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PERCEIVED DYNAMICS
OF THE
FAMILY STRUCTURE
OF
SEXUALLY ABUSED CHILDREN -
A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY

Alina Garau

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree
MASTER OF ARTS (CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGY)

in the

Faculty of Arts

(Department of Psychology)

at the

University of the Orange Free State

Study leader: Mrs Anet Louw, M.A.

BLOEMFONTEIN

November 1996

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Universiteit van die
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November 1996

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Date

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- * My heavenly Father; I do well always and everywhere to give You thanks and praise;

"There are flowers in life's garden
That only friends can know;
And it's deeds of love and kindness
That makes them bloom and grow."

(Unknown)

A. Garau

BLOEMFONTEIN

November 1996

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Man to man is so unjust

Children

Don't know who to trust

Your worst enemy could be your best friend

And your best friend, your worst enemy

Some will eat and drink with you

Then behind, them suss upon you. . .

. . . So who the cap fits, let them wear it.

(Bob Marley,

Who the Cap Fits)

CHAPTER 1

PROBLEM ANALYSIS AND AIM OF STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The following chapter justifies the importance of this study through a brief review of the problem, after which the aim of the research is stated. The framework for this research will also be set out in this chapter.

1.2 PROBLEM ANALYSIS

Child sexual abuse is a major problem in our society. In more than 90% of the cases, the perpetrator is a trusted male known to the victim. The natural father is the perpetrator in more than 50% of reported child sexual abuse cases and in 20%, the perpetrator is the stepfather (Levett, 1994). Yet, media, literature and even educational programmes on child sexual abuse emphasise strangers, paedophiles and gay men as the real perpetrators (Levett, 1994).

When sexually abusive families are reported, they are often portrayed as being the result of individual or family problems caused by psychological and socio-economic related factors. Overlooked in such cases is the relationship between male dominance and sexual abuse. Sexual abuse is a manifestation of power and therefore patriarchal powers may exist in such families. The mother figure is often absent or powerless against a domineering and suppressive husband (Driver & Droisen, 1989).

Society also portrays displacement in male and female powers: women are raised with a gendered subjectivity in which they are forced to protect themselves against the risk of sexual abuse (Levett, 1994). There is a need to effect change in this dysfunctional power distribution by incurring an awareness in society. Furthermore, although many interpretations of child sexual abuse are dispersed throughout various articles, very few cross-cultural studies on child sexual abuse and more specifically incestuous abuse, have been undertaken in South Africa. Most of the available research has simply replicated North American assumptions (Levett, 1994). There is a need to develop an understanding of child sexual abuse across cultures, so that professionals and organisations can deal with the problem in ways which are appropriate to all ethnic groups in the South African community (Levett, 1991).

1.3 AIM OF STUDY

This study aims at highlighting the dominant role that the patriarchal power structure plays in child incestuously abusive black and white South African families, by examining the dynamics of the family structure through the perceptions of the mothers and daughters of incestuous families and thus bringing about an awareness of the dysfunctional power distribution in such families.

"Patriarchal power structure" refers to families which are dominated and controlled by the father (Glaser & Frosh, 1988). The father assumes autocratic power as head of the family, which leads to an unhealthy displacement of power in the family structure and which may procure abusive or dysfunctional relationships amongst family members.

"Incestuously abusive families" are those in which a sexual encounter of any type or category takes place between family members who are related or who are prohibited by law from marrying one another (Robertson, 1989). For the purpose of this research, families in which sexual encounters have occurred between the father-figure

and the daughter will be examined. "Father-figure" refers to any male who occupies the role of father within the family (Sandler & Sepel, 1990).

The term "dynamics" refers to the forces which operate within a field (Plug, Meyer, Louw & Gouws, 1987). The forces in this study refer to the cognitive, emotional and behavioural interactional patterns between family members, as are perceived through the experiences of mothers and daughters of incestuous families.

The term "perceptions" refers to the awareness of objects, relationships and events via the senses. They include activities such as recognizing, observing and discriminating which enable individuals to organize and interpret the stimuli they have received into a meaningful knowledge of the world (Goldenson, 1984). This interpretation of the world is influenced by numerous factors such as the individual's past experiences, personality traits, and the type of stimuli received. Thus perceptions are usually a subjective experience and the same situation may be perceived very differently by different individuals. The mothers' and daughters' perceptions concerning the family interactional patterns will be examined.

1.4 FRAMEWORK OF RESEARCH

Chapters 2 and 3 provide a review of the literature on child sexual abuse with cognizance of the exploitation of the power differential involved in such behavioural practices.

In chapter 4, the research method will be discussed. The results and a discussion of the results will ensue in chapter 5, while in chapter 6, a brief summary of the research in question will be given.

CHAPTER 2

THE NATURE OF SEXUAL ABUSE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The focus of this research will be to highlight the dominant role that patriarchal powers play in incestuously abusive black and white families. However, before investigating the issue, it is important that a comprehensive understanding of child sexual abuse is obtained to enable the reader to review the problem of child sexual abuse in its entirety.

This chapter examines child sexual abuse from an historical perspective, it investigates the definition of this pervasive problem, the categories and types of sexually abusive behaviours, the incidence rate and age of victims, as well as the reason for a large number of cases going unreported and the effects of sexual abuse on the victim.

2.2 AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Prevalent attitudes concerning sexual practices with children have occurred throughout history and across cultures. Attitudes concerning such practices have changed from viewing them as normal in ancient times, to immoral during the Renaissance and as criminal and pathological behaviour today (Iverson & Segal, 1990; Mrazek, 1981). These changing attitudes are discussed in order to provide the reader with a backdrop of the difficulties involved in the recognition, definition and fight against child sexual abuse.

2.2.1 Ancient times

Throughout history, children have been ill-treated by adults and subjected to the kind of treatment which is regarded today as abusive and neglectful (Parton, 1985). According to Lynch (1985), early physicians seem to have been aware that those caring for children were capable of abusing them. In an article, she talks about a Persian physician, Rhazes, who gained his paediatric expertise in the harems of Baghdad. Rhazes mentions in an article entitled "Practica Peurorum", which he wrote in the year 900, that some children may have been struck intentionally. Throughout her article, Lynch (1985) cites various examples, like that of Rhazes, of documentaries or books which were published by leading medical practitioners during the seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries on case studies, which were proof of the "battered child syndrome", a term which, according to Radbill (1980), was used for the first time with the publication of Henry Kempe's paper in 1962. It described children who had in some way been abused by adults. These publications demonstrate a continuing acknowledgement throughout history of the problem of child abuse.

Child sexual abuse, which is a form of child abuse, was regarded at one time as permissible behaviour.

According to Iverson and Segal (1992) and Mrazek (1981), the child in antiquity lived his/her early life in an atmosphere of acceptance of sexual practices between adults and children. According to Radbill (1980), children were regarded as their parents' possessions and they had no rights of their own until the right to live was ritually bestowed upon them. The new-born had to be acknowledged by the father who, as head of the family, had the ultimate authority; even the mother was regarded as subordinate. Consequently, children were used according to the needs and often the perversions of adults and society. It was common practise for children to be loaned or hired out for sexual use. Slaves were frequently "misused" in this way, while the more privileged children were protected by their class.

Mrazek (1981) and Kempe and Kempe (1984) mention that certain types of incest were permitted in isolated privileged classes of ancient civilisations, such as the Inca of Pre-Spanish Peru, the Ptolemaic Egyptian and old Hawaiian, in order to preserve the purity of the royal line. Despite these practices, the general opinion was to view incest as taboo. According to Radbill (1980), many reasons have been discussed by anthropologists as to why incest was taboo. Ethical and religious reasons have been promoted while a fear of inbreeding, which intensifies defective hereditary traits, has also been motivated as a valid reason (Driver & Droisen, 1989; Radbill, 1980).

It would seem that from ancient times to the present, incest has been viewed as more deviant than other forms of abuse (Iverson & Segal, 1990).

2.2.2 The Renaissance

Over time, changes in the social, economic and political spheres created a climate for change in the norms and attitudes concerning the treatment of children (Iverson & Segal, 1990).

The Renaissance (1300-1700 A.D.) was an era of rebirth and dramatic changes in social values and attitudes came about. The pursuit of learning, exploration and individualism were characteristic of this era. Included in the social changes was the recognition of certain individual rights, regardless of who they were and this led to the emergence of children's rights gradually becoming established. By the end of the seventeenth century, the child within society had gained some recognition (Iverson & Segal, 1990) and gradually achieved a place of honour in the family (Radbill, 1980). This attitude was greatly influenced by the Catholic Church, which adopted a harsh stand against any sexual practices between adults and children as well as parent-child and sibling incest. The advent of Christianity and the concept of "sin" paved the way for incest gradually becoming viewed as a criminal offence in many parts of the world (Kempe & Kempe, 1984; Mrazek 1981).

2.2.3 Modern times

An increasing number of people over the last fifty years have come to view child abuse as criminal and pathological (Mrazek, 1981). With the advent of radiology in the former part of the twentieth century, Caffey was one of the first paediatricians to recognise multiple fractures in children, which he believed were due to traumas inflicted by parents. He was unable to convince his colleagues that the fractures might have been caused by the parents (Radbill, 1980).

It was only in 1955 when Wooley and Evans criticised the medical profession for its reluctance to recognise that parents may be guilty of abusing their children, that doctors began to take note. After having studied different features of child abuse, Dr Henry Kempe organised a multi-disciplinary conference in 1961, entitled the "Battered Child Syndrome" (Radbill, 1980). The introduction of the term, "Battered Child Syndrome", was critical to child abuse becoming recognised as a major social problem (Parton, 1985).

This general liberation of society created a climate for the emergence of studies on child sexual abuse (Sandler & Sepel, 1990). In the early seventies, a radical feminist consciousness pulled incest out of the closet (Gordon, 1988) and society at large was exposed to the reality and the extent of child sexual abuse (Sandler & Sepel, 1990). Consequently, child sexual abuse has received an increasingly high profile in South Africa over the past 20 years in keeping with international trends (Levett, 1994; Levett & MacLeod, 1991). Articles in journals and reports in the media emphasise this concern as professionals and organisations seek ways to deal with sexual abuse (Levett, 1994).

Gradually, the approach to child protection has adopted a therapeutic stance. In the past, emphasis was on rescuing the child and prosecuting offenders. However, child protective services are now orientated towards the protection and rehabilitation of the child and the offender and promoting towards an harmonious and functional family system (Mrazek, 1981; Radbill, 1980).

What has preceded, was a brief historical introduction to the way that societal values of a specific era have influenced attitudes concerning sexual practices between adults and children. Based on this scenario, a better understanding of the difficulties related to defining the term "child sexual abuse" may be fostered.

2.3 DEFINING SEXUAL ABUSE

Defining the term child sexual abuse, proves to be a difficult task for a number of reasons. Firstly, problems with the definition of child sexual abuse are related to the recognition of its multi-dimensional nature. The idea of abuse itself, has evolved in a particular atmosphere of social and historical conditions and there are many factors, both at the level of socio-cultural systems of power and belief, as well as in the micro systems of the family and individual dynamics which interact in the development of child sexual abuse (Levett, 1991). This leads to the next important point; all definitions are bound by culture and time. There have been variations throughout history and across cultures in the values, beliefs and attitudes of people pertaining to sexual practises with children (Mrazek, 1981).

Historical evidence indicates that while sexual practises with children have existed since ancient times, whether such practises were perceived and regarded as abusive, has been dependent on the subjective value systems and the attitudes of individual societies and cultures of a particular era. Consequently, sexual behaviours which were perceived as natural in a particular society or culture may not have been seen as such in another (Iverson & Segal, 1990; Levett, 1991; Mrazek, 1981). In order to set the parameters of child sexual abuse, the expectations and viewpoints of parents, children, individuals and organisations on what constitutes acceptable child rearing practises within their community and culture, ought to be examined (Giovannoni & Becerra, 1979; Levett, 1996).

According to Sandler and Sepel (1990) and Levett (1994), no current ideas pertaining to child sexual abuse in South African communities and sub-cultures are available due to the fact that literature and research studies in South Africa are limited.

Lastly, there appears to be no universally accepted definition of what constitutes child sexual abuse and there are also no universally accepted legal definitions (Giovannoni & Becerra, 1979; Glaser & Frosh, 1988; Levett, 1991). In South Africa, the Sexual Offences Act No 2 of 1988 declares a number of sexual activities to be offences. Section 14 deals with sexual activity involving children. The Act states that male persons who commit immoral or indecent acts with boys under nineteen years of age or with girls under the age of sixteen years, are guilty of having committed an offence. Any female person who commits immoral or indecent acts with a girl under nineteen years of age or with a boy under sixteen years of age, may also be found guilty. Indecent or immoral acts include sexual touching or sexual fondling and any other sexual activity in which the child participates with the adult (Robertson, 1989). However, according to Levett and MacLeod (1991), the law lags behind the current attitudes and understandings concerning child sexual abuse which are present in the medical and psychiatric fields. Most researchers and practitioners use sociological and psychologically informed definitions, in which aspects such as coercion, lack of informed consent from the child and the power differential between adults and children are given more emphasis. Cultural differences are also not given attention in legal definitions.

References to child sexual abuse are scattered throughout various research studies, in which researchers have attempted to formulate definitions which are broad enough to cover a wide range of meanings and interpretations involved in abusive acts (Glaser & Frosh, 1988). After an extensive inspection of the vast range of interpretations from various authors, a comprehensive definition of child sexual abuse appears to be a combination of the one given by the Standing Committee on Sexually Abused Children (1984) and that of Arnon Bentovim (1992).

The following is a combination of the two definitions: Child sexual abuse may be defined as the involvement of a sexually mature person who intentionally or by neglect

of social responsibilities, engages a dependent or developmentally immature person below the age of consent in any sexual activity which violates the social taboos of their culture and which is against the law, regardless of whether the act was initiated by the child or whether it leads to any discernible harmful outcome.

The above definition is preferred for the following reasons: The responsibility for the sexual activity is placed with the sexually mature person who, unlike the child, ought to fully comprehend the consequences of his/her actions. Children are structurally dependent on adults and this dependence is one of the factors which defines them as children (Glaser & Frosh, 1988). Consequently, an adult who takes advantage of this dependency would be exploiting his/her power over the child.

Secondly, Bentovim's (1992) definition includes the phrase "which violates the social taboos of the culture". This acknowledges the role that cultural differences play in setting the parameters of child sexual abuse, for what constitutes as normal in one culture, may not be acceptable in another (Giovannoni & Becerra, 1979; Langness, 1981; Levett, 1994). The above reasons lead the author to believe that the combined definition provides a relatively good description of child sexual abuse. The definition itself does not provide a description of the types of sexual activities which are seen to violate social taboos. A discussion of the types of sexual practises is essential to the further understanding of what child sexual abuse entails.

2.4 SEXUAL PRACTISES INVOLVING CHILDREN

The wide range of sexual practises involving children is rarely specified in definitions. Sexual practises involving children may be interpreted according to three main criteria: the severity of physical intrusion; the categories of sexual abuse and differentiating between intrafamilial or extrafamilial sexual abuse.

2.4.1 Severity of physical intrusion

Sexual practises may vary considerably in their degree of physical intrusion (Kempe & Kempe, 1984).

The degree of physical intrusion has been divided by Russell (1983) into three levels according to the severity of the abuse. Firstly, included in what she describes as "very serious sexual abuse", is attempted and or completed vaginal, oral or anal intercourse, cunnilingus and anilingus, whether it was forced or not. The term force, refers to physical force, threat of physical force, or the inability of the child to consent because of being unconscious, drugged, asleep or in some other way not fully aware of the sexual practise. Secondly, "serious sexual abuse" involves attempted or completed genital fondling and digital penetration, as well as simulated intercourse, forced or unforced. "Less serious sexual abuse" includes attempted or completed acts of intimate sexual touching of any body part, clothed or unclothed, forced or unforced.

2.4.2 Categories of sexual abuse

The categories of sexual abuse include non-contact sexual abuse, which involves no physical contact. The second category, is contact sexual abuse, which includes any form of touching of the intimate body parts. Another category, is sexual exploitation. This entails situations of sexual victimisation where the person responsible for the exploitation may not be involved for sexual gratification, but rather for financial gain. As a result, this person may not have direct sexual contact with the child (Faller, 1988).

Each of these categories will be discussed.

□ Non-Contact Sexual Abuse

Sexy talk, exhibitionism and voyeurism form part of this type of sexual abuse. Physical contact does not form part of the abuse (Faller, 1988).

(i) Sexy talk

The perpetrator makes sexual comments to the child regarding the child's sexual attributes or what he/she would like to do to the child. Examples of this may include, "I bet you're good in bed" or "I bet you taste better than your mother" (Faller, 1988).

(ii) Exhibitionism

This form of sexual conduct is characterised by male adults exposing their genitals to children as a deliberate act to gain sexual satisfaction by their look of shock or surprise (Doyle, 1994; Kempe & Kempe, 1984). Exhibitionism can also be accompanied by masturbation in front of the victim (Doyle, 1994; Faller, 1988).

(iii) Voyeurism

This is a way of obtaining sexual gratification either by covertly or overtly observing children in a state of undress, or by looking at their genitals (Doyle, 1994; Faller, 1988). Voyeurism may also entail the observation of sexual acts involving children who are forced into sexual acts with adults, other children or animals (Doyle, 1994).

□ Contact Sexual Abuse

Molestation and statutory rape are included in this category.

(i) Molestation

Molestation is a vague term which includes a variety of behaviours such as the touching of intimate body parts (Kempe & Kempe, 1984). The perpetrator may fondle the victim or persuade the victim to touch him or her, which may lead to masturbation. Other forms of molestation encompass: frottage, which is sexual contact in which the perpetrator gains sexual gratification from rubbing his/her intimate body parts against the child; oral-genital sex, which involves the perpetrator kissing, licking or sucking the child's genitals; interfemoral intercourse is that in which the perpetrator's penis is placed between the child's thighs and intercourse is simulated; digital penetration refers to sexual abuse where the perpetrator inserts his/her fingers in the victim's vagina or anus, or the victim is encouraged to do likewise to the perpetrator;

penetration with objects involves the perpetrator inserting objects, such as a ruler or a carrot, in the child's vagina or anus (Doyle, 1994; Faller 1988).

(ii) Statutory rape

This term refers to sexual intercourse in which the perpetrator's penis penetrates the vagina or anus of a victim who is below the age of consent. The minimum age at which a child is presumed able to give legal consent to intercourse varies from country to country and culture to culture. The minimum age varies between 12 and 18 years (Kempe & Kempe, 1986). In South Africa, the legal age of consent is sixteen years (Robertson, 1989).

□ **Sexual Exploitation**

Sexual exploitation includes child pornography, child prostitution and child sex rings in which the chief motive is not sexual gratification but rather financial gain for the perpetrator (Faller, 1988).

(i) Child pornography

This is the arranging, photographing by still or video production of children involved in sexual acts for a commercial market, often with the consent of the parent(s) or guardian (Kempe & Kempe, 1984; Sandler & Sepel, 1990). The sexual acts could be with one or many partners. These victims are obtained by means of persuasion, bribery of gifts or money. Some children may even be given alcohol or drugs to make them consenting or unaware of their actions. Child pornography and child prostitution are closely linked (Sandler & Sepel, 1990.)

(ii) Child prostitution

Child prostitution also often occurs with the consent of the child's parent(s) or guardian who benefit financially from the activities, but in many cases, runaway children who come from dysfunctional family backgrounds or who have been maltreated at home, may turn to prostitution as a means of survival. The children fall into the trap of prostitution rings which promise them support, security and affection (Faller, 1985; Sandler & Sepel, 1990).

(iii) Child sex rings

Child sex rings involve the repeated, simultaneous sexual activity between adults and children who are all aware of each other's participation (Wild, 1989). As in child prostitution cases, the children tend to come from dysfunctional family backgrounds and they are often sexually abused at home. They are usually taken in by a "pimp" with the promises of security, affection, and money. In many cases, these sex rings may involve well known people in the community who work directly with children (Robertson, 1989; Sandler & Sepel, 1990).

2.4.3 Differentiating between extrafamilial and intrafamilial sexual abuse

The perpetrator as a figure in the victim's life, may vary from being a stranger to a family friend or even a family member. Many people still believe that perpetrators are most commonly strangers who are unknown to the victim, yet this is a misperception according to Levett (1991). A recent survey conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), has found that 80 per cent of crimes against children are perpetrated by family members, relatives, friends and acquaintances known to the victim (Makhado, 1996). Firstly, the media and educational programmes are partially to blame for misleading the public, because they tend to emphasise stranger danger by reporting more often sexual abuse cases involving strangers, than ones in which known offenders are involved (Levett, 1991; Levett, 1994). Secondly, cases in which sexual abuse is committed by a known perpetrator, are reported less often by the victim than those cases involving strangers (Sandler & Sepel, 1990), most likely because disclosure bears its own set of negative consequences such as family break-ups, the threat of being forced to face the situation alone or loss of income should the perpetrator be the provider (Summit, 1983).

Extrafamilial sexual abuse refers to sexual abuse committed by strangers or family friends, while intrafamilial sexual abuse is a sexual encounter of any type or category between family members who are related or are prohibited by law from marrying one another, that is, it occurs in the family (Robertson, 1989). Incest, as intrafamilial

sexual abuse is also known, is prohibited in most countries regardless of the age or degree of consent involved, because it is seen to violate a social taboo and associated with it, is a fear of inbreeding (Driver & Droisen, 1989; Radbill, 1980).

There are a wide range of intrafamilial sexual abuse "relationships". Before discussing these various "relationships" the author would like to mention that the term "relationships" be used with caution. "Relationship" is a word often found in academic literature. It is loosely used in phrases such as "sexual abusive relationship" or "incestuous relationship" which tend to suggest that incest is a two way relationship in which the child jointly participates. Implying that the child shared in the responsibility for the incest discredits the child and leads to a false sense of shame (Driver & Droisen, 1989).

2.4.4 Types of intrafamilial sexual abuse

(i) Father-daughter incest

Father-daughter incest is the most common form of incest (Robertson, 1989) and an area in which the most research has been conducted. The term "father" refers to any male who occupies the role of father within the family and it includes the biological father, stepfather, mother's boyfriend, or even the grandfather if he is the head of the family (Sandler & Sepel, 1990).

This research will focus specifically on the patriarchal powers involved in father-daughter incest.

(ii) Mother-son incest

There are very few reported cases on mother-son incest because it is a very rare type of relationship (Robertson, 1989). This pathological relationship may be the result of the loss of a father-figure in the family and a subsequent seduction of the son by the mother. The mother may be an alcoholic, or she may suffer from a mental illness such as schizophrenia or depression (Mrazek, 1981; Sandler & Sepel, 1990). Juliet

Harper (1993) identified factors which were most likely to influence the occurrence of sexual abuse which involves young males in a female single-parent family as: a schizophrenic or alcoholic mother who may also abuse other drugs, a low socio-economic status and a history of violent maternal or paternal behaviour.

(iii) Father-son incest

Research in this field is apparently limited due to the scarcity of cases which have been reported (Mrazek, 1981), yet Robertson (1989) reports this form of incest as next most common after father-daughter incest. This type of relationship is characterised by intra-psychic conflicts the father has concerning his own sexuality, which he lives out through the homosexual relationship with his son. The father normally has a history of dysfunctional relationships with women, beginning with rejection and deprivation by his mother in his childhood years (Mrazek, 1981).

(iv) Mother-daughter incest

The reports of mother-daughter incest are extremely rare and very little is known about the contributing factors. Mrazek (1981) refers to three such cases in which the mother was a controlling and jealous woman, who had marital problems including sexual difficulties with her husband. Her relationship with her daughter alternated between extreme dependency and extreme alienation which further increased the child's insecurities. In all three of the reported cases, the daughters became schizophrenic in adulthood.

(v) Brother-sister incest

According to Sandler and Sepel (1990), this type of incest reflects a normal peer experimentation which may occur in childhood, even in functional families. It also appears that the psychological sequelae may be less damaging than when an adult is involved (Robertson, 1989).

(vi) Grandparent-grandchild incest

Findings with regards to grandparent-grandchild incest prove that the majority of perpetrators are grandfathers rather than grandmothers who abuse their granddaughters. Stepgrandchildren are at a greater risk than blood-related grandchildren. The greatest share of abuse occurred during temporary child care such as overnight visits to the grandparents' home (Margolin, 1992). It was also found that most grandfathers had been sexually abusive fathers (Goodwin, Cormier & Owen, 1983; Margolin, 1992).

(vii) Incest among other relatives

Incestuous relationships may refer to sexual relationships between more distant family members such as aunts, uncles and cousins (Sandler & Sepel, 1990). According to Mrazek (1981), research studies pertaining to incest among relatives do not always paint a complete picture because of the infrequency of reported cases.

Figure 2.1

Intra-familial sexual abuse - relationship of perpetrator to victim.

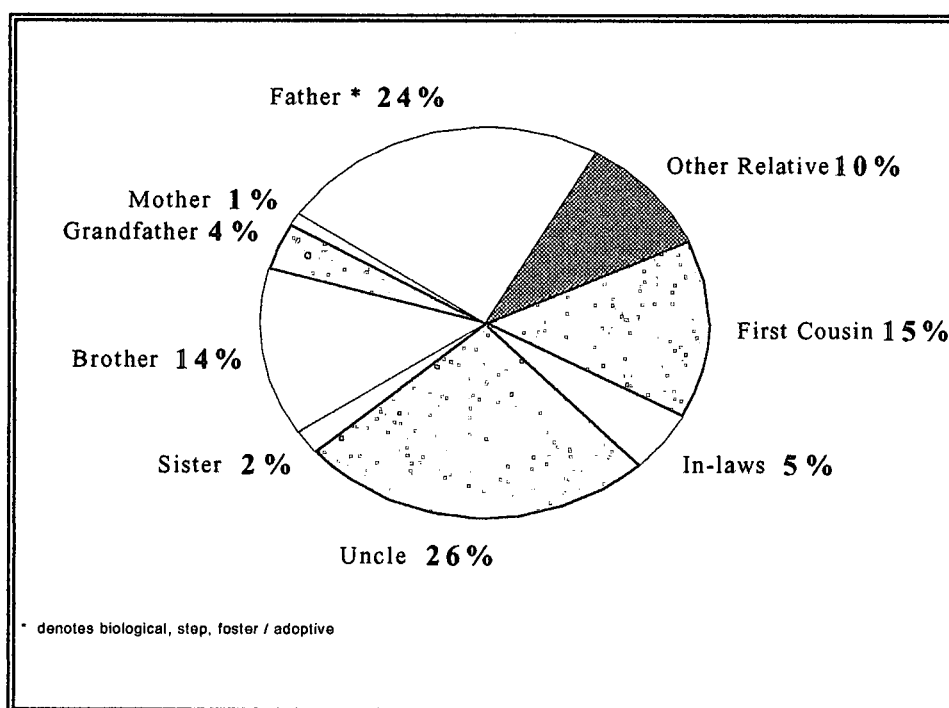


Figure 2.1, taken from Sandler and Sepel (1990), provides a diagrammatic representation of the relationship of perpetrator to victim in intrafamilial or incestuous abuse.

2.5 INCIDENCE AND AGE OF VICTIMS

Sexual abuse is the most recently recognised form of abuse and is now believed to be far more prevalent than was previously thought (Bentovim, 1992). However, it is impossible to determine the prevalence of child sexual abuse accurately (Robertson, 1989). Firstly, because the differences in reported incidences in various parts of the world depend on the recognition of abuse, how it is defined and the focus of each society. In developing countries, physical abuse is given more attention, whereas in developed countries there is greater concern about neglect, sexual abuse and emotional abuse (Bentovim, 1992). Secondly, the large discrepancies in quoted prevalence rates may be the result of differing diagnostic criteria and methods of data collection by researchers. Thirdly, the scarcity of South African material on the incidence rate of child sexual abuse cases may be a result of many cases going unreported. In South Africa, where Calvinistic attitudes prevail, the subject of child sexual abuse elicits overwhelmingly negative feelings of fear and repulsion. These attitudes which are prevalent in the community and often amongst professionals, may encourage suppression (Sandler & Sepel, 1990) and consequently a lack of research material. As a result, most epidemiological data in South Africa replicates research studies from the United States, Canada and Britain (Levett, 1994; Sandler & Sepel, 1990). Instead, research from other countries should be used as a basis for comparing South African data as is done below.

According to the Child Abuse Prevention Foundation, Inc, Washington DC, in the United States of America, one out of every four females is sexually abused before the age of 18 years. Consequently, 22 percent of all Americans, totalling 38 million people, are abused as children (Sandler & Sepel, 1990). In comparison, Mrazek, Lynch and Bentovim, (1983) found that, according to questionnaires which were circulated to 1 559 doctors, police surgeons, paediatricians and child psychologists, three per 1 000 children had been sexually abused in the United Kingdom, while Robertson (1989) found that one in every 1 000 children, documented on the child protection register in England in 1988, had been sexually abused. However, if the actual rate is

10 times higher than the reported rate, as is believed, then between one and three children in every 100 cases had actually been sexually abused (Robertson, 1989).

Although no widespread epidemiological study has been carried out in South Africa, a number of small surveys have been undertaken, mainly in hospitals and child welfare agencies (Levett & MacLeod, 1991). Sandler and Sepel (1990) report on available statistics from various hospitals and clinics in South Africa. During 1985, of the 232 cases of child abuse seen at the Red Cross War Memorial Children's Hospital in Cape Town, 88 percent were due to sexual abuse.

Robertson (1989) presents the following table with the number of cases reported to the Child Protection Unit of the South African Police in Cape Town during the period January to December 1988. (The difference between indecent assault and indecent acts is that force is used in the former).

Rape	106	(14%)
Indecent assault	217	(28,9%)
Sodomy	78	(10,2%)
Incest	41	(5,4%)
Indecent acts	151	(20%)
Assault	88	(11,7%)
Child Care Act	74	(98%)
Total number of cases	755	

From May 1988 to May 1989 at the Transvaal Memorial Institute for Child Health and Development (TMI) Child Abuse Clinic in Johannesburg, 90 percent of the 227 cases were diagnosed as sexual abuse cases (Sandler & Sepel, 1990).

These statistics are a reflection of a very small percentage of child sexual abuse cases for the general population of South Africa. Many such cases go unreported, especially in the case of African and so-called Coloured families. This is reflected by the fact that only 100 sexual abuse cases were examined at Baragwanath Hospital and other clinics in Soweto during 1989, while at the Coronation Hospital in

Johannesburg for Indian and Coloured persons, only 56 percent of cases of child sexual abuse were seen for the period October 1988 to September 1989 (Sandler & Sepel, 1990).

More recent updates on child sexual abuse are reported in the 3 October 1996 issue of the *Sowetan*. Makhado and Zwane (1996) report that The Child Protection Unit of the South African Police, has dealt with more than 80 000 cases of child abuse over the past four years. Of the 80 000 cases, 17 000 were reported during the first six months of 1996, suggesting that by the end of 1996, the number could have risen to record figures. The highest figure in 1993 was 4 736 for rape and 3 439 for indecent assault, both of which include incestuous acts. These figures increased to 7 559 rapes and 3 904 indecent assaults in 1994 while in 1995, 10 037 rape cases and 4 044 indecent assault cases were reported. By June 1996, police had handled 6 400 child rape cases and 2 124 indecent assault cases.

According to Captain Strydom of the Child Protection Unit, Bloemfontein, the following table reflects the figures of reported child sexual abuse cases for the year 1995 (Jan-Dec) and for the first seven months of 1996. Of the total number of sexual abuse cases reported to the Child Protection Unit, Bloemfontein, 70% reflected the Black and Coloured population, while the White population made up the remaining 30%.

	1995	1996
Rape	375	249
Indecent Assault	8	23
Sodomy	11	13
Incest	10	3
Indecent Acts	1	15
Molestation	99	58
Total	<u>504</u>	<u>361</u>

According to Sandler and Sepel (1990), the average age of child sexual abuse victims world wide is ten years old. However, the victim's age may vary from three months to 18 years. At the Red Cross War Memorial Children's Hospital, studies found that the victim's ages ranged from 10 months to 13 years while at the Transvaal Memorial Institute for Child Health and Development (TMI) Child Abuse Clinic in Johannesburg, the majority of victims presented were below the age of 10. An article in the *Servamus* (1992) confirms these figures. According to results obtained from a South African national awareness programme of child sexual abuse, the incidence with regard to age is as follows: 0-3 years (10%), 4-6 years (18%), 7-9 years (36%), 10-12 years (23%) and 13-15 years (13%). At the Child Protection Unit, Bloemfontein, Captain Strydom reports the average age of child sexual abuse victims to be approximately 12 years old.

Furthermore, results obtained from a South African national awareness programme show that female victims comprised 84% of child sexual abuse cases and 16% reflected male victims (Servamus, 1992). These results are confirmed by Jaffe and Roux (1988) and De Villiers (1989) in Sandler and Sepel (1990) concerning victims at the Red Cross War Memorial Children's Hospital and the TMI Child Abuse Clinic, respectively. The boy/girl victim ratio at the Child Protection Unit, Bloemfontein, reflect similar figures.

In comparison, De Jong, Hervada and Emmett (1983), found at the Thomas Jefferson Hospital in Philadelphia that 81,8% of victims were female and 18,27% were male. The high incidence regarding females may depend on a number of factors such as women are more likely to report sexual abuse, or researchers tend to focus more on sexual abuse involving women, or because women are more often victims of abuse than men.

In spite of these incidence rates, many cases go unreported. Summit (1983) provides an explanation of the factors which inhibit exposure.

2.6 FACTORS WHICH INHIBIT EXPOSURE: THE CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE ACCOMMODATION SYNDROME

One of the biggest disadvantages in the fight against or study of child sexual abuse, is the victim's unwillingness to report the abuse.

Previously, it was believed that because children did not speak about sexual abuse, it did not exist. When sexual abuse did happen to surface into awareness, it was often suppressed by the negative reaction and disbelief it evoked (Robertson, 1989).

Summit (1983), a leading American child psychiatrist, formulated the Sexual Abuse Accommodation Syndrome (SAAS), which explains the ease with which a child can become trapped in incest abuse or other forms of sexual abuse.

There are 5 major factors, according to Summit, which determine this syndrome. These are essential for the understanding of the typical scenario involved in child sexual abuse, because it further enhances the understanding of the exploitation of power and authority that the adult advocates over the child. The first two factors are preconditions to the occurrence of sexual abuse while the remaining three are sequential to its onset.

- secrecy
- helplessness
- entrapment and accommodation
- delayed, conflicting and unconvincing disclosure
- retraction.

(i) Secrecy

The perpetrator almost always encourages the child to keep the sexual abuse secretive, often by resorting to bribery, intimidation or threats to ensure silence. Since most children enjoy instant gratification, sweets, money or gifts and the promise of more, may be used to bribe the child into silence. If bribery does not ensure silence for the perpetrators, they will most likely resort to threats, such as the break-up of the

family, imprisonment or removal of the father-figure, threatening that this will result in anger from the mother towards the child, physical harm to loved ones or to the child. Intimidating the child in this manner, makes it clear that breaking the silence is a bad and dangerous act. The child is made to feel guilty and responsible for the "relationship" and so is forced into a web of secrecy, which serves both as a source of safety yet ironically, it is also the source of danger and further entrapment. All forms of abuse involve the exploitation of a power differential. This may be explicit, as where direct physical force is used, or it may be subtle, such as playing on the dependency of the victim (Glaser & Frosh, 1988).

(ii) Helplessness

Summit maintains that children are caught in a catch twenty-two situation because they are made to feel guilty and responsible for the "relationship", yet they are unable to terminate it for fear of the negative consequences. The children are trapped in a situation which is isolating and which renders them powerless to end the abuse. This helplessness is a precondition to the continuation of sexual abuse.

(iii) Entrapment and accommodation

There are many factors such as the fear of abandonment, secrecy and the feeling of helplessness which force the child to consent to the victimising relationship. Furthermore, it is difficult for a child to view the parent as the bad character, especially since children are often brought up with the notion that adults are always in the right. This means that the child will feel responsible for the abusive relationship and since being continually faced with the victimisation, the child must learn to cope or accommodate in order to survive. Children often believe that through compliance, they will be regarded as good and so earn the perpetrator's love and acceptance, or that the abuse will stop, or that none of the threats will be realised. Accommodation only serves to further entrap the child.

(iv) Delayed, conflicting and unconvincing disclosure

According to Summit, the majority of sexual abuse cases are not disclosed outside the nuclear family for fear that the mechanisms which keep the family together, will be

thrown into disequilibrium and the family will fall apart leaving family members to cope on their own. The fear of a family break-up and being forced to cope alone seems more threatening than having to accommodate the victimising relationship. However, if disclosure does occur, it is usually the result of overwhelming conflict within the family or an accidental discovery by a third party.

If family conflict happens to lead to disclosure, this may occur only after years of continued sexual abuse. Disclosure leads to the breakdown of the accommodation mechanism. Disclosure may occur once the daughter enters adolescence and she begins to demand independence from her parents by challenging their authority. The father may feel threatened by the sudden demand for independence especially if the daughter begins to develop outside heterosexual relationships. This may force the father to become more controlling over his daughter which leads to increasing rebelliousness from the daughter. The daughter may try to abscond, become promiscuous or participate in delinquent behaviour. These behaviours are often what expose the secrets, but instead of being understood and protected, the daughter is alienated by the authorities who disapprove of her pattern of delinquent and rebellious behaviour. The authorities tend to sympathise with the parents and they believe that the daughter's accounts of sexual abuse by the father are merely false incriminations against him in retaliation to his attempts at achieving discipline and control. The daughter is left with an unsupportive and unbelieving team who invalidate her complaints.

Contrary to popular belief, according to Summit, most mothers are unaware of the incestuous relationship. Usually the mother reacts to such allegations with total disbelief and denial. It is impossible for her to believe that she has committed her life and security to a man who is capable of molesting his children. Love demands blind trust in the reliability of one's partner. Therefore it is only in retrospect that the "obvious" clues to the incestuous deeds become obvious.

There are very few cases of incestuous relationships of which the mother is aware and these cases are hardly reported to the authorities. The mother will either deny the complaint or try to solve the problem within the family. Reporting the incestuous

abuse to the authorities would mean annihilation of the family, as well as a loss of her own identity and selfworth as a mother and wife.

The role that the family members play in the incestuous abuse is discussed in depth in chapter three.

(v) Retraction

Summit believes that if disclosure does occur, victims remain insecure and ambivalent as to the correctness of this disclosure. Guilt and the need to continue preserving the family may force victims to retract their story, especially when they discover that the threats made by their father during the sexual encounters have become a reality. The family is torn apart, either physically or emotionally and the victim is blamed and made to feel guilty for the repercussions to the family. It is a case where the victim, rather than the perpetrator is punished and unless the child is given special support and immediate intervention is implemented, the daughter is likely to retract her report. The family equilibrium is then restored and the pattern of abuse will continue.

The SAAS provides a backdrop for our understanding of the factors involved in incestuous cases. It also provides a comprehensive explanation for many cases going unreported and hence poor prevalence rates.

Sexual practises involving children would not be termed "abusive" if they left the victim unscathed, therefore an essential part of reviewing child sexual abuse, would be to examine the immediate and long-term effects such practises have on victims.

2.7 THE EFFECTS OF SEXUAL ABUSE ON INDIVIDUALS

Studies to date on the immediate and long-term effects of father-daughter incest abuse, have provided a diversity of emotional and psychological results for the female victim, ranging from those studies which indicate that the victim suffers no emotional or psychological trauma, to those which provide evidence that she suffers varying

degrees of psychological and emotional reactions (Brunngraber, 1986; Sandler & Sepel, 1990).

Whether or not women suffer any emotional and psychological trauma is dependent on a number of variables. Variables, such as the level of personality development of the victim prior to incest, the level of her coping mechanisms, the presence of ego strength in her psychodynamics, the level of her relationship with others, the nature of support systems, the degree of her self-esteem and self-image, the nature of the sexual act as well as the duration of the abuse and whether or not therapy was used as an intervention method, may affect the types of aftereffects experienced by the victims (Brunngraber, 1986). Furthermore, research investigations are added influential factors in the determining of the effects of sexual abuse on victims, because the use of different methodologies by researchers may influence their interpretations and thus influence the results of the effects of sexual abuse on children or adults (Kendell-Tackett, Williams & Finkelhor, 1993). Yet despite these differences in methodologies, a review of 45 studies undertaken by Kendall-Tackett et al. (1993) on the effects of child sexual abuse, demonstrated that sexually abused children displayed more symptoms than non-abused children, with the sexual abuse accounting for 15-45% of the variance. Beitchman, Zucker, Hood, da Costa and Akman (1991) state that their study produced results showing symptoms in sexual abuse victims, yet research studies on child sexual abuse do not provide substantial evidence to postulate the existence of a "post-sexual-abuse-syndrome".

There have also been studies in which the sexually abused group tested, did not manifest significant evidence of anxiety, depression or low self-esteem (Cohen & Mannarino, 1988) and according to Kendall-Tackett et al. (1993), approximately one third of victims in their review of 45 studies on child sexual abuse presented with no symptoms. It is important that practitioners do not automatically assume that all victims of sexual abuse suffer psychological or emotional trauma, but that the development of negative aftereffects are dependant on numerous factors as has been made clear in the above. Conversely, although there is no specific "post-sexual-abuse-syndrome" to describe the negative aftereffects, there are a diversity of symptoms which may manifest

in victims and which professionals should not overlook in their treatment of patients. There appears to be both short-term and long-term negative aftereffects associated with the sexual abuse.

2.7.1 Immediate and long-term effects

(i) Sense of self

According to Robertson (1989), most of the short and long-term effects that sexual abuse victims suffer, are linked directly to their sense of self. For many of these victims, the negative emotions generated by incestuous abuse, namely shame, guilt, fear, betrayal and anger, gnaw at their sense of self-worth (Doyle, 1994).

Brunngraber (1986) and Arrington (1988) found that the major negative effects on the sense of self, include a poor self-image and low self-esteem, feelings of worthlessness, feeling fat or unloved, lacking self-respect and lacking in self-confidence, as well as feelings of powerlessness. A poor sense of self compels the victim to behave passively, lacking in self-assertiveness and constantly avoiding attention (Doyle, 1994). Victims with a positive sense of self were those who managed to work through their trauma (Brunngraber, 1986). On the other hand, according to Kendall-Tackett et al. (1993), although victims may develop a poor self-image, there is little evidence to support the theory that a damaged self-esteem is the core element of sexual abuse traumatisation which leads to other difficulties.

Victims experience immediate negative aftereffects such as suppression or denial of feelings, guilt and self-blame, anger, feelings of helplessness and confusion between child and sex roles. Robertson (1989) refers to these symptoms as internal effects. Long-term internal effects include loss of trust and self-esteem which lead to mistrust of partners, guilt, confusion, drug and alcohol abuse (Brunngraber, 1986; Robertson, 1989). Of the 21 cases investigated by Brunngraber (1986), only one woman did not experience any long-term psychological or emotional problems.

(ii) Post-traumatic stress disorder

Deblinger, McLeer, Atkins, Ralphe and Foa (1989) compared the rates of post-traumatic stress disorder symptoms between sexually abused, physically abused and non-abused psychiatrically hospitalised children at the Medical College, Pennsylvania. Among the sexually abused children, 20,7% met diagnostic criteria for post-traumatic stress disorder, compared with only 6,9% of the physically abused and 10,3% of the non-abused children.

The most common post-traumatic symptoms were found to be nightmares, fearfulness, bed-wetting, crying spells, aggressive out-bursts, social withdrawal and a drop in school performance (Kendall-Tackett et al., 1993; Robertson, 1989). Victims of abuse may experience nightmares or flashbacks of the traumatic incident. Unlike nightmares, the flashbacks occur while the person is fully conscious. Flashbacks are experienced as real since they involve all the senses. The "real" nature of flashbacks can cause repeated intense physical and emotional pain. Flashbacks may cause severe distress, depression or anxiety and even suicidal ideation for the victim (Doyle, 1994; Robertson, 1989).

(iii) Regression

Victims who appear to have reached a level of maturity which is "normal" for their age group, may suddenly revert to the developmental stage and age that they were at prior to the onset of the incestuous abuse, because they still felt secure then. Any incident such as the birth of a child or a gynaecological examination, may trigger the regression by awakening those painful memories which have been suppressed for many years and which cause the victim great distress. Consequently, regressing to a developmental age where the victim felt secure is a way of avoiding the memories and the psychological and emotional distress (Doyle, 1994).

A variation on regression, according to Doyle (1994), is a process by which survivors get in touch with their child-self. They may be able to comfort the afraid and insecure child-self through professional help. The adult victim who can value and cherish the

little child that once was, learns to make peace with the past and it is often a sign that recovery is taking place.

Sadly, many adult survivors are unable to make positive contact with their child-self. They still feel anger towards their child-self and they blame the child-self for the incestuous abuse. Consequently they may displace their anger and hatred of their child-self onto other children, whom they may unfairly punish or physically abuse (Doyle, 1989). Perhaps one of the most tragic consequences of child sexual abuse, is the possibility that the child victim may one day become an abuser (Robertson, 1989).

A few adult survivors may never function properly as adults. They may be fixated in a developmental stage and they have all the emotional features of a young child, with extreme dependency needs, egocentricity and unpredictable emotional outbursts. According to Doyle (1994), this is not a temporary regression, but a more permanent state, which may result in a personality disorder.

(iv) Physical symptoms

The complaints by victims in Brunngraber's (1986) study of incestuous abuse victims were mainly psychosomatic in nature, of which the following physical complaints dominated: pain related to the stomach, back or anal region; migraine headaches; insomnia; nausea and amnesia. Dysmenorrhea, amenorrhea and pre-menstrual syndrome were added grievances.

Long-term negative physical effects were present in only half of the sample (N=21). Psychosomatic symptoms predominated. These included nausea, gastrointestinal distress when confronted with large groups of people, sexual dysfunction, migraine headaches and feeling ashamed of their bodies (Brunngraber, 1986).

(v) Sexual problems

It seems that most children pay a price for being abused, since it incurs a disruption of the normal psychosocial development. Robertson (1989) states that the transition from infantile to adult sexuality has been well documented in psychoanalytical

literature. It is a long and gradual process which requires successful completion of physical, emotional and cognitive motivation through each developmental stage. Each developmental stage, if completed successfully, serves as a preparatory stage for the following stage, until the person is physically, emotionally and cognitively mature to cope with a sexual relationship. The sexually abused child, however, is plunged into adult sexuality without having completed any of the preparatory stages. Such a child is at risk for a mechanical attitude towards sexual intercourse, rather than perceiving sex as the culmination of an intimate relationship and love. Such a mechanical attitude towards sex is likely to provoke difficulties in making and sustaining relationships and thus can lead to isolation.

Brunngraber (1986) found that victims of incest reported one of two reactions: avoidance of sexual relations or promiscuity. Reactions of the victims in the sexual domain included avoidance or fear of sex, experiencing flashbacks of the incestuous abuse during sexual relations, difficulty in achieving orgasm, pelvic pain during intercourse due to anxiety and tension and difficulty in integrating emotional intimacy with sexual contact (Brunngraber, 1986; Tsai et al., 1979 and Gross et al., 1980 cited in Doyle, 1994). Promiscuity or engaging in lesbian relations were also noted as negative reactions to incestuous abuse, as were problems with sexual identity (Brunngraber, 1986).

(vi) Self-Punishment

Summit (1983) states that the child victim is virtually always made to feel guilty by the perpetrator for the sexual abuse, in order to ensure silence. Self-blame and guilt may lead to self-destructive behaviours such as substance abuse, eating disorders, self-mutilation and suicidal ideation. Further self-castigation behaviours may indicate rejected opportunities for happiness, or constantly setting the self up for failure. Moreover, victims may invite punishment by breaking the law, or placing themselves in dangerous situations, or becoming involved with vindictive individuals. Victims of incest invariably place themselves in a victim role, which may lead to more powerful people exploiting them (Doyle, 1994).

(vii) Phobias and compulsions

Feelings of anxiety and terror may occur when victims are placed in a situation which reminds them of the former experiences, which in turn may lead to phobias. The phobias may be so intense that they restrict the victims' personal, social and work functioning (Doyle, 1994).

Fear could lead to compulsive behaviour, such as continually checking a bedroom door to be sure that it is locked, to such an extent that it interferes with the victim's sleep pattern at night or other aspects of their personal, social and work functioning (Doyle, 1994).

(viii) Disassociation

McElroy (1992) cites various authors on disassociation in children. According to these authors, disassociative out-of-body experiences which occur to the victim during the incestuous abuse, are used as a defence mechanism in avoiding the pain of psychological surrender. Victims have a sense of watching themselves being abused in a detached manner. Hence, disassociation is often used by children as a defence mechanism, but if this continues into adulthood and is transferred onto other situations, it can become problematic because at times there is a loss of a sense of reality (Doyle, 1994).

(ix) Relationship problems

Loss of trust in people and low self-esteem may lead to problems with relationships such as feeling inferior, insecure and panicking in social situations, which in turn could lead to psychiatric disorders, such as social phobias, anxiety, substance abuse and depression (Brunngraber, 1986; Robertson, 1989). Victims may experience problems with maintaining a balanced need between dependency and isolation in their relationships - feelings of self-consciousness and insecurity may lead to overdependence on others, yet their mistrust of others could lead to isolation. Additionally, reactions such as hostility and mistrust may encourage victims into affiliations with people they can control and dominate, while fear may encourage victims to become

submissive, which may lead to their becoming involved in other abusive relationships (Doyle, 1994).

(x) Parenting

Adult survivors may experience problems either with their inability to exert control and discipline over their children, or conversely, they may be overprotective or too domineering. A refusal to touch, obsessional behaviour, substance abuse and suicide attempts can impair their ability to parent their own children (Doyle, 1994).

2.7.2 Overall impact of sexual abuse experience

On a five-point semantic differential type scale, 80% of the subjects in Brunngraber's (1986) study, rated the overall impact of paternal incest on their lives in a negative direction and a review of 45 studies on child sexual abuse, demonstrated that sexually abused children had more symptoms than non-abused children. Only one third of the victims had no symptoms (Kendall-Tackett et al., 1993).

2.7.3 Factors contributing to overall adjustment

About two thirds of victimised children showed recovery from the negative after-effects of the sexual abuse during the first 12 - 18 months (Kendall-Tackett et al., 1993). Several factors contribute to a victim's overall adjustment. These include having supportive relationships, involvement in therapy, accomplishment of several achievements as well as disclosing and discussing the incestuous experience with others (Brunngraber, 1986). Furthermore, the type and duration of the abuse, the use of force, the relationship of the perpetrator to the victim and maternal support at the time of disclosure are factors not to be overlooked in the victims' overall adjustment (Doyle, 1993; Kendall-Tackett et al., 1993).

In Brunngraber's (1986) study on incestuous abuse, some of the victims, although in the minority, were able to reap positive outcomes from the incestuous abuse. A few women in the sample learned valuable qualities of self-reliance, autonomy, independence, accountability and sensitivity towards others. It would seem that the positive aftereffects are a result of effective coping mechanisms used by the victims to deal with the negative aftereffects incurred by the incestuous victimisation.

2.8 CONCLUSION

Sexual abuse is not a new phenomenon, yet the awareness of sexual abuse is taking on new dimensions as the present generations' sensitivity to recognise and identify exploitation and its repercussions increases. This is very relevant to the well-being of a society, since a healthy society cannot benefit from the continuing secrecy and denial of sexual abuse (Summit, 1983).

Although this research will be focusing mainly on father-daughter incest, this chapter is crucial to the understanding of child sexual abuse in its entirety, of which incest forms a part. It has provided a comprehensive picture of child sexual abuse, from an historical overview to the definition, the categories and types of sexual abusive behaviours, as well as the incidence and age of victims, the reason that many cases go unreported and the effects of sexual abuse on the victim.

CHAPTER 3

FATHER-DAUGHTER INCEST ABUSE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Before commencing a discussion on the etiology of incest, the author will briefly motivate reasons for concentrating specifically on father-daughter incest abuse.

As was discussed in chapter 1, child sexual abuse awareness has increased drastically over the past two decades and in most cases, the perpetrator is a trusted male known to the victim. In more than 50% of cases, the natural father is the perpetrator, while stepfathers make up approximately 20% of the figures. Although a diversity of interpretations and research studies are available from the United States and Britain, cross-cultural studies undertaken in South Africa are insufficient in aiding the development of an understanding of the problem. Furthermore ways to engage with the problem of child sexual abuse which are befitting to all ethnic groups in the South African community are not promoted (Levett, 1991; Levett, 1994).

Additionally, there are many theoretical perspectives which attempt to explain the etiology of incest. As mentioned before, sexually abusive families are often portrayed as being the result of individual or family problems caused by psychological and socio-economic related factors. Overlooked in such cases is the relationship between male dominance and sexual abuse (Levett, 1994). Sexual abuse is an exploitation of a power differential (Glaser & Frosh, 1988) and therefore, patriarchal powers may exist in father-daughter incestuous families (Driver & Droisen, 1989). There is a need to bring about change in the dysfunctional power distribution existent in incestuous families.

3.2 ETIOLOGY OF INCEST

The following chapter will attempt to examine the etiology of incest from 5 distinct theoretical perspectives. While the views mentioned in this chapter are not exclusive, they feature as the most prominent in academic literature:

- The psychoanalytic approach
- The sociological viewpoint
- The family dysfunction viewpoint
- The psychodynamic perspective
- The feminist perspective

3.2.1 The psychoanalytical approach

Freud showed considerable empathy for the abused child at a time when Victorian society had little regard for children. In an 1896 paper titled "The Etiology of Hysteria" Freud announced that he had solved the problem of hysteria. He proposed that there was a direct relationship between sexual traumas which were experienced in childhood and later psychological trauma (Driver & Droisen, 1989; Rosenfeld, 1987). The "seduction theory" as it became known, ascribed hysteria and later psychological trauma to sexual abuse by the child's father. Freud came to the conclusion that most cases of hysteria were due to the father having molested the patient as a child and in two cases, relatives of his patients validated his theory by confirming the patient's accusations (Rosenfeld, 1987).

This theory was extremely radical in its approach since it broke away from prior and current medical material on sexual abuse (Olafsan, Cousin & Summit, 1993). It was consequently received with hostility by Freud's colleagues as well as by society (Driver & Droisen, 1989). Due to the negative reaction it evoked, Freud retracted his seduction theory in 1905 and even currently, there is much debate concerning his motives. His revised theory ascribed "seduction" by the father to fantasies, which are fabricated by the child as part of a natural developmental process (Kaplan, Sadock &

Grebb, 1994). According to Freud's theory, children have a natural sexual desire for their parents, which he termed the Oedipus and Electra Complex. The female child, once she has noticed the father's or brother's penis, recognises it as superior to her own sexual organ and she falls victim to "penis envy". The actual developmental process enables the female child to work through this process, but unresolved emotions concerning "penis envy" are responsible for the female patient's accounts of sexual abuse. According to Freud, these accounts of incestuous abuse are simply the female patient's projection of an unresolved case of "penis envy".

The psychoanalytical approach thus alleges that actual incest abuse is rare. This has led to much controversy and debating, as well as the fact that children's accounts of sexual abuse by a parental figure were discredited for decades until the 1970s, when a radical feminist consciousness exposed the incest taboo (Gordon, 1988).

3.2.2 The sociological viewpoint

The sociological perspective views the entire family system as dysfunctional due to sociological problems, which include financial difficulties, over-crowding, alcoholism, unemployment and subcultural values. This type of family is a multi-problem family, of which incest forms only one aspect of the total family dysfunction (Mrazek, 1981; Sandler & Sepel, 1990).

There is no certainty about the role of economic factors in sexual abuse. According to Faller (1988), earlier studies assert that incestuous abuse is related to low socio-economic factors, while other authors state that incest abuse occurs among all socio-economic classes (Herman & Hirschman, 1981). Various reasons have been given for these discrepancies. One is that low socio-economic families are often in close contact with state authorities for financial aid or emotional support, and thus abusive families will become known to the authorities (Rosenfeld 1979 cited in Van der Mey and Neff, 1982). Further, middle class persons are more likely to seek aid from professionals in private set-ups who are not disposed to reporting them to the authorities.

Another factor is that society may be biased against believing that a presentable-looking family could contain dysfunctional elements such as sexual abuse (Faller, 1988).

There is a need for more research to assess whether a positive correlation exists between incest abuse and economic factors. According to Faller (1988), if a relationship does exist between incest abuse and economic factors, then perhaps it is indirect rather than direct - that is, low socio-economic status is associated with other factors which may incur the risk of sexual abuse: Physical overcrowding may lead to adults and children being forced to share sleeping facilities which may be sexually arousing for the adult. On the other hand, overcrowding makes it possible for other persons present to observe the sexual abuse and thus put an end to it. Unemployment may have a dramatic impact on the male's self-esteem. The sexual abuse may be a result of his lashing out at a vulnerable child because of his own pain. Unemployment may also result in unsupervised access to the child (Faller, 1988).

Narczyz Lukianowicz's (1972) interpretation of father-daughter incest supports the sociological viewpoint. This author's studies reveal that the most common and basic characteristic of the father is aggressive behaviour and one may argue that incest is only one of its expressions. Lukianowicz (1972) describes the fathers as "oversexed males with poor inhibitions" (p. 307), whose wives and daughters accepted their sexual behaviour as "normal". Consequently, one may hypothesize that incest is the expression of a type of sexual behaviour accepted by the particular subculture of their social group.

3.2.3 The family dysfunction viewpoint

This approach views the incestuous family as a dysfunctional system which stems from the spouses undifferentiated ego mass, rather than from sociological factors (Koch & Jarvis, 1987; Mzarek & Bentovim, 1981). An undifferentiated ego mass refers to an individual (spouse) not having achieved a level of self-differentiation from

his/her family of origin. This lack of self-differentiation inhibits self-understanding, self-determination and self-acceptance. Consequently, the individual (spouse) is unable to invest his/her energy effectively into the present situation or current relationships (Bowen, 1985). Mzarek and Bentovim (1981) refer to this ability of the individual (spouse) to attain self-differentiation from the family of origin as depth structure. A successful depth structure is one in which stressful events from the family of origin have been resolved and accepted and thus can be successfully integrated with the dynamics of the family of pro-creation (the current family or relationships).

Resolving stressful events from the past, enables the current family members to respond creatively and functionally to normal life crises as well as to the current developing needs of all the family members. The ability to respond creatively and functionally to a family crisis is described by Mzarek and Bentovim (1981) as the surface action of the family.

The surface action includes the family's characteristic pattern of communication, alliances, parental function, boundary integrity, family atmosphere, emotional status and relationships with the outside world. It serves to provide psychosocial support to all the family members and to provide them with nurturance and socialisation. This surface action of the current family will be dysfunctional if a poor depth structure was established in the family of origin, and thus the current family may develop a pathological system to deal with stressors. This pathological system impedes the current family's ability to respond creatively to new internal or external stressors which occur in the course of the family life circle.

In incestuous families, the boundaries and roles of the current family members become confused. The surface action which should enable the family to resolve problems creatively and functionally, fails to meet the family members' needs for nurturance, care and socialisation relative to the maturity levels of each individual in an appropriate manner. Instead, the nurturance and caring become sexualised (Mzarek & Bentovim, 1981). The sexual interactions are kept within the family in order to maintain the equilibrium and homeostasis of the family system because external

intervention would throw the family into chaos, disintegration and abandonment. Thus pervasive fear of disintegration maintains the pathological incestuous behaviour and perpetuates it over long periods (Mrazek & Bentovim, 1981). Jean Renvoize (1982) describes it as "they bind themselves together with ropes of mutual dependence, fear of separation, and secrecy, and if any one member tries to break away, the bonds are tightened" (p. 100).

The "undifferentiated ego mass" concept forms the basis of the family dynamics perspective. The family dynamics perspective highlights the way in which individual psychopathology, caused by a lack of self-differentiation from the family of origin (unresolved deeper action), contributes to dysfunctional interactional patterns (surface action) amongst members in the family of procreation. The following section on psychodynamics examines how each family member's psychopathology contributes to the dysfunctional interactional patterns.

3.2.4 The psychodynamic perspective

The psychodynamic perspective highlights the individual psychopathology of each family member and the role that each family member plays in the incestuous relationship. The psychodynamic perspective has stressed the interaction of a variety of contributing factors which include the personality traits of the individuals, marital discord with sexual estrangement and emotional deprivation which leads to a search for nurturance through sexuality by the adult and/or child. Yet the amount of potentially contributing factors is so large and the conclusions so contradictory that no consensus has been reached (Mrazek, 1981).

In the following pages, attention will be given to the causative factors of incest by examining the role that the psychodynamics and personality structure of family members play in the family structure. Firstly, the dynamics of the mother is examined, after which attention will be given to that of the father and daughter.

(i) The mother

A long standing attitude prevalent, especially in less current academic literature on sexual abuse, is that the mother of the incest victims is the actual abuser in the family because she perpetuates the incestuous relationship through her unconscious consent. Kaufman, Peck and Tagiuri (1954) support this view and Lustig, Dresser, Spellman and Murray (1966), favour this approach too.

According to studies by Kaufman et al. (1954), the relationship between the mother and daughter results in a role reversal which incapacitates the mother's ability to acknowledge that the incest has occurred, or to protect her daughter from further abuse. This role reversal stems from the mother's unmet dependency needs and a need for closeness, acceptance and nurturance from which her parents deprived her in her childhood years. Their studies indicated that the mother's father deserted the family leaving her, a little girl with unresolved oedipal conflicts as well as a stern, domineering, demanding and manipulative mother, who singled her out to be the recipient of the family's resentments against the deserting father. Since the father has left, the child expends her energy by constantly seeking acceptance and approval from a hostile mother to the extent of over-dependency. This need for over-dependency leads to anxiety, and it serves to alienate her from her husband in later years when she constantly deserts him and the children to return to her mother. The process is continued in her relationship with her own daughter, whom she sees as a mother figure. The daughter represents the maternal grandmother and the mother displaces her unresolved hostile feelings concerning her own mother onto her daughter, yet she is simultaneously dependent on her daughter, who consequently is forced to take on responsibilities beyond her capabilities. The daughter is forced to take on the roles of mother and wife and an atmosphere is created where the husband becomes involved in an incest relationship with a "pseudo-wife", his daughter. The daughter, who experiences hostile feelings from the mother, feels unloved and she gains revenge against her mother through paternal interest and incest.

The above research conclusions may be very relevant, yet the author holds criticism against the interpretations of this research for various reasons. Firstly, although the

study recognises that considering the personality structures of the mother or of the father independently would not be sufficient to produce the acting out of the incest, very little is mentioned pertaining to the father's role in the incestuous relationship. The researchers appear to be biased in that attention is given only to the mother's psychodynamics and its effect on the incestuous relationship. The research washes over some biographical personality traits relevant to the father, such as poor socioeconomic background, alcoholism, poor education, irresponsibility and little support or love from the paternal parents. The father's contributing psychodynamics to the incestuous relationship are overlooked. Additionally, no mention is made of the methods used to obtain the mother's psychodynamics.

Secondly, the entire research focuses on the effects of the maternal parents' unloving and uncaring attitude on the mother's psychodynamics, yet no attention is given to the effect that the lack of love and support from the paternal parents has on the father's psychodynamics.

Thirdly, Kaufman et al. (1954) state that the mother's desertion of the family produces enormous anxiety for family members, which they cope with by acting out behaviour, yet the research fails to take into account the consequences of the father's desertion of the family, which is only briefly mentioned in their research study.

Fourthly, the sample size of incest victims and their mothers ($N=7$) used in this study, may be too small to represent an accurate interpretation of the population of incest abuse victims. Lastly, focusing mainly on the mother makes her actions appear more reprehensible than the actual incestuous act committed by the father.

Still pertaining to the subject of dynamics, Koch and Jarvis (1987) believe that a symbiotic relationship between the mother and daughter is the provoking factor in incestuous relationships. According to these authors, a symbiotic relationship may be defined as a relationship between two individuals who have become overly dependent on each other to the point that neither individual is able to function adequately

without the other. The individuals are not self-defined persons and they believe that they cannot survive without each other.

This symbiotic relationship begins with the birth of the baby, which is a normal developmental process since the baby is entirely dependent on the mother and she (the baby), is unable to distinguish the self from the not-self. Usually, the mother is the last object from whom the baby differentiates the self. Consequently, the mother plays an important transitional role between the self and not-self. The mother should be eager to regain her own independence, which she achieves by encouraging the child's own sense of self and separateness. This distinction is an overwhelming task for the infant because the self, as experienced in the womb, is safe and secure, while the not-self is less dependable and insecure. The infant therefore relies on the mother to guide her through this developmental phase, which should take place without complications if the mother is a self-differentiated individual with a confident sense of self. This separation allows the baby to develop self-confidence and secureness in becoming a separate self. If however, the mother fears that this separation will lead to a loss of her own security, she may attempt to retain this security through an overly dependent attachment to the baby. This becomes an unhealthy relationship. The overly dependent and insecure mother re-experiences the mother-infant symbiosis, albeit as a mother rather than as an infant.

The mother experiences the symbiosis as a means to safety and security, yet sometimes as extremely threatening. The overly dependent mother is unable to achieve a healthy balance between the two extremes of total dependency and extreme alienation, and consequently, the relationship does not achieve a healthy position of interdependence between mother and daughter. Koch and Jarvis (1987) believe that the mother's dependency needs, coupled with her dysfunctional strategies (symbiosis) to meet these needs, create within the family an atmosphere conducive to incest because she is unable to cope as an independent entity. Consequently, a role-reversal between mother and daughter ensues. The daughter takes over the responsibilities as wife and mother.

Koch and Jarvis (1987), like Kaufman et al. (1954) and Lustig et al. (1966), view the role-reversal between mother and daughter as the cornerstone to the incestuous relationship. While their assumptions may be relevant to the mother's personality traits and psychodynamics, a particular problem is that these researchers overlook the father's role in the incestuous relationship. Koch and Jarvis (1987) admit to having to be cautious not to overlook the fact that the father is the real perpetrator, yet they highlight the mother's dysfunctional behaviour as the major causative factor in creating an atmosphere of vulnerability to incest. Certainly there may be many families with dysfunctional mothers, yet surely not all of these families are incestuous? Could this not possibly be related to the fact that not all fathers have the personality traits or the dynamics of a perpetrator, or perhaps that not all men exploit their power in such families? These possibilities are overlooked in the above-mentioned research studies and many questions are left unanswered.

A case study by Mary de Young (1994) researched the mothers' experiences with role conflict and coping strategies in incestuous families. The study found that many mothers experience a high quantity of role conflict between their roles as wife and as mother and they are unable to cope effectively within this role conflict. De Young (1994) found that mothers of incestuous families coped by means of reactive role behaviour. Reactive role behaviour is based on an assumption by the woman that all role expectations which are demanded by her daughter and her husband are immutable and therefore should be met at all costs. It reflects no problem-solving or affect-altering potential. Instead, it is a strategy of defensiveness, accommodation and disempowerment by the woman. It leaves her with virtually no effect on the family dynamics and therefore no direct effect on the incestuous relationship. Reactive role behaviour is also related to a longer duration and severity of paternal incest.

Although de Young (1994) stipulates that it is not her intention to attribute the blame to the mother for the incestuous abuse, it is clearly her view that incest may result from the mother's inadequate skills to communicate, interact and negotiate with her daughter and her husband pertaining to their expectations and demands on her role as wife and mother.

De Young (1994) presents the personality traits of a submissive and obeying woman and while this picture correlates with that of the patriarchal viewpoint, no mention is made of the husband's skills at communicating, interacting and negotiating. Communication, interaction and negotiation should involve both spouses, yet if one of the parties is unwilling to participate, the problem or conflict may be left unresolved. A drawback of this research, is its failure to examine whether the husband's personality traits or attitude permit for such interaction and negotiation to take place within the family. Perhaps it is the husband's behaviour which influences the wife to cope by means of reactive role behaviour.

Although admissible, the above-mentioned research studies present a one-sided interpretation of the incestuous family. The studies reflect a negative image of the mother - the mother, who has been incapable of working through her "undifferentiated ego mass" cannot cope with stressful events in the family of procreation and so creates an atmosphere of vulnerability to incest. Simply stated, the mother is regarded as inadequate and there are a number of factors which contribute to her inadequacies.

Maternal incapacity or characterological problems, may render a mother inadequate. Yet, Faller (1988) states that an adequate mother may play a role in a different dynamic. These mothers not only fulfil expected roles as child caretakers and household managers, but often compensate for their husbands' inadequacies as well. In such cases, sexual abuse may arise from suppressed anger which the husband feels towards his wife, whom he sees as controlling, yet he dares not express it directly.

Research studies on the role that mothers play in incestuous families are necessary. Unfortunately, many of these research studies such as those presented by Kaufman et al. (1954), Koch and Jarvis (1987) and De Young (1994) provide very little information pertaining to the father's involvement in the incest. This may encourage the reader to empathise with him for the circumstances in which he finds himself. In confirmation of this, Dietz and Craft (1980) found in their study with social workers, that literature on incest, as in the studies mentioned in the above, appears to be a more influential factor in the formation of their belief that mothers give unconscious

consent to the incestuous relationship, than the contradicting evidence presented by the workers' own experiences with incestuous families.

While inadequate mothers may contribute to the incestuous abuse or prolong it in some way, the actual perpetrator who does the abusing should be held reprehensible for his deeds. Unfortunately, there is far too much blaming of the victims - that is, the mother and daughter - and not enough emphasis is placed on the perpetrator's role (Faller, 1988). Consequently, a distorted view of incestuous families is often presented in research studies.

(ii) The daughter

Victims of intrafamilial sexual abuse, have been described in literature as parental children involved in a role-reversal relationship with the mother-figure (Kaufman et al., 1954; Koch & Jarvis, 1987). Faller (1988) differs from this standpoint. She states that while a number of cases in her research study fit this pattern, a much larger number of cases did not.

The reason for this, was that approximately two thirds of the intrafamilial cases had multiple rather than single victims and thus the incestuous triad, with the victim being the oldest female and parental child, could not apply. Secondly, victims who are too young, are not always capable of taking on parental roles. Thirdly, Faller (1988) found in her sample that it was not usually the case that victims took on the mother's tasks where the mother was dependent or did not fulfil her maternal responsibilities. The tasks were left undone.

It has also been suggested by authors, such as Lukianowicz (1972), that victims have perpetuated the sexual abuse through their seductive behaviour towards their fathers. Both Tormes (cited in Dietz & Craft, 1980) and Faller (1988) provide opposing evidence. Tormes describes the personalities of the incest victims as being as submissive as that of their mothers. The submissiveness and passiveness suggest that she would lack the assertiveness necessary to seduce her father, as is suggested by some authors, as well as the emotional strength to resist his advances. Faller (1988) states

that children who passively accept the perpetrator's advances reflect the power differential and role relationship between perpetrator and child. Children are raised with the idea that adults should be respected and thus a child may believe that resisting an adult's request is synonymous with being disobedient. Should the child resist, the perpetrator often has the ability to coerce the child to comply to the sexual behaviour. This sexual behaviour is the cause rather than a result of seductive behaviour, as victims are socialised by the perpetrator to interact with men on a sexual level.

Referring to the victims as being seductive, indicates that the sexual abuse is associated with enjoyment. However, the resulting emotional and behavioural problems, which were discussed in Chapter 2, provide evidence of the victim's emotional resistance and her awareness that her father's advances are socially unacceptable (Dietz & Craft, 1980).

For the overwhelming majority of victims, the negative aspects of incestuous abuse, far outweigh the positive ones (Faller, 1988; Kendall-Tackett et al., 1993). This evidence indicates that victims are not likely to have perpetuated the sexual abuse through seductive behaviour, but rather that they are forced and are sexually exploited by the father.

(iii) The father

Three types of personalities in the sexually abusive offender have been documented:

- the psychopathic personality
- the psychosexually immature personality
- the introversive personality

□ The psychopathic personality

This personality type is severely emotionally disturbed. Individuals are characterised by a loss of ethical and moral standards. They are manipulative and deceitful without guilt or remorse for their offensive actions. Promiscuity, spouse abuse and child abuse are common behaviours amongst psychopathic personality types (Kaplan et al., 1994; Sandler & Sepel, 1990).

□ **The psychosexually immature personality**

The psychosexually immature personality may be described as a 'paedophile'. Paedophiles are adult men who obtain sexual gratification through various sexual behaviours with children (Kempe & Kempe, 1984). Often such men have had a traumatic sexual experience in childhood (Faller, 1988; Sandler & Sepel, 1990). The sexual abuse may have been directly experienced by the father, or he may have witnessed or been aware of the sexual abuse of others (Faller, 1988). One characteristic of paedophiles, is their need to control a child sexually in order to convince themselves that their own past personal experience is harmless and that through repetition, they can gain control over their past experience (Sandler & Sepel, 1990). The perpetrator's abusive pattern is often a reflection of his childhood experience and sometimes the emotional tone of that experience is reflected in his sexually abusive behaviour. For instance, the perpetrator's victims may be treated in a humiliating manner if the childhood experience was perceived as humiliating. Further, the sexual abuse may also be a reflection of the perpetrator's identification with the abuser (Faller, 1988).

□ **The introversive personality**

It would seem that most offenders fall into this category (Sandler & Sepel, 1990) and is the result of a harsh or deprived childhood experience. This may include marital discord, divorce, multiple caretakers, alcoholism, physical abuse and instances where the child feels unjustly punished or rejected by the mother (Faller, 1988). As a result, the male child grows up incapable of developing intimate relationships (Faller, 1988) and he cannot meet his needs in a non-sexual manner. He is socially isolated and he has feelings of masculine and sexual inadequacy. These contribute to his feelings of low self-worth and disenable him from developing suitable perceptions on parenting skills (Sandler & Sepel, 1990).

A recent study by Pothast and Allen (1994) found that males who have a low self-esteem and a poor self-image may overcompensate for their feelings of inadequacy by sexually exploiting children or physically abusing their partners. These findings are consistent with Herman and Hirschman's (1981) findings in which incestuously abused women described their fathers as domineering. Incestuous fathers used

physical force and intimidation to dominate their families, although the assaultive behaviour was controlled. The violent assaults were not critical enough to provoke external intervention in the family. Most singled out only one family member to bear the brunt of their attacks. Many victims reported to having seen their mothers being physically assaulted by their fathers. The daughter whom the father used for his sexual gratification usually escaped the physical attack. In some cases, the daughter tolerated the sexual abuse in order to avoid physical attack (Herman & Hirschman, 1981). According to Levang (1986), verbal abuse such as blaming and belittling by the father is another means of establishing control over the other family members.

Conference handouts by Ray Wyre (1994) at an international seminar and findings by Dietz and Craft (1980), confirm these studies. They describe incestuous families as patriarchal. The father is the authoritative figure and he underscores his authority through physical abuse of his wife as well as physical and sexual abuse of his daughter(s). Incestuous fathers are selfish, controlling and macho men. They regard their wife and children as possessions, which permits them to treat them as they please.

These selfish, patriarchal men cover up their insecurities by establishing power, either through physical or verbal abuse, or both. This may be particularly so if their authority is threatened by a self-assertive child or wife (Wyre, 1994).

Further, alcohol abuse by the father is common (Dietz & Craft, 1980; Herman & Hirschman, 1981). Substance abuse serves two functions. Firstly, it may be used as a disinhibitor which facilitates the sexual abuse and secondly, it can be used to obliterate the perpetrator to feelings of pain and guilt related to the sexual abuse (Faller, 1988).

In incestuous families, there is a systematic misrecognition and displacement of power (Driver & Droisen, 1989). While the research studies of Kaufman et al. (1966), Koch and Jarvis (1987) and de Young (1994) may provide explanations for the mother's absence or powerlessness, overlooked are the effects of patriarchal

powers in the family system, which may provide a more comprehensive understanding of the father's behaviour in incestuous families.

The feminist viewpoint provides added perspectives and a more profound understanding of patriarchal powers existent in incestuous families.

3.2.5 The feminist perspective

No single view of incest is complete, yet the feminist perspective provides a more comprehensive understanding of this complex problem. Research studies which omit to take into account the feminist perspectives on dysfunctional families, in which some form of abuse occurs, are left flawed because they do not provide a complete picture (Yllö, 1993).

The feminist perspective regards gender and power as important elements to be taken into consideration when dealing with incestuous families, because in all socio-cultural contexts it is not uncommon for men to hold the most public and economic power, as well as to dominate the private sphere through their authority over women and children (Levett, 1994; Yllö, 1993). Linked to this dominance is the fact that men are most often the perpetrators of sexual abuse and prevalent research emphasises concern and the consequences for girls and women (Levett, 1994). Various reasons and explanations are given for sexually abusive behaviours, yet the role of patriarchy is often overlooked.

Patriarchy is very complex and multidimensional (Yllö, 1993). It is the universal view that seeks to create and maintain male control over females (Driver & Droisen, 1989). It is a system of male power in society (Yllö, 1993) in which women are viewed as secondary and an object for male manipulation (Driver & Droisen, 1989). Gender roles regarding masculinity and femininity are shaped by social expectations. They are socially constructed and they create and maintain male supremacy within the family and society. These roles are neither inherent nor functional, as is suggested

by various other psychological and sociological approaches (Yllö, 1993). The power theory examines the influence of social expectations on gender roles.

3.2.5.1 The power theory

The power theory, is a theoretical framework used by feministic workers at Dymphnia House, a community based incest centre in Sydney. The power theory makes use of terms such as "structural power" and "personal power". Structural power is used when referring to the influence that social expectations have on the role of patriarchy and personal power refers to the influence that the individual's inner strength and power have on the role of patriarchy (Driver & Droisen, 1989). Attention will be given to each of these terms.

■ Structural power

Structural power, is power which is granted to individuals by society on the basis of certain factors such as gender, age, race, intelligence, education and status. Structural power allows for certain classes in society to exercise control over others. These forms of power are hierarchical and authoritarian. It connotes competition, force and dominance. Where there is structural power, exists the possibility of exploitation, particularly if that power is reinforced or supported by the members of society. Society has granted to fathers of families authority over their family members. Marx Ferree (1990) states that male dominance within families is part of a wider system of male power which may occur at women's cost. Examples of these are violence against women in the form of physical abuse, sexual harassment, rape or incest.

Male dominance grows out of the belief that women are unequal to men and this reinforces male dominance and female subordination, within the family and outside it (Yllö, 1993). The potential becomes greater if it involves the misuse of personal power by family members. It is true that not all males in families abuse children, but if they misuse their personal power, then the possibility for child sexual abuse becomes even greater (Driver & Droisen, 1989).



□ **Personal power**

Personal power is the power or strength within the self and it influences the role of patriarchy within the family, if family members have a dysfunctional personal power (Driver & Droisen, 1989). Well-channelled personal power is very essential as it enables individuals to control their lives, fulfil their needs and to reach self-actualization, without harm to others. A healthy personal power operates from the base of respect for the self and for other's self-worth. It stems from a positive self-image which enables the individual to be goal-orientated and self-assertive without becoming aggressive. Individuals with a good self-image are sure of their beliefs and convictions, but they are neither dogmatic nor fixed in their thinking. They are capable of hearing and evaluating others' viewpoints without feeling threatened (Kerr, 1988). Unfortunately, personal power has a dark side if it is not controlled, or if it stems from deep rooted fears and anger due to an "undifferentiated ego mass" (Bowen, 1985). This type of personal power is dysfunctional and it places the individual at the risk of being an abuser, particularly if the social environment also bestows structural power on that individual, for example, the father-figure in the family. It is important to note that the effects of dysfunctional personal power do not only pertain to tyrannical abusers. Dysfunctional personal power may encourage victims to submit to the abuse. This concept highlights the need for the full development of each individual's personal power, so that no individual is at risk of becoming either a persecutor or a victim of abuse (Driver & Droisen, 1989).

This is especially true when considering the psychology of males and females. According to Maccoby (1980), the clearest gender difference concerning personalities shows up in early childhood, when males tend to be more aggressive than females. Boys are more apt to play boisterously, fight, dominate other children and challenge their parents. Girls, on the other hand, are more likely to co-operate with their parents and they tend to avoid clashing with playmates. Boys tend to become involved in conflict more readily and they are prone to using force or threats to get their way. Combine this natural aggression with a dysfunctional personal power, and one has the makings of an abuser.

◦

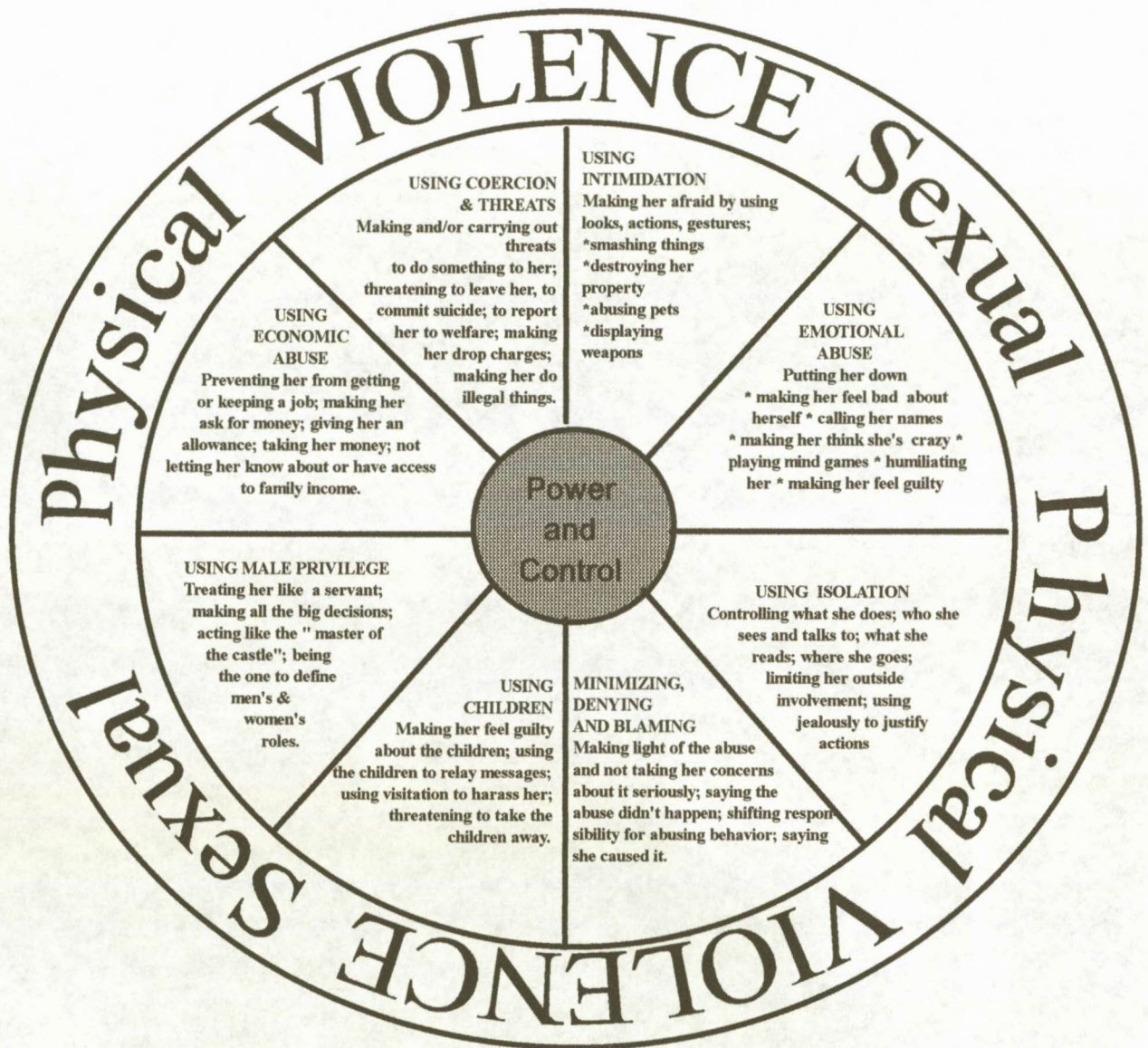
The abusing of personal power by the father-figure may well be a common feature in incestuous relationships. Dietz and Craft (1980) state that there is a striking parallel between incestuous families and ones in which wife abuse occurs. Both types of families are typically patriarchal, with overpowering husbands and submissive wives. Wife abuse may also be a common occurrence in incestuous families, a suggestion which is supported by Dietz and Craft (1980), Herman and Hirshman (1981) as well as Pothast and Allen (1994).

3.2.5.2 The Power and Control Wheel

The striking parallel between incestuous families and ones in which wife abuse occurs, suggests that the control model of domestic violence known as the Power and Control Wheel (see Fig. 3.1) which was developed by the Domestic Abuse Intervention Project in Duluth, Minnesota, should hold true for incestuous families.

Figure 3.1

The Power and Control Wheel

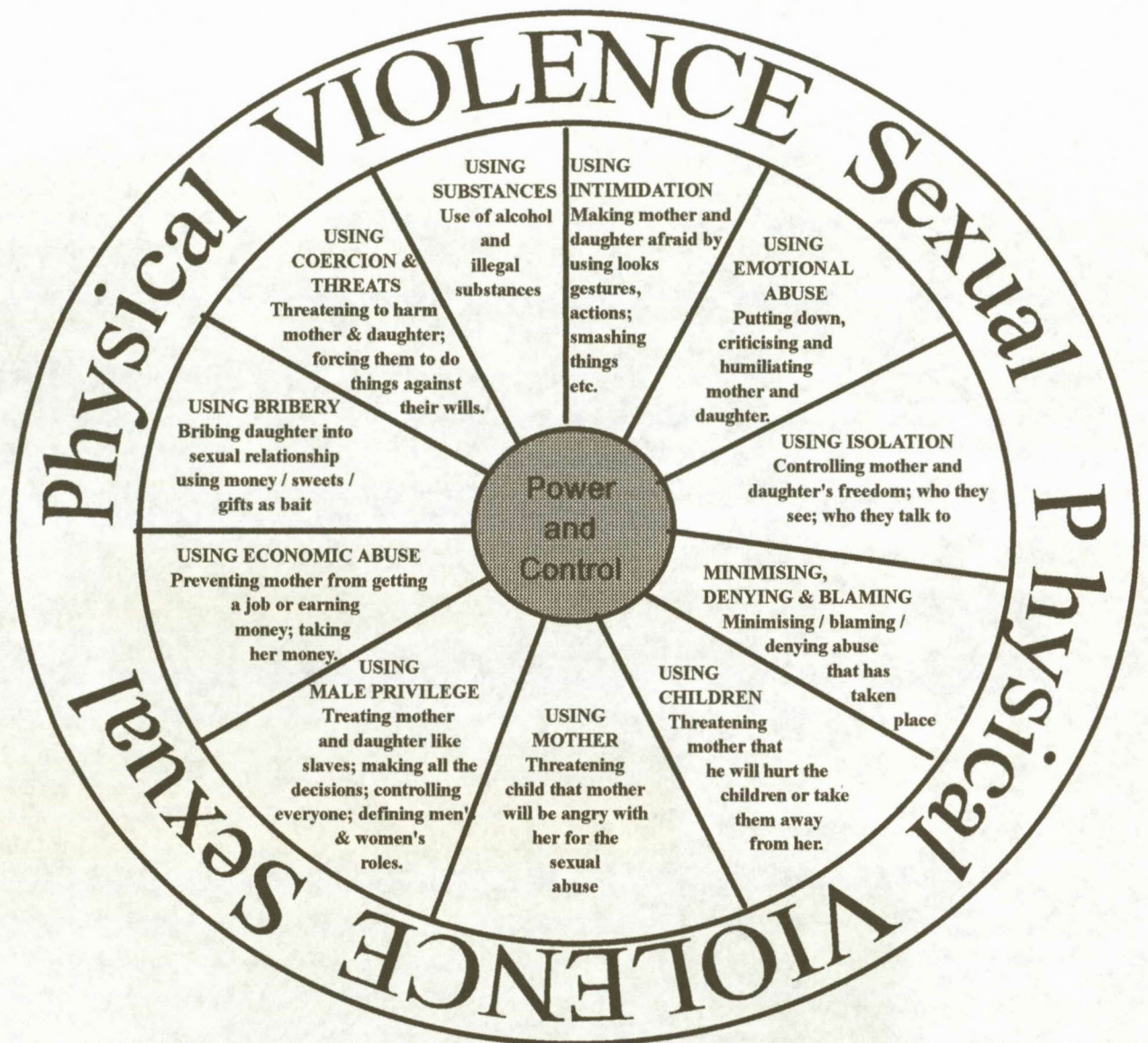


This wheel was developed through the researching of the experiences of victims of domestic abuse.

The wheel views physical and sexual violence as the major forms of power and control over women. Power and control are obtained through the different spokes on the wheel: intimidation, emotional abuse, isolation, minimisation and blaming, use of the children, assertion of male rights, economic abuse and threats. The wheel interprets violence as a tactic to obtain power and control and attached to it is a prominent gendered subjectivity (Yllö, 1993).

Figure 3.2

The adapted version of the Power and Control Wheel



This wheel represents the adapted version of the Power and Control Wheel (Fig. 3.1).

This wheel, which represents physical and sexual power over the wife, has been adapted by the present author to represent patriarchal power over the mother and daughter of incestuous families (see Fig. 3.2). The adapted wheel has added spokes which were generated through a review of literature on incestuous abuse: They are as follows: intimidation, emotional abuse, isolation, minimisation and blaming, use of the children, use of the mother, assertion of male rights, economic abuse, bribery, coercion and threats and substance abuse.

Both wheels rest on the basis of behavioural psychology and the social exchange theory. Men abuse the other family members because they regard the family members as their possessions. This attitude is reinforced by society, which places men in charge of their families and visa versa. Furthermore, there are numerous rewards attached to power and control (Yllö, 1993) such as sexual gratification or feeling important or macho (Wire, 1994).

This research study will undertake to examine the abuse of power and control by the father-figure over family members involved in incestuous abuse. The Power and Control Wheel, which denotes patriarchy and the exploitation of power, will form the basis of the questionnaires in order to determine whether patriarchal powers exist in South African black and white incestuous families.

3.3 CONCLUSION

This chapter focused on the etiology of father-daughter incest. The theories are so numerous and at times extremely contradicting, that no real consensus has been reached. The most prominent, although not exclusive theories, discussed in literature, as well as in this chapter are: the psycho-analytical approach, which claims that actual incest abuse is rare and is a result of unresolved childhood fantasies; the sociological viewpoint, which views the incestuous family as a dysfunctional system resulting from socio-economic and subcultural factors; the family dysfunction viewpoint, which regards unresolved emotional conflicts in the family of origin and the inability to integrate them with the present family's conflicts, as the main problem; the psychodynamic approach, which views the individual psychodynamics of each family member as causative to the incest; and lastly, the feminist approach, which regards any form of abuse as being an exploitation of power.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The following chapter will examine the methodology utilised in this study. In this chapter, attention is given to the identification and discussion of the hypotheses and the research design.

4.2 RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS

In the preceding chapter, various theories on the etiology of incest have been discussed. According to Yllö (1993), although no single view on the etiology of incest is complete, theories which fail to recognize the patriarchal tendencies which dominate in incestuous families, portray an incomplete picture of incestuous families. Physical and sexual violence by the father-figure towards the female members of the family are major forms of power and control and this fact is often overlooked by other theoretical approaches. Thus, there is a need to establish whether patriarchal tendencies play a major role in incestuous families, and to effect change if a dysfunctional power distribution exists. Furthermore, cross-cultural studies on incest abuse are lacking in South Africa. There is a need to find ways which are befitting to all ethnic groups in South Africa in dealing with this problem (Sandler & Sepel, 1990). The following two hypotheses have been formulated:

Hypothesis 1:

The perceptions of black and white South African mothers concerning the family interactional patterns in families where the daughter has been sexually abused by the father-figure, indicate the use of power and control by the father-figure.

Hypothesis 2:

The perceptions of black and white South African daughters concerning the family interactional patterns in families where the daughter has been sexually abused by the father-figure, indicate the use of power and control by the father-figure.

Each of the above formulated research hypothesis may be presented in the following statistical terms:

$H_0 : P_{jk} = P_j P_k$ for each of the jk -cells

$H_1 : P_{jk} \neq P_j P_k$ for at least one of the jk -cells

where : j refers to the total columns and

k refers to the total rows for each specifically involved situation.

4.3 THE STATISTICAL PROCEDURE

The chi-square test for homogeneity (Huysamen, 1989) has been used to research the above formulated hypotheses. The chi-square test was used as it was the most suited test for the small sample size that was obtained, as well as the fact that proportions for the sample size could be calculated in order to determine the possible use of power and control, and to indicate possible differences between the ethnic groups.

When the expected frequencies are large, the chi-square formula can be used without any problem. However, if the expected frequencies are less than ten and in particular, when the degrees freedom (df) is small, $df = 1$, then the chi-square formula is not accurate enough. In such a case, the Yates' Correction may be used. This formula slightly reduces the value obtained. Although this formula may be used, the lack of

consensus on whether and when to use Yates' Correction should be noted. Bless and Kathuria (1993) suggest that the conditions for using Yates' Correction be when $df = 1$ and the expected frequencies are less than ten.

For this research, although some of the frequencies were less than ten, the degrees of freedom equalled two ($df=2$), and thus the application of Yates' Correction was not applicable.

4.4 THE RESEARCH DESIGN

4.4.1 The methodological approach

Due to the fact that prior to this research, participants already belonged to specific groups, namely either a black or white ethnic group and secondly, belonging to a family as either a mother or a daughter, the researcher had no control over the independent variables. This research may be referred to as ex post facto research (Huysamen, 1988). The manipulation or controlling of the independent variables (as is the case with an experimental research) was not possible in this research and thus the independent variables, i.e. the culture group and the family member, are known as classification factors (Huysamen, 1988).

The dependent variable for this research, is the perceptions of the black and white mothers and daughters concerning the use of power and control by the father-figure.

4.4.2 The research groups

The objective was to obtain completed inventories from 30 incest victims between the ages of 5 years and 18 years, who had been sexually abused by the father-figure (this included the biological father, stepfather, mother's fiancé or boyfriend, the

grandfather, or any male to whom the victim looked up to as head of the household), as well as 30 completed inventories from the victims' mothers.

Various organisations in Bloemfontein were contacted. The Child Protection Unit provided a list of 25 names of victims and their addresses. The list included the names of 13 white victims and 12 black victims. These persons were contacted by the researcher at the given addresses. Due to geographical locations, contact was made with only 13 victims of the original list: six were white victims and the remaining seven were black victims. The Oranje Vroue Vereeniging was able to supply the name of one victim and her address.

The Community Services for Child Sexual Abuse was contacted for a list of names of incest victims. Although a list of names was not received, as social workers preferred to retain the anonymity of their clients, they offered to act as contact persons between the victims, their mothers and the researcher. The Community Services thus managed to obtain eight completed inventories, of which six were white and two were black incest victims.

Furthermore, one incest victim's name and address were obtained by word of mouth and contact was made by the researcher.

Thus, the completed inventories amounted to 46, of which 23 were answered by the victims and 23 by their mothers: 26 of the 46 inventories were completed by the white victims and their mothers and 20 inventories were completed by the black victims and their mothers.

Table 4.1 provides frequency and percentage distributions for how the groups are distributed in terms of the independent variables (ethnic group and family member).

Table 4.1
Frequency distribution for research groups concerning the two independent variables.

Independent variables	Frequency	Percentage
Ethnic group: Black	26	56,5
White	20	43,5
Total	46	100
Family member: Mother	23	50,0
Daughter	23	50,0
Total	46	100

From table 4.1, it is clear that the research groups with respect to the ethnic group, are relatively evenly distributed. With respect to the other independent variable, the distribution is exactly the same as there are equal numbers of mothers and daughters.

4.4.3 The assimilation of data

The data was assimilated by means of clinical inventories which were handed to the respondents. The next section takes a look at the clinical inventories in more detail, but prior to this, more attention will be given to when the assimilation of data took place and by whom.

The data was obtained during the period May 1996 to August 1996. Of the 46 respondents who participated, 30 mothers and their daughters were interviewed by the researcher. Fourteen of these respondents were white. An interpreter was employed for the Sesotho and Tswana languages for the remaining 16 black respondents, the reason being that the researcher anticipated illiteracy amongst some black respondents. The interpreter was fully tri-lingual in English, Sesotho and Tswana and she was a student of psychology and social work. Furthermore, 12 inventories were assimilated by a white social worker at the Community Services for Child Sexual

Abuse, and the remaining 4 inventories were completed by black respondents, with the aid of a black social worker who translated the questions.

In keeping with the Community Services' request, to retain the anonymity of the clients, the researcher had no contact with these respondents. The researcher had no control over the different interviewers. The researcher also had no control over the fact that the first interpreter and the black social worker's translations may have varied in their personal interpretations of the questions. The researcher is aware that the above factors are possible nuisance variables which could possibly interfere with the final outcome. It was the researcher's initial intention to interview the black respondents using only one interpreter. However, due to the Community Services' request to retain the clients' anonymity, this was not possible.

In retrospect, to overcome the nuisance variables in future researches, the English translation of the inventories should be used as a basis to translate the inventories into Sesotho and Tswana first, and then an interpreter's services should be employed to read out the questions to the illiterate. This method, although more expensive and time consuming, would cancel out possible nuisance variables.

More specific detail concerning the clinical inventories will be given in the following section.

4.4.3.1 Compilation of the clinical inventories

Two clinical inventories were compiled - one for the mother and one for the daughter respectively.

The clinical inventory for the mother consisted of 74 items arranged in an 8 page booklet, available in English and Afrikaans. An interpreter was used for the Sesotho and Tswana languages. Fourteen of these items concerned the background and characteristics of the respondent and the perpetrator, while the remaining items dealt with

the respondents' perceptions of each family member, that is, the father, the mother and the daughter according to the interactional patterns in which father-daughter incest had occurred.

The clinical inventory for the daughter consisted of 53 items arranged in a 5 page booklet, also available in English and Afrikaans. As in the case of the others, an interpreter was used for the Sesotho and Tswana languages. Three of these eight items concerned the background and characteristics of the respondents, while the remaining items dealt with the respondents perceptions of each family member, that is, the father, the mother and the daughter according to the interactional patterns in which father-daughter incest had occurred.

For both inventories, the items were organised (although not conceptually) into 11 different sub-sections or constructs. Eight of the 11 sub-sections were taken from the Power and Control Wheel (refer to Fig 3.1) which was developed by the Domestic Abuse Intervention Project in Duluth, Minnesota (Yllö, 1993). The other sub-sections were derived from literature on incestuous abuse. The sub-sections for the mother are as follows: (1) using intimidation, (2) using emotional abuse, (3) using isolation, (4) using minimising, denying and blaming, (5) using the children, (6) using the mother, (7) using male privilege, (8) using economic abuse, (9) using bribery, (10) using coercion and threats, (11) substance abuse.

The sub-sections for the daughter's inventory followed the same pattern as that for the mother.

The sub-sections were formulated according to the following descriptions:

1 Using intimidation

The mother's perceptions as to whether the father-figure used intimidation (both verbal and physical) towards herself and her daughter, are determined.

The daughter's perceptions as to whether the father-figure used intimidation (both verbal and physical) towards herself and her mother, are determined.

2 Using emotional abuse

This involves the mother's perceptions on the father-figure's use of criticism, guilt and humiliation towards herself and her daughter.

This involves the daughter's perceptions on the father-figure's use of criticism, guilt and humiliation towards herself and her mother.

3 Using isolation

The mother's perceptions concerning the extent to which she and her daughter are able to be individuals without their freedom being controlled by a jealous father-figure, are determined.

The daughter's perceptions concerning the extent to which she and her mother are able to be individuals without their freedom being curtailed by a jealous father-figure, are determined.

4 Using minimising, denying and blaming

This involves the mother's perceptions on whether the father-figure made light of the abuse (physical/emotional/sexual), denied the abuse, or blamed her and/or her daughter for the abuse.

This involves the daughter's perceptions on whether the father-figure made light of the abuse (physical/emotional/sexual), denied the abuse, or blamed her and/or her mother for the abuse.

5 Using the children

The mother's perceptions on whether the father-figure used the children to manipulate her, are determined.

The daughter's perceptions on whether the father-figure used the mother to manipulate her, are determined.

6 Using the mother

The mother's perceptions on whether the father-figure used the daughter or children to manipulate her, are determined.

The daughter's perceptions on whether the father-figure used the mother to manipulate her, are determined.

7 Using male privilege

The mother's perceptions on whether the father-figure used his self-claimed privilege as male and head of the household in order to control and/or abuse the family, are determined.

The daughter's perceptions on whether the father-figure used his self-claimed privilege as male and head of the household in order to control and/or abuse the family, are determined.

8 Using economic abuse

This entails the mother's perceptions on whether the father-figure used economic abuse, such as not allowing her to earn an income, in order to prevent her from becoming independent.

The daughter's perceptions of her mother's economic independence are also examined.

9 Using bribery

The mother's perceptions on the father-figure's use of bribery as a means of coercing her daughter into a sexual relationship, are examined.

The daughter's perceptions on whether the father-figure used bribery as a means of coercing her into a sexual relationship, are determined.

10 Using coercion and threats

This involves the mother's perceptions on whether the father-figure threatened the family or forced them to do things against their will.

This involves the daughter's perceptions on whether the father-figure threatened the family or forced them to do things against their will.

11 Substance abuse

The mother's perceptions on whether both she and/or the father figure abused alcohol, dagga or other substances are determined.

The daughter's perceptions on whether the mother and/or the father-figure abused alcohol and dagga are determined.

Specific items in each of the sub-sections were generated through a review of the Power and Control Wheel (Yllö, 1993) and the available literature on father-daughter incest. The items involved the respondents' perceptions of the frequency of a given interactional pattern, or the extent to which a particular interactional pattern formed part of the family dynamics in father-daughter incest cases. The respondents were asked to give the best estimate for each item by checking one of the response alternatives provided. The responses were made on a five-point scale with 5 being "always" or "very often" and 1 being "never". For the computing of the data, the values of 5 and 4 were grouped together and 1 and 2 were grouped together, respectively, to form a three-point scale with 3 being "often to very often", 2 being "sometimes" and 1 being "hardly ever or never". A majority of 50% or more on each item will be regarded as indicative of patriarchal tendencies. The instructions for the inventories asked participants to respond as honestly as possible and that there were no right or wrong answers. Confidentiality and anonymity of responses were assured.

The questionnaires for the mothers are included in Appendix A and those for the daughters appear in Appendix B. The grouping of the items under each construct appears below:

Questionnaire for mother

Items	3.1	Using intimidation
	3.4	
	3.12	
	3.14	
	3.21	
	3.26	
	3.45	
	3.54	

Items	3.3	Using emotional abuse
	3.8	
	3.10	
	3.32	
	3.51	

Items	3.5	Using isolation
	3.18	
	3.23	
	3.24	
	3.30	
	3.44	
	3.50	

Items 3.7 Using minimising, denying, blaming
3.9
3.52
3.55
3.57

Items 3.17 Using children
3.22
3.40
3.53

Items 3.56 Using mother
3.59

Items 3.11 Using male privilege
3.16
3.25
3.33
3.34
3.35
3.46
3.47
3.48
3.58

Items 3.13 Using emotional abuse
3.20
3.31
3.49

Items 3.38 Using bribery

Items	3.15	Using coercion and threats
	3.27	
	3.28	
	3.32	
	3.36	
	3.39	
	3.43	
	3.60	

Items	3.19	Substance abuse
	3.29	
	3.36	
	3.37	
	3.41	
	3.42	

Questionnaire for the daughter

Items	2.1	Using intimidation
	2.4	
	2.11	
	2.16	
	2.26	
	2.29	
	2.43	

Items	2.2	Using emotional abuse
	2.22	
	2.24	
	2.25	
	2.35	
	2.38	

Items	2.5	Using isolation
	2.7	
	2.21	
	2.32	
	2.37	
	2.42	
Items	2.6	Using minimising, denying and blaming
	2.8	
	2.40	
	2.41	
	2.44	
	2.49	
Items	2.15	Using children
	2.46	
Items	2.13	Using mother
	2.18	
	2.45	
Items	2.10	Using male privilege
	2.14	
	2.17	
	2.30	
	2.36	
	2.48	
Items	2.9	Using economic abuse
	2.47	

Items	2.12	Using bribery
	2.20	
Items	2.19	Using coercion and threats
	2.28	
	2.33	
	2.39	
	2.50	
Items	2.3	Substance abuse
	2.23	
	2.27	
	2.31	
	2.34	

4.4.4 Processing of the data

The data was processed, using a standard computer programme for data processing, known as the SAS system. Frequency tables were obtained for the different groups concerning their perceptions on the family interactional patterns. This provided the researcher with an opportunity to interpret and discuss the information according to the previously mentioned constructs and hypotheses.

In Chapters 5 and 6, attention will be given to the presentation, discussion and recommendations of the processed data.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the relevant data will be presented and discussed regarding the research groups identified in the previous chapter. After the perceptions of the respondents have been discussed, conclusions and recommendations will be made in chapter six.

5.2 THE DATA REGARDING THE RESEARCH GROUPS

5.2.1 Background of respondents

The following section will examine various particulars concerning the respondents and their families.

5.2.1.1 The mothers

□ White mothers

Among the 13 white mothers, one was a grandmother who became guardian of the victim long before the abuse took place. The average age of the mothers at the time of the abuse was 36 years. Two of the mothers were unmarried, seven were married, three were divorced and the grandmother was widowed. Only two of the mothers were married to the perpetrator who was still living with the family.

The qualifications ranged from one university graduate, to three respondents having matriculated, while five of the respondents had a standard eight certificate, one had completed standard seven and two of the respondents had a standard six level of education. One respondent did not indicate her academic qualifications. The occupations included one registered nurse, one masseuse, one radio operator, one medical representative, one receptionist, two salesladies, two housewives and three clerks.

Twelve of the mothers were Afrikaans-speaking and one was bilingual (English and Afrikaans). The following economic status of the families is reflected in the respondents' answers: 54% (n=7) earned below R20 000 per annum, 23% (n=3) earned between R20 000 and R30 000 per annum and 15% (n=2) earned between R30 000 and R60 000 per annum. The remaining 8% (n=1) earned between R60 000 and R100 000 per annum. It appears that the majority of white incestuous families in this study are low income families. Chapter one discusses the economic status of incestuous families and examines the reasons for this in more detail.

□ **Black mothers**

The number of black mothers equalled 10. The average age of the black mothers was 40 years at the time of the abuse.

Two of these respondents were married and two were living together with their partners while six were separated from their partners. Two of the respondents remained married to the perpetrator who was living with the family and one respondent was living with the perpetrator.

The level of education was generally of a poor standard. The highest level of education was a standard six and only two mothers had achieved this level while two mothers had obtained a standard five level of education. One mother had completed a standard four and a further two mothers had a standard three level of education. Three of the mothers had received no schooling.

The occupations included a cashier, a saleslady and a domestic worker, while three of the mothers were cleaners and four were housewives.

Eight of the mothers were Sesotho-speaking, one was Tswana-speaking, and one was Afrikaans-speaking.

The economic status of the families is reflected in the following figures: 90% (n=9) of the families earned below R10 000 per annum and 10% (n=1) earned between R30 000 and R60 000 per annum. Most of the black families appear to fall in the low socio-economic bracket.

The tables below provide a visual comparison of the biographical and characteristic background differences between the white and black mothers.

Table 5.1

A comparison of the average ages of the white and black mothers at the time of their daughters' sexual abuse.

	White mothers	Black mothers
Average age	36 years	40 years

The above table indicates that the black mothers were on average older than the white mothers.

Table 5.2

A comparison of the marital status of the white and black mothers.

Marital status	White mothers	Black mothers
Married	54% (n=7)	20% (n=2)
Divorced/Separated	23% (n=3)	60% (n=6)
Unmarried	15% (n=2)	0
Widowed	8% (n=1)	0
Living with partner	0	20% (n=2)

The above table indicates that the majority of the white mothers were married and the majority of black mothers were either divorced or separated.

Table 5.3

A comparison of the qualifications of the white and black mothers.

Qualifications	White mothers	Black mothers
University graduate	8% (n=1)	0
Matric	23% (n=3)	0
Std 8 certificate	38% (n=5)	0
Std 6-7	23% (n=3)	20% (n=2)
Std 4-5	0	30% (n=3)
Std 1-3	0	20% (n=2)
No schooling	0	30% (n=3)

The above table indicates that the white mothers' education was higher than that of the black mothers. One white mother did not indicate her academic qualifications.

Table 5.4

A comparison of the languages spoken by the white and black mothers.

Language	White mothers	Black mothers
Afrikaans	92% (n=12)	10% (n=1)
English	0	0
Sesotho	0	80% (n=8)
Tswana	0	10% (n=1)
Bilingual (Afr & Eng)	8% (n=1)	0

The above table indicates that the majority of white mothers were Afrikaans speaking and the majority of black mothers spoke Sotho.

Table 5.5

A comparison of the economic status of the white and black incestuous families.

Income bracket per annum	White mothers	Black mothers
below R10 000	0	90% (n=9)
R10 000 - R 20 000	54% (n=7)	0
R20 000 - R 30 000	23% (n=3)	0
R30 000 - R 60 000	15% (n=2)	10% (n=1)
R60 000 - R100 000	8% (n=1)	0

The above table indicates that the majority of the black and white mothers fell in the low socio-economic bracket.

5.2.1.2 The perpetrators

□ **White perpetrators**

The child's biological father perpetrated the deed in 38% (n=5) of the cases while the stepfather was the perpetrator in 23% (n=3) of the cases. The other perpetrators included the victim's brother (n=1), the victim's stepgrandfather (n=1), the victim's brother-in-law (n=1), the mother's boyfriend (n=1) and the mother's fiancé (n=1). Only two of these perpetrators had received psychological help.

The average age of the perpetrators was 37 years.

□ **Black perpetrators**

Perpetrators of the incest included 40% (n=4) biological fathers, 30% (n=3) stepfathers, 20% (n=2) stepgrandfathers and 10% (n=1) was the mother's friend. None of these perpetrators had received psychological help. The average age of these perpetrators was 43 years.

The following tables provide a visual comparison of the biographical and characteristic background differences between the white and black perpetrators.

Table 5.6

A comparison of the perpetrator's relationship to the victim in the white and black families

Relation to victim	White perpetrators	Black perpetrators
Biological father	38% (n=5)	40% (n=4)
Stepfather	23% (n=3)	30% (n=3)
Stepgrandfather	8% (n=1)	20% (n=2)
Mother's fiancé/friend	15% (n=2)	10% (n=1)
Victim's brother	8% (n=1)	0
Victim's brother-in-law	8% (n=1)	0

The above table indicates that the biological father was the perpetrator in the majority of incest cases for both black and white families.

Table 5.7

A comparison of whether the perpetrators had received psychological help.

Psychological help	White perpetrator	Black perpetrator
Yes	15% (n=2)	0
No	85% (n=11)	100% (n=10)

The above table indicates that the majority of black and white perpetrators did not receive psychological help.

Table 5.8

A comparison of the average ages of the white and black perpetrators at the time of their daughters' sexual abuse.

	White perpetrators	Black perpetrators
Average age	37 years	40 years

The above table indicates that the black perpetrators were on average older than the white perpetrators.

5.2.1.3 The victims

The average age of the white victims was 11 years and that of the black victims was 12 years.

The table below provides a visual comparison of the age differences between the white and black daughters.

Table 5.9

A comparison of the average ages of the white and black daughters at the time of the sexual abuse.

Age	White daughters	Black daughters
18		10% (n=1)
17	8% (n=1)	
16		
15		20% (n=2)
14	15% (n=2)	
13	8% (n=1)	20% (n=2)
12	23% (n=3)	20% (n=2)
11		10% (n=1)
10	23% (n=3)	10% (n=1)
9		
8	8% (n=1)	10% (n=1)
7		
6	15% (n=2)	
5		

The above table indicates that the majority of the white daughters were between the ages of five and 12 years at the time of the sexual abuse. The black daughters' ages were equally spread between the ages of five to 12 years and 13 to 18 years.

5.2.2 Black and white mothers' perceptions of the use of power and control

The following section will examine the results of the black and white mothers according to the first hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1:

The perceptions of black and white South African mothers concerning the family interactional patterns in families where the daughter has been sexually abused by the father-figure, indicate the use of power and control by the father-figure.

Table 5.10 depicts the results of the power and control constructs with the items that were statistically significant on the 5% and 1% level and which indicate differences between the black and white mother's perceptions.

The results of the items that were statistically significant on the 5% and 1% level and which are indicative of differences between the black and white mothers' perceptions, will be discussed in more detail. Furthermore, items which indicate a majority of 50% or more (of the total sample of mothers' perceptions) in support of the null hypothesis, will also be given attention.

Table 5.10

The chi-square values for the test on black and white mothers' perceptions of the family interactional patterns.

Power and control constructs		X ² -value	p-value
Intimidation	3.1	8,980	0,011*
	3.4	3,235	0,198
	3.12	6,303	0,012*
	3.14	6,011	0,050*
	3.21	4,666	0,097
	3.26	1,297	0,523
	3.45	10,258	0,006**
	3.54	4,863	0,088
Emotional abuse	3.3	10,066	0,007**
	3.8	2,247	0,325
	3.10	1,026	0,599
	3.32	3,486	0,175
	3.51	5,778	0,056
Isolation	3.5	2,576	0,276
	3.18	5,980	0,050*
	3.23	3,593	0,160
	3.24	2,654	0,265
	3.30	6,432	0,040*
	3.44	2,321	0,313
	3.50	0,823	0,663

Power and control construct contd.		X ² value	p-value
Minimising, denying, blaming			
	3.7	5,490	0,019*
	3.9	3,744	0,114
	3.52	5,576	0,062
	3.55	5,250	0,072
	3.57	6,244	0,044*
Using the children			
	3.17	0,306	0,016*
	3.22	3,468	0,063
	3.40	2,319	0,314
	3.53	3,722	0,156
Using the mother			
	3.56	2,266	0,322
	3.59	1,128	0,569
Male privilege			
	3.16	2,654	0,265
	3.25	7,514	0,023*
	3.33	6,723	0,035*
	3.34	0,224	0,894
	3.35	0,212	0,899
	3.46	2,315	0,314
	3.47	0,791	0,673
	3.48	1,685	0,431
	3.58	3,085	0,214

Power and control constructs cont.		X ² -value	p-value
Economic abuse	3.13	1,433	0,488
	3.20	2,689	0,261
	3.31	2,297	0,317
	3.49	1,440	0,487
Bribery	3.38	2,945	0,229
Coercion & threats	3.6	4,858	0,088
	3.15	2,073	0,355
	3.27	0,079	0,018*
	3.28	8,079	0,431
	3.32	3,486	0,175
	3.39	6,565	0,038*
	3.43	0,910	0,634
	3.60	6,723	0,035*
Substance abuse	3.19	9,210	0,010**
	3.29	-	-
	3.36	4,485	0,034*

Degrees Freedom = 2

** p < 0,01

* p < 0,05

5.2.2.1 Intimidation

Under the construct of intimidation, the following items were significant on the 5% level concerning differences in the proportions of black and white mothers' perceptions:

- 3.1 The perpetrator intimidated me by shouting at me.
- 3.12 I feared the perpetrator's violent behaviour.
- 3.14 I did not allow the perpetrator to intimidate me with his threats.

The following item was significant on the 1% level concerning differences in the proportions of black and white mothers' perceptions:

- 3.45 I was afraid of the perpetrator.

Each of the above items will now be discussed in detail, after which items that fall under the construct of intimidation, yet are not significant in the differences between black and white mothers' perception but are of added value to this study, will be given attention. This pattern will follow for each construct.

Table 5.11

Cross-tabulation of black and white mothers' perceptions for item 3.1: The perpetrator intimidated me by shouting at me.

Scale	White mothers	Black mothers	Row total
Hardly ever	9 69,2%	1 10,01%	10 43,51%
Sometimes	0	2 20,0%	2 8,7%
Often	4 30,81%	7 70,0%	11 47,81%
Column total	13 56,5%	10 43,51%	23 100%

The above table shows that 70% (n=7) of black mothers agreed that the father-figure often intimidated them by shouting at them, while only 30,8% (n=4) of white mothers agreed likewise. The null hypothesis is retained in the case of the black mothers' perceptions and discarded for the white mothers' perceptions.

There are no significant differences between the total sample of mothers who felt that the father-figure often intimidated them by shouting at them, 47,8% (n=11), and those who said he hardly ever used shouting to intimidate them, 43,5% (n=10).

Table 5.12

Cross-tabulation for black and white mothers' perceptions for item 3.12: I feared the perpetrator's violent behaviour.

Scale	White mothers	Black mothers	Row total
Hardly ever	8 61,5%	1 10,0%	9 39,1%
Sometimes	0	0	0
Often	5 38,5%	9 90,0%	14 60,9%
Column total	13 56,5%	10 43,5%	23 100%

The above table depicts that 90% (n=9) of black mothers feared the perpetrator's violent behaviour in comparison to only 38,5% (n=5) of white mothers. The null hypothesis is retained for the black mothers' perceptions and it is discarded for the white mothers' perceptions. The total sample of mothers considered, 60,9% (n=14) feared the perpetrator's violent behaviour in comparison to a minority of 39,1% (n=9). Thus the null hypothesis is retained for the total sample of mothers' perceptions.

Table 5.13

Cross-tabulation for black and white mothers' perceptions for item
3.14: I did not allow the perpetrator to intimidate me with his threats.

Scale	White mothers	Black mothers	Row total
Hardly ever	5 38,5%	5 50,01%	10 43,51%
Sometimes	1 7,7%	4 40,01%	5 32,71%
Often	7 53,91%	1 10%	8 34,81%
Column total	13 56,51%	10 43,51%	23 100%

The above table shows that only 10% (n=1) of the black mothers did not allow the perpetrator to intimidate them, in comparison to 54% (n=7) of the white mothers. The null hypothesis is retained for the black mothers' perceptions and it is discarded concerning those of the white mothers.

There is not much difference in the total samples' perceptions between those who indicated that they allowed the perpetrator to intimidate them 43,5% (n=10) and those who did not 34,8% (n=8).

Table 5.14

Cross-tabulation for black and white mothers' perceptions for item 3.45: I was afraid of the perpetrator.

Scale	White mothers	Black mothers	Row total
Hardly ever	10 76,9%	1 10,0%	11 47,8%
Sometimes	1 7,7%	2 20,0%	3 13,0%
Often	2 15,4%	7 70,7%	9 39,1%
Column total	13 56,5%	10 43,5%	23 100%

The table depicts a vast difference between the black and white mothers' perceptions with 70,7% (n=7) of black mothers being afraid of the perpetrator in comparison to the 15,4% (n=2) of white mothers. The null hypothesis is retained for the black mothers' perceptions while in the case of the white mothers, it is discarded.

There is not a significant difference in the total sample of mothers who were often afraid of the perpetrator, 39,1% (n=9) and those who were not, 47,8% (n=11).

The following family interactional patterns did not produce significant differences between the black and white mothers' perceptions, but are of value to this study since the majority of the total samples' perceptions indicate a use of power and control:

3.21 My daughter feared the perpetrator.

3.26 My daughter allowed the perpetrator to sexually abuse her because she was afraid of him.

Referring to 3.21, 56,5% (n=13) of the total sample of mothers believed that their daughter feared the perpetrator in comparison to 30,4% (n=7) who believed otherwise. A further 69,6% (n=16) agreed that their daughter allowed the perpetrator to abuse her due to fear and 26,1% (n=6) did not think so. Both of the above items indicate the use of power and control. It would seem that for the majority of items, there was a use of power and control in these incestuous families. More specifically, the use of intimidation by the father-figure was prominent in the black families, but is less prominent in the white families. It is only for items 3.21 and 3.26 that the white mothers perceived intimidation by the father-figure over the daughter.

In considering the total sample of the mothers' perceptions, for the majority of the items, the use of intimidation as a form of power and control existed in these families where the daughter has been sexually abused by the father-figure.

5.2.2.2 Emotional abuse

The following item was significant on the 1% level concerning differences between the black and white mothers' perceptions:

3.3. The perpetrator made me feel bad about myself.

Table 5.15

Cross-tabulation for black and white mothers' perceptions for item 3.3: The perpetrator made me feel bad about myself.

Scale	White mothers	Black mothers	Row total
Hardly ever	7 53,9%	1 10,0%	8 34,8%
Sometimes	5 38,5%	2 20,0%	7 30,4%
Often	1 7,7%	7 70,7%	8 34,8%
Column total	13 56,5%	10 43,5%	23 100%

Table 5.15 depicts a majority of black mothers 70% (n=7), who agreed that the perpetrator made them feel bad about themselves while only 7,7% (n=1) of white mothers agreed likewise. The null hypothesis is retained in the case of the black mothers and discarded concerning the white mothers' perceptions.

There are no significant differences in the total sample of mothers who perceived the perpetrator as making them feel bad about themselves, 34,8% (n=8), and those who perceived contrarily 34,8% (n=8).

The other items under emotional abuse did not produce significant results. The above results show that although the black perpetrators made their spouses feel bad about themselves, generally, there was not an evidential use of emotional abuse in both the black and white families.

5.2.2.3 Isolation

The following item proved significant on the 5% level concerning differences between the black and white mothers' perceptions:

- 3.18 My freedom was restricted by the perpetrator.
- 3.30 My daughter had many people in whom she could confide during the time of the sexual abuse.

Table 5.16

Cross tabulation for black and white mothers' perceptions for item 3.18: My freedom was restricted by the perpetrator.

Scale	White mothers	Black mothers	Row total
Hardly ever	10	3	13
	76,9%	30,0%	56,5%
Sometimes	0	2	2
	0	20,0%	8,7%
Often	3	5	8
	23,1%	50,0%	34,8%
Column total	13	10	23
	56,5%	43,5%	100%

Table 5.16 shows that the majority of black mothers, 50% (n=5), felt their freedom to be restricted by the perpetrator, while only 23,1% (n=3) of white mothers felt their freedom to be restricted. The null hypothesis is retained for the black mothers' perceptions and it is discarded for those concerning the white mothers.

Of the total sample, 56,5% (n=13) of mothers felt that their freedom was not restricted in comparison to the 34,8% (n=8) who did. The null hypothesis is thus discarded.

Table 5.17

Cross-tabulation for black and white mothers' perceptions for item 3.30: My daughter had many people in whom she could confide during the time of the sexual abuse.

Scale	White mothers	Black mothers	Row total
Hardly ever	5 38,5%	9 90,0%	14 60,9%
Sometimes	2 15,4%	0 0	2 8,7%
Often	6 46,2%	1 10,0%	7 30,4%
Column total	13 56,5%	10 43,5%	23 100%

Table 5.17 shows that the majority of black mothers, 90% (n=9), felt that their daughter had no one to confide in, while only 38,5% (n=5) of the white mothers felt likewise. The null hypothesis is retained for the black mothers' perceptions and it is discarded for those concerning the white mothers.

Of the total sample, 60,9% (n=14) of mothers felt that their daughter had no-one to confide in at the time of the abuse. The null hypothesis is thus retained.

Furthermore, there are no other items of significance under this construct. Besides there being a restriction of freedom by the perpetrator in black families, and the daughters not having many people to confide in, the general trend appears to be that the perpetrator did not use isolation as a means of power and control in these families.

5.2.2.4 Minimising, denying and blaming

The following two items were significant on the 5% level concerning differences in the black and white mothers' perceptions:

- 3.07 The perpetrator made me believe that I deserved to be abused (physically/verbally/emotionally) by him.
- 3.57 After sexually abusing my daughter, he would make as if it was nothing serious.

Table 5.18

Cross-tabulation for black and white mothers' perceptions for item 3.7: The perpetrator made me believe that I deserved to be abused (physically/verbally/emotionally) by him.

Scale	White mothers	Black mothers	Row total
Hardly ever	9 69,2%	2 20,0%	11 47,8%
Sometimes	0	0	0
Often	4 30,8%	8 80,0%	12 52,2%
Column total	13 56,5%	10 43,5%	23 100%

The above table shows that 80% (n=8) of the black mothers answered that the perpetrator made them believe that they were to blame for the abuse while only 30,8% (n=4) of the white mothers answered likewise for this item. The null hypothesis is thus retained for the black mothers' perceptions. It is discarded for the white mothers' perceptions.

The majority of the mothers, 52,2% (n=12) of the total sample, answered that the perpetrator made them believe that they deserved the abuse. The null hypothesis is thus retained for this item.

Table 5.19

Cross-tabulation for black and white mothers' perceptions for item 3.57: After sexually abusing my daughter, he would make as if it was nothing serious.

Scale	White mothers	Black mothers	Row total
Hardly ever	3 23,1%	0 0	3 13,0%
Sometimes	3 23,1%	0 0	3 13,0%
Often	7 53,9%	10 100%	17 73,9%
Column total	13 56,5%	10 43,5%	23 100%

The majority of black mothers, 100% (n=10) and the majority of white mothers, 53,9% (n=7), believe that the perpetrator minimised the sexual abuse by making as if it was nothing serious. The null hypothesis is retained in both instances. It is also retained for the majority of mothers 73,9% (n=17) from the total sample who said that the perpetrator made as if the sexual abuse of their daughter was nothing serious.

The remaining three items under this construct, were not significant on either the 5% or the 1% level and neither did they produce results for the total sample of mothers which are in support of the null hypothesis. There appears to be a substantial amount of minimising, denying and blaming by the perpetrator, but not enough to warrant it being identified as a construct of power and control in these incestuous families.

5.2.2.5 Using the children

The following item was significant on the 5% level concerning differences between the black and white mothers' perceptions:

3.17 The perpetrator threatened to take my children away from me.

Table 5.20

Cross-tabulation for black and white mothers' perception for item 3.17: The perpetrator threatened to take my children away from me.

Scale	White mothers	Black mothers	Row total
Hardly ever	13	5	18
	100%	50,0%	78,3%
Sometimes	0	2	2
	0	20,0%	8,7%
Often	0	3	3
	0	30,0%	13,0%
Column total	13	10	23
	56,5%	43,5%	100%

The above table depicts an overwhelming majority of mothers, 78,3% (n=18) who agree that the perpetrator did not threaten to take away the children from them: 50% (n=5) of the black mothers and 100% (n=13) of the white mothers did not support this item. The null hypothesis is discarded in each of the above cases.

5.2.2.6 Using the mother

Although the items under this construct were not significant on either the 5% or 1% level concerning differences between the black and white mothers' perceptions, the results of the following two items are of value to this study.

- 3.56 The perpetrator made my daughter believe that I would be angry with her for allowing the sexual abuse to take place.
- 3.59 My daughter was afraid that the perpetrator would harm me if she did not comply with his advances.

Both of the above items indicated that the majority of the total sample of mothers, 52,2% (n=12) for item 3.56, and 60,9% (n=14) for item 3.59, believed that the perpetrator had used them against the daughter. Since there was substantial support for these items by the majority of black and white mothers, it can be said that the perpetrator used the mother against the daughter as a form of power and control.

5.2.2.7 Male privilege

The following two items proved significant on the 5% level concerning the differences between the black and white mothers' perceptions:

- 3.25 I was not subservient towards the perpetrator.
- 3.33 I did not deserve the perpetrator's respect.

Table 5.21

Cross-tabulation for black and white mothers' perceptions for item 3.25: I was not subservient towards the perpetrator.

Scale	White mothers	Black mothers	Row total
Hardly ever	5	7	12
	38,5%	70,0%	52,2%
Sometimes	0	2	2
	0	20,0%	8,7%
Often	8	1	9
	61,5%	10,0%	39,1%
Column total	13	10	23
	56,5%	43,5%	100%

The above table shows that up to 70% (n=7) of the black mothers were subservient towards the perpetrator, while only 38,5% (n=5) of the white mothers were subservient. In the case of the black mothers' perceptions, the null hypothesis is retained. It is discarded concerning the white mothers' perceptions.

The total sample of mothers considered, the majority, 52,2% (n=12) were subservient towards the perpetrator in comparison to the 39,1% (n=9) who were not subservient. The null hypothesis is thus retained for this item.

Table 5.22

Cross-tabulation for black and white mothers' perceptions for item 3.33: I did not deserve the perpetrator's respect.

Scale	White mothers	Black mothers	Row total
Hardly ever	12 92,3%	6 60,0%	18 78,3%
Sometimes	1 7,7%	0	1 4,4%
Often	0	4 40,0%	4 17,4%
Column total	13 56,5%	10 43,5%	23 100%

Table 5.22 shows that the overwhelming majority of white mothers, 92,3% (n=12) felt that they deserved the perpetrator's respect, as did 60,0% (n=6) of the black mothers. The null hypothesis is discarded for this item. Furthermore, the total sample of mothers considered, 78,3% (n=18) felt that they deserved the perpetrator's respect. The null hypothesis is thus discarded for the total sample of the mothers' perceptions on this item.

Items 3.11, 3.16, 3.34, 3.47 and 3.58 produced no significant results on either the 5% or 1% level and the cross-tabulation for the total samples' perceptions were also not indicative.

The items mentioned below, were not significant on the 5% or 1% level, yet the results are of value to this study:

- 3.35 The perpetrator used his privilege as father-figure to force himself on my daughter.
- 3.46 The perpetrator regarded men and women as equal.
- 3.48 The perpetrator had a right to force himself on my daughter because he was the head of the family.

For item 3.35, 65,2% (n=15) of the total sample of mothers believed that the perpetrator used his privilege as father-figure to force himself on their daughters, while 69,6% (n=16) indicated that the perpetrator did not regard men and women as equal. A further 91,3% (n=21), believed that the perpetrator, as head of the family, did not have a right to force himself on their daughters.

It would seem that although certain forms of male privilege used by the father-figure are prevalent in incestuous families, there is not enough evidence to sustain this construct as a form of power and control in these incestuous families.

5.2.2.8 Economic abuse

There were no significant results on either the 5% or the 1% level concerning differences between the black and white mothers' perceptions and thus indicative that economic abuse was not asserted by the father-figure.

Although item 3.20 was not significant on either the 5% or 1% level, it brings to attention that 56,5% (n=13) of the total sample of mothers were dependent on the perpetrator to provide for them.

Overall, economic abuse does not appear to be a form of power and control employed by the father-figure.

5.2.2.9 Bribery

The item falling under bribery was not significant on either the 5% or the 1% level and it was not indicative of the use of power and control by the father-figure.

5.2.2.10 Coercion and threats

The following items were significant on the 5% level concerning differences between the black and white mothers' perceptions:

- 3.27 I stayed away from home to avoid the perpetrator's unpredictable behaviour.
- 3.39 The perpetrator threatened to harm my daughter if she did not comply with his sexual advances.
- 3.60 The perpetrator did not threaten us.

Table 5.23

Cross-tabulation for black and white mothers' perceptions for item 3.27: I stayed away from home to avoid the perpetrator's unpredictable behaviour.

Scale	White mothers	Black mothers	Row total
Hardly ever	12 92,3%	4 40,0%	16 69,6%
Sometimes	1 7,7%	2 20,0%	3 13,0%
Often	0	4 40,0%	4 17,4%
Column total	13 56,5%	10 43,5%	23 100%

Table 5.23 shows that the majority of white mothers, 92,3% (n=12), did not stay away from home in order to avoid the perpetrator's unpredictable behaviour. There were equal numbers of black mothers 40% (n=4) who did stay away and who did not stay away from home in order to avoid the perpetrator's unpredictable behaviour. The null hypothesis is discarded for the white mother's perceptions.

The majority of the total sample of mothers, 69,6% (n=16), did not stay away from home in order to avoid the perpetrator's unpredictable behaviour. The null hypothesis is discarded in this case.

Table 5.24

Cross-tabulation for black and white mothers' perceptions for item 3.39: The perpetrator threatened to harm my daughter if she did not comply with his sexual advances.

Scale	White mothers	Black mothers	Row total
Hardly ever	8 61,5%	1 10,0%	9 39,1%
Sometimes	1 7,7%	3 30,0%	4 17,4%
Often	4 30,8%	6 60,0%	10 43,5%
Column total	13 56,5%	10 43,5%	23 100%

The above table shows that 60% (n=6) of the black mothers believed that the perpetrator threatened to harm their daughters, had they not complied with his sexual advances. Only 30,8% (n=4) of the white mothers believed likewise. The null hypothesis is thus retained for the black mothers' perceptions and it is discarded for the white mothers' perceptions.

In considering the total sample of mothers, there is not a significant difference between those who agreed with item 3.39, 43,5% (n=10), and those who did not 39,1% (n=9), thus the null hypothesis is discarded.

Table 5.25

Cross-tabulation for black and white mothers' perceptions for item 3.60: The perpetrator did not threaten us.

Scale	White mothers	Black mothers	Row total
Hardly ever	8	8	16
	61,5%	80,0%	69,6%
Sometimes	0	2	2
	0	20,0%	8,7%
Often	5	0	5
	38,5%	0	21,7%
Column total	13	10	23
	56,5%	43,5%	100%

Table 5.25 shows that 80% (n=8) of the black mothers agreed that the perpetrator threatened them, as did 61,5% (n=8) of the white mothers. The null hypothesis is retained for both the black and the white mothers' perceptions. A further 69,6% (n=16) of the total sample of mothers indicated that the perpetrator threatened them. The null hypothesis is thus retained.

The following items were not significant on the 5% or the 1% level concerning differences between the black and white mothers' perceptions, yet results for the total sample of mothers are of value to this study. For item 3.6 which states, "I did everything the perpetrator demanded for fear he would become aggressive (physically and verbally)", 52,1% (n=12) of the total sample of mothers indicated that they obeyed the perpetrator to avoid physical and/or verbal violence.

Item 3.28 was indicative of 91,3% (n=21) of the total sample of mothers who believed that their daughter did not initiate the sexual abuse, thus inferring that some sort of coercion or threats were used by the father-figure.

Item 3.43 shows that 60,9% (n=14) of the total sample of mothers agreed that the perpetrator made threats which scared them.

From the above findings it would seem that coercion and threats were very prominent forms of power and control used by the father-figure, in both the black and white incestuous families, but especially so in the black incestuous families.

5.2.2.11 Substance abuse

The following item was significant on the 5% level concerning differences in the black and white mothers' perceptions:

3.36 I drank more than the legal limit of alcohol, (e.g. 2-4 beers / 2-4 double whiskeys / 2-4 double brandies) on most nights.

The following item was significant on the 1% level concerning differences in the black and white mothers' perceptions:

3.19 The perpetrator drank more than the legal limit of alcohol on most nights.

Table 5.26

Cross-tabulation for black and white mothers' perceptions for item 3.36: I drank more than the legal limit of alcohol on most nights.

Scale	White mothers	Black mothers	Row total
Hardly ever	13	7	20
	100%	70,0%	87,0%
Sometimes	0	0	0
	0	0	0
Often	0	3	3
	0	30,0%	13,0%
Column total	13	10	23
	56,5%	43,5%	100%

The above table shows that 30% (n=3) of black mothers drank more than the legal limit of alcohol on most nights, while 100% (n=13) of white mothers did not abuse alcohol on most nights. Overall, 87% (n=20) of the total sample of mothers did not abuse alcohol. These results compare well with those of item 3.37. The majority of the total sample of mothers, 87% (n=20) agreed that they did not drink as a means of coping with the perpetrator's unpredictable behaviour. This table provides a backdrop with which to compare the perpetrator's use of alcohol.

The father-figure's use of alcohol is discussed in table 5.27, item 3.19, which was significant on the 1% level concerning differences between the black and white mothers' perceptions.

Table 5.27

Cross-tabulation for black and white mothers' perceptions for item 3.19: The perpetrator drank more than the legal limit of alcohol on most nights

Scale	White mothers	Black mothers	Row total
Hardly ever	8 61,5%	1 10,0%	9 39,1%
Sometimes	0 0	4 40,0%	4 12,4%
Often	5 38,5%	5 50,0%	10 43,5%
Column total	13 56,5%	10 43,5%	23 100%

Table 5.27 shows that at least 50% (n=5) of the black mothers indicated that the father-figure used alcohol on a regular basis, although 61,5% (n=8) of the white mothers indicated contrarily. The null hypothesis is retained for the black mothers' perceptions and discarded for the white mothers' perceptions.

Although there is an indication that alcohol abuse did take place in some incestuous families, especially in black incestuous families, there was no evidential support that alcohol or other substances were used as a means of power and control in incestuous families.

5.2.3 Black and white daughters' perceptions of the use of power and control

The following section will examine the results of the black and white daughters according to the second hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2:

The perceptions of black and white South African daughters concerning the family interactional patterns in families where the daughter has been sexually abused by the father-figure, indicate the use of power and control by the father-figure.

Table 5.28 depicts the results regarding the power and control constructs with the items that were statistically significant on the 5% and 1% level and which indicate differences between the black and white daughters' perceptions.

Table 5.28

The chi-square values for the test on black and white daughters' perceptions of the family interactional patterns.

Power and control constructs		X ² -value	p value
Intimidation	2.1	8,425	0,015*
	2.4	6,168	0,046*
	2.11	1,685	0,431
	2.16	5,250	0,072
	2.26	5,490	0,064
	2.29	2,586	0,274
	2.43	0,823	0,663
Emotional abuse	2.2	1,976	0,372
	2.22	6,327	0,042*
	2.24	6,149	0,046*
	2.25	7,886	0,019*
	2.35	5,095	0,078
	2.38	3,623	0,163
Isolation	2.5	7,304	0,026*
	2.7	2,089	0,352
	2.21	7,101	0,029*
	2.32	0,823	0,663
	2.37	0,710	0,400
	2.42	0,823	0,663

Power and control construct contd.		X ² -value	p-value
Minimising, denying, blaming			
	2.6	3,599	0,165
	2.8	0,804	0,370
	2.40	0,845	0,655
	2.41	0,819	0,664
	2.44	2,859	0,239
	2.49	0,673	0,412
Using the children	2.15	3,593	0,166
	2.46	1,071	0,585
Using the mother	2.13	1,128	0,569
	2.18	1,715	0,424
	2.45	2,315	0,314
Male privilege	2.10	6,045	0,049*
	2.14	2,993	0,224
	2.17	1,995	0,369
	2.30	1,840	0,399
	2.36	7,401	0,025*
	2.48	7,792	0,020*
Economic abuse	2.9	5,270	0,072
	2.47	3,946	0,139
Bribery	2.12	0,280	0,869

Power and control constructs cont.		X ² -value	p-value
Coercion & threats	2.19	0,038	0,981
	2.20	1,361	0,506
	2.28	3,445	0,179
	2.33	3,586	0,166
	2.39	4,375	0,112
	2.50	1,840	0,399
Substance abuse	2.3	6,295	0,043*
	2.23	2,393	0,302
	2.27	1,359	0,244
	2.31	5,638	0,060
	2.34	6,603	0,037*

Degrees Freedom = 2

** p < 0,01

* p < 0,05

In this section that follows, attention will be given to the results of items that were statistically significant on the 5% and the 1% level and which are indicative of differences between the black and white daughters' perceptions. Also included in the discussion, will be items that indicate a majority of 50% or more of the total sample of daughters' perceptions in support of the null hypothesis.

5.2.3.1 Intimidation

The following two items were significant on the 5% level concerning differences between the black and white daughters' perceptions.

2.1 The perpetrator made me scared by shouting at me.

2.4 My mother was scared of the perpetrator.

Table 5.29

Cross-tabulation for black and white daughters' perceptions for item 2.1: The perpetrator made me scared by shouting at me.

Scale	White mothers	Black mothers	Row total
Hardly ever	9 69,2%	1 10,0%	10 43,5%
Sometimes	1 7,7%	1 10,0%	2 8,7%
Often	3 23,1%	8 80,0%	11 47,8%
Column total	13 56,5%	10 43,5%	23 100%

The above table shows that 50% (n=8) of the black daughters indicated that the father-figure used shouting as a means of intimidation. Only 23,1% (n=3) of the white daughters agreed. The null hypothesis is thus retained for the black daughters' perceptions and it is discarded for the white daughters' perceptions.

Further, there were no significant differences between the total sample who indicated that the father-figure used this form of power and control, 47,8% (n=11), and those who indicated contrarily, 43,5% (n=10).

Table 5.30

Cross-tabulation for black and white daughters' perceptions for item 2.4: My mother was scared of the perpetrator.

Scale	White mothers	Black mothers	Row total
Hardly ever	9 69,2%	2 20,0%	11 47,8%
Sometimes	2 15,4%	2 20,0%	4 17,4%
Often	2 15,4%	6 60,0%	8 34,8%
Column total	13 56,5%	10 43,5%	23 100%

From the above table, 60% (n=6) of the black daughters believed that their mother feared the perpetrator, in comparison to only 15,4% (n=2) of the white daughters. The null hypothesis is retained for the black daughters' perceptions. It is discarded with regard to the white daughters' perceptions. There are no significant differences in the total samples' perceptions - 47,8% (n=11) believed that their mothers did not fear the perpetrator compared to the 34,8% (n=8) who did.

The following items were not significant on either the 5% or the 1% level, but the results are of importance to the study since they shed more light on the perpetrator's use of power and control. The items are as follows:

- 2.11 I did what the perpetrator told me to do so that he would not hurt me.
- 2.29 I was afraid of the perpetrator because he hit me and he shouted at me.
- 2.43 I was afraid of the perpetrator.

The first mentioned item, 2.11, indicates that 91,3% (n=21) of the total sample of daughters agreed that they did what the perpetrator told them to do for fear that he would hurt them. Item 2.29 shows that 52,2% (n=12) of the total sample agreed with

this statement, with the majority 70% (n=7), being the black daughters, and the white daughters equalling 38,5% (n=5). Item 2.43 indicates that 87% (n=20) of the total sample feared the perpetrator.

The above statistics provide evidence of the use of power and control in both the black and white incestuous families. However, there is not substantial evidence to implicate the perpetrators within the white family, while in the black families, the possibility of intimidation being used as a form of power and control does exist.

5.2.3.2 Emotional abuse

The following items proved significant on the 5% level concerning differences between the black and the white daughters' perceptions:

- 2.22 The perpetrator said unkind things to my mother.
- 2.24 The perpetrator was mostly kind and gentle towards me.
- 2.25 The perpetrator said I was a bad/stupid/foolish/horrible girl.

Table 5.31

Cross-tabulation for black and white daughters' perceptions for item 2.22: The perpetrator said unkind things to my mother.

Scale	White mothers	Black mothers	Row total
Hardly ever	8 61,5%	1 10,0%	9 39,1%
Sometimes	2 15,4%	4 40,0%	6 26,1%
Often	3 23,1%	5 50,0%	8 34,8%
Column total	13 56,5%	10 43,5%	23 100%

The table depicts that 50% (n=5) of the black daughters indicated that the perpetrator said unkind things to their mother, while 23,1% (n=3) of the white daughters indicated likewise. The null hypothesis is retained concerning the black daughters' perceptions and it is discarded with regard to the white daughters' perceptions.

Overall, there was not a significant difference between the total sample who confirmed the statement, 34,8% (n=8) and those who denied it, 39,1% (n=9).

Table 5.32

Cross-tabulation for black and white daughters' perceptions for item 2.24: The perpetrator was mostly kind and gentle towards me.

Scale	White mothers	Black mothers	Row total
Hardly ever	1 7,7%	5 50,0%	6 26,1%
Sometimes	2 15,4%	2 20,0%	4 17,4%
Often	10 76,9%	3 30,0%	13 56,5%
Column total	13 56,5%	10 43,5%	23 100%

The above table shows that 76,9% (n=10) of the white daughters agreed with the statement that the perpetrator was mostly kind and gentle towards them, in comparison to only 30% (n=3) of the black daughters. The majority of the black daughters, 70% (n=7), indicated that the perpetrator was not kind and gentle towards them. The null hypothesis is thus retained for the black daughters' perceptions and discarded for the white daughters' perceptions.

The total sample considered, 56,5% (n=13) agreed that the father-figure was mostly kind and gentle towards them.

Table 5.33

Cross-tabulation for black and white daughters' perceptions for item 2.25: The perpetrator said I was a bad (stupid/foolish/horrible) girl.

Scale	White mothers	Black mothers	Row total
Hardly ever	10 76,9%	4 40,0%	14 60,7%
Sometimes	2 15,4%	0 0	2 8,7%
Often	1 7,7%	6 60,0%	7 30,4%
Column total	13 56,5%	10 43,5%	23 100%

The above table shows that 60% (n=6) of the black daughters' confirmed item 2.25 in comparison to only 7,7% (n=1) of the white daughters. The null hypothesis is retained for the black daughters' perceptions and discarded for the perceptions of the white daughters.

The general opinion for the majority of the total sample, 60,7% (n=17), was that this form of emotional abuse rarely occurred.

Item 2.38, although not significant on either the 5% or the 1% level, is of value to the study:

2.38 I felt sad because the perpetrator was nasty to me.

There were 60,9% (n=14) of the total sample who indicated that they felt sad because of the perpetrators' nastiness.

Although various forms of emotional abuse do occur in these incestuous families, especially in the black incestuous families, as may be seen from the above findings, there is not substantial evidence from all of the items to validate this construct.

5.2.3.3 Isolation

The following items were significant on the 5% level concerning differences between the black and white daughters' perceptions:

2.21 My mother had to ask the perpetrator for permission if she wanted to go out.

2.5 I felt lonely because my mother was hardly ever at home.

Table 5.34

Cross-tabulation for black and white daughters' perceptions for item 2.21: My mother had to ask the perpetrator for his permission if she wanted to go out.

Scale	White mothers	Black mothers	Row total
Hardly ever	1 7,7%	5 50,0%	6 26,1%
Sometimes	2 15,4%	2 20,0%	4 17,4%
Often	10 76,9%	3 30,0%	13 56,5%
Column total	13 56,5%	10 43,5%	23 100%

The majority of the white daughters, 76,9% (n=10), perceived their mothers' freedom as being restricted by the perpetrator while only 30% (n=3) of the black daughters perceived likewise. These results actually contradict the mothers' perceptions. The white mothers, 76,9% (n=10) indicated that their freedom was not restricted by the perpetrator in comparison to only 30% (n=3) of the black mothers. There could be

numerous reasons for this contradiction between the mothers and daughters. More attention will be given to these differences in Chapter 6.

Table 5.35

Cross-tabulation for black and white daughters' perceptions for item 2.5: I felt lonely because my mother was hardly ever at home.

Scale	White mothers	Black mothers	Row total
Hardly ever	9 69,2%	3 30,0%	12 52,2%
Sometimes	3 23,0%	1 10,0%	4 17,4%
Often	1 7,7%	6 60,0%	7 30,4%
Column total	13 56,5%	10 43,5%	23 100%

The above table indicates that the majority of black daughters, 60% (n=6) often felt lonely as their mothers were hardly at home, while on 7,7% (n=1) of the white daughters felt likewise. This table indicates an environment at home which left the majority of black daughters isolated from their mothers thus leaving more opportunities open for sexual abuse.

The other items under this construct did not produce results that were indicative of the construct of isolation being used as a form of power and control by the perpetrator.

5.2.3.4 Minimising, denying and blaming

This construct produced no items that were significant on the 5% or 1% level concerning differences in the black and white daughters' perceptions and there were no other items, except for item 2.8, which was indicative of this form of power and control.

2.8 After sexually molesting me the perpetrator pretended that it never happened.

For this item, the majority of the daughters, 95,7% (n=22) confirmed this statement. However, this is not grounds enough to implicate the construct of minimising, denying and blaming as a form of power and control used by the perpetrator since the other items did not produce results of value in support of the null hypothesis.

5.2.3.5 Using the children

Neither of the two items here produced significant results concerning differences between the black and white daughters' perceptions. The results of the two items were not indicative of this construct being used as a form of power and control by the father-figure.

5.2.3.6 Using the mother

There were no significant results on either the 5% or the 1% level concerning differences between the black and white daughters' perceptions, although the results of the following two items are of value to this study:

2.18 I was scared the perpetrator would take my mother away from me if I did not do the things he told me to.

2.45 The perpetrator told me my mother would be angry with me if I told her about the bad things he did to me.

The majority, 56,5% (n=13), of the total sample of daughters indicated on item 2.18 that they feared being separated from their mothers, while a further 69,6% (n=16) said that the perpetrator told them that their mother would be angry if she found out about the sexual abuse, thus ensuring silence from the daughter.

The above results confirm that the perpetrator used the mother against the daughter, in order to ensure power and control over the daughter.

5.2.3.7 Male privilege

The following three items were significant on the 5% level concerning differences between the black and white daughters' perceptions:

- 2.10 My mother thinks that men are better than women.
- 2.36 My mother always had to do what the perpetrator told her to do because he is a man.
- 2.48 The perpetrator was the boss of the house and everyone had to obey every thing he said otherwise he would hurt us.

Table 5.36

Cross-tabulation for black and white daughters' perceptions for item 2.10: My mother thinks that men are better than women.

Scale	White mothers	Black mothers	Row total
Hardly ever	10 76,9%	5 50,0%	15 65,2%
Sometimes	2 15,4%	0	2 8,7%
Often	1 7,7%	5 50,0%	6 26,1%
Column total	13 56,5%	10 43,5%	23 100%

The above table shows that the majority of the black daughters, 50% (n=5), confirmed item 2.10, and the other 50% (n=5) disagreed with the statement. The majority of the white daughters, 76,9% (n=10), did not perceive their mothers as thinking that men are better than women. The null hypothesis is discarded for the white daughters' perceptions.

The majority of the total sample, 65,2% (n=15), did not perceive their mothers to think that men are better than women.

Table 5.37

Cross-tabulation for black and white daughters' perceptions for item 2.36: My mother always had to do what the perpetrator told her to do because he is a man.

Scale	White mothers	Black mothers	Row total
Hardly ever	12 92,3%	4 40,0%	16 69,6%
Sometimes	0	1 10,0%	1 4,4%
Often	1 7,7%	5 50,0%	6 29,1%
Column total	13 56,5%	10 43,5%	23 100%

From the above table, it appears that the majority of the black daughters, 50% (n=5), indicated that their mothers were forced to obey the perpetrator because he is a man in comparison to only 7,7% (n=1) of the white daughters. The null hypothesis is thus retained for the black daughters' perceptions.

The null hypothesis is also discarded for the total samples' perceptions since the majority, 69,6% (n=16), contradicted the statement in item 2.36.

Table 5.38

Cross-tabulation for black and white daughters' perceptions for item 2.48: The perpetrator was the boss of the house and everyone had to obey everything he said otherwise he would hurt us.

Scale	White mothers	Black mothers	Row total
Hardly ever	7 53,9%	2 20,0%	9 39,1%
Sometimes	3 23,1%	0	3 13,0%
Often	3 23,1%	8 80,0%	11 47,8%
Column total	13 56,5%	10 43,5%	23 100%

The above table indicates that 80% (n=8) of the black daughters agreed with item 2.48, while only 23,1% (n=3) of the white daughters agreed likewise. The null hypothesis is retained for the black daughters' perceptions and concerning the white daughters' perceptions, it is discarded.

There was not much difference in the total samples' perceptions between those who agreed with item 2.48, 47,8% (n=11), and those who did not, 39,1% (n=9).

The other item which is of value to this study, was item 2.14:

2.14 The perpetrator said that I had to obey him because he is a man.

The majority of the total sample, 52,2% (n=12) confirmed the above statement.

Although there are family interactional patterns which reflect the use of male privilege in the above incestuous families, especially in the black families, the results for the majority of items do not validate the construct of male privilege being listed as a power and control tactic by the perpetrator.

5.2.3.8 Economic abuse

Neither items under this construct were significant on the 5% or the 1% level concerning differences in the black and white daughters' perceptions. The total samples' answers for both items did not indicate that economic abuse is used as a means of gaining power and control.

5.2.3.9 Bribery

The item under this construct was not significant on the 5% or the 1% level concerning differences between the black and white daughters' perceptions. The results of the total sample of daughters did not indicate that bribery was used by the perpetrator to gain power and control.

5.2.3.10 Coercion and threats

The items under this construct did not produce significant results on the 5% level and 1% level concerning differences between the black and white daughters' perceptions. The following items are an indication that coercion and threats do exist in these incestuous families:

- 2.19 The perpetrator forced me to do bad things.
- 2.20 The perpetrator promised not to hurt me if I did the things he told me to do.
- 2.39 The perpetrator did things to scare me (e.g. shouting/smashing things) if I did not do the things he told me to.

For item 2.19, the majority, 60,9% (n=14), of the total sample indicated that the perpetrator forced them to do bad things.

Item 2.20 showed that 73,9% (n=17) of the total sample said the perpetrator promised not to hurt them if they obeyed his orders, while for item 2.39, 56,5% (n=13) agreed

with the statement that the perpetrator did things (e.g. shouting/smashing things) to scare them if they refused his requests.

Taking the above items into consideration, there are certain interactional patterns which confirm the use of coercion and threats by the father-figure. However, if all the items under this construct are considered, there is not enough evidence to substantiate that coercion and threats are definite constructs of power and control.

5.2.3.11 Substance abuse

The following items were significant on the 5% level concerning differences in the black and white daughters' perceptions:

2.3 My mother drank a lot of alcohol on most nights.

2.34 The perpetrator smoked dagga.

Table 5.39

Cross-tabulation for the black and white daughters' perceptions for item 2.3: My mother drank a lot of alcohol on most nights.

Scale	White mothers	Black mothers	Row total
Hardly ever	13 100,0%	6 60,0%	19 82,6%
Sometimes	0	1 10,0%	1 4,4%
Often	0	3 30,0%	3 13,0%
Column total	13 56,5%	10 43,5%	23 100%

While this item does not provide an indication of power and control by the perpetrator, it does provide a backdrop with which to compare the perpetrators' use of alcohol.

For item 2.3, the majority of the white daughters, 100% (n=13), as well as the black daughters, 60% (n=6), agreed that the mother did not abuse alcohol on most nights. The overwhelming majority, 82,6% (n=19), indicated that there was no alcohol abuse by the mother, whereas the majority, 56,5% (n=13) pointed to the fact that the perpetrator abused alcohol on most nights.

Table 5.40

Cross-tabulation for the black and white daughters' perceptions for item 2.34: The perpetrator smoked dagga.

Scale	White mothers	Black mothers	Row total
Hardly ever	12 92,3%	5 50,0%	17 73,9%
Sometimes	1 7,7%	1 10,0%	2 8,7%
Often	0	4 40,0%	4 17,4%
Column total	13 56,5%	10 43,5%	23 100%

Both the black and white daughters, 50% (n=5) and 92,3% (n=12) respectively, answered that the perpetrator did not smoke dagga. The null hypothesis is discarded in both instances, as well as being discarded for the total samples' perceptions, since 73,9% (n=17) agreed that the perpetrator did not use dagga.

The other items under this construct are not indicative of substance abuse and so there is not enough evidence to implicate that substance abuse is used to gain power and control.

5.3 CONCLUSION

The present chapter has examined the mothers' and daughters' perceptions of the family interactional patterns to establish whether the constructs of power and control were employed by the perpetrator. In the following chapter, the outcome of the above investigations will be given attention.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The first chapter emphasised the importance for research on child sexual abuse in South Africa. Child sexual abuse is a major problem in our society and awareness of this pervasive problem has increased drastically over the past two decades. However, research in South Africa is lacking since most of the research has simply replicated North American or British assumptions and ideologies. This limits the discovery of effective methods of intervening with the problem of child sexual abuse in ways that are befitting to the various ethnic groups in the South African community.

Chapter 2 began with an historic overview of child sexual abuse. The idea of abuse has evolved in a particular atmosphere of social and historical conditions, both at the level of socio-cultural systems of power and belief, as well as in the micro systems of the family and individual dynamics. Thus, in order to set the parameters for defining child sexual abuse, the expectations and viewpoints of parents, children, individuals and organisations within a community and culture, first ought to be examined. The wide range of sexual practices involving children, is not always included in a definition, yet it also plays an essential role in deciding what constitutes sexual abuse, as do the differences between intrafamilial and extrafamilial abuse.

Although sexual abuse is far more prevalent than was previously thought, it is impossible to determine the prevalence of child sexual abuse accurately. Firstly, because the differences in the reported incidences in various parts of the world depend on the recognition of abuse, how it is defined and the focus of each society. Secondly, the different methods used to gather research, as well as the differences in diagnostic

criteria, lead to discrepancies in quoted prevalence rates. In South Africa, the discrepancies in prevalent rates are largely due to the fact that no widespread epidemiological studies have been done. Furthermore, a large number of cases often go unreported. There are numerous factors which inhibit exposure. These include the victim being forced into secrecy by the perpetrator, the victim's helplessness and thus being forced to accommodate the sexual abuse in order to survive. If disclosure does take place, the fear of a family break-up, or being blamed for the sexual abuse, often forces the victim to retract her story.

There has been much debate as to whether sexual abuse incurs negative consequences. Some authors believe that the victim suffers no emotional or psychological trauma. Others believe that varying degrees of emotional and psychological problems result. Variables, such as the level of personality development of the victim prior to the sexual abuse, the level of her coping mechanisms, the presence of ego strength in her psychodynamics, the level of her relationship with others, the nature of support systems, the degree of her self-esteem and self-image, the nature of the sexual act, as well as its duration and whether or not therapy was used as an intervention method, may affect the types of after-effects experienced by the victim.

Chapter 3 focused on the etiology of incest. The most prominent theoretical perspectives in academic literature, were given attention. These included the psychoanalytical approach, which proposes that sexual abuse by the father does not occur. Rather, it is the result of the daughter's unresolved conflicts concerning "penis-envy".

The sociological perspective views the entire family system as dysfunctional due to sociologically-related problems, such as financial difficulties, overcrowding, alcoholism, unemployment and subcultural values. Incest forms only one aspect of the total family dysfunction.

The family dysfunction approach views the incestuous family as a dysfunctional system, which stems from the parents' undifferentiated ego mass formed in the family of

origin. The unresolved ego mass, inhibits the parents from responding in effective ways to problems in the family of pro-creation.

The psychodynamic approach concentrates more specifically on each family member's psychodynamics and personality traits which may contribute to the incestuous abuse. The opinions and conclusions are so numerous and varied, that no consensus has been reached as to the contributing factors of the incest.

The researcher is of the opinion that there is too much mother and daughter blaming and that they are made to look responsible for the perpetrator's deeds. Overlooked, is the relationship between male dominance and sexual abuse. Any type of sexual abuse is an exploitation of a power differential and thus there exists the possibility of a dysfunctional power distribution within incestuous families. It has been proposed that male dominance within a family is the result of a much wider system of male power within a society. From this stems the belief that women are subordinate to men and this reinforces male dominance within families. The potential to misuse that power over women becomes even greater if the misuse of personal power by the father-figure takes place. The misuse of personal power may well be a common factor in incestuous families. The father-figure may use various cognitive, emotional and behavioural interactional patterns to gain power and control over family members. These interactional patterns often result in physical and sexual violence over the family members. The aim of this study was thus to ascertain through the investigation of the mothers' and daughters' perceptions of the family interactional patterns, whether power and control constructs were used by the perpetrator. The Power and Control Wheel (Fig. 3.1), which was developed by the Domestic Abuse Intervention Project in Duluth, Minnesota, was used as a basis to investigate which types of power and control interactional patterns exist in the sample of incestuous families that were obtained.

Due to difficulties involved with obtaining a sample, the sample that was obtained, was small and consisted of 26 white mothers and their daughters, who had been sexually abused by the father-figure and 20 black mothers and their daughters, who had

been sexually abused by the father-figure. The daughters were between the ages of five years and 18 years. The names and the addresses of the victims and their mothers, were obtained through the Child Protection Unit, The Oranje Vroue Vereeniging, the Community Services for Child Sexual Abuse and by word of mouth. Thirty of the victims and their mothers were approached by the researcher at their homes. They were each given a clinical inventory to complete. Although there were separate clinical inventories designed for the mothers and the daughters, the constructs that were tested remained the same for both the mothers and the daughters. An interpreter was used for the Sesotho and Tswana languages. The other 16 clinical inventories were completed by clients from the Community Services for Child Sexual Abuse. The researcher had no contact with them, as the anonymity of the clients was requested by the persons in charge at the Community Services for Child Sexual Abuse. A black social worker did the translations for four of the inventories.

The average ages of the black mothers, black perpetrators and the black victims, tended to be older than those of the white family members. In both the black and the white families, the biological father was the perpetrator in the majority of the cases, then the stepfathers. Other common perpetrators for both ethnic groups were the stepgrandfathers and the mother's fiancé or friend.

Only two of the white perpetrators and none of the black perpetrators had received psychological help. It would seem that in these cases, although the authorities regarded the perpetrator as a criminal, no psychological help was forthcoming. It appears that the main emphasis of the authorities was on rescuing the child and prosecuting the offender, rather than adopting a more therapeutic stance towards both victim and offender and promoting a more functional family system. The latter approach is evident of the more recent trends that are being promoted on the international scene. This was discussed in chapter 2.

The average level of education for both the black and the white mothers was poor, and although there were no illiterate white mothers, there were three illiterate black mothers. The poor level of education may provide a reason for the low socio-

economic status evident in the majority of the black (90%) and the white (77%) families. There was only one middle class black family as well as only two middle class and one upper middle class white families. The evidence from this sample, is that sexual abuse occurs in all levels of socio-economic classes and this is in keeping with the findings of Van der Mey and Neff (1982) and those of Herman and Hirschman (1981), yet it cannot be denied that the majority of these families belonged to the low socio-economic class. Faller (1988) and Rosenfeld (1979) cited in Van der Mey and Neff (1982), provide numerous reasons for incest appearing to be more prevalent in the more deprived socio-economic groups. Although these were discussed in chapter 3, no definite conclusions were reached. Unfortunately, this sample is too small to generalize the findings to other incestuous families. There is a need for more research to ascertain whether incest abuse and economic factors are correlated.

The majority of white mothers were Afrikaans-speaking. Only one family was bilingual. This raises numerous questions such as: Does incest occur mainly in Afrikaans-speaking families? Is this perhaps a result of Afrikaans-speaking women generally being less assertive than the white English-speaking women and thus too afraid to stand up to the perpetrator? Are there more poor Afrikaans-speaking families who make use of the government services from which these names were obtained? Do the English-speaking incestuous families prefer to see private therapists? Do English-speaking families deny that the sexual abuse has taken place? There is a need for more research in this area concerning the white incestuous families. In the black incestuous families, the majority of the respondents spoke Sesotho, a language which is common to the Free State region.

As was mentioned earlier, the aim of this study was to ascertain which constructs of power and control were more evident in these incestuous families, by investigating the perceptions of the mothers and the daughters. If power and control constructs were employed by the perpetrator, this would be indicative of a patriarchal system.

From the results discussed in chapter 5, it appears that the father-figure does employ certain cognitive, emotional and behavioural interactional patterns as a means of

establishing power and control over the family members. These patriarchal tendencies were especially prevalent in the black incestuous families. However, although certain items under the constructs provided evidence of the perpetrator's use of power and control, there was not always a majority of significant items under each construct to implicate it as a power and control construct. Thus the only constructs which were significant to the sample of mothers, were those of intimidation, coercion and threats, and using the mother. Possible reasons for more items not being significant will be discussed further on in the chapter.

The constructs of intimidation, as well as coercion and threats, provide evidence that the father-figure gained control over the family members by shouting at them or threatening them or using force to get them to do things against their will. The outcome obtained from these interactional patterns, reflect similar results to those obtained by Herman and Hirschman (1981), who found that incestuously abused women described their fathers as domineering. The incestuous fathers used physical force and intimidation to gain control over the other family members. Studies by Ray Wyre (1994) and Dietz and Craft (1980) and Pothast and Allen (1994) have described the father-figure using similar terms.

The construct, using the mother, implies that the father-figure used interactional patterns similar to those described by Summit (1983), in which he makes the child feel guilty and responsible for the sexual abuse having taken place. Some of these interactional patterns are that he uses the mother implying that she will be angry with the victim for the sexual abuse, or that he will harm the mother if the victim does not comply to his sexual advances. This last construct was also depicted by the black and white daughters. They were also afraid that the perpetrator would harm their mothers had they not complied with his sexual advances.

As in the case with the mothers' perceptions, there were many significant items concerning the daughters' perceptions, yet there were not always a majority of significant items under each of the constructs. As a result, the constructs could not be implicated as power and control tactics employed by the perpetrator, even though there were

certain items which fell under them that depicted patriarchal tendencies within the family dynamics. Many of these items produced significant results for the black daughters, indicating the use of power and control within the family system.

It appears that patriarchal tendencies were more prominent in the black families than in the white families. It is possible that these patriarchal tendencies are part of the accepted culture, where for many decades, the black woman has been regarded as subordinate to her husband. Another reason for these differences, is that perhaps some of the white respondents may not have liked admitting to being controlled or dominated by the father-figure, especially in the nineties, where modern day society emphasises and even admires the liberated woman. The emphasis is placed on women becoming more independent and respected. It is possible that, although the instructions encouraged the respondents to respond as honestly as possible, some of the white respondents may have tried to present a more socially acceptable image of themselves.

Another possible reason for the differences in the results, is the fact that perceptions are being measured. Perceptions are subjective, and while the researcher may have perceived the constructs as power and control tactics, some of the respondents may not have perceived them as such, as it may well be a very integral part of the culture which they do not recognise as patriarchal. It is possible that the more westernised black mothers may have been more perceptive of patriarchal tendencies than the white mothers, because of the recent liberation of the black woman and the fact that this has recently received a lot of media attention.

These results cannot be generalised to other incestuous families as there were numerous factors that may have contaminated the final results.

Incestuous abuse is an extremely sensitive topic. Finding organisations which were willing to provide a list of names of incestuous victims, proved a difficult task. Due to the difficulties involved in obtaining a sample for the study, the sample size that was obtained for this study, was too small. The constructs of power and control may

have been more significant had there been a bigger sample size. This is recommended for future studies on this topic.

Another variable that may have distorted the final outcome, is the fact that the researcher had no control over the various interviewers. The researcher's initial intention was to act as interviewer, together with an interpreter. However, due to the Community Service's request to retain the anonymity of the clients, this was not possible.

The different developmental stages of the victims could possibly be another contaminating factor. The ages of the victims are spread between the ages of five and 18 years. Children below the age of 13 years are less likely to question authority and thus may recognize a patriarchal system as very strict parenting. Teenagers from 13 years up, are often rebellious and they question authority and thus they may be more likely to recognize a patriarchal system. It is even possible that they may recognize a patriarchal system where one does not exist, depending on how rebellious or questioning of authority they are.

Already mentioned, is the fact that perceptions were being measured and since perceptions are subjective, some of the respondents may not have recognized possible patriarchal tendencies. Thus the results may not be a true reflection of the family interactional patterns.

Also previously mentioned, is the fact that some of the respondents may have tried to present a more socially acceptable image of themselves by trying to appear more liberated than they really were.

It is also possible that some women may have remained loyal to the perpetrator and thus they may not have wanted to present him in a negative light. Some of the respondents may have feared that the perpetrator would come to hear of their answers and were thus afraid, despite the fact that their confidentiality was assured.

The items and their constructs were derived from the Power and Control Wheel (Fig. 3.1), which was established by the Domestic Abuse Intervention Project in Duluth, Minnesota. These items and constructs were originally developed by professional workers' experiences with physically abused women, to which the present researcher added a few more constructs (Fig. 3.2), which were based on an overview of literature on child sexual abuse. The wheel denotes sexual and physical violence by husbands towards their wives and since incestuous families have been likened to families in which wife abuse occurs, this wheel provided a valid basis from which to derive the clinical inventories. Thus the reader should not overlook each item's contribution to the constructs, even though the items that were significant under a certain construct were not always in the majority and therefore not substantial enough to implicate the construct as a power and control tactic. Each item provided information on the interactional patterns in these incestuous families. Even the items which did not confirm the power and control tendencies, are of value, since they are informative of what does not occur in these incestuous families.

The value of this study, is that a contribution has been made to South African literature in the field of child sexual abuse, and additionally, it is a cross-cultural study. Cross-cultural studies on child sexual abuse in South Africa are rare and most researches have replicated North American and British ideologies and assumptions, which restrict professionals from discovering effective ways of treating sexual abuse cases which are appropriate to the different ethnic groups in the South African context. This study may be used as a pilot study from which other research may develop.

Secondly, it is the researcher's view that too many of the research studies undertaken in the past, focused too much on mother and daughter blaming, thus making them seem reprehensible for the perpetrator's deeds. This study chose to examine an important and often overlooked aspect of incestuous abuse: the role of patriarchy in sexual abuse. Although the results of the items did not confirm all the constructs to be power and control tactics employed by the perpetrator in these incestuous families, there were enough items to confirm that certain patriarchal tendencies existed in these families.

SUMMARY

Research studies on child sexual abuse are extremely valuable as it is a major problem in our society, especially since in the majority of cases, the perpetrator is known to the victim. Up to 50% of reported cases are due to the natural father's perpetration, while the stepfathers make up 20% of reported cases. Furthermore, there is a lack of cross-cultural research in South Africa. Most research studies have replicated North American and British ideologies and assumptions. There is a need to develop an understanding of child sexual abuse across cultures, so that the problem can be treated in ways which are appropriate to all cultures in the South African community.

Overlooked in many research studies, is the relationship between male dominance and sexual abuse. Sexual abuse is an exploitation of power, thus the possibility exists of there being a dysfunctional power distribution in incestuous families. Male dominance within families may well be part of a wider system of male power bestowed upon men by society and from this stems the belief that women are subordinate to men. Thus the potential to misuse this structural power of women becomes greater if there is a misuse of personal power by the father-figure within a family system. The father-figure may employ various power and control tactics over family members. The aim of this study, was to ascertain through the investigation of the mothers' and daughters' perceptions of the family interactional patterns, whether power and control tactics were employed by the perpetrator. The Power and Control Wheel, which was developed by the Domestic Abuse Intervention Project in Duluth, Minnesota, was used as a basis to investigate the types of power and control constructs existent in the incestuous families. The names of black and white victims between the ages of five and 18 years, who were sexually abused by the father-figure were obtained through various organisations in Bloemfontein. Both the victims and their mothers (in total 46 persons) were given separate questionnaires to complete.

Although this research sample is small and a number of confounding variables inhibit its generalisation, the following tendencies were evident. According to the mothers' perceptions of the family interactional patterns, the perpetrator employed the constructs of "intimidation", "coercion and threats" and "using the mother". The first two constructs imply that the perpetrator used force, threats, as well as verbal and sometimes physical violence to gain control. These tendencies were very predominant in the black families. The construct, "using the mother" indicates that the perpetrator either threatened to harm the mother or to send her away if the child did not comply with his sexual advances. The perpetrator also threatened the child by implying that the mother would be angry with her for causing the sexual abuse to take place. The daughters' perceptions confirmed the latter construct. The daughters indicated that the perpetrator used the mother to gain power and control over them. There was no difference between the black and white daughters' perceptions for this construct.

Although these results cannot be generalised, the above research study indicates that there are certain patriarchal tendencies which form a part of the family dynamics and which should not be overlooked in the treatment of the family system.

OPSOMMING

Navorsing betreffende seksuele molestering van kinders is van uiterste belang aangesien dit 'n groot probleem in ons samelewing geword het, ook omdat in meeste van die gevalle, die molesteerder aan die kind bekend is. Bestaande studies dui daarop dat in 50% van die gevalle, die biologiese vader die molesteerder was, terwyl stiefvaders in 20% van die gevalle hul kinders gemolesteer het. Aangesien bestaande navorsingsgegewens egter gebaseer is op Noord-Amerikaanse en Britse ideologieë en aannames, bestaan daar dus 'n behoefte aan kruis-kulturele navorsing betreffende seksuele molestering van kinders in Suid-Afrika, veral aangesien dit die effektiewe hantering van die probleem by alle kultuurgroepe moontlik kan maak.

Bestaande navorsing ten opsigte van kindermolestering spreek ook nie die verband tussen manlike dominansie en seksuele molestering aan nie. Seksuele molestering is 'n uitdrukking van mag wat misbruik word. Gevolglik bestaan die moontlikheid dat daar 'n disfunksionele magsverdeling binne gesinne is waar die kind seksueel gemolesteer word. Manlike dominansie binne die gesin kan verder 'n voortsetting wees van die mag wat tradisioneel deur die samelewing aan die man besorg word en die vrou sodoende onderdanig tot die man stel. Die geleentheid om hierdie strukturele mag te misbruik, sal verhoog word indien persoonlike mag deur die vaderfiguur in die gesin misbruik word.

Die vader kan dus van verskeie mag-en-beheer meganismes binne die gesin gebruikmaak. Die doel van hierdie studie was om deur middel van die moeder en dogter se persepsies van die gesin se interaksiepatrone vas te stel of mag-en-beheer meganismes deur die molesteerder misbruik word. Die "Power and Control Wheel" wat deur die Domestic Abuse Intervention Project in Duluth, Minnesota, ontwikkel is, is gebruik om vas te stel watter tipes mag-en-beheer strukture daar in gesinne bestaan waar seksuele molestering plaasvind. Die steekproef is deur verskillende organisasies in

Bloemfontein verkry. Afsonderlike vraelyste is aan die slagoffers en hul moeders gegee. Die slagoffers het bestaan uit blanke en swart dogters tussen die ouderdom van vyf en 18 jaar en seksueel gemolesteer is deur die vaderfiguur.

Alhoewel die skeekproef baie klein is en daar verskeie steuringsveranderlikes voorkom wat die veralgemeenbaarheid van hierdie studie kortwiek, het daar tog sekere tendense na vore getree: volgens die moeder se persepsie van die gesin se interaksiepatrone, het die molesteerder veral die konstrakte van "intimidasie", "dwang en dreigemente" en "deur die ma te gebruik" geïmplementeer. Die eerste twee konstrakte impliseer dat die molesteerder dwang, dreigemente sowel as verbale en soms fisiese geweld gebruik het om beheer te verkry.

Hierdie tendense het veral in die swart gesinne voorgekom. Die konstrak "deur die ma te gebruik" dui daarop dat die molesteerder óf gedreig het om die ma seer te maak, óf gedreig het om haar weg te stuur indien die kind nie toegee het aan sy seksuele toenaderings nie. Die molesteerder het ook die kind laat verstaan dat die moeder kwaad vir haar sou wees indien sy sou uitvind van die molestering. Die dogters se persepsies het laasgenoemde konstrak bevestig. Die dogters het aangedui dat die molesteerder die moeder gebruik het om mag en beheer oor hulle te verkry. Ten opsigte van hierdie konstrak, was daar geen verskil tussen die swart en blanke dogters se persepsies nie.

Alhoewel die resultate nie veralgemeenbaar is nie, dui die navorsingsgegewens daarop dat daar sekere tendense is wat deel van die gesinsdinamika vorm wat tydens die behandeling van die gesinsisteem aangespreek moet word.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MOTHER

1.0 BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

PLEASE COMPLETE THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION OR MARK WITH AN "X" IN THE APPROPRIATE BLOCK.

Surname: Name:

Age: Marital status:

(mother's age when sexual abuse began):

Home language: Occupation:

Highest qualification:

Address:

.....

Tel. No.:

Family income bracket:

above R100 000 p/a
R 60 000 - R100 000 p/a
R 30 000 - R 60 000 p/a
R 20 000 - R 30 000 p/a
R 10 000 - R20 000 p/a
below R 10 000 p/a

2.0 GENERAL INFORMATION

PLEASE COMPLETE THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION OR MARK WITH AN "X" IN THE APPROPRIATE BLOCK.

2.1 Who sexually abused your daughter?

biological father
stepfather
grandfather
my boyfriend
my fiancé
other specify

ANSWER EITHER YES OR NO:

2.2 Was the perpetrator the head of the family (father-figure)?

YES / NO

2.3 Does the perpetrator still live with the family?

YES / NO

2.4 Has the perpetrator received psychological help?

YES / NO

PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING:

2.5 What was the age of the perpetrator at the time of the sexual abuse?

.....

2.6 For how long did the sexual abuse take place?

.....

2.7 How did you find out about the sexual abuse?

.....
.....
.....
.....

2.8 What did you do when you found out?

.....
.....
.....
.....

3.0 IN THIS SECTION PLEASE MARK THE NUMBER WHICH BEST DESCRIBES THE GIVEN STATEMENTS.

- 5 = very often
4 = often
3 = sometimes
2 = hardly ever
1 = never

e.g. The perpetrator swore at me.

(5) 4 3 2 1

(5 indicates that the perpetrator swore at me very often)

3.1 The perpetrator intimidated me by shouting at me.

5 4 3 2 1

3.2 I was afraid to stand up against the perpetrator's aggressive behaviour (e.g. shouting/smashing things).

5 4 3 2 1

3.3 The perpetrator made me feel bad about myself.

5 4 3 2 1

3.4 The perpetrator beat me.

5 4 3 2 1

3.5 The perpetrator did not allow me to visit friends and family when I wanted to.

5 4 3 2 1

3.6 I did everything the perpetrator demanded for fear he would become aggressive (physically & verbally).

5 4 3 2 1

3.7 The perpetrator made me believe that I deserved to be abused (physically/verbally/emotionally) by him.

5 4 3 2 1

3.8 I did not allow the perpetrator to criticise me.

5 4 3 2 1

3.9 The perpetrator said it was my own fault that he beat me.

5 4 3 2 1

3.10 I felt worthless as a wife and mother.

5 4 3 2 1

3.11 The perpetrator treated me like a servant.

5 4 3 2 1

3.12 I feared the perpetrator's violent behaviour.

5 4 3 2 1

3.13 The perpetrator prevented me from getting a job.

5 4 3 2 1

3.14 I did not allow the perpetrator to intimidate me with his threats.

5 4 3 2 1

3.15 The perpetrator made me do things I did not want to do.

5 4 3 2 1

- 3.16 I believe that the man should make all the decisions.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.17 The perpetrator threatened to take my children away from me.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.18 My freedom was restricted by the perpetrator.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.19 The perpetrator drank more than the legal limit of alcohol (e.g. 2-3 beer/2-4 double whiskys/2-4 double brandies) on most nights.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.20 I was not dependent on the perpetrator to provide for me.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.21 My daughter feared the perpetrator.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.22 I was afraid that the perpetrator would take the children away from me, that is why I did what he told me.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.23 My daughter did not mix easily with her peer group.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.24 I feel/felt guilty because I feel that I was not available for my daughter when she needed me.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.25 I was not subservient towards the perpetrator.
5 4 3 2 1

- 3.26 My daughter allowed the perpetrator to sexually abuse her because she was afraid of him.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.27 I stayed away from home to avoid the perpetrator's unpredictable behaviour.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.28 My daughter initiated the sexual abuse.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.29 I smoked dagga during the period that my daughter was sexually abused.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.30 My daughter had many people whom she could confide in during the time of the sexual abuse.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.31 I had to ask the perpetrator for money because he would not allow me to have an income of my own.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.32 The perpetrator made my daughter feel bad about herself to the extent that she had/has a poor self-image.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.33 I did not deserve the perpetrator's respect.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.34 The perpetrator regarded my daughter as his possession.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.35 The perpetrator used his privilege as father-figure to force himself on my daughter.
5 4 3 2 1

- 3.36 I drank more than the legal limit of alcohol (e.g. 2-4 beers/2-4 double
whiskys/2-4 double brandies) on most nights.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.37 I drank as a way of coping with the perpetrator's unpredictable behaviour.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.38 The perpetrator bribed my daughter with gifts and special treatment into a
sexual relationship.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.39 The perpetrator threatened to harm my daughter if she did not comply with his
sexual advances.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.40 The perpetrator used the children to get at me.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.41 The perpetrator smoked dagga.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.42 The perpetrator used other illegal substances (e.g. cocaine/ecstasy).
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.43 The perpetrator made threats which scared me.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.44 I was free to do what I liked without having to ask the perpetrator's
permission.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.45 I was afraid of the perpetrator.
5 4 3 2 1

- 3.46 The perpetrator regarded men and women as equal.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.47 The perpetrator kept telling me what a woman's job was and what a man's job was (a woman's place is in the kitchen).
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.48 The perpetrator had a right to force himself on my daughter because he was the head of the family.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.49 The perpetrator forced me to work so that he could stay at home.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.50 The perpetrator made me go out often so that he could sexually abuse my daughter.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.51 The perpetrator treated me well.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.52 The perpetrator pretended that nothing had happened after having abused my daughter physically, verbally or emotionally.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.53 The perpetrator put the children up against me by saying bad things about me to them.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.54 The perpetrator gave me no reason to fear him.
5 4 3 2 1
- 3.55 The perpetrator blamed my daughter for the sexual abuse.
5 4 3 2 1

3.56 The perpetrator made my daughter believe that I would be angry with her for allowing the sexual abuse to happen.

5 4 3 2 1

3.57 After sexually abusing my daughter he would make as if it was nothing serious.

5 4 3 2 1

3.58 The perpetrator believed he had a right to sexually abuse my daughter because he was the head of the house.

5 4 3 2 1

3.59 My daughter was afraid that the perpetrator would harm me if she did not comply to his sexual advances.

5 4 3 2 1

3.60 The perpetrator did not threaten us.

5 4 3 2 1

THANK-YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION.

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR DAUGHTER

1.0 BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

PLEASE FILL IN THE INFORMATION ON THE DOTTED LINE.

Surname: Name:

Age: Std.:

(when sexual abuse began)

Home language:

Address:

.....

.....

Tel. No.:

2.0 Please mark the number which best describes the statement.

5 = very often

4 = often

3 = sometimes

2 = hardly ever

1 = never

e.g. I was scared of the perpetrator.

(5) 4 3 2 1

(5 means that I was scared of the perpetrator very often)

- 2.1 The perpetrator made me scared by shouting at me.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.2 The perpetrator made me feel bad about myself.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.3 My mother drank a lot of alcohol on most nights.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.4 My mother was scared of the perpetrator.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.5 I felt lonely because my mother was hardly ever at home.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.6 The perpetrator told me that the bad things he did to me were my fault.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.7 The perpetrator did not allow me to have friends.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.8 After sexually molesting me the perpetrator pretended that it never happened.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.9 My mother had to ask the perpetrator for money if she wanted to buy something.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.10 My mother thinks that men are better than women.
5 4 3 2 1

- 2.11 I did what the perpetrator told me to do so that he would not hurt me.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.12 I got presents and sweets if I did what the perpetrator told me to do.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.13 The perpetrator said he would hurt my mother if I did not do the things he told me to do.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.14 The perpetrator said that I had to obey him because he is a man.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.15 My mother was scared the perpetrator would take me away from her.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.16 The perpetrator hit my mother.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.17 Women have to do what men say.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.18 I was scared the perpetrator would take my mother away from me if I did not do the things he told me to do.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.19 The perpetrator forced me to do bad things.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.20 The perpetrator promised not to hurt me if I did the things he told me to.
5 4 3 2 1

- 2.21 My mother had to ask the perpetrator for his permission if she wanted to go out.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.22 The perpetrator said unkind things to my mother.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.23 The perpetrator drank lots of alcohol almost every night.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.24 The perpetrator was mostly kind and gentle towards me.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.25 The perpetrator said that I was a bad (stupid/foolish/horrible) girl.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.26 My mother was scared of the perpetrator because he would hurt her if she did not obey him.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.27 My mother smoked dagga during the period that I was sexually abused.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.28 My mother was not afraid of the perpetrator.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.29 I was afraid of the perpetrator because he hit me and he shouted at me.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.30 I thought that men were allowed to sexually abuse girls.
5 4 3 2 1

- 2.31 The perpetrator sexually molested me only when he had too much to drink.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.32 The perpetrator did not allow me to have friends.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.33 My mother could not defend herself against the perpetrator's aggressive behaviour.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.34 The perpetrator smoked dagga.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.35 My mother felt humiliated by the bad things the perpetrator said and did to her
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.36 My mother always had to do what the perpetrator told her to do because he is a man.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.37 The perpetrator made my mother go out so that he could do bad things to me.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.38 I felt sad because the perpetrator was nasty to me.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.39 The perpetrator did things to scare me (e.g. shouting/smashing things) if I did not do the things he told me to do.
5 4 3 2 1
- 2.40 The perpetrator said that I deserved the bad things he did to me because I was a bad girl.
5 4 3 2 1

2.41 The perpetrator said it was my mother's own fault that he hit her.

5 4 3 2 1

2.42 My mother was afraid to visit friends in case the perpetrator got angry.

5 4 3 2 1

2.43 I was afraid of the perpetrator.

5 4 3 2 1

2.44 I felt guilty because the perpetrator always blamed me for the bad things he did to me.

5 4 3 2 1

2.45 The perpetrator told me that my mother would be angry with me if I told her about the bad things he did to me.

5 4 3 2 1

2.46 My mother felt bad because the perpetrator told her it was her fault that he did bad things to us.

5 4 3 2 1

2.47 My mother had to give her money to the perpetrator because she was afraid.

5 4 3 2 1

2.48 The perpetrator was the boss of the house and everyone had to obey everything he said otherwise he would hurt us.

5 4 3 2 1

2.49 I deserved being sexually abused because I was a bad girl.

5 4 3 2 1

2.50 My mother was too afraid to stop the perpetrator from sexually abusing me.

5 4 3 2 1

Thank-you

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