted suicide and serious neurotic disturbances to neglect and promiscuous tendencies. The incest can be also completely free of conflict for the victim, though, and without obvious psychological after effects (p. 218).

In addition to the report of his own findings, Maisch cited Friedman's report (published originally in German) which revealed that several participants in incest showed "such after effects as frigidity, negligence, serious difficulties in learning and tendencies toward prostitution" (p. 214).

Cormier et al., (1962) made reference to Vestergaard (1960) who saw sixteen girls ten years after their participation in incest and noted that the reaction of the participants was almost invariably damaging in precipitating behaviour problems and in some cases sexual conflict in marital histories (p. 205).

Rasmussen (1934), a frequently quoted source of information on the adult adjustment of incest participants, conducted a study of fifty-four women who had been before the German court because they had been victims of a variety of sexual offenses. Fourteen of these women had been involved in father-daughter incest. Rasmussen

studied early records of the police and court agencies and solicited information from doctor's reports to conduct his follow-up study about the later adjustment of these girls. Nine of these fourteen girls were considered to be leading successful lives in that they were married, doing well at work, were good mothers or were orderly, responsible people who had no serious problems. One girl who had a nervous breakdown and many behavioural problems while in a training institution appeared to become more self-reliant, secure and responsible when discharged from the institution. There was very little information on one girl, except insofar as her marital status was known. Two women had nervous disorders with one needing medication to control hysterical attacks. One of these former female participants had been declared mentally ill and was placed in an institution for a very long period of time (pp. 354-368). Since Rasmussen's results have been frequently pointed to as evidence that the "effect" of incest is not necessarily harmful, (see, for example, Bender and Blau, 1937 and Henderson, 1972) it was worth noting that the information reported about the adult adjustment of these participants was seldom addressed to the quality of life they were leading at the time of Rasmussen's study. It was seldom noted, for example, if the marriage of a partner was a happy marriage, if their children were well

adjusted. In addition, no information was given about the type of doctors who were asked to respond to the questions submitted to them by Rasmussen. Since the questions asked reportedly concerned not only factual material such as marital status and number of children but also spiritual life and the presence of neurosis, knowing the specialty of the doctor might have been useful, as would information about the relationship between doctor or patients. A psychiatrist who had known a former participant for some time might have more insight into the presence of neurosis in his patient than would a dermatologist who had only met the person on one occasion. A doctor, even a family doctor, may not be a reliable informant on matters relating to the personal lives of his patients.

Yorukoglu and Kempf (1966) noted one case in which a girl was judged to have been free of serious damage from incest with her father (p. 123).

Adult Life - Treatment Samples

Magal and Winnik (1968) reported on four girls they had seen in a psychiatric treatment facility and indicated that in all of these cases "sexual disturbances were manifest in promiscuous tendencies and in difficulties to establish intimate relationships" (p. 187). In addition to these sexual disturbances, one girl was

institutionalized after being given short term treatment in a psychiatric facility; another girl, unable to separate from her family even after the incest became known to family members, repeatedly tried to commit suicide, and another girl was seen to have a disturbed sex life, but a good work history.

Sloane and Karpinski (1942) gave a fairly detailed picture of the later lives of the three women they saw who had been involved in father-daughter incest. One girl became both promiscuous and a heavy drinker after the incest terminated and she neglected her home and children. "After living in this manner for a number of years she gave the impression of being a deteriorated individual" (p. 668). Another former participant was initially depressed after termination of the incest, but later went on a "fling" of promiscuity and prostitution.

After a year she suddenly gave up her promiscuity and accepted a steady job and returned home. . . . She later married and after two years seemed to have made a fairly good adjustment (p. 668).

A third girl experienced psychosomatic symptoms and found it difficult to separate from her father. She got married, but her marriage broke up, primarily because of her violent temper. She was later hospitalized and diagnosed as mentally defective (p. 669). In the opinion of Sloane and Karpinski (1942) participation in incest during post adolescence has serious reper-

cussions for the girls (p. 673). Noting the difference between their findings and those of Bender and Blau and Rasmussen, they suggested that the discrepancy

can be explained by the increased strength of the superego in the post pubertal years. The severity of the taboo which society has erected against incest has undoubtedly contributed to the nature of the reaction (p. 673).

Lucianowicz (1972) presented the twenty-six cases he studied according to how the daughter participant in incest fared in later life. While eleven girls showed initial promiscuity after termination of incest, only four girls later became prostitutes. Five other girls

after they married, developed frigidity and aversion to sexual relationships with their husbands. Three of them showed symptoms of hysterical personality, with attention seeking behaviour (p. 306).

Four girls developed psychiatric symptoms and one of the four developed an acute anxiety neurosis (p. 306). The remaining six girls maintained healthy functioning showing no apparent ill effects of their participation in incest (p. 306).

Of three cases studied by Machotka et al., (1967), two girls required long term therapy, one to recover from a burden of guilt and resentment over her incest participation and the other to recover from a catatonic state "seemingly in response to failure at attempts at emancipation from her family" (p. 112). The third girl continued to be involved in a destructive relationship characterized by hostility on the girl's part and denial

by the mother, although improvement was noted during short-term therapy.

Other Reports

Gagnon (1965) analyzed some 333 cases brought to light originally by Kinsey (1953) of college girls who had been a victim of sex crimes of all types. The cases were divided into four groups: accidental, multi-accidental, coerced and collaborative experiences. Six girls indicated that they were coerced victims and involved in incest with their father (N=3) or another relative (N=3) (p. 408). In contrast to the other victim group, Gagnon reported that these coerced victims had a "very high incidence of damage in later life" (p. 413). The twelve other incest victims (three of whom collaborated with their father) who had collaborated with the incestuous liaison showed less evidence of subsequent damage. Eighty per cent of the coerced victims, all incest participants, showed later serious difficulties as indicated by three or more divorces, a history of institutionalization for crime or mental illness, or a history of prostitution. Only three point eight per cent of those who collaborated in incest and other sex crimes showed subsequent serious disturbance and between four and seven per cent of the total sample showed later serious disturbance. (The very seriously disturbed or institutionalized were not

studied.)

O'Neal and her associates (1960) conducted a follow-up study of people who had been seen at a Child Guidance Clinic thirty years previously. Twenty-seven women who had exhibited sexual acting out or other sex difficulties when originally referred to the clinic were compared to twenty women who were delinquent, but not sexually maladjusted, when seen at the clinic some thirty years previously. All of these women were interviewed about their medical and psychiatric histories, social history and adjustment. Their self reports were checked against private and public records to assure their accuracy (p. 32). Four of the women who had been acting out or otherwise maladjusted when referred to the clinic were participants in incest.

When compared, the sexually maladjusted females showed fewer incidents of psychotic problems, higher marriage and divorce rates and higher numbers of arrests for promiscuity than the delinquent girls who were not sexually maladjusted when originally seen (pp. 34-39). O'Neal et al. concluded, on the basis of these data and other information gathered in their thorough study, that:

Sexual maladjustment in childhood does not predict any specific psychiatric disease nor does it predict a higher prevalence of psychiatric illness, and, childhood sexual maladjustment predicts a poor adult marital adjustment (p. 39).

Landis (1956), who studied 500 university students, discovered that attitudes toward sex were affected when respondents were also victims of sex crimes. Furthermore, he learned that "Attitudes towards sex were affected more in both boys and girls who knew the offenders, than in those who did not know the offenders" (p. 102). While not specifically related to girls who had participated in incest, the results did include such girls.

Landis' observations were supported by those of Weinberg (1955) who was of the opinion, based on his research, that, "Incest behaviour undoubtedly influences the sex attitudes of female participants" (p. 147).

The only consequence which emerged subsequent to incest which could be directly attributed to an incest relationship was pregnancy. Typically, one fifth of the girls who participated in father-daughter incest became pregnant as a result of this incest with their father. Magal and Winnik (1968) indicated that pregnancy occurred in one of the four cases on which they reported; Kaufman et al., (1954) reported that one of the five girls they studied was pregnant by her father; twenty point six percent of the daughters studied by Weinberg (1955) were pregnant and eighteen per cent of the seventy girls followed up by Maisch (1973) were found to be pregnant.

Maisch (1973) provided the only thorough discussion of this aspect of father-daughter incest. "Of the thirteen girls, nine experienced the pregnancy as a psychological burden," but this burden "was less the result of the pregnancy itself than of the mainly negative reactions of her more immediate relatives and friends, and of the public at large" (p. 211). Two of the pregnancies were terminated by two fathers who conducted unscientific, and rather barbaric abortions on their daughters, while one abortion was medically advised and conducted. The majority of girls were positively inclined toward their partners, even during the pregnancy.

After the birth of their children, two girls gave their children up for adoption and one did not want to see her baby at all.

Six of the ten girls adopted an absolutely positive attitude, did not want to be parted from their baby in any way, and tried to cope with their maternal duties as best they could (p. 213).

However, raising children was difficult for these six girls who continually had to cope with negative reactions from their partner or, in cases where the girl and her father had a love relationship, the jealousy, envy and hatred of their own mother (p. 213). This pressure apparently caused one girl to attempt suicide two years after her baby was born and caused the others to exhibit psychological disturbances and depression (p. 214).

Maisch was of the opinion that those disturbances would

likely be temporary, although his study did not give evidence to support that belief because it was conducted too soon after the birth of the babies.

The literature which has been reviewed revealed some consistent features of the behaviour of female participants in father-daughter incest, observed after termination of the incestuous relationship. We have seen that immediately after termination of the incest, the majority of girls show some behaviour disturbance, with sexual acting out, anxiety, restlessness, learning difficulties, guilt and depression being the most common types of disturbance noted. Guilt, probably in cases where legal intervention has occurred, appeared to be related specifically to the disturbances of the family that the detection of incest brought about. However, many girls, especially those whose parents condoned the incest between father and daughter, showed little or no indication of behavioural or emotional problems when the incest was terminated.

Attention has been focussed on the adult behaviour and emotional state of women who were involved in father-daughter incest when young. Again, some women, even many who did have difficulties immediately following termination of incest, showed successful adjustment in adulthood with no major behavioural or emotional problems. When adult adjustment was disturbed, however, the most

frequently observed difficulties are in the area of sexual life and marital relationships. Promiscuity and frigidity were common problems and frequent divorce and presumably unhappy marriages were also noted in the adult life of female participants.

Post-Incest Behaviour - Significant Others

When incest was detected and legal action taken, usually against the father who was incarcerated when found guilty of participation in incest, it has been noted by Cormier et al., (1961) that: "There is a greater or less degree of psychological harm to all concerned" (p. 215). Since the response of other people may have a bearing on the subsequent life of the participants, it seemed advisable to include some mention of the behaviour of other people involved in incest, after the father-daughter relation terminates.

Father - Post-Incest Behaviour

The father usually responded to detection of incest between himself and his daughter by denying his guilt. "Of all sex offenders, the one who denies the most is the man who commits incest" (Cormier et al., 1961, p. 207). He also attempts to minimize his role in the initiation and maintenance of the relationship by suggesting that his daughter was equally responsible for the

relationship, in that she had really provoked or had not refused his advances, or by blaming his wife for refusing him sexually. As his guilt was confirmed in the law, "there is almost invariably an invasion of deep guilt and remorse about the wife" for having ignored her (Cormier et al., 1961, p. 207). This was often accompanied by a fear of never being able to return to his wife. He also, typically, experienced a great deal of guilt toward his daughter and toward the other children of the family for having been a bad father.

The most significant change is the father's new awareness of himself . . . he suddenly finds that he is a man in middle age who has mistaken his role and lost his status (Cormier et al., 1961, p. 214).

In addition, he feels shame as a reaction to intense social disapproval of the public, court and prison personnel (Weinberg, 1955, p. 154).

Because the father often felt a great need to return to the family, much depended on the reaction of his wife to his transgression. If his wife condoned his involvement in incest, or chose to deny that the incest ever occurred and believed his denial of guilt, little emotional distance developed between wife and husband, even when he was in jail. This was of considerable comfort to him (Weinberg, 1955). If, on the other hand, the wife responded with hostility to the detection of the affair between her daughter and husband,

the man often "passes through a depressive state with a feeling of almost overpowering loss" (Cormier et al., 1962, p. 215). Some men will, subsequently accept treatment, but few sought it, preferring to retain their hold on their self-image by continuing to deny their guilt. Although recidivism was rare after detection since the family was constantly aware of and alerted to the father's behaviour, Magal and Winnik (1968) did report one case where the father returned home after psychiatric hospitalization and continued the relationship which had been detected by authorities (p. 176). In cases of undetected incest, the father has been known to initiate incest with a second daughter, when the first daughter with whom he was sexually involved terminated the relationship by getting married or moving away from home (Rasmussen, 1934).

Mother - Post-Incest Behaviour

Cormier et al., (1961) noted that: "The impact of incest is perhaps sharpest on the mother, who usually responds with shock, depression and with anger" (p. 214). Often this anger was directed partly toward herself for having been so blind as to have not noticed the incest and part of it may be directed toward her daughter for not confiding in her earlier (Cormier et al., 1962; Weinberg, 1955). Rhinehart (1961) observed that often

the mothers were more hostile toward the daughters than toward the husbands (p. 241). The mother might condone the behaviour of her husband and encourage the other family members to tolerate it as well; she may respond to disclosure of the incest by removing the daughter from the home for her protection; or she may oppose the incest, become very hostile to the father and use her new dominant role to protect the children and encourage hostility toward the father by all family members. Often the mother continued to be dependent on the daughter (Magal and Winnik, 1968), yet her hostility toward the girl who has been the cause of the father going to jail and the subsequent financial hardship of the family, reflected an ambivalence which can make life uncomfortable for all concerned.

The Family - Post-Incest Behaviour

Once incest has been disclosed, conflicts and relationships previously concealed are in the open. Every member of the family is sharply effected by the results (Cormier et al., 1961, p. 214).

Typically, disclosure erected a barrier between the father and all of the daughters in the family. The position of the sons also changed as they were now freed from the presence of a father who, typically, rejected them while he was in the household (p. 214).

Magal and Winnik (1968) claimed that "with the

departure of the father, e.g., upon judicial sentence, there is a danger of a complete disintegration of the family" (p. 188). Maisch (1973) referred to the work of J. Guchon (1965) in making the claim that:

It is today a well-tried and proven discovery of psychological and psychiatric research that the harmful effects on the family brought about by the official discovery of the offense and punishment of it are more serious than those which might arise during the course of incest (p. 208).

Maisch (1973) pointed out further that incarceration tends to result in: 1) economic depression of the family; 2) separation of the parents; 3) discrimination by society which often breaks up the home and forces the family to move, and 4) causes the girl to be sent to a children's home making her feel as though she were being punished (p. 209).

Magal and Winnik (1968) have suggested that when the daughter was removed from the home there followed a breakdown in the family structure which

could provide a breeding-ground for anti-social activities on the part of the remaining members, who thus give expression to their feelings of guilt for the family's decline (p. 188).

Sibling Incest - Post-Incest Behaviour

The information about behaviour of either brothers or sisters after termination of sibling incest was scanty. It was suggested by Masters (1963) that "Some sibling

incest, whether hetero- or homosexual, is productive of no significant amount of guilt at all" (p. 272).

In the fifteen cases of sibling incest studied by Lucianowicz (1972), only one girl developed a reactive depression which appeared to be related, not to the incest, but to very destructive behaviour exhibited to her by her brother in a non-sexual context (p. 311). None of the other girls showed any morbid consequences of their incestuous behaviour.

Sloane and Karpinski (1942) reported two cases of brother-sister incest and indicated that in one case, where the family atmosphere was extremely lax in sexual matters, the sister became pregnant by one of her brothers with whom she was involved in incest. Although this quiet, shy girl was relieved when her mother casually accepted the situation, she still became more reticent and rigid than before the incest occurred. In the other case, information was slight, indicating only that the sister was later involved in theft (p. 670).

Weinberg (1955) reported that the sisters involved in twenty-seven cases of sibling incest were more promiscuous than the daughters involved in father-daughter incest had been. The girls who had initiated the sibling incest were virtually always promiscuous both before and after the incest (pp. 147-148). Some sisters, however, did become shy or hostile toward men. In addition,

forty point five per cent of the sisters studied by Weinberg became pregnant as a result of their sexual involvement with their brothers (p. 51). This percentage was almost double that for daughters Weinberg came in contact with.

Weinberg also indicated that:

In general, sibling incest does not disturb the family members as does the father-daughter type. The mother, especially, is less disturbed and agitated (p. 197).

He noted that seldom are the two siblings banished from the home, except where a male participant has been clearly the aggressor and is not depended upon for support (p. 198). Where sister and brother were older and married, the reaction of the marital partner to a confession or detection of incest may well have a bearing on the subsequent behaviour of the participant. At least two people, brother and sister, studied by Weinberg got married to each other after becoming involved in incest (p. 199).

Mother-Son Incest - Post-Incest Behaviour

Wahl (1960) reported two cases of mother-son incest where both of the sons were seriously disturbed. One son had a period of delinquency after his father left home when he was seven. He had a poor school record, few friends and interests and did not work. His first psychotic episode occurred after he witnessed

a bloody scene during the war. He was continually hospitalized for schizophrenia, undifferentiated type. Incest had occurred between he and his mother on one occasion while his mother was in an alcoholic stupor. In the second case, Wahl (1960) reported that the son was schizophrenic with circumstantial speech and flight of ideas. This seemed to be directly related to the boy's relationship with his mother who was grossly over-protective toward him. Each time the son went home from the hospital to spend time with his mother he returned in a catatonic stupor. He often harmed himself prior to being sent home (Wahl, 1960, p. 99).

Bender and Blau (1937) studied one boy who was involved in incest with his mother which he initiated prior to age six. He was a bright lad who appeared withdrawn and showed guilt when first brought for observation. He appeared to try to repress his sexual tendencies and memories and seemed to busy himself with different interests (p. 503). When this boy was seen later by Bender and Gudgett (1952) it appeared that his development was average during his teens. There was no recurrence of bizarre or unusual behaviour (p. 827).

In one case of mother-son incest reported by Yorukoglu and Kempf (1966) the behaviour of a thirteen year old boy who had been taken to a receiving home after his mother had been arrested for involving him in incest

was described. Initially, he was involved in serious acting out, setting fires, breaking windows, running away, aggressive with girls and homosexual involvement with another boy. When interviewed at that time, it was apparent that he "felt that he was responsible for his incestuous actions" (p. 113). Psychological testing done then showed that he had some degree of depression, self destructive tendencies, guilt over sexual impulses, and fear of castration. After a time, he was sent to a psychiatric hospital for treatment where his behaviour improved. His school performance was average, peer relationships were appropriate, and "no bizarreness or any impulsiveness were noted" (p. 115). He did not show any thinking disturbance or neurotic symptoms and soon repressed pleasure of the incest remembering only "fear, puzzlement and helplessness" (p. 115). It was felt that he had suffered no serious damage as a result of his incestuous liaison with his mother.

In two of three cases of mother-son incest reported by Masters (1963) the mother initiated the incestuous contact. In one case, the son refused his mother's advances and in response she attempted suicide. In other cases, the son was "teased" sexually by his mother for many years until consummation occurred. As the son became older, his mother's behaviour increasingly upset him, until at nineteen years of age, he finally

terminated it in desperation by killing his mother. He was subsequently convicted of murder and sentenced to life imprisonment (pp. 301-327). When asked why he had killed his mother he responded: "I had to. There was nothing else to do" (p. 302).

In the third case, the son of twenty-four years of age got drunk and attacked his mother sexually. She ordered him from the house and told his brother not to allow him near her again. He was hospitalized for alcoholism (p. 87).

In the one case of mother-son incest reported by Weinberg (1955) which provided information about behaviour subsequent to incest, he reported that the son was the aggressor and upon detection was jailed. The son was very bitter and hostile toward his prostitute mother who was, in turn, hostile and rejecting of him (p. 211). The two daughters in the family responded to the incest by expressing more anger at the mother than their brother. They resented her for neglecting them all as children. Although they were not close to their brother, both girls were very opposed to the mother attempting to have the son incarcerated and "They regarded this proceeding as especially vicious and characteristic of the mother's relationship with the son and also with them" (p. 211). They would have preferred to see their brother out of prison and have the mother

punished instead.

F. Caprio (1955) related the case of a boy who was seduced by his step-mother on one occasion during puberty. Very soon after his liaison with his step-mother, he developed psychomatic symptoms, insomnia, nervousness and lack of appetite (p. 140). He later became a homosexual and during his mid-twenties also became involved in transvestite activities. Caprio stated: "It was his only heterosexual experience in his life and served as a severe psychic trauma that was responsible for blocking his path to heterosexuality" (p. 137). The man presented himself for psychiatric treatment at age twenty-five and Caprio felt that the prognosis for an ultimately successful heterosexual adjustment seemed favourable (p. 140).

Father-Son Incest - Post-Incest Behaviour

Langsley (1968) reported the case of a twenty year old college student who had been involved in father-son incest. The son had a fear of becoming homosexual and exhibited some sexual acting out behaviour (p. 220). In another case studied by Raybin (1969), the son was hospitalized in a locked ward of a psychiatric hospital. He had withdrawn into religious preoccupations and "also had developed the somatic delusion that his limbs were gangrenous" (p. 106). He had been involved sexually

with his father from age nineteen to age twenty.

One boy, six years of age, was studied by Bender and Blau (1937) after incest with his father had terminated. When seen, he was preoccupied with thoughts about his family and had strong, negative feelings about his father. He was a bright, amiable and attractive child who showed no overt sexual behaviour and adjusted well in the hospital.

Variables

The concern of researchers has extended beyond merely recording the behaviour of participants observed subsequent to the termination of incest and has included a search for variables which might link that subsequent behaviour to the prior involvement in incest. The following discussion will focus on those variables which have been postulated in literature as providing that link.

Participation

It has been suggested by Kaufman et al., (1954) that participation in incest is in itself a cause of later psychological disturbance and/or behaviour problems. The evidence they derived from their study of eleven girls who were involved in different types of incest supported this hypothesis.

However, the evidence of Bender and Blau (1937), Rasmussen (1934), Weinberg (1955) and Maisch (1973) suggested that participation in incest does not always have a traumatic effect on participants and that some participants show no deleterious effects on subsequent behaviour or personality development.

In fact, it has been hypothesized that acting out of incestuous impulses and fantasies diminishes the chance of subsequent development of psychosis and allows for better adjustment to the external world (Rascovsky and Rascovsky, 1950). In a very interesting study by Heims and Kaufman (1963) twenty girls, representing four different groups were studied: those who participated in overt incest; those who were aware of incest in their own families or in the families of friends but who were not selected as participants; those whose father's stimulated the incest fantasies of the girls but did not engage in overt incest and girls who had strong incest wishes that were defended against by the father. All of the girls showed subsequent disturbance, but more girls involved in overt incest developed character disorders, while fewer developed neuroses or psychoses than did the other groups of girls. Those girls who were not involved in overt incest had neurotic or schizoid disturbances, phobias and conversion symptoms, identity problems and characterologic problems

characterized by defences against femininity and sexuality in general (pp. 311-312). Yorukoglu and Kempf (1966) speculated that:

Oedipal fantasies may be even more harmful than actual physical consummation of either mother-son or father-daughter incest in cases where the child is merely performing the mechanical act of intercourse at the parents request without fully experiencing the significance of this act (p. 123).

Attitude of Parents

Raphling (1967), Lucianowicz (1972), Bender and Blau (1937), and Barry and Johnston (1958), have all suggested that when the parents of a child involved in incest condone the relationship the child will experience little guilt and anxiety when the relationship is discovered. Only later, as the negative attitudes of court officials or other people become evident, do the children experience feelings of guilt.

Although Kaufman et al., (1954) and Maisch (1973) indicated that the majority of their subjects did express considerable guilt when their incestuous relationships were detected, it was apparent that this guilt was not related specifically to their participation in incest but was a result of the family breakdown which detection and legal action precipitated.

Emotional Tenor of the Incest Relationship

Gagnon (1965), who studied a number of girls who

had been involved in incest with their father or other relative, hypothesized that: "The original cast of duress of affection set upon the offense seems to have had a lasting effect on the whole emotional tone of the relationship" (p. 412). His evidence suggested that participation in a sex crime may not be a central consideration in determining the quality of the outcome of the experience, "except where the exposure to aggression over time seems to be extremely disorganized in its impact" (p. 417). When compared, the group of girls who were designated as coerced victims, all of whom were incest participants, had more problems in adult adjustment than victims of either incest or other sex offenses who were not coerced during the offense.

When Rasmussen's (1934) results were examined in the light of Gagnon's hypothesis, it was apparent that all of the incest participants who, after termination of incest appeared to have had prolonged difficulties in adjustment, had also been subjected to aggression by their incest partner. Only one girl who was successfully well adjusted in later life had been subjected to abuse by her incest partner. It would thus appear that there was some support for Gagnon's hypothesis in Rasmussen's results.

Age

Bender and Blau (1937), Sloane and Karpinski (1954)

and Barry and Johnston (1958) have suggested that the age of the child participant at the time of incest is a variable which may have bearing on the subsequent behaviour and adjustment of the participant.

Sloane and Karpinski (1954) have stated that:

Incest which takes place after adolescence must be differentiated from that which occurs in childhood, since its effects are much more critical.

This results from "the increased strength of the super ego in the post pubertal years" (p. 673). The three girls who were seen by Sloane and Karpinski were in their teens when incest was initiated and two of the three had negative reactions to their incest experience.

Bender and Blau (1937) noted that the development of some of the children they studied was retarded,

the reaction varying with their age. In the infantile stage, infantile behaviour and interests were prolonged; in the early latency period, educability and social adaptations were handicapped; and in the pre-puberty period, adolescent problems of adjustment appeared (p. 518).

Terman (1951), who studied the sexual orgasm adequacy of 556 women, found that the age at which sex shock (undefined) had occurred earlier in the lives of these women seemed to be related to their later orgasm adequacy. Women who had experienced sex shock between the ages of ten and fifteen years were more likely to experience orgasm inadequacy than those who experienced sex shock before the age of ten. (C.R. = 1.6)(p. 140).

There was no relationship between orgasm adequacy and the experience of sex shock before the age of ten. This evidence suggested that those who experience sex shock after age ten were somewhat more likely to have sexual disturbance in later life thus supporting the notion that age may be a significant variable.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The research design of a given study is intended to provide broad guidelines which ensure clear direction of the research (Finestone and Kahn, 1975). More specifically, a research design is intended to outline the logical strategy to be used in collection and analysis of data "in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in procedure" (Selltiz et al., 1959). The construction of a research design is guided by the purpose of the study, the question which the study sets out to answer, the degree of accuracy entailed in the study and the state of knowledge available on the subject being addressed in the research endeavour.

Classification

Classification of the research to be undertaken is useful as the design varies according to the type of study being conducted. The present research was classified as exploratory, in accordance with the typology constructed by Selltiz et al., (1959). Since the literature available on the topic of incest was

found to be limited, particularly with regard to a study such as the present one, it was thought appropriate to conduct research of this nature. Exploratory research, using a flexible research design, allows one "to gain familiarity with the phenomenon to receive new insights into it" (Selltitz et al., p. 50). The major purpose of exploratory studies is to discover ideas and insights (Selltitz et al., 1959) about many different aspects of a phenomenon and to gather information about the practical possibility of carrying out further research in the subject area.

The flexibility of research design deemed advisable for an exploratory study demands that the researcher search out material which is insight stimulating and relevant to the purpose of the research. The three methods most commonly used to achieve these ends include a review of related literature, a survey of people who have practical experience with the subject under study and an analysis of intellectually stimulating examples (Selltitz et al., 1959). In the present study, the researcher utilized one of these three methods in gathering information about the experience and perception of a sample of voluntary subjects who had been involved in incestuous behaviour in order to stimulate insight about incest.

The Focus

The focus of this research project concerned the behaviour of subjects subsequent to involvement in incest.

From discussions with professional colleagues, it was apparent that decisions were being made and social work intervention undertaken with families where incest had occurred. Actions taken have sometimes been made on the basis of assumptions concerning the nature of incest and likely effect of incest behaviour, whether or not those assumptions were based on factual information.

As was reported in the review of the literature, information about the relation between incest and the behaviour of participants after termination of incest is scarce, particularly when incest was related to the later adult life of former participants, although some information was available to suggest that incest was not always followed by problematic behaviour. It has been suggested, however, that certain variables influence the relationship between incest behaviour and behaviour subsequent to termination.

It was anticipated that the present research would add to the limited information currently available on the behaviour of individuals who had experienced incest

after termination of the incest behaviour and that insight would be gained into the following questions:

1. Did any factors in the incest experience of subjects appear to be related to the behaviour of the individual after termination of incest?
2. How did subjects perceive and feel about their involvement in incest?
3. What problems did subjects report in their adult behaviour?
4. To what extent did subjects perceive incest as an influence on their adult behaviour?

Assumptions

It is important that the major assumptions which underlie any research project be specified, as they are relevant to both the direction and purpose of the study. L. Ripple defines an assumption as "a proposition that is taken as given in the particular investigation" (Ripple, 1960, p. 35). She asserts that there are three types of assumptions, those which concern values, those which concern general variables not specific to a given investigation and those concerning variables essential to the subject under study (Ripple, 1960).

In this research project, six major assumptions were made:

1. That people have insight into their own experience.
2. That any human relationship has both a subjective and objective dimension and that subjective information is essential to the full understanding of human relationships.
3. Some actions of individuals do have an influence on their future behaviour.
4. That people are able to report objective facts about their own lives.
5. That the self-reports of subjects are of value as a research tool.
6. It was assumed that incest behaviour was the object of a cultural taboo in the setting where the study was undertaken, Essex County.

The Setting

The setting for this research project was the County of Essex located in Southwestern Ontario. The County is bounded by Lake St. Clair, the Detroit River, Lake Erie and Kent County and has a population of 350,000 people. More than 200,000 of the inhabitants live in the industrial city of Windsor, noted for its auto and liquor industries, while the remainder of the

population live in smaller county towns or farm the rich soil of the area.

Population

The population from which the study sample was drawn consisted of those people who live in Essex County who have engaged in incest behaviour. The precise extent of the population is unknown.

The Sample

The sample used in this study was a non-probability sample in that random selection of subjects was not employed. Since incest is a behaviour which is conducted, typically within the family home, and is, therefore, a private behaviour, there was no way to identify the population involved in incest in Essex County. Consequently, it was not possible to utilize more representative sampling techniques in this study. Rather, the sample was purposive, as those who participated in the study were chosen deliberately in order that their personal experience, or knowledge of incest could be used to stimulate insight. Representative sampling procedures are typically not used in exploratory research (Tripodi, Fellin and Meyer, 1969) and no attempt can be made to generalize the findings of a study such as the present one to the

population from which the sample has been derived.

The sample of incest participants consisted of those people who voluntarily responded to a request for subjects appearing in an area newspaper, The Windsor Star, on June 17, 1976, and of those who responded to an advertisement which appeared in the same paper six times between June 24th and July 2nd, 1976. While both the article and advertisement were written to solicit response from women over sixteen years of age, it was determined that anyone who responded to the advertisement would constitute the sample to be interviewed. Since any respondents who presented themselves were interviewed, the sample could also be characterized as an accidental sample (Selltitz et al., 1959).

The use of a small non-probability sample in an exploratory study has been sanctioned by Selltitz et al., who point out that "the study of a few instances may produce a wealth of new insights, whereas a host of others will yield few new ideas" (Selltitz et al., 1959, p. 61).

The use of a sample of voluntary subjects has an additional advantage in that such a sample provides a contrast to those prison or treatment samples too frequently used in research on incest. This difference in sample source may provide valuable information not available from captive subjects.

Definitions

There were five terms used frequently throughout this project. To ensure consistency in usage, these terms were defined early in the research. Incest was defined as overt sexual behaviour engaged in by two members of the same family who were too closely related by consanguinity or affinity to be permitted by law to marry. Overt sexual behaviour included either sexual intercourse (penetration of the vagina by the penis, with or without emission of sperm), or physical manipulation of the genitalia. Verbal behaviour, not accompanied by physical contact of a sexual nature was excluded from this definition. Incest behaviour was defined as an act of incest while incest relationship was defined as repeated acts of incest by two participants over time. Adult behaviour was a term used in this study to include the physical and psychological state and the employment, sexual and marital history of the subjects and their relationship to their children after incest was terminated.

Data Collection Procedures

Data were collected by means of a focussed interview. In a focussed interview a list of topics to be covered in the interview is drawn up "but the manner in which questions are asked and their timing are left largely

to the interviewer's discretion" (Selitz et al., 1959). Thus, the researcher may explore topic areas deeply by probing further than a single question might allow, or may follow the respondent into an unanticipated topic area where insight might be derived (Selitz et al., 1959). Under the direction of the interviewer, specific topics predetermined by the researcher are covered, so that relevant knowledge is gained from the respondents (Selitz et al., 1959).

The focussed interview was selected for data collection in the present study for the following reasons: 1) the fact that the interviewer is allowed to phrase questions spontaneously permits the interviewer to create an informal atmosphere thought to be more conducive to eliciting open and honest responses from subjects discussing the tabooed subject of incest than a formal, structured interview format; 2) because of the flexibility of interviewing style, the researcher would be allowed to express verbally acceptance, support and empathy toward the respondents, should such expression appear necessary and helpful to the respondent, so that the interview, itself, might prove to be of benefit to both the respondent and the researcher; and 3) the possibility of unanticipated avenues of interest arising in this study seemed sufficiently plausible to warrant using a method of data collection which would allow such

areas to be explored in depth.

Since some subject areas covered in the interview concerned the feelings, motivations and life experiences of the interviewee, the particular focussed interviews planned could be likened to the clinical interview, as described by Selltiz et al. (1959).

Because the interview was focussed, and no interview schedule was used, no pretest of the interview was conducted. Any variations apparent in understanding of specific questions was handled spontaneously in the interview itself.

A standard list of topics to be covered in the interview was drawn up and used in each interview to guide the researcher's questioning (Appendix F). Questions were asked about the following areas: 1) identifying information; 2) the incest experience in which the subject had been involved; 3) the perceived effect of participation in incest; 4) the extent to which the subject had revealed their incest experience to other people and the reaction of those people to the subjects' revelation; 5) the educational, dating, employment, marital, medical and family history of the subjects; and 6) the relationship between the subjects and their children. Notes were also made about the appearance of each subject interviewed in person and about the interviewer's subjective impressions of the interviewee.

In-person interviews were taped, upon consent of the interviewee, while notes were written by hand during telephone interviews.

Ethical Considerations in the Research

Two factors were present in this study of incest which increased the personal risk to subjects who were willing to participate: one was the fact that incest was assumed to be a culturally tabooed behaviour in the County of Essex; and the second fact was that involvement in some types of incest behaviour is a criminal offence in Canada. It was apparent from the outset, then, that anonymity of the participants in the study must be protected since public knowledge of their identity might conceivably lead to social disapproval or embarrassment of the subjects or to criminal charges being brought against them. To protect the anonymity of the subjects, the following steps were taken:

1. The researcher had a separate telephone installed in her home for the period in which calls could be expected from subjects. This telephone was only answered by the researcher.
2. Subjects were not asked to give their real first name, their surnames, their address or any other information which might identify them so that the researcher could never in-

advertently reveal their identity.

3. A vacant house was located and used by the researcher so that in-person interviews could be conducted in private therein if a subject was willing.
4. When another site was chosen for an interview by the subject, a public place was selected so that the exchange would not be noticeable. These interviews were not taped so that the subject and interviewer would not be conspicuous.
5. The location of any in-person interview was, and continues to be, known only to the researcher and interviewee.

These precautions were not altogether altruistic, however, as the researcher was aware, as were the subjects in some cases, that she could be sued in Court should the identity of the interviewee become known publicly by any act of the researcher!

In recognition of the fact that, given the risk involved in participating in the study, subjects exhibited some courage in responding, it was decided that any subjects who had been involved in incest, even if the involvement had not been terminated (and, thus, their information could not be used for the study), they would be interviewed in full. If such persons sought

counselling, help, advice, or simply desired to talk about their experience, it was decided that the researcher's social work skills would be employed to provide any assistance possible during limited contact. Where the subject sought, or appeared to need, more extensive assistance, referral to an appropriate local social service agency was made.

In view of the fact that incest is a "forbidden" topic since it is the subject of a cultural taboo, it was recognized that sharing of information about incest might prove to be an emotional and rare experience for some subjects. Thus, the researcher, decided that she would endeavour to make the interview as helpful a process for the interviewee as possible. If subjects wished to discuss matters beyond the scope or depth of the interview they would be permitted to do so; if it became apparent that the interview was having a negative impact on the interviewee, the interview would be terminated; or if the subjects requested, or appeared to be in need of, information or referral services, such assistance would be provided. While it was recognized that these ethical positions might bias the results obtained in unknown ways, the ethical considerations outlined appeared to override these scientific considerations.

Data Analysis

Data gathered included both quantifiable and non-quantifiable information. Where appropriate, manipulation of quantifiable data was conducted by hand, as the number of cases gathered was too small to be adapted to computer analysis with economy and purpose. Since non-probability sampling techniques were utilized in the research, statistical tests of significance were not employed. Effort was made to relate the findings to other literature and examination of non-quantifiable data was conducted with the intent of deriving new insights and ideas from the material.

Limitations

There are several limitations which derive from the design employed in carrying out the present study. Such limitations must be kept in mind, as they have a bearing on the validity, reliability and ability to generalize from the findings.

As mentioned previously, a purposive sample, such as the samples used in this study are not selected as representative of the population from which they are drawn. Consequently, the findings gathered from such samples may not be generalized to the population, and so have limited applicability.

The fact that the sample of incest participants was solicited by a newspaper article and advertisement limits the respondents to those who can read, and further to those who read the specific sections of the newspaper in which the notices appeared. Those who do not read the particular newspaper in which the notices appeared are also excluded from this study. The bias introduced by the resulting exclusiveness of the sample is unknown and may distort the sample.

The voluntary nature of the sample of incest participants who were interviewed may also bias the sample obtained, since the motivation of those who come forward to participate, or other characteristics of the group, may introduce bias which differentiates the subjects from those who do not respond to the request for participants. Further, it is highly likely that such a sample excludes those who are so disturbed that they could not respond, even if they wanted to (those who are in psychiatric hospitals, for example), or those who were so unmoved by the experience of incest that they believe it to be an issue which is not worthy of discussion.

Telephone interviews were planned as a way of gathering information from those in the sample who were unwilling to be interviewed for the study face-to-face. Telephone interviews are thought to be less

desirable that face-to-face interviews, as respondents can not be observed by the interviewer and physical behaviour cannot be noted by the interviewer. Exclusion of those who were unwilling to participate in a face-to-face interview was felt to be unjustified, however, in the present study, since the information which they might provide could be as insight-provoking whether delivered by telephone, or in a face-to-face interview. It was also possible that the anonymity might allow subjects to reveal embarrassing or sensitive information they might not share in an in-person interview.

The use of self-reporting, where respondents were called to give their own account of their own feelings, motivations and behaviour, such as were gathered in the interviews with the sample in this study, may limit the findings of the study in that

Whenever we have reason to suspect that a person's truthful self-report would be embarrassing, humiliating, or degrading . . . we are likely to entertain some reservations about a report that shows him in a favorable light. (Selitz et al., 1959, p. 287).

Since the behaviour of incest is the subject of a cultural taboo, admission of willing participation in such behaviour, or pleasure, or other positive emotional response to such behaviour, may be denied by respondents so that they might avoid being seen as degraded individuals by the interviewer.

Summary

The logical strategy, or research design, of the proposed project was outlined in this chapter. The following aspects of the design were detailed: the classification of the project, the purpose, assumptions, definitions, data collection and data analysis procedures of the study and the limitations of the research.

The research was carried out according to the design described. In the following chapter, the data gathered shall be presented and analyzed.

CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This chapter is concerned with the presentation of findings gathered by use of the focussed interview schedule as described in Chapter III, "Research Design and Methodology".

To reiterate, the focus of the present study was to examine the behaviour of incest participants subsequent to the termination of the incest behaviour or relationship. Information gathered was to be examined in the light of hypotheses which have been postulated by other researchers and any additional information was to be reported to stimulate insight or derive new hypotheses about the possible relationship between incest and the subsequent behaviour of former incest participants.

As was planned, potential subjects were informed of the study in the local newspaper. On June 21, 1976, an article appeared in The Windsor Star, a newspaper - circulated throughout the City of Windsor and Essex County (Appendix A). The article explained the purpose of the present study clearly, delineated the sample that was being sought and informed potential subjects how they could contact the researcher. Subsequent to that

article on June 29, 1976, a series of six paid advertisements, two per week, were placed in the personal column of the same newspaper over the next three week period (Appendix B). These brief notices succinctly outlined the information given in the initial article.

A total of nineteen people responded to the newspaper requests for subjects. Seven people responded to the initial article while two responses were usually obtained from each personal advertisement. The time and place of the in-person interviews were arranged on an individual basis with nine subjects during their initial telephone contact with the researcher. In that initial contact, the first name used by the subject was noted and a brief informal discussion about their incest experience was initiated. However, one person did not present herself for the pre-arranged interview and one person called prior to the interview date to cancel the appointment, saying that she was "afraid her husband would find out about the incest" if he learned of our meeting. A total of seven subjects were interviewed in person.

Six participants were unwilling to meet with the researcher in person. Most indicated that they "just couldn't face the prospect of talking to someone face to face" about their experience. Consequently, six subjects participated in telephone interviews.

An additional four people called but refused to take part in the study. It is worth noting that the researcher responded differently to these four people than she did to any of the others. Usually the researcher talked informally with the caller about their incest experience prior to attempting to arrange an interview. In these four cases, however, an attempt was made to set up an interview without that conversation taking place. It may be that the rapport established during these early discussions was essential to their willingness to become subjects in the study.

Two men and eleven women were interviewed. Information from three female subjects was not included in these findings since the incest relationship in which they were involved had not yet terminated. The information gathered was considered to be valuable, however, and has been included in Appendices C, D and E. Thus, eight women and two men provided the information presented in this study.

All of those who responded to the requests for subjects seemed to be hesitant and nervous at the beginning of the initial telephone contact. When the researcher was verbally supportive and empathetic early in the conversation, the subjects became more at ease.

The subjects who were later interviewed in person again demonstrated nervous behaviour early in the interview. A concerted effort was made to make the subjects

feel at ease; coffee was served, the interviewer thanked the person for coming and reviewed some biographical information about herself. The subjects were then asked if the interview could be taped and two people felt uneasy about this and requested the interviewer to take notes rather than tape record the session.

The information which had been gathered from each interviewee during the phone conversation was used to lead into the interview itself. In most cases, the subjects seemed to relax soon after the required information about the incest relationship was gathered. Supportive comments and the relaxed manner of the researcher seemed to facilitate this process and the nervous laughter, shaking and throat clearing and other signs of nervousness exhibited by the subjects decreased.

It was observed that subjects who had never discussed their involvement in incest with anyone prior to the interview (cases, 5, 6, and 10) needed a great deal of time to talk about their experience and each of these interviews lasted more than two hours. Others who had discussed their involvement in incest prior to the interview required less time and provided the necessary information in an hour or less.

Presentation of Cases

As was stipulated in the research design (see

Chapter III), raw data were presented in a case study format. These case studies are a condensed version of each interview. Where appropriate, verbatim quotes have been added. There has been no conscious omission of relevant material.

The ten case studies included: three cases of incest between uncle and niece; three cases of father-daughter incest; three cases of sibling incest; and one case of incest between a mother and son.

While all of the subjects indicated their willingness to use their own first name, and apparently did so, initials only were used in the case studies to further protect the anonymity of the participants.

A summary and discussion of the findings follows the presentation of the case studies.

CASE #1 (R.)

R. was an attractive, pleasant, well groomed, twenty-eight year old married Jewish Canadian woman. She practised Judaism. She appeared to be intelligent and provided information clearly and succinctly in a forty-five minute interview.

R.'s first incestuous experience occurred at the age of ten with her uncle (mother's brother-in-law). R. was lying on the couch half asleep (her family was present) when her uncle came over and pretending to be looking out the window he felt her "between the legs." R. remembers "moving about" in a rejecting way but has "blocked" any memory of her feelings at that time. A second incident took place about two years later. R. was in her parents' bedroom watching television and her uncle, who was visiting, came into her room "to say hello" and began touching her as before. R. remembers moving away from him and rejecting his advances in a more decisive and positive way than before because of her age and some realization of what was happening. These were the only incidents as a child this subject could recall although she explained that her family was a very "touchy" family and her uncle's touches were "a little too friendly" even to "touching my breasts when my hands were full of dishes." This occurred after she was married.

R. had been close to her uncle and aunt as they had been a close family. R. maintains that she "blocked out" most of her reactions. She claims that the experience made her feel "lousy" and "the older I got the more resentful I got." "As a child I physically cut myself off from him as much as possible. Even today I avoid being alone with him....It still could happen again." Although there have been no incidents of sexual advances for a few years there is still a tension present between them that causes R. to avoid her uncle especially on occasions when they might be alone.

R. claims she has extreme difficulty in relating to "dominant European males who speak with an accent and are overly polite and solicitous." Because these were dominant characteristics in her uncle, she believes that her experience with her uncle has made it difficult for her to get close to this type of person. This is the only negative effect of which the subject is aware.

When R. was a teenager, she told her mother of the incident in an effort to explain her reluctance to

visit her aunt and uncle. R. was quite disappointed with her mother's response. About the only thing her mother said was, "you must never tell your aunt." R. at this time (her early teens) also told her best girl friend and probably some other girls. Her recollection of their reaction gave her the impression that all the girls were going through similar experiences and she did not feel alone in this respect. "It probably happens a great deal more than people realize." R. has discussed this incident with her husband and he was helpful in having her see herself as a "child victim" rather than a cooperator in an evil act and this has helped her cope with guilt feelings. R. intends to tell her sister about her experience to protect her seven year old niece who spends a lot of time with the uncle. This decision has caused R. considerable anxiety, as she was afraid discussion of it might disrupt the whole family.

R. claims she had great difficulty in school and suggests that she had minimal brain damage but managed to complete her grade twelve course. This was her educational goal. R. describes herself as popular in a social sense. Her first date was at age twelve. At age fourteen she was dating with a group of boys and girls. Her sexual experience with boys prior to marriage was confined to necking and petting. She left home to marry which she did at the age of twenty.

R. left school to go to work. She described herself as emotionally immature and sees this immaturity as a factor in her difficulty in adjusting initially to the responsibilities of the work world. However, R. moved, in two years, to a position of considerable responsibility and her ability to handle this challenge did a great deal for her self image.

R. has a good marriage. The marriage relationship has had many "ups and downs" but both parties grew a great deal in the eight years and they see their relationship now as a stable one. R. has one two year old daughter and is expecting another child. She faces no great difficulty talking to her children about sex. R. has had no psychiatric problems or experiences. She has had good health - never been in the hospital for illness.

R. describes her aunt as a "naive person" and one whom she has always thought of as "sexually frigid." Her aunt and mother had a hard life. R.'s grandmother

died in childbirth and the grandfather then deserted the children leaving them to be brought up by a foster mother. R. claims that her aunt and uncle did not have a good relationship. Her aunt "took over the relationship and was castrating." Her aunt and uncle had considerable financial problems early in their marriage but things "worked out O.K. with hard work."

CASE #2 (L.)

L. was a slightly overweight but attractive woman, twenty-seven years of age. She is Canadian and practices the Protestant religion. She was intelligent and answered questions in a forthright manner during the one hour interview session.

L. was involved in what she termed a "non sexual" relationship with her uncle. This began when she was ten or eleven years old and he was thirty-three. This uncle was the husband of her maternal aunt. L. had always been attracted to her uncle while she was growing up. She lived in the country and her family was visited by her uncle and aunt in the summer. L. found her uncle more attractive as she grew older and by the age of ten or eleven she found that he was attracted to her. L. claimed that there was a mutual attraction and that she came to realize that her uncle was attracted to her in a "different way" than any of her other uncles.

The initial physical contacts where her uncle touched her genitals and breasts occurred during the summer season when the uncle was staying at L.'s home on the weekends. These contacts were made in the context of play, as the uncle played with the children. L. was aware that her uncle's touches were "different" and that she felt at the time "there was something wrong with it." It was "kind of exciting, wasn't really right and yet frightened me too." L. was frightened in case "something should happen."

L. confesses she was a "tease" as a young girl and felt that basically the relationship had started by mutual consent. No force was involved. Sometimes she felt her uncle's behaviour to be impudent and hence frightening. Once, after running downstairs to escape his advances, she was flushed and out of breath and wondered if perhaps her aunt knew what was going on. L. said she knew it would not come to intercourse because her uncle's advances were never "brutal" and she

could "always run away." L. found the relationship "interesting and exciting but frightening" lest sometime "she could not get away from him." There were usually other people around when her uncle made contact. L. claimed that her uncle had a history of being interested in younger girls and in retrospect wondered if it were not something of a game with him - that is getting away with touch right under peoples noses because he never tried to get her alone.

L.'s relationship with her uncle and aunt was very positive before the touching incidents. Since then, L. has maintained a good relationship with her aunt; her uncle, whom she heard had a problem of alcoholism, she found disgusting as she grew older (i.e., sixteen and seventeen) and resented his attempts at intimacy. L. felt sorry for the aunt and felt that perhaps she had been adding to her problems. She still sees him very rarely (once every few years). The last time she saw him she said, "I could hardly tolerate him."

L. felt that the relationship died as she grew older and more experienced (about fourteen). As she saw him through adolescent eyes he became "something of a rotter." L. began to appreciate her aunt more and more for what she had to put up with. L. feels that her relationship had no profound influence on her. She views this in the same light as a "teenage indiscretion with someone not related." The event now seems "so far away. I can't think of it affecting me too much." The subject felt that if the relationship had resulted in intercourse then it would have "really upset me." If he had been brutal or forceful the effects would have been "something else entirely."

L. prided herself as a young person as always doing things well and as someone with great common sense. From age fourteen or fifteen on, she felt quite "humiliated" that her uncle had "managed to put something over on me." "I was very sceptical of all men after that experience." She was attracted toward the sort of man who was "straight" and "moral" (this is how she describes her husband) and especially would have nothing to do with "drinkers." L. claims that she is perhaps overcautious with her own daughters in insisting that they understand that they are not to get into cars with strange men. The subject claims that many people are not aware of "how sexual children are." She feels that children are not responsible for what they are doing yet have strong feelings for other people.

L. told only her husband of her relationship with her uncle. She told him early in the relationship and felt he was somewhat jealous of her uncle although he never "held it against me." L. believed that incestuous relations are probably much more common than people realize. Among her friends and acquaintances she knew of children who had been raped and even killed. The subject felt that incest would always have some effect on a child but perhaps not always a "traumatic" one.

L. did well in school until grade twelve. Her mother blamed her boy friend for this lack of interest in school during the senior year. Two months before the end of school L. quit and took a job in another city for five months. The next year she returned to school and finished grade twelve. Soon after that she got married.

L. describes her dating experience as normal. She said she was sexually mature at eleven or twelve and enjoyed the role of attracting boys but reserved sexual intercourse for her boyfriend/husband.

L. left home immediately after high school to live with her grandmother in another city and work as a clerk for six months before getting married. She claims that she enjoyed her work, did a good job and learned much about the company. However, the subject has strong convictions that now her place is in the home where her children need her. Her health has always been good - no illness, medication or operations.

L. claims that she has a happy marriage, is a good mother, has a fine relationship with her children, ages four and eight (although she does concede she tends to be somewhat "cautious" and "overprotective" with her children).

The subject, herself, was one of six children from a rural background. Her family was not well off, but family life was very close. Her mother was strict while her father was a loving, indulgent man who spent much of his time away from home working in construction. He was laid off sometimes in the winter. He relates well to children when they are little and now has his grandchildren around him a lot. Her mother, on the other hand, related better to children as they got older. All the family is close now, they love to get together. No one in the family has ever had a problem with alcohol or drugs.

CASE #3 (C.)

C., a pleasant, good humoured and bright East Indian woman, was thirty-four years of age, married and a Roman Catholic. She was preoccupied with her "neurosis" and had to be urged to respond to questions directly as she had a tendency to wander off the topic in the one and one-half hour interview.

C. claimed she had a vivid recollection of an incident with her uncle (father's sister's husband) when she was two or two and one-half years old. There was "no rape involved" but she remembers lying on the bed and her uncle "fondling me for a long time." At the age of eleven or twelve she recalls her uncle "rubbing himself against me" on one occasion when they were alone. C. also remembered one occasion when her uncle showed her pictures which she did not understand at the time but later realized that they were pictures of couples having sexual intercourse. This was the extent of the sexual encounters remembered but C. claims that as a child she was always very much aware of his presence in the room and describes him as a "very sexual" kind of person. "He walked around in shorts a lot, almost exposing himself. I was always aware he was there."

C. could not remember any interaction with her uncle prior to the "fondling" incident when she was a baby. C. found the contact with her uncle at age eleven "more pleasurable" than before but said she was "very repulsed" by him after this incident. As a child the subject maintained that there was a lot of guilt feelings involved, partly because she had somehow encouraged her uncle but mostly because she did not "confess it to a priest."

C. remembers having no sexual contact with her uncle after the age of eleven when she began to "know the facts of life."

Apart from an abiding feeling of guilt which she associates with her incestuous contacts, C. does not know how much of her "neurosis" is related to this experience. The "great guilt" involved was related to the fact that she had told no one about the experience until she was seventeen when she told her boyfriend/husband (who was very understanding). She thought she also felt that since it had been pleasant this made her feel guilty. Since the age of seventeen she has discussed it with one close friend and her psychiatrist.

The fact that she has never "confessed to a priest" seems still to cause her distress. However, C. is able to talk about incest in a rather detached, philosophical manner stating that "we should never judge because we do not know what might motivate people to engage in incest." C. claims to have no sexual problems at all. "If I have a problem it is that I am oversexed and my husband has a bad heart." C. does not feel that the incest with her uncle was the cause of her problems.

C. completed the equivalent of a secondary school education and later had training in commercial and music. She taught in a convent school for eight years before coming to Canada. Although C. claimed to be "intelligent" she always felt she was going to fail in anything she did.

C. had many boyfriends and enjoyed sexual contact with them including "petting" but no sexual intercourse. She claimed her father was a policeman who kept a close eye on her and his presence kept the boys from "going too far." The subject has had a "crush on a girl" but no homosexual experience. This, her husband assures her, is quite "normal."

C. was married at age twenty-four to a "wonderful man." Since her marriage she has not worked except for some part-time jobs. C. has two children, a boy seven and a girl four whom she relates to closely and "perhaps over protects." She sees her marriage as being a happy one except that her husband has to put up with her neurosis. She would never have children if she had it to do over again, as she really cannot cope with them, she says.

C. has had seven operations since coming to Canada - three operations on an arm, three involving the urino-genital system and one surgery on her lower bowel.

C. has a long history of psychological problems. She described her "illness" as "obsessive compulsive neurosis" which takes its expression in the need to ritualistically touch religious objects (throughout the house) before leaving the house or going to bed. C. claims she had this problem as a teenager and has threatened suicide several times. She has a "neurotic fear" of a heart attack and a fear of being stabbed and was recently hospitalized for ten weeks for a deep depression. C. needed no reinforcement or encouragement to talk about her "neurosis." Her psychiatrist

told her that all of her problems have to do with sexuality.

C.'s father was a boxer and a policeman, her mother a "meticulous house keeper." Although her parents did not quarrel, they showed little affection towards each other or the children. The subject "was not aware of a lot of affection" and "received more materially than emotionally." Neither of her parents abused drugs. C. describes her uncle as "a playboy bum whom my aunt tried to reform."

CASE #4 (F.)

F. was an extremely thin, thirty-nine year old Canadian who was married and practised no religion. She was a warm, intelligent, serious person who was willing and able to respond directly to questions. This interview was a lengthy one lasting approximately two hours.

F. was involved in incest with her brother for two years. She was four years old and her brother was thirteen when incest began. The sexual relationship began when her mother put her in the same bedroom as her brother. One night he molested her sexually, including intercourse and told her not to tell anyone because "if our parents found out we would both be murdered." The sexual intercourse occurred two or three times a week for a full two years. F.'s clearest memory of the relationship was that it was very painful and she was frightened.

F. did not remember anything about her relationship with her brother before the incest began, consequently she was uncertain how it changed her relationship with him. She was clear about the fact that she was frightened of him once he began "hurting" her.

The sexual relationship ended when the subject's older sister demanded a room of her own and insisted her young sister move in with her. She slept there until she moved out of the home. In reflecting back on this, she feels that her sister might have known what was going on since the request for a room change came quickly and she was very insistent that F. share her room. F. recalls feeling happy and relieved to get away from her brother.

As she grew up she reports that she "always had a dirty feeling." However, she was not really aware that what had happened was sexual intercourse until she was

about ten years of age and began to get information about sex. When she began to menstruate at thirteen years of age she was terrified for a year thinking she might be pregnant from her relationship with her brother. She read all the books she could find about sex at school and eventually realized that she could not be pregnant. During these early teen years she was very certain she was "not as good as other people." For a long time she wanted nothing to do with any man. She also resented her mother very much for not having protected her from her brother. She sees her brother occasionally now, gets along with him, and says she does not blame him for what happened because they were both children and did not understand.

F. felt that incest with her brother had a "tremendous effect" on her. She felt guilty for a long time and felt she could not "even wear a white gown at her wedding because she would be 'sacriligious'." In addition to this was the physical pain and discomfort all through the relationship. She also finds it difficult to have sex with her husband when she is upset and blames this on the incest. She was also afraid of and repelled by men until she was eighteen and "dying for affection." She has a difficult time accepting love and says that she feels like two people - a good person and a bad person. She attributes these feelings to her incest relationship. She did not feel that the relationship had helped her in any way.

F. had discussed her incest activity with three people, her brother, mother and her psychiatrist. When she was about eighteen she was preparing for a dance when her brother, her mother and she got involved in a dispute. Her brother hit her and called her a tramp. F. responded by saying: "and who have I got to blame for that." She then told her mother what had happened between she and her brother, but her mother refused to believe it. Her mother said: "I can't believe that, because I was always here with you children. I won't have you saying that." Later that evening her brother apologized profusely saying that he had felt guilty about it for a long time. She also told a psychiatrist about her experience but did not feel that he was able to be very helpful because he was a man and couldn't understand what it was like to be programmed as a girl to be a virgin upon marriage, knowing all the while that you had not been a virgin since childhood. She has never told her husband about the relationship because she felt he would likely have a strong reaction to her brother which might create more

problems than it would solve in the family.

F. is of the opinion that incest occurs frequently, "more frequently than people know." F. reports that by the time she was 16 or 17 she knew two girls who lives on the same block that had been molested by their fathers in their early teens.

F. had a positive experience in school in that she passed all her grades and did well. However, when she was 15 years of age, in Grade 11, a dental plate that she wore broke. F. reports that the school principal called her into his office and informed her that she "was detrimental to the other students because she was going around with no teeth." He then insisted that she leave the school, which she did.

As soon as she had sufficient money saved, F. went to night school and completed a course in typing and shorthand. She also took a course in interior decorating at a local university and did very well.

F. was afraid to date at all until she was 18 years old. She did date a few fellows before she met her husband but would break off the relationship if she got the feeling that they were "getting serious about her." She did have sexual intercourse with two of the people she dated.

F. had no homosexual experiences at any time nor did she have any close friends. During her teens she was the "neighbourhood mother" and many teenagers came to her to talk over their problems.

F. left home when she was 22 years of age, on the advice of a doctor. She lived with a widow who was a very warm and motherly person. After a year she moved and got her own apartment where she lived until she married.

F. was quite proud of her work experience, which was quite varied. She had taught nursery school, designed window displays, worked for a newspaper and done credit counselling. She was never fired from a job and, in fact, remembered her working days with much pleasure.

F. was about 22 when she met her future husband. Each time they came close to getting married she would panic and delay the date. Her husband and she got five marriage licences before they finally got married. They got married after F. discovered that she was pregnant at

24 years of age.

The first few years of their married life was "beautiful," F. stated, but after she had quit work because of a series of illnesses her husband began to change. After a serious car accident in which F. was nearly killed, her husband had a nervous breakdown and was off work for eight months. She had a breakdown at the same time. Her husband felt unable to cope with working and looking after the family as well. He began drinking and taking valium. He does work now but has a "fetish" about security and old age, and desperately saves every cent he can get his hands on. F. feels that her illnesses and his inability to cope have contributed to their now unhappy relationship.

F. has one child, a daughter aged 15, who is doing well in school and appears to be well-adjusted. F. has a good relationship with her daughter and they "share a lot together." At one point, when the husband had his breakdown, he became jealous of the relationship between his wife and daughter. He felt they were both against him, but the relationship between father and daughter seems to be somewhat improved now. F. gives her daughter all the information she wants to know about sex, as she feels that is important. F. does not find this hard to do. She feels she is a good mother.

F. stated quite emphatically that if her husband, or any other man, sexually abused a child she would "kill him in cold blood and not feel a thing."

F. has been hospitalized many times for a variety of illnesses. She has had cysts and tumors in the "female parts" over a period of 16 years and has had 20 D. & C.'s, pulled ligaments in her abdomen, a hysterectomy, a tumor removed from her breast (in her early 30's), and a tumor drained from her spine when 18 years old. In addition, she has suffered colitis attacks, scoriasis over her whole body, edema, kidney stone trouble, blood poisoning, exhaustion, adrenal gland trouble, and nicotine poisoning! She also had a car accident in which she was hit on the head. After the accident she had memory gaps and thought confusion and had to wear a neck brace for two years.

F.'s poor health history has taken its toll, and she appears pale and extremely thin. She was "hooked" on tranquilizers for a short time after her auto accident.

F. and her husband went to a marriage counsellor, but their experience was not helpful. F. went to a

psychiatrist by herself for two years. She began seeing him when she threw away her pills after the accident, and said she used him as a sounding board to help her cope with her husband and her illnesses. She found him very helpful to her.

F. was one of eight children, and was the fourth child in the family. Her mother was affectionate when the children were babies, but was not affectionate as they got older. F. felt that she "never really was a child" because she was always in charge of the younger children from the time she was six or seven until she left home. She was her mother's confidant and helper. There was rivalry between the siblings and F. feels that her parents put all their hopes on their eldest girl ignoring the needs and potential of the rest of the kids. F. said she was always too busy at home to develop friends. She could never play after school or go out after supper during school years.

Her father was a quiet, hard-working man who was very attentive to the kids when they were young. When F. was in her early teens, however, he was bedridden with Berger's disease, which increased the financial burden on the family. They lived in the same house all their lives.

F. feels that all of the siblings, including her brother, have done well with their lives, in that they have happy marriages, nice homes, etc.

F. felt that parents make a mistake when they think children forget about traumatic experiences of childhood. She feels that such children need more attention than the average child, so "they can begin to feel pretty on the inside." Children should be able to confide in their parents without it being held against them. School could help, but parents should have the primary responsibility for loving their children.

CASE #5 (D.)

D. was a very attractive, pleasant, 28 year old girl who was married and practised the Protestant religion. She was a sincere and serious person who discussed her incest experience with hesitation and emotion during our three-hour interview.

D. was involved in an incestuous relationship with her brother which lasted for three years. It began when

D. was nine or ten and her brother was twelve or thirteen. The incestuous relationship was combined with sexual experiences with the brother's boyfriends.

The relationship began in a rather complex fashion. D. and her brother were coming home from school together when they were offered a ride by a man. They got in the car. The man drove them to a park and forced D. to have intercourse and oral sex with him while the brother watched. D.'s brother did not make any attempt to intervene on his sister's behalf - a fact which D. still resents. She was so frightened and physically hurt by the experience that she vomited in the man's car. The man then forced her to clean up her own vomit before he released them both from the car.

Two days later D.'s brother came into her bedroom and demanded to "do things" with her or "he would tell their parents what she did with the man and they would probably throw her out of the house." The relationship progressed from penetration the first time to forced oral sex the second time to full intercourse soon afterwards. D. suggests that she was hurt physically every time her brother had relations with her and that she had chronic stomach pain throughout this three year period. D. knew nothing about sex at the initiation of the relationship but knew it was wrong because her brother kept threatening to tell her parents. Her brother, the eldest child in the family, was the mother's favourite child and D. says, "I knew that even if the incident with the man in the park was not my fault my brother would make it sound like I had done something wrong and my mother would believe him."

About a month after the start of the incest relationship, D.'s brother began to bring boyfriends to the house to "use her." He threatened D. to force her to have relations with these boys.

D. had a close relationship with her brother and admired and liked him before the incest. After the relationship started she stayed as far away from him as possible. "I would go wherever he wasn't." He teased her and said "dirty things" to her when they were alone calling her a "tramp, slut," etc. D. indicated when asked how she viewed her own participation at the time, she said she felt very guilty, ashamed, trapped and sick. She saw no way out of her situation and felt she must be a dirty, bad person to have this happen to her. D. became an extremely withdrawn, moody and shy person throughout this period.

The relationship ended when D.'s brother joined the army at 16 years of age. She said that when her brother left home was the best day in her life. She was extremely relieved thinking she would never see her brother again. Termination, D. suggests, brought with it a dramatic change in behaviour for her. She was able once again to join in family life with her seven remaining brothers and sisters and began to go places with the whole family which she had refused to do while the relationship with her brother was going on. She does not know how her brother felt about leaving. She remembers her mother making her kiss her brother goodbye which "turned my stomach." She still sees her brother once a year. She avoids him, never sits down and talks with him and it still worries her when she hears he is coming home.

D.'s brother has been very successful in his military career and is happily married. He found out after being married for a couple of years that he is sterile and will never be able to have children. D. admits to feeling that there is some justice expressed in that fact as "that is his punishment."

D. says that since the relationship with her brother she has become "very hyper." She suffers from insomnia and still has nightmares where she can "feel him." She cries about this at night on occasion and makes up a story to explain this to her husband. She says she still carries guilt because she has not been able to tell anyone, particularly her mother and father. She reports that those three years have made her a "hard person." "I hold everything in and cannot express my emotions, except in poetry." The sexual problems in her marriage are also connected to this relationship D. thinks. It made her afraid of men for a long time.

D. has never told anyone about her experience because she felt that "every time they looked at me from then on they would think of that." "I don't want pity!" She never had heard of anybody having such an experience.

When young, D. was very shy and said it was because "every time someone looked at me at a dance, etc., I was sure they knew what I had done."

D. lives in fear that one of her brother's young friends who had sex with her under her brother's guidance will meet she and her husband when they are out somewhere and tell her husband "what I was like." Occasionally D.

and her husband do see someone like that but no one has said anything "yet." D. expresses her strong love for her family by writing a lot of "family poetry" in which she expressed her feeling of affection.

D. did very well in school and got a 78% average in grade 12. She took more than the required language courses (3) and passed all of her grades. She wanted to be a nurse. However, she left school after grade 12 because her father got sick, her mother was working three jobs and she had to work to help her family. She did this completely voluntarily.

D. started dating at 14 years of age and dated a lot of boys before she met her future husband when she was 17. When boys would "try anything" D. recalls that she would close her eyes, clench her teeth and her fists and allow them to do what they wanted because she was afraid of what they would do if she didn't "give in." "I know it's silly but I was sure that they would harm me in some way if I refused."

D. met her husband when she was 17, they began to go steady just before she was 18 and eloped just after she turned 18. They eloped because her parents could not afford a big wedding. However, she said, "the real reason was that I wouldn't wear a white dress because all the people at the wedding would know about me and would laugh at me."

D.'s relationship with her boyfriend/husband was different right from the beginning. They dated for a month before he kissed her or did anything further sexually. She really cared about him and was sexually attracted to him. For a time she felt guilty because she had never wanted a man before and thought there might be something wrong with her and maybe he didn't want her sexually.

D. had a lot of girlfriends at school. She never went, however, to school dances or parties, showers, etc. because "I thought they all knew."

D.'s first job was as a clerk in the post office. She enjoyed working, worked hard and did a good job. Two or three months after she was hired she became the head of her section. "That's the advantage of being hyper. I could do more work more quickly than anybody I worked with." She quit that job at 22 years of age as her husband wanted her to. Since then she has worked at different times and has always done well.

She was married in 1966 to a "great man." Early in their marriage she had two affairs (after two years). The first was with a boss who said that she would lose her job if she did not go to bed with him. She went out with him twice. However, she left her husband over this because she thought her husband was too good for her and that she might do this again and again. When she left she got her own apartment and was away from her husband for a year and a half. She did meet a boyfriend with whom she had a steady relationship. She went back to her husband because he wanted her to and "I wanted to, and always had. I could see that he really did love me and once I became convinced of that I was happy to go back to him." They have been very happy ever since and D. has had no further affairs.

There have been some sexual problems in the marriage and until two years ago they had sex quite infrequently. D., after marriage, continued to physically brace herself when she and her husband had sex. Her husband used to ask her if she disliked him or sex or what. Her vagina would frequently dry up during intercourse. D. experienced her first sexual climax about two years ago and since then has begun to enjoy sex much more than before and has a very satisfying sexual relationship with her husband now. D.'s husband works full time and they are comfortably well off.

D. has one daughter which she adopted three years ago as a baby. She loves her daughter, has a good relationship with her and feels that she is a good mother. She feels her daughter is healthy, both physically and emotionally. She does talk to her daughter about not getting into cars even though she is only three years old, but says she will not be too uptight about explaining sex to her child.

D. has had a history of medical problems. She has had more than one operation for cysts on her breast (twenty-two years old). She has been diagnosed as having a double uterus and four ovaries. She did not get pregnant for a long time but shortly after telling her mother about the "man in the park" she did get pregnant. She carried the child for ten months but the baby died four days after birth. "I felt, O.K. God, this is my punishment." She cannot have children now as she has had her tubes tied. Between the birth of her child and her recent tubal ligation she had four D. and C.'s per year. She will have to have a hysterectomy at age thirty-five. "God has punished me."

D. has had three social workers at Children's Aid in connection with the adoption of her daughter. She never told them about her brother. She is now waiting for a baby boy.

Her mother has always had three jobs. She was married and had her first child (brother in D.'s relationship) then her husband was killed in the war. Since then she has had seven children by D.'s father. Eldest son was mother's idol, looked exactly like her first husband. When D. went to work her mother dropped one job. Because of her work her mother was seldom home. One of the eight children died when D. was four years old. She is the second eldest child. They usually had enough to eat but D. was embarrassed by the fact that she had to go to the church to get food vouchers.

D. raised the younger children but was close to her mother and still has a close relationship between both the kids and her mom. D.'s father has been ill for years, as he was hurt during the war. He has had thirty-five operations on his legs but is a delightful man and a good person. Mom and Dad had a happy marriage and were always affectionate to the kids. Parents hug and kiss each other in front of the kids. There are no drugs or alcoholic problems in the family. D. has never had any serious emotional problems, no suicide attempts, never sought counselling help.

When asked for recommendations D. had the following suggestions:

- 1) If Mom was home more maybe it wouldn't have happened.
- 2) Shouldn't allow children to baby sit or use great caution in doing so.
- 3) If it happens children should get psychiatric help but not be removed from the home.
- 4) Children should be talked to but not taken from home.
- 5) School should explicitly tell children about incest and offer to help kids if it is occurring.

CASE #6 (M.)

M., a twenty year old French Canadian male, was born into the Roman Catholic faith. He arranged an in-person interview, then contacted the researcher again requesting a telephone interview instead saying he could not talk this over with a girl, in person. A telephone interview lasting an hour and a half was conducted with M.

who had never told anyone about his involvement with incest previously.

M. had an incestuous relationship with his sister. The relationship lasted five or six months and involved intercourse on the average of twice a week. At the time, M. was eighteen years old and his sister fourteen.

The relationship began when M.'s sister broke off relationship with her boyfriend and began taking special interest in her brother. This well developed and attractive girl would walk nude in front of her brother, come into the shower when he was nude and watch him and then activities moved to kidding and wrestling. One night she came to his bedroom naked and asked, "Don't you think I have a nice body?" Then they made love. He expressed concern that she might become pregnant but she informed him that she had been on the pill for eight months. Intercourse took place when alone.

M. said he felt guilty initially. But very soon he began to think of his sister as a beautiful young woman and ceased feeling guilty. He felt the relationship was very satisfying on both sides. Anxiety left after a few days. During the relationship both dated with no jealousy. She came to his bedroom when she wanted sex.

The relationship ceased when both became involved with other people. She started going out with other boys and began to tire of the relationship. He became seriously involved with a girl (later his wife) and withdrew. Termination was gradual with intercourse occurring once a week, once a month, or once every two months. Termination took place with no ill feelings. There was never any pressure. "This was something we should do tonight, or shouldn't do." No argument - always talked a lot and tried new things. She never tried to break it off until it began to dwindle. In retrospect M. feels that he and his sister had a beautiful relationship. He felt that the laws are unrealistic, that it is natural for brother and sister to be attracted to each other occasionally. He felt that the relationship had made him more aware and sensitive person. M. does not see his sister often now that she has gone to Vancouver. They write, she is happy; they still feel very close.

Prior to the incest, M. and his sister got along very well. "She was my baby sister, I would look out for her." They had the usual brother-sister fights but got along.

Sex changed their relationship for the better M.

reports. Seemed to him she went from a spindly little kid to a "beautiful, aware, loving young woman in just a few months."

M. feels that the effects of the relationship were positive for both of them. He gained experience in sex, maturity and confidence. It made him more comfortable with women - not so shy in approaching girls. I got to know that "I was not a total failure in bed. That was a good feeling."

M. said he had never told anyone else except the interviewer about the relationship although he had been tempted to on occasion. He felt people would distort the relationship and, more importantly, that telling someone would break trust with his sister as they had agreed not to tell anyone. "I think people would be surprised at how widespread but unpublicized incest is. My opinion is that fifty or sixty percent of families might be involved. That's my opinion."

M. completed grade twelve and quit to go to work. He enjoyed grade school but not high school. He thought it was boring. He failed once in high school. He left because he was fed up, got a job and "started to learn." "School doesn't teach you how to survive, life does."

M. dated a lot; began to group and double date at age fourteen and single date at sixteen. He had sex before and during the incest; depending on whether his date was interested. M. never had a homosexual experience. He was a loner in late grade school and early high school but got more friends when "I learned to take the first step to meet people."

M. left home at eighteen and one half years of age, just after his relationship with his sister ended. At that time, he had a part-time job, was finishing school. He moved into his own apartment. M. started working full-time at age nineteen. He still works at the same job and enjoys it.

M. got married at nineteen to a girl who he lived with for a few months. He feels he has a happy marriage with no major problems. They do swap couples on occasion, once a year or so, but claims he does not see this as a problem. They have no children and are undecided about having children.

Neither M. or his wife have medical problems nor any problems with drugs or alcohol. He has never been to a social agency.

M.'s family consisted of parents and two children. Father was a lawyer and mother also worked full-time. Neither parent was home much in the evening as both constantly claimed to have work to do at the office. (M. suspects both may have been involved with other people.) His parents did not talk to each other very much and were distant as long as he can remember. Each had his/her own life. Both parents were affectionate to their children and M. feels he had a pleasant childhood. Parents have to be married close to 30 years. Both parents, M. estimates, are heavy social drinkers - a hop and skip from being alcoholics.

The family home had lots of room - all had their own bedroom. The two children did have their own bedroom in the upstairs part of the house. M. estimates that family would be in the upper middle income range. They lived in the same house all the time.

M. suggests C.A.S. approach would not have been helpful to him or his sister. He says that being removed from his home would have "blown everything" and would have left a mark on his mind and psyche forever. "Psychologically both my sister and I would have gone back into our shells because of someone else's doing. He would have probably been resentful for the rest of his life and removal from home would have had a 'profound' effect on his life." He suggests as an alternative that parents who find out about a brother and sister having an incestuous relationship should talk to the children in a rational, calm manner, trying not to make them feel as though they are bad people because of it. M. suggests too that it is understandable that parents might "blow their cool" and maybe he would too if he were a parent who found out such information.

CASE #7 (E.)

E., a thirty-nine year old Canadian woman, was living with her second husband. She practised no formal religion. A professional woman, she requested a telephone interview saying she was too busy to participate in a person-to-person interview. She was very cooperative in the one hour interview which followed.

E. had an incestuous relationship with her father. It began when her mother was pregnant and giving birth to her brother, the only other child. E. was twelve or thirteen at the time the relationship started and was aggressively initiated by her father into full sexual

intercourse. The relationship was sporadic with sex taking place whenever the two of them were in the house alone. The relationship lasted for more than three years until E. was sixteen years old. At the beginning, E. claimed that she didn't like sex with her dad, but said she really didn't know what sex was about she was very naive. However, she did know that what they were doing was wrong, because her father threatened her against telling anyone, especially her mother. She said she virtually resigned herself to their sexual contact as she wanted some affection and got positive feedback from her father before and after sex. "You're a good girl and daddy loves you, etc."

Before she had sex with her father, E. received virtually no affection from him (or her mother). Her father was extremely strict and authoritarian says E. but undermined the authority of her mother. E. feels her father deliberately set E. against her mother and enjoyed their battles. Her father became more affectionate and increased his efforts to isolate E. from her mother. E. became "Daddy's girl."

While the relationship went on, E. reports that she became withdrawn and was anxious about her "secret." In a year or two she began to find out what sex was about, at school, and wanted to withdraw from her father sexually. She began to avoid being left alone with him at all and finally terminated the relationship. E. described herself as a shy, lonely child who had no friends as the family moved frequently and she had no one to talk to. She almost told a teacher about her relationship with her father and then became frightened and didn't.

The incest relation terminated the first time when E. was sixteen and left home to get away from her father, actually to get away from both parents. She reports no regrets about ending the relationship.

About six months after leaving home, her mother became ill, had surgery and E. returned home to help with the housework. Shortly after returning home, she and her father began to have sex again. At this point, E. realized the full impact of the incest relationship and felt very guilty and ashamed of her participation. She tried to stay to help her mother, but within a month after the relationship started she moved out of the house again bringing the incest relationship to a close. She had a prolonged emotional reaction for some months, during which time she felt she had been responsible for her father's behaviour when she had returned home and

felt extremely guilty about leaving her mother home alone ill. If incest hadn't happened, which she saw as her fault, she would have taken care of her mother "like a good girl." She was glad the relationship was over, however, and broke contact with her family for some time.

E. feels the relationship has not had a lasting effect on her but that it did affect her at the time and shortly thereafter. When young the secret was a burden and she felt isolated. Shortly after she left home the second time she became involved with a boy and married him when she was eighteen. She felt the incest experience contributed to her haste in getting married which was unwise. She did not feel the relationship helped her in any way.

After leaving home the first time, E. told a girl she worked with about the incest. The girl reacted with shock and didn't understand how such a thing could happen. Shortly after she got married, she did tell her mother about the relationship. Her mother was very sad, cried, and said she supposed her husband had had a mistress for some time. Soon after, her mother left her father because of this information. Mother did believe E. and regretted that it had happened. She never reproached E. or indicated that E. was to blame for the incest.

E. did tell her husband about the relationship and he too was supportive and understanding. She didn't know if many others got involved in incest but she gathered from the original article in The Windsor Star that it was more common than she realized. She had always thought it was very rare. E. had told no one else.

E. went to school until she was sixteen years old. She did very well at school and wanted to be a doctor. She missed two months at the end of grade ten and failed three courses. Her father told her that since she had failed she would have to quit school. She was angry and despondent about quitting school and still retains some bitterness about her father's refusal to allow her to stay in school. After her marriage she continued education through night school and obtained a professional degree in a field she was unwilling to specify.

E. asserts she was very naive about boys and sex. She only dated one boy before leaving home. After her second departure from home she dated one boy whom she

married at the age of eighteen. She did engage in sex with her husband before marriage. E. has had no homosexual experiences.

E. left home shortly after she quit school and got a job. "As soon as I realized I was financially independent, I left." She lived with a family in one room of their house. She enjoyed living with them and had a good relationship with them. After leaving home the second time she got her own apartment.

When young, E. worked in a bank. She quit work when she got pregnant but started back again shortly after her son was born. She feels she is a good worker who is conscientious and bright. She has done well at any job she has tried and has always moved up through promotions. She is happy with her work now and feels that when things were bad, when her mother was very ill, or when her marriage began to break up, her work helped to pull her through and keep her going. She has only changed jobs when a better opportunity arose or when she returned to the work force after being unemployed for a time.

E. married the first time at eighteen to an older man who had no money and drank a bit too much. (E. reported that she sees this as marrying a man like her father.) He became very well-to-do after a time, became an alcoholic, refused to go out of the house, withdrew emotionally from E. and their son who was born one year after their marriage. Their sex life was inadequate from E.'s point of view. Early in their marriage her husband rarely had sex with her. She felt she had a normal sex drive and felt something was wrong between them. She went to a psychiatrist for counselling but did not continue past the first session, when her husband refused to participate as the psychiatrist requested. When their son was twelve years old, her husband was drinking heavily, refused to participate in family life so she left him.

The marriage lasted thirteen years. When breakup occurred the boy wanted to live with his father. Since the father could provide well, she agreed (two years ago). They visit back and forth and get along well. The son has no medical, school or emotional problems except some upset when the marriage broke up.

E. remarried three years ago and is very happy, comfortably well off and has a good husband and marriage.

In explaining sex to her son she had to take full responsibility because her husband would not participate. She was as frank and open as she could be, although she always felt inadequate telling a boy about sex since she really didn't know what his experience was like. She read as much as she could and passed information along to him. She thinks full sex education is important for a child.

E. has had very good health, no alcohol or drug problems and has been hospitalized only for childbirth.

E.'s regard for community social agencies was not positive. She asked Big Sisters for help when she was involved with her father but they were not helpful. She had a five year old child for six months from the Children's Aid Society which she wanted to adopt. She asked for some help as the child had some behavioural problems. Instead the agency took the child away and said it wouldn't work. E. was still angry about this experience. When in her early teens, a neighbour girl called Children's Aid because her mother was beating her. The father sent the social worker away and no follow-up was done.

In discussing her family life, E. said her father had many jobs, went bankrupt in his early years, drank a lot but was not an alcoholic, was very authoritarian, set many rules and regulations, was raised a Roman Catholic but did not practise his religion. E. claims her father was very devious, encouraged her to go against her mother, ridiculed her mother publicly. As a child E. thought her father was very inconsistent. She sided with her father until she left home, then realized what her mother was like and got on well with her.

Four years after E. left home her mother left her dad. He got worse for a while but then "pulled out of it," remarried and now seems happy. E. now gets on with him reasonably well.

E. describes her mother as very strict. She used to beat her when she did not do what she was told. Mother and E.'s younger brother got along well.

Mother had a nervous breakdown after the son was born and saw a psychiatrist for some time. E.'s relationship with her mother improved after her mother and father separated. She saw her mother as a good person who had been manipulated by her dad. Five years after

E.'s parents separated her mother died of cancer of the uterus. E. feels it was brought about by her mother going back to work too soon after she gave birth and partially blames herself for her mother's death because she was not there to help.

E. claims there was little warmth and affection shown at home. She never saw her parents kiss.

E. lost touch with her father and brother after her mother died but recently contact has again been made. Her brother has a good job and seems happily married. E. never knew her parents' family at all.

E. made the following suggestions:

1. Social agencies should be more open to girls who come looking for help.
2. Children should not be left ignorant of sex - they should have a good sex education regardless of parents.
3. Children should have someone at school that they can talk to.
4. In incest cases, putting a father in jail or taking a child from the home would not be helpful - psychiatric help should be mandatory - each case should be judged individually.

CASE #8 (D.)

D., a twenty year old Canadian girl, lives common-law with her boyfriend and practices no formal religion. She was a shy woman who seemed to be intellectually dull. She was well dressed and willing to talk about her experience in the one hour interview.

D. became involved in an incestuous relationship with her father at the age of sixteen that lasted for three years. The first instance was when she went with her father bird hunting. Her father ordered her to take her clothes off "If I didn't do it he would shoot me." D. claimed that she continued to have sex with her father about once a week, always away from home and always under compulsion. "He had a gun - I had no choice." D. claimed that her father threatened to kill her if she told anyone. These relations only occurred, said D., when her father had been drinking.

D.'s reaction to her father's advances were consistently negative. Prior to the incest experience she described their relationship as being good. D. expressed

a feeling of betrayal. "I never thought my father would do that." "I hated him for it. I would not go any place with him after it happened."

The incestuous relationship terminated when D. was invited to leave town and live with her married sister. D. was greatly relieved to get away from her father but recently learned that her father is now dying of cancer and this puts her in an emotional bind. D. claimed her father cried when she left home. Her ambivalence was expressed in such statements as "I would go home to see my mom but not my dad." "Dad is dying of cancer, I don't know whether I should go home or not."

D. claims that her relationship with her dad has not affected her in any way either positively or negatively. By this, she seems to mean that it has not produced great emotional damage. However, D. does claim to have strong guilt feelings and "lots of times it is on my mind." D.'s feelings of guilt are augmented by the fact that several people in her family do not believe her.

In spite of the threats from her father D. seems to have talked about her experience to most of the family. Prior to leaving home, D. told her mother and her older brothers but they did not believe her. One older sister, her doctor and her grandmother did believe and support her. She had lots of girlfriends but never told them.

D. believes that "lots of people are involved in incest."

D. claimed to be a fair student who liked school but her father took her out in grade nine because she was missing too much school and was needed at home (her mother had bad legs; varicose veins). D. was left at home with her younger sister her older brothers and sisters had all left home and married. D. describes her parents as very strict. They would not let her date. This was also a pattern with her older brothers and sisters. Shortly after leaving home to go to live with her sister, D. met her boyfriend and has been living with him for the last six or eight months and cares for his children. D. has never had a job but would like one. She would like to work in a pickle factory. Her relationship with her boyfriend is a happy one and she relates well to his children, although she does not talk to them about sex because it would make her "feel funny." D. has some health problems a blood disorder that she called anemia. She visits the doctor every two weeks to have blood taken. She has never been hospitalized. She

takes eight kinds of pills for nerves, stomach and blood problems. She has not taken either drugs nor alcohol.

D.'s parents have been married for thirty-five years. Her parents "get along all right as long as they don't go to the hotel and drink." When they did that, a quarrel usually resulted and her father would become aggressive. In her relationship with her father, there was no discussion of morality. It was just "do as I say." Although her father drank every night he managed to maintain a regular job.

D.'s parents showed no public affection and demonstrated no affection toward the children "except the youngest." She claimed that her father always favoured the boys.

D. learned two months ago that her father had leukemia but she had not yet decided whether to visit him or not. On the one hand, she feels "he is still my dad, no matter what he did." On the other hand, she feels great resentment toward him. She said her father had no family and was taken in by strangers when he was four years old.

D.'s mother had some medical problems including varicose veins and cysts.

D. maintained that it would have been a help to her if she could have spoken to a professional person outside the family who believed her story. She would not want the police to know because "I would not want them to put my dad in jail." She felt her father should have had psychiatric treatment "he was sick." D. felt that when a girl is involved in incest she should not tell her family or friends but she should tell a professional person who could help.

CASE #9 (B.)

B. was a fifty-two year old, single, Canadian woman who declared herself an ex-Catholic. She was a pleasant, well dressed, cooperative person who, however, appeared to lack insight into her own behaviour or that of others. She had some difficulty answering questions directly, tending to wander in her responses. B. was interviewed in person for one hour.

B.'s incest experience consisted of one incident with her father when she was twelve years old. Her

mother was away and she was home alone with her four little brothers. Her father approached her and "kissed me on the lips - a big over-powering kiss." Later when she went to bed her father joined her and "he lay on top of me and felt me. That was all that ever happened. That was it." This incident occurred during a period when her mother was away from home for three or four months and before they had a hired girl.

The only reaction B. remembers to this incest incident was a sense of wonderment. "This was my father. It must be O.K." The incident itself did not turn her away from her father but gradually her affection changed from being "daddy's girl" to being "mother's confidant." B. has no recollection how she related to her father before the incident. She does not see the sexual experience itself as having a great effect upon her life but in the context of an unhappy childhood and a family in upheaval she sees it as one incident among many that did profoundly affect her.

B. did not tell anyone about her experience for thirteen years. Then she "threw it up to my mother" in a conversation in which her mother was complaining about and putting down B.'s father. B. said to her mother, "You think Dad was bad! I'll tell you how bad he was. He went to bed with me." Her mother said nothing at the time but later told the rest of the family what a "rotter their father was." B. said she did not want to know how her brothers responded to this information.


B. was born on a farm in western Canada. She was an excellent student, "perhaps over serious" who "studied till twelve o'clock every night and received grades of ninety-five and one hundred." At the age of eighteen, after high school, B. left home to work, living with another family. Eventually she came to Ontario. B. continued education at night school and eventually received a B.A. degree. She is now professionally employed. B.'s parents were extremely strict and allowed no dating while at home. After leaving home, B.'s dating behaviour was not unusual except that she was engaged three times - and when it came right down to going through with the wedding "I would cry for weeks and eventually have to break off." B. says she got little help from either church or social agencies on this problem. They gave her "mostly theory."

B.'s first experience of sexual intercourse was when she was thirty-five. At the age of thirty-eight

she became pregnant "because I wanted a child badly." Her three pound child was born prematurely in another city and much effort, energy and ingenuity was expended in keeping the child's origin a secret all the way through grade school. B.'s relationship with her son is "warm and close." Her son has had great difficulty at school making friends. "They continually teased him, calling him a fag and a queer because he did not join in their activities." B. feels quite negative about the quality of professional help available for her and her son. "They did not seem to be of any help." The child's physical health has not been good. He suffered fainting spells for some time until it was determined he had an improper diet and was put on iron tablets. This has helped considerably.

B. herself has had intermittent health difficulties and has been operated on for appendicitis, gall bladder, thyroid and a hysterectomy.

B. was the oldest of five children. She had four brothers, seven to ten years younger than herself. She described herself as her father's girl until she was seven or eight and then her mother won over her affection by telling her what a bad man her father was. "Mom was always weeping because she had been beaten up." B. describes her mother as "a very strict religious woman. We could not even play cards or cut paper on Sunday." But her mother "did not know how to handle a philanderer." Her parents were not affectionate to the kids or to each other - they never kissed. B. describes her parents fighting as "Dad would hit mom and she would fall down." Her father did not drink (although he made alcohol and was always in trouble with the police). Arguments usually started over the management of money. B.'s parents separated after thirty-five years of marriage and her father took on a common-law wife. B.'s relationship with her father after leaving home could be described as distant.

One of s brothers was anemic and epileptic. He ended up for a time in a psychiatric hospital because of his father's harrassment.

B. blames her father's behaviour on his own troubled childhood. He was a bastard child "who received no love and affection when he was young." B.'s mother too had a hard childhood. She was left in Europe during the war at the age of sixteen to take care of younger brothers and sisters. Her boyfriend returned from the war with a wife. B. explains the "precarious"

situation at home on the unhappy childhood of her parents.

B. felt that in the case of father-daughter incest the only way to protect a child is to take it out of the home. Her feeling is that the child has to live with the memory but should not have to continually live with the fact.

CASE #10 (R.)

R. was a thirty-three year old bright, well spoken and insightful Canadian male who was single and practised no formal religion. R. was unwilling to be involved in a face-to-face interview with a woman but was very pleasant and forthright during the two and one-half hour telephone interview.

R. had an incestuous relationship with his mother. The relationship began when R. was about twelve, lasted ten years and involved intercourse more than once a week. R. was home by himself and was at the clothes hamper trying on his mother's underwear. His mother caught him at it, laughed at him but did not get angry. Rather she seduced him by placing her hand in the underwear and holding it against him getting him excited. Intercourse began soon after this incident.

Initially R. felt very guilty about trying on his mother's underwear, he didn't know why he had done it and it still bothers him to this day.

When asked how he felt during the relationship, R. said, "I didn't try to stop it so I must have liked it." "I was sort of under her spell, she always dominated me, stimulated me, she was a very attractive woman."

R. does not remember much about his relationship with his mother before sex. He used to be moody and felt unloved. He thinks his mother seldom gave him any affection, never remembers her hugging him, etc. Sex did not change the relationship except, of course, she was much more affectionate, she said he was "mother's boy."

R. ended the relationship when he was about twenty-one when he left home to travel. He did not leave specifically to end the relation, but nothing has happened between them since. He left because he wanted to be out on his own.

When the relationship ended, R. thought of his mother often when he masturbated. He was strongly tempted to return home but after a time the urge abated. R. did at first begin to get involved with a number of older women which he thought might have been because of his relationship with his mother. Now he feels sort of strange about his incest relationship and wonders if it is the reason why he is unable to establish any long-lasting relationships with women.

R. does not see his mother now but does talk to her on the phone every two weeks. They live in different cities.

R. thinks his relationship with his mother has had the following effects: 1) he feels guilty about the relationship with his mother; 2) he has developed a fetish for women's underclothing and he does not know if this is due to the incest or that first instance where he was caught; 3) he feels very guilty about the fetish; 4) he cannot establish any long-term relationships with women and feels this is related to his incest experience. After he has sex with a woman he becomes bored and is really more interested in her underclothing than having sex with them.

R. never told anyone about his relationship with his mother although he wanted to. He found talking to the interviewer very difficult.

R. could see nothing constructive in an incest relationship and they should be avoided. R. believes incest to be quite common especially father-daughter incest. R. does not know how incest affected his mother but he said she must have enjoyed it or she would have stopped. He does not know how she feels about it now.

R. finished high school which he attended regularly and enjoyed. On leaving school he took up a trade. While at home, R. did not date. Since leaving he has dated quite a few women and had sex with a few. He enjoys their company.

After leaving home, R. lived with a friend and his family until he got his own place. They were good people and they got along fine. He did indulge in his fetish when alone in the house.

R. has had a lot of jobs since being employed but has stuck to the same trade. He never was fired. He is a good worker, punctual and conscientious.

He has travelled a good deal through his work, to Africa, and Asia.

R. has never been sick. He took to drinking a bit but stopped two years ago for his health - is now into health foods and staying in shape.

R.'s mother was born in Scotland. She never married R.'s father who was an American. R. and his mother lived with his grandparents for a while when they first came to Canada but soon got their own place. Relations with grandparents was good. R.'s mother worked - she always had a steady job. Her social life was active - sometimes a man friend would stay over night but he never saw his mother engage in sex. His mother was a "Saturday night drinker" and he only saw her drunk a few times.

R. feels that although the incest experience was not helpful to him it was not unduly harmful. He feels he has made out all right although he feels guilty and concerned about his fetish. He feels he is a good person, loves his work, is pretty happy and has never been in any trouble.

R. said he felt much better after talking about his experience at long last. After two hours on the telephone a warm relation was established and R. indicated that he felt he had through the interview been able to sort the experience out even more than on his own.

Summary of Data

While each of the cases studied has value and validity in and of itself, in the following section the combined experience of the subjects was examined and general observations have been presented.

Description of the Sample

The first five questions which were asked in the interview were designed to provide a description of the sample. Based on their responses, the following general description can be given.

The average age of those interviewed in this study was thirty-two years, and the range of their ages was from twenty to fifty-two years. No subjects were in their forties. The sample then was an adult one.

The majority of subjects were married and indicated that they were Canadian. Most people belonged to a formal religion although four said that they practised no religion.

Since all but two of the people who presented themselves to be interviewed had been involved in incest which had taken place more than ten years previously, these particular subjects made it possible to gather information about a considerable amount of subsequent behaviour.

Generally, the subjects were bright, pleasant and

cooperative. They arrived on time for interviews, shared their experiences in an open, forthright manner, gave careful consideration to the questions that were asked and expressed the feeling that the interview had been a beneficial experience for them. (This was particularly true for the three subjects who were discussing their involvement in incest for the first time. Each of these subjects stated repeatedly that the interview had "taken a burden off their shoulders" and indicated that they felt very relieved to have "finally gotten this off my chest.")

Incest Behaviour

The next area which was explored in the interview was the nature of the incest behaviour in which the subjects had been involved. Six of the ten participants were involved in on-going incest relationships which lasted between five months and ten years. Most were of three year duration. Four people were involved in sporadic incidents of incest behaviour. All three of the uncle-niece type of incest consisted of one or a few sexual contacts and one case of father-daughter incest consisted of one incident.

Eight of the ten respondents were between ten and sixteen years of age when their involvement in incest began and two were young children (cases 3 and 4). The

average age of the subjects at the initiation of incest was ten years and their age range was from two to sixteen years.

In eight of the ten cases reported in this study, the partner involved in the incest initiated the sexual contact. In one case the interviewee was a niece who felt that her sexual contact with her uncle was initiated through mutual consent and in another case of brother-sister incest (case 6) the interviewee was a brother whose sister had initiated the sexual relationship.

When one examines the circumstances surrounding the initiation of incest, it was observed that four of the incest relationships were reportedly initiated and maintained through coercion or threat (cases 4, 5, 7 and 8). Three of these four relationships also involved physical violence (cases 4, 5, and 6). In other cases of protracted incest, the subjects were passive or willing participants. It appeared that the cases of sporadic incest behaviour were initiated under circumstances of surprise rather than seduction or threat (cases 1, 2, 3, and 9). These incidents happened suddenly and then ended.

When asked whether or not their incest behaviour had included sexual intercourse, all of the respondents who had been involved in long term relationships indicated that intercourse was a typical form of sexual

expression. None of those who were involved in sporadic incidents of incest behaviour had engaged in intercourse with their incest partner. In these cases, sexual contact was limited to varying degrees of physical contact.

When asked how the sexual activities had changed their relationship with their partners, three subjects could not recall what their relationship with their partner had been before the incest, usually because they were too young prior to the sexual activity to remember how they had related to their partner. Two people who had not gotten along prior to the initiation of incest experience indicated that their overall relationship with them improved after the sexual relationship began (cases 7 and 10). In both cases the interviewees stated that they received more attention and feedback after the sexual relationship began and said that this was the major reason they felt their relationship had improved. Most participants, however, felt that the sexual aspect of their relationship had had a negative effect on their ability to relate to their partners (cases 1, 2, 5, 8, and 9).

When asked how they felt when the incest was initiated, five of the six people who were involved in protracted relationships mentioned that they felt guilty and indicated that they did not like their new sexual involvement with their partner. As might be expected,

the three subjects who reported that initiation of incest was accompanied by violence also said that they felt frightened or scared when sexual contact was first initiated. It is interesting to note that two of these three experienced guilt even though they were forced into the relationship. The feelings of those who were involved in isolated incidents of incest varied. Two people associated excitement and pleasure with the experience, while one indicated that she had "blocked" her memory of her feelings, while another girl remembers thinking "It's my father so it must be all right."

Those interviewed were also asked if their feelings had changed at all as their involvement in incest continued. In cases 1, 2 and 3 where the incest behaviour consisted of more than one incident, all of the subjects indicated that when the later contacts occurred, sometimes years after the first, they began to feel resentful, disgusted with or frightened of their partner.

People who were involved in relationships of longer duration had a variety of responses to the continuing relationship. Again, the three women who were involved in incest that was accompanied by violence showed a similarity in the feelings they recalled as the relationship continued. They never liked the relationship and continued to feel "dirty,"

"trapped," "ashamed," "betrayed" throughout.

Two others involved in long term incest reported that their initially negative feelings of guilt and displeasure changed to more positive feelings as they began to enjoy the affection and feedback they began to receive from their partners.

Termination

When asked how the incest relationship terminated, a difference in experience was noted between those who were involved in uncle-niece incest and other types of incest relationships. The three nieces interviewed indicated that they terminated the behaviour and did so by avoiding their uncles, none of whom lived in the same dwelling as the niece. This avoidance was not always easy to achieve however, as the child might be pressured into participating in the accustomed family contacts with the uncle by unsuspecting parents (case 1). In the cases where the parties co-habited, the incest terminated when one party moved out of the house, (usually the interviewee), or got involved with another sexual partner, or it was terminated by the intervention of a family member.

The majority of those interviewed indicated that they did not try to end the relationship any time prior to its final termination. Those who were involved in a

violent relationship said they did not do so because of fear of their partner while others allowed the relationship to continue because they enjoyed it. One girl moved away from home, but returned within a year to help her mother who was ill. The father-daughter incest was renewed and continued until she left home permanently shortly thereafter.

Post-Incest Behaviour

Feelings upon Termination of Incest

Subjects were asked how they felt when the incest terminated. Four people said that their feelings were primarily that of relief when the incest ended; two indicated that they felt guilty for their participation in the incest relation and only one indicated that he missed his partner when the incestuous relationship ended (case 10).

Feelings at the Time of Interview

At the time of the interview most subjects felt differently about the incest than they did at the time of termination. People who said that relief was their primary emotional response to termination later felt guilty, either about their own participation (cases 4, 5 and 8) or by having hurt someone else by their involve-

ment in the incest (case 2). The two who felt guilty at the time of termination continued to feel guilty when interviewed and one subject who felt positive about the relation at the time of termination continues still to feel positive about the experience.

The subjects were asked if they still see their former incest partner and if they react in any way to seeing them now. Most of the participants no longer see their former partners. Of those who maintain contact with their former incest partner only one reports that the relationship is a positive one. The three others are either uncomfortable in these contacts or find them extremely negative, even traumatic.

Participants were asked if they told anyone about their incest experience. Three subjects had never told anyone about their relationship which had been of long duration. All stated that they feared the reactions of anyone they might tell, particularly members of their families. The people who did reveal their experience of incest in most cases told their mother and husband-to-be. Four of the five mothers were non supportive in their responses and typically denied, ignored or refused to believe their daughters. All of the other people (outside of the family) who were told of the incest; that is, husbands-to-be or girlfriends, were supportive and sympathetic to the subjects.

Education

Most of the subjects indicated that they had positive experiences in school and successfully completed grade twelve education. Those who did not finish high school left for non-academic reasons. Three subjects returned to school after some time to further their education. There was no evidence of school problems such as repeated truancy or academic failure.

Dating History

Those interviewed were asked to describe their contacts with members of the opposite sex during the time before they were married. Four people indicated that they had enjoyed dating members of the opposite sex and reported limited sexual intercourse with their male partners before marriage. All of those who were involved in incest with a parent had very limited experience with members of the opposite sex during their teens and three did not date at all until they left home in their late teens or early twenties (cases 7, 8, 9 and 10). Two of the women who were involved in violent brother-sister relationships had difficulty with dating; one was afraid to date men until she was eighteen years old, although she later had positive experiences in dating before her marriage. The other girl went through a lengthy period of promiscuity and engaged in sexual intercourse with most of

the boys she dated until she met her husband-to-be.

The two subjects who were single at the time of the interview indicated that they had difficulty establishing long-term relationships with members of the opposite sex, although the relationships they had had were positive.

None of the participants reported any homosexual contacts. No serious disturbances in peer relations were noted.

All of the interviewees had left home during their late teens or early twenties to get married or go to work. Two left specifically to get away from their incest partner and both had been involved in father-daughter incest.

Employment

When asked about their employment history, all of the subjects who had ever been employed reported that working had been a happy experience for them and all felt they had been good workers in that they were conscientious in completing their tasks, were on time and did not miss work without cause.

Marriage.

All of the married subjects had been married during their late teens or early twenties. Only one person expressed the feeling that she had been too young

to get married and suggested that she got married the first time simply to escape her father with whom she had been involved in incest.

Of the eight subjects who were married or involved in a common-law relationship, the majority declared that they had happy marriages. Two pointed out that their marriages had serious problems but were happy despite these difficulties. One subject had an unhappy marriage but divorced and was happily remarried, one continued in an unhappy relationship.

Children

The majority of the subjects had children, typically one or two. Most indicated that they had good relationships with their children and considered themselves good mothers. Most of the children were seen by the subjects to be well adjusted and all in good health. One child was reported to have school problems, emotional difficulties and considerable problems relating to his peers.

Medical

Four of those interviewed had a history of health problems; two of whom had difficulties involving primarily the genital system. Three of these four subjects had been involved in violent relationships, two with a brother and one with her father. The fourth was definitely

neurotic.

Psychological Problems

Most of the participants gave no evidence of psychological disturbance. Two subjects had experienced sufficiently serious emotional problems as to require long-term out-patient psychiatric treatment. One subject (case 3) had required periodic hospitalization for the treatment of depression. The other (case 4), felt that her psychiatric treatment had been required because of extensive health problems and an unhappy marital relationship. Neither saw any relationship between their emotional problems and their incest experience. One other subject, (case 5), who did not herself feel that she had any emotional problems, exhibited behaviour during the interview that pointed to weighty psychological difficulties.

Sexual Adjustment

Three people of the ten interviewed exhibited signs of sexual dysfunction; one person's sex life was disrupted by frequent illness and repeated surgery, another had been quite promiscuous as a teenager and was physically and emotionally "up tight" during intercourse with her husband even though she loved him very much, and a third individual had developed a fetish for womens' underwear

which dominated his sexual functioning.

Families of Participants

The majority of the participants in this study were raised in small families where there were only one or two children. Some were raised in very large families, however, where there were from five to eight children. Most of the subjects were raised in families characterized by poverty, where little affection was displayed by parents towards each other or the children. The families where father-daughter incest occurred seemed more disorganized than families where other types of incest occurred. This disorganization was exemplified by fathers drinking; frequent quarrels between parents and fathers being described as strict and aggressive. In two cases, the parents' marriages eventually ended in divorce, one apparently after the daughter revealed her incest involvement with her father to her mother, who then separated from her husband.

In the only case of mother-son incest, the father was never present in the home.

In two families where brother-sister incest occurred, the family's financial hardship was heightened by the fact that the father of the family became ill and was unable to work for a long time. In none of the families (other than three father-daughter cases) was there abuse of drugs

or alcohol by either parent.

Perceived Effects of Incest Behaviour

Subjects were asked if they felt their involvement in incest had any effect on them and were asked to describe what they thought the effect had been. Eight of the ten participants were of the opinion that the incest in which they were involved had had a negative effect on them. One person felt the relationship had been beneficial in that the involvement with his sister had helped him mature sexually, gain experience in sex and relate more comfortably to women outside the family. The other subject felt that the incest incident with her father had not affected her, but that her unhappy childhood had created some problems for her.

The following is a summary of the negative effects perceived by eight of the subjects. Two subjects felt they avoided men who were like their uncles with whom they had been involved and felt that this avoidance was caused by their incest experience. One of the two nieces felt that she was perhaps overcautious toward her children, seeking to train them to avoid strange men. Another niece stated that she felt guilty because she had never told anyone (particularly her priest) of her sexual involvement with her uncle.

Two women who had been involved in brother-sister

incest felt that their experience had affected them in many ways. One related the following effects: 1) she felt guilty and ashamed about her incest involvement for a long time; 2) she was repelled by men for a long time; 3) she still has problems having sex when upset; 4) she felt like two people; a "good person" and a "bad person." She attributed all these problems to prior incest behaviour. Another subject felt that her incest experience had created these problems: 1) it made her very "hyper" and "nervous"; 2) she still has nightmares and night crying triggered by fantasies of her brother's presence in her bedroom; 3) she felt that her incest experience had caused her to become a hard person who "holds everything in".

Two other women who had been involved in protracted incest with their father felt that incest had affected them. One stated that she felt very lonely and isolated as a child because of her "secret" and she felt that she had married too young simply to get away from her father. Another felt that the relationship had not affected her profoundly but does admit that she has constant guilt feelings about her incest involvement.

The man who had been involved sexually with his mother for ten years thought that his inability to establish a long-term relationship with women was due to his incest relationship with his mother.

Discussion of the Findings

Fact or Fantasy

In the review of the literature (Chapter II) it was noted that when people related accounts of incest experiences they sometimes were expressing fantasies precipitated by incestuous desires rather than describing objective experience, therefore, the question must be asked; were these ten case studies records of fact or fantasy?

Although this question could not be answered with absolute certainty, there was no evidence to suggest that the incest behaviour described by the subjects in this study was fantasy. There were indeed, factors which supported the conclusion that the subjects were revealing objective factual information. 1) All of the information provided by each subject was consistent within the entire interview. 2) There was an absence of bizarre or "fantastic" material. 3) The affect which was exhibited by the subjects before and during the interview seemed appropriate. 4) Information did not seem to excite the subjects sexually. 5) Information that was volunteered was typically relevant to questions asked. Taken together, these indicators combined to create the firm impression that the subjects were "believable".

Motivation of Subjects

In an attempt to discover why these subjects responded to the newspaper request they were asked during the initial telephone contact what had prompted their participation. The ten subjects reported herein each verbalized that the desire to assist someone else who might have an incest experience similar to their own was the factor which had prompted them to respond. Each asked specific questions about the disposition of the findings and about whether or not their participation would benefit someone else and how. When assurances were given that the findings would be publicized and that hopefully they would contribute to the further understanding of incest, they agreed to take part. It was recognized that many unconscious motivations may also have played a part in stimulating these subjects to initiate contact. It was apparent that subjects were highly motivated since all of them indicated that their incest experience was not something they discussed frequently with others and, in fact, three subjects had never discussed their involvement in incest with anyone else prior to the interview.

Description of the Sample

Although the size of the sample, ten cases, did not lend itself to statistical analysis, it was evident

that the information which had been gathered could be examined both jointly and comparatively. It should be noted that in the present state of research on incest, studies utilizing small samples were the rule (see for example: Bender and Blau, 1937; Sloane and Karpinski, 1942; Wahl, 1960; Rascovsky and Rascovsky, 1950; Langsley, 1968) except where captive subjects or official records were used as the source of information (as in Weinberg, 1955; Maisch, 1973; Lucianowicz, 1972; Cavallin, 1960; Gebhard et al., 1965).

Since the sample was not intended to be representative of the residents of Windsor and Essex County, it was unknown to what extent the subjects who presented themselves for this study differed from other residents. Two obvious differences between this sample and the population existed: 1) nine of the ten subjects were aged twenty to forty when interviewed. No subjects in their forties and only one person over fifty responded to the request for subjects. While the reason for this is unknown, it was possible to speculate that perhaps none of the older residents of the county have been involved in incest; or the responses occurred by chance, or, a more likely reason, that younger people have gone through a different socialization process than those over forty, and they are more accustomed and willing to speak of sexual matters generally. 2) Four of the subjects studied reported that

they did not practise any form of formal religion. This was a considerably higher percentage than the general population of Windsor and Essex County (Canada Census, 1971).

The sample did not appear to be obviously different from the population in other respects included in the description.

Information obtained from subjects who were interviewed by telephone and those interviewed in person was compared. Both men in the sample were interviewed by telephone and none were interviewed in person. Their unwillingness may have been related to the sex of the researcher, since both men stated that they would find it difficult to discuss these matters in person with a woman. Those who discussed their incest involvement on the telephone (cases 6, 7 and 10) were generally less inclined to indicate that the relationship was initiated and maintained through coercion than other respondents. They also revealed more positive feelings associated with their involvement in incest and fewer negative feelings of guilt or shame. While it could be speculated that the lack of face-to-face contact was less threatening to these three subjects and they, therefore, were more able to be honest about their feelings associated with incest, the idiosyncratic nature of all of the incest experiences revealed by the ten subjects makes such speculation questionable.

Incest Behaviour

Although the size of the sample used in this study was small, the subjects provided information about a rich variety of experiences, particularly with regard to the type of incest in which participants were involved. While it has been suggested in the literature that sibling incest was the most common form of incest, followed by father-daughter, with mother-son the least frequent type of incest (uncle-niece incest was seldom mentioned in literature), the types represented in this sample did not support these speculations. However, since incest is a primarily private behaviour it was impossible to know whether or not the groups represented in this sample more closely approximate the occurrence of incest in the population than do other studies.

The variety in types of incest reported by these ten subjects reduced the number of like cases with respect to type to the extent that it was difficult to generalize within the four groups. It did provide, on the other hand, a unique opportunity to examine the combined experience of the subjects regardless of type. It was noted that studies reported in the literature almost always dealt with participants who had been involved in the same type of incest behaviour.

The variety of both type and nature of incest

experience reported by the subjects did provide an insight into the cultural definition of this form of behaviour. It was observed that subjects who were involved in one or two instances of incest behaviour with an uncle; behaviour that was restricted to brief incidents of "touching"; consider themselves to be participants in incest. This suggested that the cultural definition of incest, that is, the definition used by the population, was considerably broader than the Canadian Criminal Code reflects. Consequently, the legal definition may have little to do with the experience of people who consider themselves to have been involved in "incest".

The average age of the subjects was lower than was reported in the literature by an average of at least two years (see for example, Lucianowicz, 1972; Weinberg, 1955; Maisch, 1973). The inclusion of two subjects who experienced incest at a very early age could account for this difference in such a small sample.

The number of subjects who reported involvement in incest relationships which lasted more than five months was consistent with findings from the literature, but the number of subjects involved in sporadic incidents of incest behaviour was larger than one might expect from the literature. It was possible that this difference reflected the different source of the sample used in this study, in that people who are involved in sporadic incidents of

incest may be less likely to come to the attention of the authorities and, hence, less likely to be studied.

It was apparent from the findings that all cases of protracted incest involved intercourse as the chief form of sexual expression. This, too, was to be expected from the results of other studies. It was interesting to note that those who were involved in incest that did not involve intercourse expressed the firm belief that had they been involved in intercourse, the incest would have had much greater negative effect on them. However, the results of this study, and others, would suggest that many people who are involved in incest which included intercourse do not show disturbed behaviour after the incest terminated. These subjects may share a common fantasy that sexual intercourse is a significant variable linking incest to subsequent negative behaviour.

A striking feature which emerged from the findings was that the emotional response of individual subjects often changed over time. Some subjects who initially enjoyed the incest (cases 2, 3 and 10), after some time passed, began to feel disgusted, or guilty or "hemmed-in" by the relationship. Others, who were initially frightened by the experience, (cases 6 and 7), began to enjoy the affection and warmth which the relationship brought as it progressed. Emotional response also changed, it was observed, after termination of incest. Those whose

early response to the ending of the incest was relief, in time began to experience guilt (cases 2, 4, 5, and 8). In some cases, this guilt was eventually replaced, over a span of years, by understanding (case 4). A few subjects did express a consistently negative emotional response to their experience over time (cases 1 and 8). These observations have implications for anyone contemplating treatment, study or other intervention with people who have been involved in incest.

The emotional response of subjects who were involved in incest that was initiated and maintained by force and coercion appeared to be distinctly different and consistently more negative than the response of other subjects. These negative feelings of fear, guilt, disgust and resentment tended to persist over the duration of the relationship.

For the majority of subjects, the initiation of incest changed the character of the relationship which they had had with their partner prior to incest; and altered it in a negative direction. However, fully half of the subjects who were involved in protracted relationships indicated that the initiation of incest had added a positive dimension (at least early in the incest relationship) to the pre-incest relationship. These subjects, then, saw incest as a positive force in their lives; at least for a time. This finding also has implications

for any form of intervention undertaken with people involved in incest. It would seem essential that a social worker, or other helping professional, discuss the quality of the relationship prior to making professional recommendations concerning the appropriate type of intervention.

An important finding that emerged from the examination of the termination phase of incest was simply that incest does terminate without the intervention of the court, police, social workers, psychologists or other myriad helping professionals. In other words, these findings did not support the notion that incest is a pathological behaviour which inexorably binds to people into a life-long pattern of asocial behaviour. The findings suggested, not surprisingly, that it was easier for those who were involved in incest with partners living outside of the home to terminate the relationship than it was for those who lived under the same roof. Typically, those who shared their domicile with the incest partner had to leave home in order to successfully end the relationship. Since some relationships destructive to the participants might be difficult to terminate, outside intervention might be, at times, appropriate.

Post-Incest Behaviour

Perhaps the most important general finding con-

cerning post-incest behaviour was the reported emotional health and stability of the subjects subsequent to their incest involvement. These reports of the subjects were consistent with the researcher's subjective impression of the personality of the subjects at the time of the interview. Keeping in mind that the researcher's bias can have an influence on the interpretation of results derived from an interview, the degree of health of the participants was surprising to the researcher, as she had expected the subjects to exhibit some visible signs of emotional disturbance. It should be noted that this general finding was not consistent on the surface with other research, except that of Rasmussen (1934). It could very well be that since subjects in other studies have often been observed during periods of crisis, (for example, when the home had recently been disrupted by official detection of incest, or when subjects present themselves for psychiatric treatment later in life), the results of the present study may be more typical of undetected cases of incest behaviour. Rasmussen's study (1934), which more closely approximated the present one, in the respect that it was conducted some twenty years after termination of incest, did support the results of the present study.

It was recognized, however, that any group of adults would be likely to exhibit some emotional, physical and behavioural problems at a given point in time. This


sample proved to be no exception and so some of the problems that were revealed by the subjects were examined as they may represent a source of insight into the relationship between these problems and previous incest behaviour.

By far the majority of subjects (eight cases) reported feeling guilt in connection with their incest involvement. It was interesting to note, however, only half of these subjects (four cases) related the guilt to their own involvement in incest, while the other half felt guilty about a variety of associated factors, such as people they might have hurt in the process. Only two subjects reported carrying a heavy burden of guilt at the time of the interview and both of these were women who were involved in protracted incest which was initiated and maintained by force. These facts alone provided a rich field for theoretical speculation. Such speculation, however, must be restrained until further research sheds more light on the dynamics of guilt in relationship to incest.

There was evidence from the findings that incest, whether protracted or short-term, tended to have a disruptive effect on the relationship between the incest partners after the incest terminated. It was interesting to note that in most cases in the present study, the sexual relationship which existed between the partners

was not discussed between them after it was over. There was some evidence to suggest, however, that when the incest was discussed at a later time (cases 4 and 6) the non-sexual relationship between the former incest partners can be normalized. This had obvious implications for treatment intervention.

The literature suggested that those who were involved in incest tended to have problems relating to the members of the opposite sex during their teenage years in that they either avoided or became sexually promiscuous with the opposite sex (a more frequent finding). (Weinberg, 1955; Lucianowicz, 1972). In the present study, it was observed that most of those involved with members of their immediate family evidenced some disturbance in their dating patterns, being either afraid to date or being discouraged from dating by their parents. Promiscuity was observed in only one case in the present study and it appeared to be directly related to the specific and idiosyncratic incest in which the subject was involved (case 5). Since two other subjects continued to have difficulty developing long-term relationships with members of the opposite sex, it would appear that when viewed together, the results of this study support the notion that there is a relationship between incest and some degree of disturbance in relating to members of the opposite sex during this limited time span.



The problems which have been mentioned have been the most common problems although none have been shared by all of the participants. Also observed were two rather serious problems which deserve mention. One subject (case 3) indicated in the interview that she suffered from a neurosis which combined ritualistic behaviour, anxiety and depression. She had required psychiatric hospitalization and out-patient psychiatric treatment. Neither the subject nor the interviewer consciously recognized any connection between this neurosis and her limited involvement in incest. Another subject (case 10) reported that he had developed a fetish for women's underwear. As was brought out in the case history, the development of this fetish was coincidental with the initiation of incest. Reference to the etiology of fetishes supported the interviewers belief that this sexual preference develops in many people who have never been involved in incest (Abnormal Psychology, 1973). Consequently, the co-existence of the incest and the fetish would appear to have been accidental.

As was noted in the review of literature, it has been suggested that certain variables were of importance in relating the subsequent problem of incest participants to their previous involvement in incest. An effort was made to examine the findings of the present study in relation to the variables of participa-

tion in incest, age of participants at initiation of incest, the attitude of parents to incest experience and the emotional tenor of the incest relationship.

Since at least six of the subjects in this study were virtually free of any behavioural disturbance subsequent to their incest experience, these findings did not support the hypothesis that participation in incest is closely related to subsequent disturbed behaviour. These findings did support the observations of Bender and Blau (1937), Rasmussen (1934), Weinberg (1955), and Maisch (1973), that participation in incest does not always have a traumatic effect on incest participants. It should be noted that subjects in the present study showed no evidence of the presence of psychosis nor did their histories reveal any such disturbance. It was possible then to support the notion of Rascovsky and Rascovsky (1950) that the acting out of incestuous impulses and fantasies diminishes the chance of subsequent development of psychosis.

When the results of the present research are examined in the light of the hypothesis of Sloane and Karpinski (1942) that those who are involved in incest after adolescence are more likely to show critical problems in subsequent adjustment than will those who are involved in incest in childhood, the findings did not support the hypothesis. When protracted cases in

this study were examined, the two subjects (cases 4 and 5) who were under twelve years of age when incest both began and ended exhibit multiple problems in physical, emotional, psychosexual and marital adjustment, whereas the four subjects who were involved in incest which began after twelve years of age, in some cases much later, showed little signs of disturbance in any of the areas from which information was gathered.

The hypothesis developed by Raphling (1967), Lucianowicz (1972), and others, that subjects will feel little guilt when incest is detected if parents condone the incest, could not be fully addressed in this study since none of the cases were detected by authorities. There is some information, however, that seemed relevant to this issue. In five cases, subjects had chosen to inform their mothers about the incest in which they had been involved. Generally, the reaction of the mother to this information seemed to bear little or no relation to feelings of guilt experienced by the subjects.

Gagnon (1965) has posited the hypothesis that, what he terms "emotional cast" of a relationship was a variable which is helpful in predicting the presence of problem behaviour of participants subsequent to incest. When the present results were reviewed in light of Gagnon's hypothesis, interesting features emerged. It was discovered that those who were involved in incest which was

initiated by force and maintained by either force or coercion (cases 4, 5 and 8) have reported more problems than any other subjects in the study. For example, the two people mentioned earlier who retained guilt from their incest experience to the present were both from this group. In addition, these were the only subjects who were seen to have difficulty with their self image and sexual disturbance in married life. The subject who had exhibited promiscuity was in this group as were two people for whom the continued relations with their former incest partner presented problems. They were the only subjects who related their incest experience with a good deal of emotion.

In addition to the psychological problems, another distinguishing characteristic of these participants was the state of their physical health. Two subjects who had been involved in incest more than ten years before the interview reported an extremely serious history of gynecological problems. The third subject, whose incest had only been terminated for one year, had developed serious stomach problems and dizzy spells which require visits to the doctor every two weeks. The findings of the present study, then, clearly support Gagnon's hypothesis in that incest, accompanied by force or coercion, appeared to be related to both physical and psychological problems in subsequent behaviour.

A discussion of the problems of the subjects when not accompanied by analysis of their healthy functioning would present a distorted picture of the post-incest behaviour of the subjects. All of the subjects appear to have been successful in school and none reported high rates of truancy or academic failure. While two subjects found school difficult the majority enjoyed their school years and two completed education in a profession. Since these results were in marked contrast to other studies, particularly those which derived from court samples (Maisch, 1973; Lucianowicz, 1972; Bender and Blau, 1937), it might be hypothesized that court intervention may create problems in subsequent behaviour which may not otherwise occur.

All of the subjects who reported that they had been engaged in paid employment at some point in their lives (nine subjects) indicated they had been successfully employed. None had been repeatedly fired from jobs and all felt that they were good workers in that they were conscientious and responsible in their jobs. More importantly, perhaps, all of the subjects enjoyed their work experience and derived satisfaction from it. It would likely be difficult to get a random group of ten people who exhibited a more positive record of work experience.

If one considers leaving the parental home and establishing one's own lifestyle as a sign of positive adult adjustment, there is every indication that these ten subjects were able successfully to achieve an independent lifestyle at a reasonable age. This feature reinforces the notion that incest participants were not locked into a pathological pattern of behaviour.

Another area of life which would seem to reflect adult adjustment is that of getting married and establishing a home. Most of the subjects in the study seemed to enter into marriage at a reasonable age and they seemed to have been able to establish good marriages from their point of view, despite having to cope with rather serious problems in a couple of cases. Only one person felt that she had married the wrong man and had married while too young so that she might escape from her father with whom she had been involved in incest. She divorced after thirteen years and is now happily married again.

Most of the subjects who had children reported to be very successful in raising their children, a major task of adulthood. Most considered themselves to be good mothers, felt that their children were well adjusted and indicated that they enjoyed their relationship with their children. Only one person revealed that her child had seemingly serious behavioural difficulties in school and in relating to peers and in this case the difficulties may

have been augmented by the fact that no father was present in the home and the mother worked full time (case 9).

It has been suggested in the literature that experience of incest has a negative influence on the later sexual attitudes of participants. In this study, subjects were asked if they told their children about sex and were asked what they told them. All of the subjects who were mothers indicated that telling their children about sex presented no problem for them and it was apparent that they were quite open and direct in explaining sexual matters to their children. Two people mentioned that they considered themselves to be somewhat overcautious in ensuring that their children were aware of the dangers of associating with strange men, yet the examples they offered did not appear to be abnormal to the researcher. The ease with which the subjects talked to their children about sexuality was consistent with the generally positive attitude the subjects themselves expressed in their own sexual relations. This was evident even where the women themselves had psychosexual disorders. Thus, the findings of this study did not support the contention that involvement in incest disturbs attitudes toward sexuality.

None of the participants reported any evidence of addiction to drugs or alcohol. With the exception of

the four cases previously mentioned, the remaining subjects reported excellent medical histories.

In summary, then, all of the subjects appeared to be functioning well in the major areas of adult life in spite of the fact that a few had rather serious problems to cope with. In most cases, wounds to the psyche appeared to be self healing and in other cases the ability to partialize weaknesses was evident, that is, some subjects who had a poor self-image, physical problems and a heavy burden of guilt, apparently related to the incest, seemed to consider themselves to be good workers, wives, mothers and friends and seemed to function well in those roles.

As the present research progressed, the writer discussed the topic with a variety of people. When the topic was raised, the general tendency was to react to incest as if it were a very serious and dramatic problem. The subjects who were interviewed, on the other hand, recalled their incest experience simply as one of many things that had happened to them during their life time. Examination of the responses given by the subjects to the question how did the experience affect you? revealed something about their attitude toward their incest experience. None of the subjects saw incest as being the source of all their problems and their carefully considered opinions tended, if anything, to minimize the effects that incest had on them. The fact that their

perceptions, lacked distortion gave evidence of the validity of their self reports.

The calmness with which the subjects discussed their experience and their tendency to avoid over-dramatizing its effects demonstrates, perhaps, more clearly than anything else that what is experienced by a person within their family group was subjectively perceived as "normal" regardless of the presence of a cultural taboo.

The social work adage that a social worker must relate to a client "where the person is at" is of special relevance here because these observations suggested that one who has not been involved in incest such, perhaps, as the social worker, may tend to react differently and more dramatically than the client who has been involved in the experience of incest. Since these have been merely observations, further research on the attitudes of helping professionals toward incest would be beneficial in clarifying this matter.

A variable which is implied in other research, but not specifically stated, is that the type of incest in which the person is involved is of relevance to subsequent behaviour. Generally, the observation was made that those involved in sibling incest show less disturbed behaviour after incest than do people involved in incest with parents (Weinberg, 1955; Lucianowicz, 1972). The evidence presented herein, however, did not support

this claim since two people who had rather serious problems after termination of incest were involved in sibling incest and only one of the subjects who was involved in incest with a parent had any serious problems. Furthermore, it could be hypothesized that the emotional tenor of the relationship will give more certain indication of subsequent difficulties than the incest type.

There was no evidence given by the subjects in this study which indicated that incest occurring in one generation predicts the occurrence of incest in another. When asked what they would do if their husband were to sexually approach their child, all the subjects responded by saying that they would protect their child.

The majority of subjects did not contact social agencies for assistance, and those who did did not reveal their incest involvement to the agency. Two subjects did tell their psychiatrist about their incest involvement but felt that the psychiatrists had not been helpful. It would seem that these subjects did not perceive the social agencies as a source of help.

Friends and husbands-to-be were frequently told about the incest in which the subjects were involved and invariably were a source of support and sympathy. One of the implications of this finding is that in most cases the taboo against incest is not strong enough to

totally isolate a person. The response of the subjects' confidants indicated that those involved in incest can look to their friends for assistance. It was worth noting, however, that two of the subjects who showed evidence of problems in their subsequent behaviour (cases 4 and 5) did not see fit to tell their husbands or friends about their involvement. It was possible that the lack of support from friends contributed to their persistent guilt feelings about their incest behaviour.

It should be mentioned that the subjects did not reveal any homosexual tendencies, any sexual acting out, pregnancy, frigidity, confusion about family roles, serious depression or suicide threats following termination of the incest, problems occasionally cited in the literature (Maisch, 1973; Gagnon, 1965; Lucianowicz, 1972; Weinberg, 1955; Bender and Blau, 1937).

The social characteristics of the families in which these subjects were raised were remarkably similar to those reported from other studies on incest. It had been suggested previously that the economic status, and the disorganization which characterized families where father-daughter incest occurred was likely a function of the fact that these were families where incest would most likely be detected and hence studied. However, the present examination of undetected cases of incest suggested that these characteristics may be typical of families where incest occurs in general.

The present findings lent some support to the observation of others (Machotka et al., 1967; Cormier et al., 1962) that the mothers of participants in incest were not likely to respond to the revelation of incest with support or understanding toward a daughter who confides in her. When the response of the mothers in this study was compared with the response of others to whom the daughter revealed their incest behaviour, the striking difference in response gave credence to the observation that the mother can, herself, be part of the incest dynamic. The oft-seen denial of the subjects' mothers and refusal to believe the daughters revelations, since this denial was seen across different types of incest, suggested that the mother, at some level, was reacting to protect the family as a whole (case 1). These findings also have implications for helping professionals since it was apparent that the mother was not likely to be a source of support to the daughter when incest was revealed, and that her lack of support and even anger toward the daughter may endanger the continuing relationship between mother and daughter. Intervention directed toward heightening the mothers' appreciation of the importance of support for the daughter, helping her express her feelings about the daughter and her revelation of incest, and toward helping

the daughter understand and cope with the mother's response might well be appropriate. Support and understanding of the participants at the time the incest was revealed would be another beneficial form of intervention.

In general, then, the findings indicated that incest, while certainly not welcomed by all subjects, was not a factor in their lives which was followed, typically, by disturbed behaviour. It was also apparent, however, that a child can be subjected to abuse in the course of incest (cases 4, 5 and 8), although such abuse was not a necessary correlate of incest.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, MAJOR FINDINGS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

This research project was undertaken to gain insight into the behaviour of individuals who had previously been involved in incest. It was felt that such a study would increase knowledge about the relationship between incest and subsequent behaviour of participants after termination of incest. In addition, it was thought that insights gained might be of benefit to social workers or others involved in intervention with families where incest is detected.


A survey of existing literature was conducted to put the present study within the context of other research, and to provide an overall picture of a topic apparently not explored in Social Work literature. It was determined from this survey that opinion about the link between incest and behaviour of participants was divided, although some evidence was available to suggest that in individual experience, incest was not always followed by behavioural problems.

Data were collected by means of a focussed telephone or in-person interview. The sample consisted of ten

subjects who were residents of Windsor and Essex County.

Major Findings

The major findings of the research were:

1. Four types of incest were reported by the subjects: three were involved in uncle-niece incest; three had participated in brother-sister incest; three had been involved in father-daughter incest and one participated in mother-son incest.
 2. Most subjects were involved in protracted incest relationships. Less than half of the subjects were involved in isolated incidents of incest behaviour. The average length of the incest relationships was slightly over three years with a range from five months to ten years.
 3. The average age of the participants was ten years at initiation of incest, although their ages ranged from two to sixteen years when their involvement in incest began.
 4. Results indicated that incest relationships or behaviour were terminated by the subjects typically without intervention of officials or helping professionals. Subjects who were involved with incest partners with
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whom they did not share domiciles were able to terminate their incest involvement more easily than those who lived in the same domiciles as their incest partner.. There was strong evidence to suggest that incest is a dynamic behaviour.

5. Few cases of incest, whether protracted relationships or isolated incidents, were initiated and maintained through physical abuse. One-half of the protracted incest relationships were maintained by mutual consent of the participants.
6. Subjects of this study reported that their emotional response to their involvement in incest changed over time both during and after their participation.
7. None of the subjects in the study had problems in all areas of their adult lives. Nearly all the participants were reported to be free of problems in most areas of their post-incest behaviour.
8. Some problems were evident in the adult lives of the subjects. The most frequent problems mentioned included: feelings of guilt related to incest involvement; some difficulty relating to the opposite

sex during dating years and problems related to post-incest relationships between the former incest partners.

9. A few subjects did indicate the presence of persistent and multiple behaviour problems in their adult lives, the most obvious of which were guilt feelings about their involvement in incest; problems in sexual behaviour, and rather serious health problems, possibly psychosomatic in nature.
10. The majority of subjects experienced problems which were ameliorated over time, perhaps through self-healing processes.
11. There was no apparent relationship between the age of the subjects at the initiation of incest and the presence of problems in their adult lives.
12. The subjects who were involved in incest relationships initiated and maintained by physical force were observed to suffer more problems in their adult lives than those who were involved in incest where physical force was not part of the ongoing dynamic of the relationship.
13. Those subjects involved in uncle-niece incest attributed fewer of the problems in their

adult lives to their incest involvement.

Sibling incest was followed by problems in the adult lives of more subjects involved than was parent-child incest.

14. There was rather limited information about the attitude of parents toward the subjects' incest involvement, and no apparent connection between parental attitude and the problems in the adult lives of the subject were revealed. Most parents were unaware of the subjects' incest involvement.
15. Participation in incest was not invariably accompanied by problems in the later lives of the subjects. Many of the subjects, including some involved in protracted incest, did not report the presence of problems in their adult lives.
16. Most or all of the subjects did not report problems in the following areas of their adult lives; employment history, marital history, medical history, addiction to drugs or alcohol, ability to separate from parental home, relationship to their own children.
17. Subjects reported that their involvement in incest was not a subject that they discussed frequently with others. Husbands, one or two

very close friends and their own mothers were most frequently chosen as confidants. Husbands and close friends were consistently supportive and sympathetic while the majority of subjects' mothers did not express support or sympathy.

18. Most subjects were raised in families that were less than affluent. All of the families of subjects involved in father-daughter incest were reported to be disorganized.
19. Subjects did not perceive incest as something dramatic that happened to them but merely as one aspect of their childhood experience. They did not see incest as the source of all their problems.
20. Each incest relationship, as with any human relationship, had many unique features.
21. The use of voluntary subjects is a viable approach to incest research provided suitable safeguards are employed to ensure the anonymity of the subjects.

Implications for Social Work

The findings, when viewed overall, clearly indicated that participation in incest customarily involved children (those under sixteen years of age), consequently they

may be of special relevance to social workers in the child welfare system of social services.

An incest relationship between any two people has many unique features which implied that professional response to the detection of any given incest relationship should also be unique. It was hoped, nonetheless, that the general findings might help guide the social work approach to this human experience.

The lack of serious problems reported by the subjects in their adult lives suggested that decisions about social work intervention to be made in detected cases of incest should not be based on the assumption that termination of the behaviour must be achieved through intervention. To the contrary, evidence provided by the subjects suggested that termination will occur without social work intervention, although professional assistance might help a participant follow through in their decision to terminate the relationship. Evidence from the literature clearly demonstrated that termination of incest brought about through outside intervention was often disruptive both to the participants and their families.

The present results suggested that it is inappropriate to view incest universally as a form of child abuse. Evidence from this, and most other studies, suggested that incest is accompanied by physical force or coercion in

a minority of cases, while most frequently a child participates in incest either willingly or passively as the relationship does provide satisfaction of some of a child's basic affectional needs. Again, it appeared essential that social workers examine the facts of the case prior to intervening to avoid acting to satisfy their needs rather than those of the client. However, it was apparent that child abuse may accompany incest in some cases and that intervention, including possibly separation of the participants for a time, may be beneficial since this type of incest dynamic may later give rise to serious problems.

Social work colleagues have mentioned that in some instances children who have been involved in incest with an adult present themselves to a child welfare agency requesting protection from their incest partner. While on the surface it may appear that positive intervention should include aligning oneself with these children against the incest partner, there was evidence from this and other studies to suggest that such action may not be appropriate in all cases. It has been seen that the feelings of the child often change over the duration of an incest relationship. It was possible and indeed has been reported in the literature that a child who has participated willingly in an incest relationship with an adult and has derived satisfaction of childhood

needs from the relationship may, in a fit of jealousy, anger or pique, report the incest to child welfare or other authorities. This report may be made in a desire to punish the partner for something but may not be motivated by a desire to be separated from the partner. Any intervention which has the potential for seriously disrupting the future relationship between the child and the incest partner or the family as a whole should be very carefully considered. It has been reported in other studies that such disruption often engenders serious guilt and depression (sometimes accompanied by suicide attempts) in the child and promotes disintegration of the family unit.

The presence of guilt which was either directly related to or associated with the incest involvement of the subjects suggested that case work intervention aimed at helping participants in incest resolve their guilt feelings might be beneficial.

As the information provided by the subjects in this study indicated that the relationship between former incest participants is likely to become strained after termination, professional efforts to facilitate their communication would appear to be useful. Such communication should include discussion of the former incest relationship, in that evidence suggested that such sharing between the former partners does help to

normalize their relationships.

This study suggested that if an incest participant's mother has been informed by the participant of the existence of an incest relationship, it may be useful for a professional involved in the situation to aid in the communication between the participant and the mother, particularly where the mother does not respond to the participant with support and understanding. Intervention directed toward helping the child understand the mother's response and toward helping the mother understand the child's need for support would appear to be called for.

It has been noted in the study that subjects who participated in incest related their experiences calmly, did not see incest as being the source of all their problems and seemed to view their involvement in incest as simply a fact of life. Accordingly, it might be suggested that any social worker guard against dramatizing the situation with a client or reading into the client's account emotion or content that is not there.

In summary, then, the results of this study do have implications for social work. It was apparent that the talent and skill of a social worker is challenged when incest is the subject of social work intervention.

Recommendations for Further Research

It was obvious that there is need for further research on the subject of incest, particularly in the field of social work where research reports were limited in the extreme. The review of the literature and experience gained in this study suggested that research was needed in the following areas:

1. More information is needed on the relationship between incest and post-incest behaviour. Studies using larger samples and more rigorous research designs might provide more conclusive evidence than was achieved by this study.
2. Study could be made of social agencies to determine how they respond to the needs of incest participants.
3. A study of the legal environment of incest is needed to determine how legal intervention affects incest participants and their families.
4. Research designed to elicit the attitudes of social workers toward incest might clarify the extent to which the assumptions of social workers influence their intervention in cases of incest.
5. The review of the literature revealed con-

siderable evidence to suggest that incest is essentially a family dynamic. Research is needed to explore this hypothesis further.

APPENDIX A

Article which appeared in the Windsor Star, June 29, 1976
written by Doris Dixon.

Help needed for thesis

Teresa Turnbull is completing her final year of study to earn her Master of Social Work degree from the University of Windsor. She hopes to write her thesis on a subject that is seldom discussed openly, Incest.

The tentative title Teresa Turnbull has chosen for her thesis is "Women and Incest: A Search for Effects."

She says that people generally assume that an incestuous relationship with a father, grandfather, uncle or older brother must have harmful, even disastrous, psychological effects on a child. She has read reports supporting this assumption but she has also read literature that seems to indicate that the experience is not nearly as scarring as one might imagine."

"We really know very little about incest," the 29-year-old student said. "For one thing, we don't know how frequently it occurs, or over what period of time. It appears to be much more common than most people think. Some published reports state that about four per cent of the average population has at some time or another had an incestuous relationship."

Miss Turnbull compares the blanket of silence which shields these incidents from public scrutiny with the unwillingness, until a few years ago, to admit that child abuse existed in any but a few of the most deprived homes. It is only since it has become clear through closer examination that child abusers exist in all strata of society, rich and poor, intelligent and ignorant, that any headway is being made towards helping those involved.

With the knowledge that child abuse is much more prevalent than was previously supposed, self-help groups, such as Parents Anonymous, and social work agencies are now trying to correct the situation. Before social workers can begin to attempt to solve the problem of incest, Miss Turnbull says, they must know that it is a problem, and must know more about it.

One area the social work student wishes to examine through her research is: If there is a problem regarding incest, what is it? Do women feel guilty or unworthy because, as children, they participated in sexual activity with relatives? Have the childhood experiences affected their relationships with men later in their lives? Are the experiences something they have been able to put behind them easily without suffering any lasting traumatic effects? Perhaps the real problem connected with incest is that it is such a deeply-felt taboo in our society.

Teresa Turnbull has found that even social workers who deal with clients or children who have had incestuous experiences are reluctant to talk about the topic. She became interested in the subject, herself, when she worked as a secretary for the social work department for the Board of Education in Toronto and became aware of the backgrounds of some of the children attending school. Last summer in Windsor, she worked for Legal Assistance of Windsor and occasionally heard a client who was seeking advice on some other matter drop a casual reference, such as: "The reason I left home in the first place was that my father wouldn't leave me alone. He kept wanting me to go to bed with him."

Because of the difficulties in getting in touch with a representative sample of women (over 16) who have had incestuous experiences, Teresa Turnbull asked me for help in publicizing her research project.

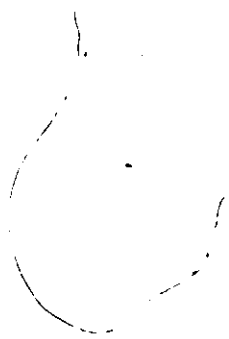
"I feel that they could help me to learn more about the effects of incestuous relationships," she said, "and by my paper we (social workers) might be able to help them. I'd like to talk to women who feel they have been harmed by the experience as well as to those who feel they have not been affected. I would like to ask them what a social worker could have done to help at the time the relationship was going on, and what, if anything, we can do to help now if they feel they need help."

Although the legal definition of "incest" is somewhat narrower, Teresa Turnbull would like to talk to any women who have in the past been involved in sexual relations with their fathers, stepfathers, brothers, half-brothers, step-brothers, uncles, grandfathers, or in homosexual relations with mothers, etc. She promises complete anonymity to those who will discuss their experiences with her.

To ensure anonymity, Miss Turnbull has had a special telephone installed which only she will answer. The number is 734-6144. It will be open for calls on the incest study from June 22 to June 27. The researcher asks that callers give a first name only — real or fictitious. Arrangements can be made during this call for an interview at a time and place that suits the caller. Miss Turnbull does not wish to know either the telephone numbers or the addresses of those calling.

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APPENDIX B



The text of the advertisement which appeared in the Want Ad Section of the Windsor Star six times during June and July, 1976

Research on Incest

If you are female, 16 years or older who has had an incest experience with your father, brother, etc., please call T. Turnbull at 734-6144 to participate in a social work research project. Complete confidentiality assured.

APPENDIX C

CASE #11 (E.)

E. was a twenty-nine year old married Canadian. She claims to be a Protestant who attends Church regularly.

E. has been having an incestuous relationship with her twelve year old son for about one year. The sexual relationship began when E. was drying her son after his bath. He had an erection and she continued to touch him until he had an emission. Their relation has not involved intercourse but consists of masturbation and mutual masturbation. This has occurred twice while they were in bed, but it usually takes place after a bath.

E. has been married for three years. She maintained that she developed physically at a very early age and has had the problem of an over-developed clitoris which, she says, tends to keep her in an almost constant state of sexual excitement.

E. feels bad about the incest but claims she gets so excited she gets carried away. Although she experiences guilt she does not think her son does. She feels that the relationship will end soon, and she faces this with mixed emotions. E. never talks about this with her son.

E. claims that the sexual aspect has not affected their overall relationship. They still feel very close to each other. E. does not feel too guilty because intercourse is not involved. She feels on the contrary that sex has been helpful in that it has given both of them relief from tension.

E. has told a few friends about her relationship with her son. They don't say much. One friend is also involved with her own son while the others are sexually involved with neighbourhood boys.

E. left school at the end of grade eight and began working in a drive-in restaurant. She lost interest in school and reported that sex seemed the only thing of importance to her. She began dating at the age of eleven. Most of her relationships were short but some lasted from six months to a year. Most of her relationships with boys involved sexual intercourse.

At age seventeen she had a baby out of wedlock. Four years ago E. met her husband whom she dated for one year and they have now been happily married for three years. E. has many friends and she and her husband are

active socially.

E. describes her parents as being "too strict" and she never got along with them. She left home and lived with friends when she was thirteen. E. worked first as a waitress. She never worked long at one job but was a good worker and has never been fired.

E. describes her married life as being happy. Her husband is a truck driver and the only problem is that he is away from home. Neither have any problems with drugs or alcohol.

E. has only one son with whom she is involved in incest. He is doing well in school and plans to continue as far as he can. He is fully supported in this goal. Neither mother nor son have any medical problems nor are they involved in drugs or alcohol.

When E. was six years old her mother walked out on the family leaving the father with two children, E., six, and her brother, aged eight. Her father was an alcoholic who left the kids pretty much on their own. He had little education and communicated very little with his children. Occasionally he would have a woman friend stay overnight. Things were hard at home although there was usually enough to eat.

From age nine to thirteen E. stated that she had a sexual relationship with her older brother which terminated when she left home. E. said "it seemed like the thing to do. It kept us close". E. still has a good relationship with her brother who is now happily married.

E. believes that legal intervention in her relationship with her son would be harmful. It would make her son "feel terrible". "It is not as if we were actually having intercourse". E. feels her son is in no way being hurt by the relationship.

APPENDIX D

CASE #12 (K.)

K. was a sixteen year old single girl who contacted the interviewer because her brother's girlfriend suggested she call. She was of Italian descent, born a Roman Catholic. She was interviewed by phone because she would not meet the conditions for an in-person interview.

K. has had a relationship with her father, which began two years ago and continues to present. They have intercourse two or three times a week, and occasionally her father stays home from work and they spend the day together. The relationship was initiated by her father the day after her father caught her having intercourse in the backyard with a boyfriend. At first, K. reports, she was afraid, since her father was angry and aggressive initially. "He said he was going to teach me the right way to have sex and wanted me to enjoy it, so I wasn't scared any more. I like it now, I like doing new things". K. reported that "we do a lot of different things together. My father goes to Detroit and gets a lot of things he uses on me sexually". She talked a great deal about the different things they did together, without being specific at any point in the interview. She thinks "maybe it's not normal, but I like it". She admitted to having had sexual thoughts about her father before incest began, six months after her mother left the home.

K. said that before their incestuous relationship "my father ignored me. He and mom fought all the time and he was not nice". He was never physically abusive, however. After the relationship began, her father became much nicer to her. "He's very kind to me. He buys me lots of nice clothes and we are much closer than before".

K. was asked when she thought the relationship would end. She said "When I meet a boy I want to marry". She said, however, that her father might let her go out with boys, although he hadn't since their incest relationship began. She thinks she will get married when she's twenty or twenty-one years old and wants to have two or three children, "although I haven't really thought about that yet".

K. stated quite firmly that incest had not affected her in any way, except that she is closer to her Dad.

K. stated that she had told two friends about her incest involvement. One was her brother's fiance and the other was a girl from school. Her brother's fiance said it was O.K. (although it was this girl who apparently suggested that K. call for the interview). Her school

friend said "it is better than being beaten by your Dad, like I am". K. thinks a lot of people are involved in incest and doesn't think it does much harm, but she wasn't sure about other people, some might be hurt by it. She didn't really know, she said, if it was something other people should do.

K. lives at home with her father and older brother. Her brother is 19 years old.

K. reported that her mother was very strict with her and that her mother and father fought a great deal "about everything". Her mother just "hooked up with a guy and left home". They never hear from her any more. Her mother apparently moved to the United States after leaving home. Her mother had been gone about six months when K. and her father began to have a sexual relationship. Her mother had not worked while at home, but when asked to give more details about her mother, what she was like, etc., K. began to say, "I don't remember, that was a long time ago and I can't tell you much about her".

K.'s father is a good worker and has a regular job as a supervisor in a plant. K. stated that he had been mean to her mother for years. He has had no medical problems and is not involved with drugs or alcohol. He has had a vasectomy so there is no problem of K. becoming pregnant. Her father has never been involved with the law. As far as the subject knows, her father does not go out with other women. K. seemed preoccupied with her father's body. She repeatedly indicated that he was very muscular, had a nice body, and was well built. K. felt that her father would not like her to go out with boys, at least for a while.

K. has one brother who is eighteen years old. He did well in school until he was seventeen, then quit to go to work. The brother has never approached K. sexually, although she thinks he saw her recently having sex with her father and is afraid he may get ideas. She is not happy about this possibility.

K. runs the house, cooks, cleans and is at home full time. She left school last year after completing grade nine. She had passed all her grades but "didn't like it there, school was too boring". Her father had no objection to her leaving school.

K. had dated a few boys before her sexual relationship with her father began and had had intercourse with two of them. She has dated only one boy since her sexual involvement with her father and dropped him for fear her

father would punish her if he found out.

K. states she has no intention of leaving home right now to go to work. She would like to leave to get married when she is twenty or twenty-one. She would like to have a couple of children.

The phone interview lasted for one and one-half hours. K. spent a good deal of time talking about the things she and her father did sexually, how many orgasms she had, the variety of sexual paraphenalia they used together. She was never explicit about their intercourse, however, nor did she use any obscene language.

She was offered help, but refused, saying that she enjoyed her relationship with her dad.

APPENDIX E

CASE #13 (c.)

C. was a fifteen year old, single, Roman Catholic girl of Hungarian descent. She called the interviewer at eleven o'clock in the evening saying she read the ad in the paper and thought she might help. The interviewer got the impression she was genuine, although she spoke slowly and heavily and seemed to have difficulty communicating.

C. had been sharing the same bed as her older sister. At the age of twelve they began regularly to mutually masturbate to orgasm. (Her sister was three years older than C.). After this relationship went on for about six months they were joined by their ten year old brother and this three-way sexual relation has continued for three years. They get together two or three times a week. Both sisters have had intercourse with her brother who is now thirteen.

C. felt "scared at first but it felt so good" that they continued. She became really anxious when her brother got involved but she really likes him and the relationship seems to be working out well. The children were always close and C. maintains that they get along even better now. She feels that she will terminate her involvement with her brother and sister when she gets a steady boyfriend.

C. does not think the incest has affected them in any way except that "it feels good and better than doing it yourself". C. shows no evidence of guilt feelings.

C. says that her parents do not know and that they would be "really mad and wouldn't think it was right". She has told a couple of friends. "They don't say too much". Lots of kids are doing it with their brothers and sisters". She does not think it affects them either. She has never talked about her relationship with a social agency or clergy.

C. is in grade eleven in school and, like her sister, is doing well. Her brother is not doing so well but is passing.

C. says she has quite a few friends. She has a homosexual relationship with one girlfriend. She does go out with boys and has "had sex with a few of them".

C.'s mother and father get along well, are affectionate to each other and the kids, have a nice three-bedroom home and a swimming pool. Mother stays at home. There is no alcohol or drug problem in the family.

None of the family is reported to have physical or

emotional problems and no contact with social agencies.

When asked if she would recommend this type of relationship for children C. said "well it feels better than masturbating, but each one should decide because they should be able to handle it without freaking out". C. feels strongly that children should not be removed from the home under these circumstances. It would make them "feel bad" and she could not comprehend why a social agency would ever do such a thing.

APPENDIX F

Standard list of subjects used by the researcher during
study interviews.

A. IDENTIFYING INFORMATION

1. Name
2. Age
3. Marital Status
4. Ethnic Background
5. Religion

B. INCEST EXPERIENCE

1. Who with?
2. How long did it last?
3. How frequent sexual contact?
4. Intercourse or not?
5. Who initiated, how and when?
6. Age at initiation?
7. Feelings at beginning?
8. Feelings during?
9. Relation with partner before sex?
10. Did sex change the relationship? How?
11. How ended?
12. Who ended?
13. How did you feel about ending?
14. How did others feel?
15. Did you try to break it off before termination?
16. Feelings short time after termination?
17. Feelings now?
18. Still see your former partner? What is that like?

C. EFFECT ON SELF AND OTHERS

1. Has it affected you in any way?
2. How?
3. Has it helped at all?

4. Ever told anyone?
5. Who?
6. How did they react?
7. Have you wanted to tell?
8. Easy to talk about?
9. What do you think about incest?
10. Are many involved?
11. How does it affect them?
12. Anything else?
13. Ever told clergy?
14. Ever told social agency?

D. PSYCHO-SOCIAL

1. What education have you?
2. Academic problems?
3. When did you leave school?
4. Why did you leave?
5. Have you returned?

E. DATING

1. Did you date much before incest?
2. Did you date much after incest?
3. Did you have sex with partners?
4. Any homosexual experience?
5. Many friends?

F. ADULT LIFE

1. How old when you left home?
2. Why did you leave home?
3. Did you live alone?
4. What is your job?
5. How many jobs?
6. Ever been fired?
7. Work record?

G. MARRIAGE AND CHILDREN

1. When were you married?
2. How long ago?
3. Happy marriage?
4. Marital difficulties?

5. If split - why?
6. How many children?
7. How old?
8. Boys or girls?
9. How are they adjusted?
10. Relation with kids?
11. How are you as parent?
12. Do you give sex education?
13. What if husband ever got sexual with kids?

H. HEALTH - PHYSICAL AND EMOTIONAL

1. Hospitalized? For what?
2. How long in hospital?
3. Any drugs or alcohol?
4. Any emotional problems?
5. Any professional help?
6. Contact with social agencies?

I. FAMILY

1. What were your parents like?
2. Where did they live?
3. How did they get along?
4. Affection in the home?
5. Parents work experience?
6. Any drugs or alcohol at home?
7. Move often?

J. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Any suggestions or recommendations for people working with those involved in incest?

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VITA

Teresa Turnbull-Coughlin was born on May 29, 1947 in Toronto, Ontario. Her secondary school education was undertaken at St. Joseph's College School in 1960 in Toronto, Ontario.

After studying General Arts at the University of Windsor, Mrs. Turnbull-Coughlin graduated in 1972 with a major in Asian Studies. She then was employed for two years in the social service field in Windsor, Ontario. In 1974 Mrs. Turnbull-Coughlin entered the Bachelor of Social Work programme at the University of Windsor, and successfully completed the programme in 1975. In 1975, she began the Master of Social Work programme at the University of Windsor. She expects to graduate in April, 1977.

Mrs. Turnbull-Coughlin's field placement during the M.S.W. candidate year was with the United Community Services of Greater Windsor.

Mrs. Turnbull-Coughlin has been a teaching assistant in the School of Social Work, a student representative to the Canadian Association of Schools of Social Work and a member of the School's Assembly.