

THE CONSTRUCTION OF A SOCIAL REALITY: AN EXAMINATION OF
FATHER-DAUGHTER INCEST

by

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The Construction of a Social Reality: An Examination

of Father-Daughter Incest.

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ABSTRACT

Information collected by social service agencies about clients and their behavior may be distorted as the information is passed from the discovery of the behavior, through the agency recording the behavior, and eventually to the reporting of the information to the lay public. If the behavior comes under the jurisdiction of the criminal law, the distortion of information may become critically important because the information may ultimately affect the life and liberty of individual citizens. In addition, incorrect or misleading information may result in misdirected and ineffective social or legal responses. The author argues in this thesis that, as a result of the incorrect and misleading information that is generated by the process of discovery, recording and reporting, much of what is believed to be known about criminal behavior may, in fact, be invalid. Father-daughter incest is presented as an example to illustrate this phenomenon.

The thesis begins with an evaluation of the believed universality of the incest taboo and a critical evaluation of incest theory in general, followed by a review and methodological critique of research on father-daughter incest. Support for the argument that information is distorted by social service agencies is gained from an analysis of files of reported cases of father-daughter incest collected by a child abuse agency.

The thesis concludes that the research results reported from studies of father-daughter incest vary considerably and appear to depend upon the definitions researchers select for key concepts central to the behavioral phenomenon. It is also argued that the information source, the method used to obtain the information, and the perspective taken by the data collector, also distort the final information that is reported to the public. Finally, suggestions are offered for improving future research in subject areas that depend on social service agency data.

DEDICATION

To

Those that care

and

To others with the courage
to question the answers

QUOTATION

We shall not cease from exploration,
And the end of all our exploring
Will be to arrive where we started...
And know the place for the first time.

From The Magus

Oh what a tangled web we weave,
When first we practice to deceive.

~~Shakespeare~~

Sir Walter Scott - The Abbot (1820) ch. 10

For some,
Social reality is created,
Never discovered.
How, then, is the purpose -
Not what.

The Author

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The title page indicates a single author, which lends one to connote that the work within is the product of a single mind; nothing could be further from the truth. Although it is certainly true that I wrote down all the words and did most of the thinking that produced them, it is also true that many other people contributed their knowledge, ideas, and skills to this endeavor. I would like to take this opportunity to thank them for their generous help.

To the following fellow students, graduates, faculty, and friends, who helped in gathering research materials, verifying data, editing manuscript, and offering suggestions and direction, I owe a warm thank-you: Dan Beavon, Ray Chapman, Sue Conners, Katherine Dane, Wayne Dobson, Curt Griffiths, Bill Glackman, Judy Merriman, Teresa Mitchell-Banks, Sheila Rankin, Carol Ross, Brenda Serio, Lea Smith, George Tien, Norman Wardrop, Joyce White, and a special thank-you to those five 'little ladies' who wish to remain anonymous, but without whose insistence this work would never have started.

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PREFACE

Information, which information collectors suggest reflects what is happening in the real world, may frequently be distorted before that information is made available to the lay public. This assertion becomes critically important when we are dealing with information that ultimately effects the lives and liberties of individual citizens; as is often the course of events with information relating to criminal behavior and the subsequent social responses to that behavior. Understandably, if information about a behavior is incorrect or misleading, not only will the generally held beliefs about the behavior be colored, but social responses designed to control the behavior may be both misdirected and ineffective.

Father-daughter incest is only one of many criminal offences clouded in questionable beliefs, beliefs often founded on inaccurate or misleading information. Incest, however, and especially that subset of incest referred to as father-daughter incest, carries with it an additional notion; that it is and always has been 'a universal taboo'.

Initially, this thesis was to address a single question; 'what, if any, specific characteristics can be attributed to each of the participants involved in father-daughter incest?' In an effort to answer this question, a content analysis of a child abuse agency file information was considered to be a viable method of gaining the relevant information. During the early stages of data collection, however, several other questions

surfaced. Attempting to address each of these questions resulted in reformulating the specific intent of the thesis. The resulting thesis is more of a critical examination of what we think we know about the behavior, than it is a descriptive statement of the participants involved in the behavior.

Suffice it to say, if the questions and arguments posited throughout this dissertation create doubt in the reader's mind with respect to what was initially believed about father-daughter incest, perhaps a similar doubt will be incurred when the reader examines other information generated by other information collectors which relate to other criminal behaviors. After all, the process to which information is subjected very often alters the conceptions we have of that to which the information supposedly relates.

This thesis is, for the most part, an examination of how conceptions about a criminal behavior may be distorted. If there is an underlying message to this work it might best be expressed with the comment, "what we think we know, may not be so".

I. Introduction

"When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty said, in a scornful tone, "it means what I choose it to mean - neither more nor less."

"The question is," said Alice, "whether you can make words mean so many different things."

"The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "which is to be master - that's all." (Lewis Carroll, Through the Looking-Glass, 1872).¹

Child abuse and neglect, is broadly defined as 'the non-accidental emotional or physical injury to an individual under 18 by a parent or guardian' (Smith, et al.; 1980, 1), and in this sense is perceived to be a serious social problem in the United States (Smith, et al.; 1980) and Canada (Ministry of Human Resources; 1979). But, present information on the extent of actual child abuse and neglect appears to vary considerably, depending on the definition, the information source, the method used to obtain the information, and the perspective taken by the data collector (Smith, et al.; 1980, 1).

¹ This most appropriate quotation was first recognized being used by Griffiths, C.; Klein, L.; Verdun-Jones, S.N. to preface chapter 1 of their book Criminal Justice in Canada. Toronto: Butterworth & Co., 1980.

Definitions

One of the most problematic areas in the field of child abuse and neglect research appears to be that of definition (Smith, et al.; 1980, 6). For example, in 1973 the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare recorded 40,000 reported cases of physical abuse for 1972.² In that same year, Gelles (1972), as reported by Smith, et al. (1980; 1), estimated physical abuse of children would exceed 1.5 million cases.³

Also, for children under 18 years of age, the incidents of neglect are estimated, according to Cain (1977) as reported by Smith, et al. (1980; 1), to be considerably more numerous. By comparison, Cain's (1977) estimates for neglect range from eight to ten times greater than Gelles' (1972) estimate of child abuse, with the larger estimate including cases of child abandonment. Should Cain's (1977) estimate of child neglect be included with Gelles' (1972) estimate of child abuse, a total of 11.5 million child abuse and neglect cases would be realized for

² The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare record a child as having been physically abused only after they have confirmed that the child reported as abused has received non-accidental and notable physical injury ... received from a parent or guardian (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. American Humane Association. National Analysis of Official Child Neglect and Abuse Reporting. Denver, Colorado: American Humane Association, 1978).

³ Gelles (1972) employed a broad definition for child abuse. His definition for violence against children ranged from a 'slap' to murder. The 1.5 million figure is a projection based upon; a) this broad definition, and b) a small non-random sample of cases.

the year 1972.

Magnifying this point further, the U.S. Bureau of the Census states that the population of children under eighteen for the year 1972 was approximately 70 million.⁴ Based on this figure, the Cain (1977) and Gelles' (1972) combination represents approximately 19% or 1 in 5 American children at risk.⁵

Given such a broad definitional base, researchers would have little difficulty lending support to the contention that "persons who have been abused or neglected as a child may be more likely to become delinquents, runaways, or adult criminals, to have learning or behavioral problems in school, or to become abusing or neglecting parents" (Smith, et al.; 1980, 3). Indeed, it would be difficult not to find a delinquent, or adult criminal, or any offender, without some history of abuse or neglect as defined by the Gelles (1972) and Cain (1977) combination.

⁴ See; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Population characteristics." Population Profile of the United States, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980, 1.

⁵ It should be noted that these estimates are formulated on the basis of those reported events and do not necessarily reflect the true reality. More pointedly, it is unknown what the ratio of reported events are to unreported events.

Data Sources and Methodology

Further to the aforementioned conceptual problems related to definition formulation, are the problems which relate directly to the actual gathering of 'rough data'.⁶ Estimates of the extent of child abuse and neglect are often based on the information obtained from a variety of sources. The source, together with the method or how the information was gained, can also effect final conclusions and subsequent estimates.⁷

Perspectives

Definitions of child abuse and neglect also vary with the data collector's perception and approach to the behavior. Johnson's (1974) study of 1,172 reported child abuse and neglect cases, leads her to suggest two reasons for definitional differences.

Abuse and neglect are often viewed in culturally relative terms and thus subject to various social values which change over time and vary within different segments of society (Johnson; 1974). Also, differing professional work settings tend to influence perceptions of behavior and thus effect the

⁶ 'Rough data', in this instance, refers to the general information contained in social agency files and not to the actual numbers compiled from the coding of that information.

⁷ Table 1 (end of chapter), exemplifies the wide range of abuse estimates and the diverse sources of these estimates.

definition professionals apply to the behavior (Johnson; 1974).

The particular perspective, purpose, or objective the data collector has in mind, therefore, may be related to the choice of definition which, subsequently, mediates the conclusions inferred, the generalizations stated, and ultimately, effects the estimates of child abuse and neglect incidences. As Smith, et al. (1980) point out;

" ... the purpose and theoretical frame of reference used by the researcher or practitioner influences the type of definition used" (Smith, et al.; 1980, 6)[emphasis added].

In addition, the particular dimension selected will also influence the ultimate estimates. Within this context, three particular dimensions have been noted by child abuse and neglect authors:

1. emphasis and concern relating to the abused or neglected victim (Kempe; 1962);
2. the intention of the adult participant (i.e.) was the abuse or neglect intentional or non-accidental (Gil; 1970), and;
3. the perception of the observer (Gelles; 1972).

Father-Daughter Incest Research

These aforementioned conceptual and methodological problems become even more apparent when examining the literature relating to a subset of child abuse and child neglect - sexual abuse. Again, what researchers define as sexually abusive behavior toward a child, together with the particular purpose and/or

theoretical dimension selected, may in turn result in researchers generating a wide variety of data. And again, as exemplified with the child abuse and neglect estimates, estimates of sexual abuse occurrences, consequently, vary.⁸

The same concerns hold true for a subset of sexual abuse, the behavior commonly referred to as incest, and a particular variety of that subset, father-daughter incest.⁹

The Definition Problem

Once again, estimates of actual father-daughter incest incidences vary, and the variation in estimates between reporting sources can be attributed, primarily, to the broad definition selected by each source.¹⁰ For example, Susan Forward

⁸ See also; Sarafino, L. "An estimate of nationwide incidence of sexual offences against children." Child Welfare, 58-2 (Feb, 1979), 127-134. Wherein, looking at incidence surveys in Brooklyn, New York, Connecticut, Minneapolis, Minnesota, and Washington, D.C., Sarafino (1979) estimates that there are 122.5 reported sexual offences per 100,000 children, with the number of unreported sexual assaults at least three to four times as high. This estimate, he suggests, is at the low end of those in the literature.

⁹ Concluding this chapter, Figure 1 shows the various attributes of the sexual abuse variable as presented by some authors of child sexual abuse. Figure 2 shows the legalistic breakdown relating to incest.

¹⁰ See also; Sagarin, Edward. "Incest: Problems of Definition and Frequency." The Journal of Sex Research, 13-2 (May, 1977), 126-135. Herein, Sagarin emphasizes the problems incest researchers face due to the lack of clear-cut definitions.

(1978)¹¹ leans heavily toward a definition that might best be described as a 'social agency definition', whereas other estimates hold more to a 'legalistic definition'.¹² With respect to father-daughter incest, the former definition includes virtually any sexual behavior with any male member of the family acting in the dominant male figure or father role. As Forward (1978) clearly admits;

"I define incest as any overtly sexual contact between people who are either closely related or perceive themselves to be closely related (including stepparents, stepsiblings, halfsiblings, and even live-in lovers, if they have assumed a parental role). If that special trust that exists between a child and a parent-figure or sibling is violated by a sexual act, that act becomes incestuous. It makes no difference, for example, whether the aggressor is a natural father or a stepfather as long as the child perceives him to be daddy" (Forward; 1978, 3-4).

This broad definition, however, depends on several notions, as pointed out by Lawton-Speert and Wachtel (1981; iv), when they state:

1. It takes as given that a child is physically and psycho-socially immature and thus that sexual activity necessarily constitutes exploitation

¹¹ Susan Forward has a masters degree in social work and is a licensed clinical social worker specializing in intensive group psychotherapy (Forward; 1978, preface).

¹² The 'legalistic definition' used here refers to that described in the Canadian Criminal Code. In the U.S.A., some states do include stepfathers and fosterfathers in their incest laws (Sagarin; 1977). Other countries, however, do differ. For example, the French Penal Code for almost two centuries has contained no regulations regarding sexual relations between adult relatives. Further, Swedish studies relating to incest and subsequent legal action, indicate social responses other than criminal charges. See; Alstrom, Carl-Henry, "A study of incest with special regard to the Swedish penal code." Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavia, 56-5 (Nov, 1977) 357-372.

- because the child is incapable of giving fully informed consent. The responsibility rests with the abuser;
2. It assumes that there is adult consensus that certain activities - ranging from intercourse to masturbation to fondling to exposure - are sexual and that, while children are not asexual, the abuser defines the nature of the activity, not the child;
 3. It argues that sexual abuse is 'incest' in the broad sense if the abuser's relationship to the child is one of kinship (father, older brother) or is kin-like (mother's live-in boyfriend, regular baby-sitter). Thus it distinguishes this class of abusers from others who may be authority figures of another sort (teachers, club leaders) or may indeed be strangers, and;
 4. It makes no assumption about whether there is overt violence, threatening or not; coercion, seduction or misrepresentation; a single incident or a pattern of abuse. These are important distinctions but each is secondary to the definition of sexual abuse.

The legal definition, on the other hand, explicitly states what behavior is to be considered incestuous, with whom, and in addition, requires a form of corroboration that will stand up in a court of law.¹³

For example, the definition used by the B.C. Ministry of Human Resources (1979) as compared to the legal definition found in the Criminal Code of Canada (1978),¹⁴ shows this difference clearly. The Ministry of Human Resources includes father-daughter incest within their sexual abuse definition, when they state that;

"This is the sexual exploitation of a child by a caretaker or other family member or other adult, resulting in damage or injury to the child sexually, psychologically, or physically. Forms of sexual

¹³ Canadian Criminal Code [Sec. 150(1)] and [Sec. 139(1)].

¹⁴ Martin's. Canadian Criminal Code (Annotated). Agincourt, Ont.; Canada Law Book Limited, 1978. Hereinafter referred to as; the Canadian Criminal Code, the Criminal Code, or, the Code.

exploitation include incest; either parentchild, stepparentchild, or sibling and child prostitution. Incest may occur between non-blood related family members; however, when it involves the sexual exploitation of a child it is still defined as incest, a form of sexual abuse" (Ministry of Human Resources, 1979) [emphasis added].

Within the Ministry's broad definitional framework, a 'father' may include stepfather,¹⁵ 'sexual exploitation' is poorly defined, and virtually any behavior from 'simple fondling' to sexual intercourse may be determined, by the counsellor investigating the case, as sexually exploitive.¹⁶ Corroboration, although not mentioned in the definition, is also a matter of individual counsellor discretion. Although some attempt is made to corroborate a report of sexual abuse, very often a child abuse counsellor needs only the child's admission that some form of sexual exploitation has taken place. Given that the Ministry is satisfied that some form of sexual abuse has transpired, and believes that the child may be subject to similar abuse in the future, they may intervene and place the child in an alternative home setting; generally, a foster home.

By comparison, the Canadian Criminal Code (1978) states that;

"Every one commits incest who, knowing that another person is by blood relationship his or her parent, child, brother, sister, grandparent or grandchild, as the case may be, has sexual intercourse with that

¹⁵ -----
At least on one occasion, a charge of incest was laid against a male only to be quashed after it was found that the accused was a step-father, not a natural father.

¹⁶ In British Columbia, the Ministry of Human Resources Child Abuse Centers (1982) have now developed a guide which states how behaviors are to be categorized.

person" [C.C.C.; 1978, Sec. 150(1)][emphasis added].¹⁷

And further that;

"No accused shall be convicted of an offence under section 148, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, or 166 upon the evidence of only one witness unless the evidence of the witness is corroborated in a material particular by evidence that implicates the accused" [C.C.C.; 1978, Sec. 139(1)][emphasis added].

The legal definition emphasizes three critical points:

1. the relationship of the accused to the victim;
2. the type of behavior, and;
3. the extent to which the allegation can be corroborated.

More pointedly, for a father-daughter incest case to be founded in court, the state must show that the father is the natural father,¹⁸ that sexual intercourse¹⁹ occurred between the father and daughter, and further, that at least one witness and/or material evidence is brought forward that implicates the accused.²⁰

¹⁷ The legal definition for sexual intercourse is stated in Martin's. Criminal Code of Canada (Annotated). Agincourt, Ont.; Canada Law Book Limited, 1978. "For the purposes of this Act, sexual intercourse is complete upon penetration to even the slightest degree, notwithstanding that seed is emitted" (Sec. 3 [6]).

¹⁸ See; R. V. Garneau, (4, C.C.C.: 69) and R. V. Carmichael, (27, Cr. App. R.: 183). Also see; R. V. Hemmings, (27, Cr. App. R.: 47) regarding the necessity of showing the status of the 'father' to the 'daughter'.

¹⁹ See; Dickens, B. "Eugenic Recognition in Canadian Law." Osgoode Hall Law Journal, 13-2 (1975) 547-577. Herein, the issue of 'why' intercourse appears to be so essential for finding an accused guilty of incest, is discussed in depth by Dickens.

²⁰ See; in part, R. V. Schmidt or Smith, (13, C.C.C.: 403) regarding hearsay evidence. Herein it is noted that hearsay evidence requires substantiation.

The purpose of emphasizing these distinctions is not to argue for or against either definition, but rather to show how it is possible to realize large disparities between two sources reporting seemingly similar behavioral phenomena. Utilizing those previously noted comments stated by Johnson (1974) relating to differences in definitions, in combination with the particular dimension selected by researchers and various authors as noted by Kempe (1962), Gil (1970), and Gelles (1972), it becomes increasingly evident that what is being observed by those guided by either of the two aforementioned definitions is, for the most part, behavior that, prima facie, appears similar but, indeed, is perceived as being a somewhat different phenomenon. Sagarin (1977; 134) notes that, with respect to incest research, this is a critical problem which only aids in truncating the understanding of incest behavior. Therefore, an agency guided by the 'legalistic definition' would perceive as father-daughter incest only those cases that fall within the legal definition as stated in the Code.²¹ On the other hand, an agency guided by the 'social agency definition' would perceive

²¹-----
The Law Reform Commission of Canada in its Report on Sexual Offences, Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services, 1978, recommended Criminal Code amendments. Those relating to incest are:

1. Incest between consenting adults (eighteen years of age or older) should no longer qualify as an offence;
2. Expansion of the present law to insure the protection of the young;
3. Incest is seen as a symptom of a basically dysfunctional family.

Although the recommendations lean toward the 'social agency definition', to-date, none of these recommendations have found solid support in case law.

as father-daughter incest not only those cases that are legally founded, but also a large number of reported cases that failed to meet the legal definitional requirements.

Suffice it to say, researchers or authors who, accepting either of these secondary data sources as valid indicators from which can be projected national estimates for father-daughter incest, could be generating different pieces of information which may, in turn, mislead readers of that information.

Differentiating Behavior Characteristics

A cursory examination of father-daughter incest literature also shows that very few of the authors and researchers differentiate between 'natural fathers' and 'other fathers'.²² Although Weinberg (1955), Maisch (1972), Gebhard, et al. (1965), and Meiselman (1978), for example, do make a distinction initially, it is not followed through in their statistical analysis (Sagarin; 1977, 133). Their summary of information on the fathers, therefore, "offers no distinction between the true and other incest conduct, treating data from both types as one simple set of information" (Sagarin; 1977, 133). Whether or not there is a behavioral distinction between the two types of fathers, then, is empirically unknown. Also, Sagarin (1977) adds;

²² 'Other fathers', in this context, refers to non-biological fathers, (i.e.) stepfathers, foster fathers, surrogate fathers.

"It is entirely possible that more would be learned if a distinction were made, treating as two separate phenomena true incest and statutory incest. Frequency, etiology, and consequences may be found to differ when the distinction is made" (Sagarin; 1977, 135).²³

The Incest Taboo and the Universality Question

Further complicating the empirical study of father-daughter incest, is the notion that inter-family sexual behavior, and certainly sexual interactions between fathers and daughters, is, and always has been, to a greater or lesser extent, socially prohibited (Morgan; 1877: Freud; [1913] 1955: Rohleder; 1917: Marcuse; 1923: Malinowski; 1927: Mead; 1928: Murdock; 1949: Weinberg; 1955: Maisch; 1972: Meiselman; 1978: Forward; 1978: Rush; 1980: Fox; 1980). The belief that this sexual behavior prohibition is universal and why it is, is a question that appears to be, for some authors and researchers, of paramount importance to the whole study of inter-family sexual behavior. Whether or not answering these questions will aid in understanding the father-daughter sexual dynamic, is itself a question deserving of exploration; especially, it would seem, in light of the emotional intensity often associated with the beliefs surrounding this particular type of behavior.

²³-----
'True' incest, in this context, relates to biological or natural fathers; whereas 'statutory' incest refers to non-biological fathers deemed as 'fathers' by a particular state law.

Thesis Purpose and Outline

The survival of some social agencies in contemporary society is, to a large extent, often dependent on public funding. The amount of funding and the subsequent increase, or decrease, in growth of the social agency is in part, it might be argued, based on;

1. the beliefs held by the public regarding a behavior which the agency is responsible for monitoring, and,
2. the reports submitted by the agency to the funding source.

Periodically, a social agency may be found to report misleading information; more accurately, information based on data that are generated by agency members who may define a social problem somewhat differently than do the lay public who are, ultimately, the funding source. To report findings based on these data, without first clearly describing where and how these definitional differences may vary the data reported, may lead readers to a prima facie acceptance of a behavioral phenomenon that leans further from - rather than closer to - an accurate reflection of that behavioral reality.

The purpose of this thesis, therefore, is;

1. to examine the beliefs and theories concerning one particular behavior considered so prohibitive as to require sanction in criminal law, and,
2. to show how the professional objectives and concerns of a social agency and its members often require the agency to

use definitions for behavior that support their particular objectives; definitions, which subsequently aid the agency in generating data that may not describe a particular behavior in the same way the behavior is defined legally.

In an effort to explore these points, this thesis will, for the most part, confine its examination to that behavior commonly referred to as father-daughter incest. The following will serve as an outline for this particular examination:

1. a review of the literature related to the believed universality of father-daughter incest prohibitions;
2. a review and examination of incest theories;
3. a review of the empirical literature related to father-daughter incest in an attempt to discern those characteristics which authors and researchers of incest suggest are 'father-daughter incest specific';
4. a methodological critique of father-daughter incest research;
5. an examination of the process by which a Canadian child abuse social agency generates the data it reports;
6. an attempt to empirically support the assertion that social agency members guided by 'the social agency definition' for incest would report more cases of father-daughter incest than would social agency members guided by 'the legal definition' for incest;
7. a comparison of some of the characteristics which incest authors and researchers suggest are specific to the

father-daughter incest dynamic, to some of the findings derived from an analysis of the information contained in 54 files reported by a Canadian child abuse agency as being father-daughter incest incidents;

8. an attempt to discern what conceptual differences, if any, exist between 'natural fathers' and 'other fathers' who are included in the agency files, and;
9. a restatement of the key findings and a general conclusion that argues for greater controls being placed on social agency data reporting.

Should this study serve only as an aid for those who wish to examine the beliefs underpinning the conceptions of and reactions to criminal behavior, or for those who wish to evaluate social agencies and the process by which they generate file data, before using these reporting sources as deciding factors in social policy development, then this thesis has served its purpose. For in a sense, this brief study may apply to many other social agencies who are responsible for reporting on socially prohibited behavior deemed to be criminal. After all, what we think we know about crime is often what others tell us; but what, exactly, are they telling us?

Table 1

Comparison of Nation Estimates of the

Extent of Abuse, 1962-1975

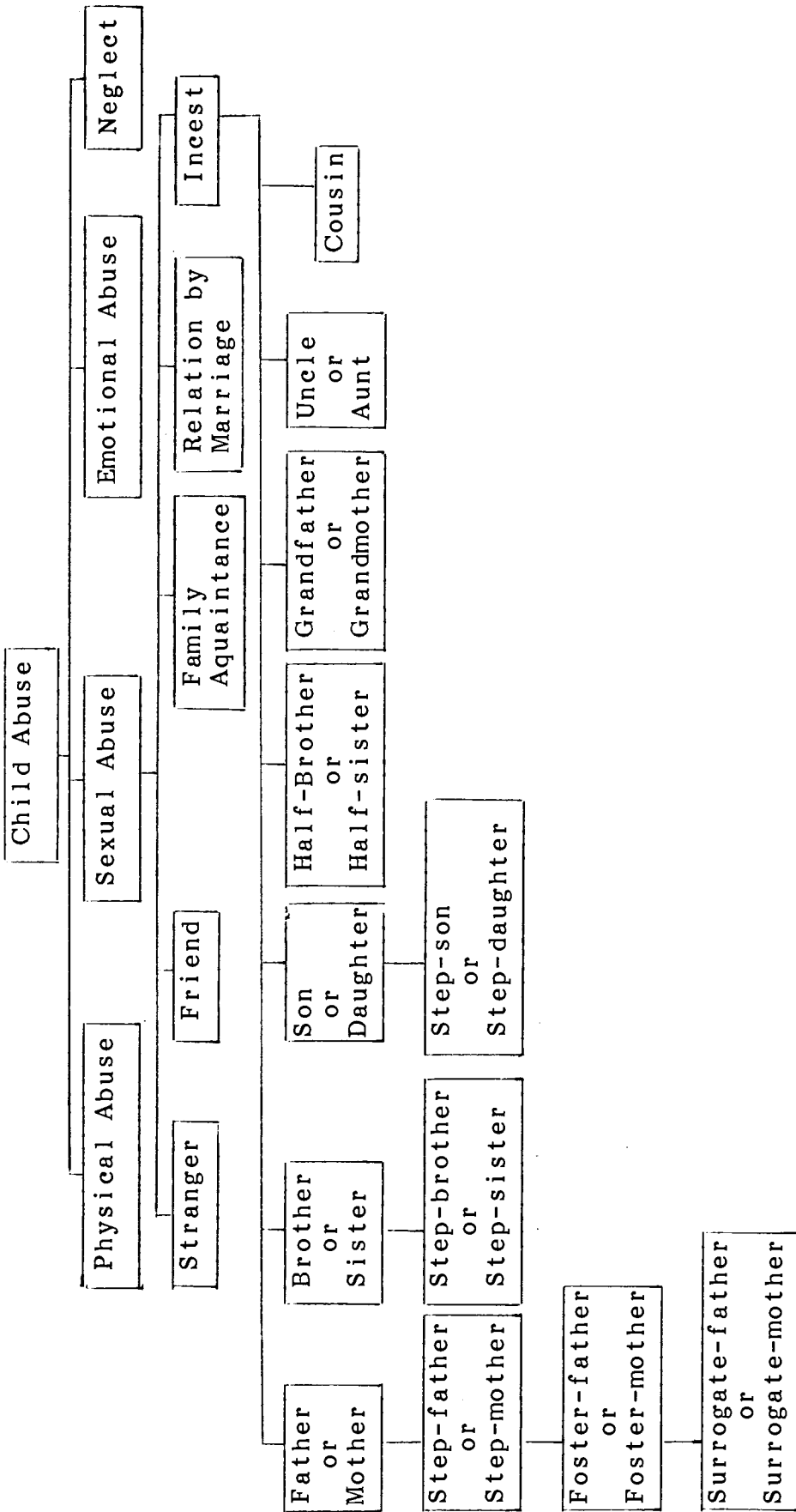
Measurement Criteria	Estimate of Incidence	Origin Data	Reference
Abuse, not further specified	662	Newspaper accounts, 1962 data	De Francis, V. (1963)
Abuse, not further specified	302	71 hospitals, 1962 data	Kempe, et al. (1962)
Abuse, not further specified	447	77 district attorneys, 1962 data	Kempe, et al. (1962)
Abuse that resulted in some degree of injury	2,500,000 - 4,070,000	National survey, 1965 data	Gil (1970)
Serious injury by non-accidental means	10,000 - 15,000	1966 data, (no source given)	Helper & Pollack (1968)
Abuse that resulted in some degree of injury	6,617	Central registries, nationwide, 1968 data	Gil (1970)
Reported Abuse	60,000	Additive estimate, based on cases reported in Denver and New York city, 1972 data	Kempe & Helper (1972)
Reported Abuse	41,104	Official Reporting systems from 10 largest states, 1973 data	Cohen & Sussman (1975)

Table 1 (continued)

Measurement Criteria	Estimate of Incidence	Origin Data	Reference
Reported Abuse	167,000	Agency survey, 1972-1973 data	Nagi (1975)
Abuse, not reported	91,000	Differences between projections from rate of reports in Florida and rate from agency survey, 1972-1973 data	Nagi (1975)
Parent-to Child Violence (1977)	1,400,00	Household Survey, 1975 data	Gelles

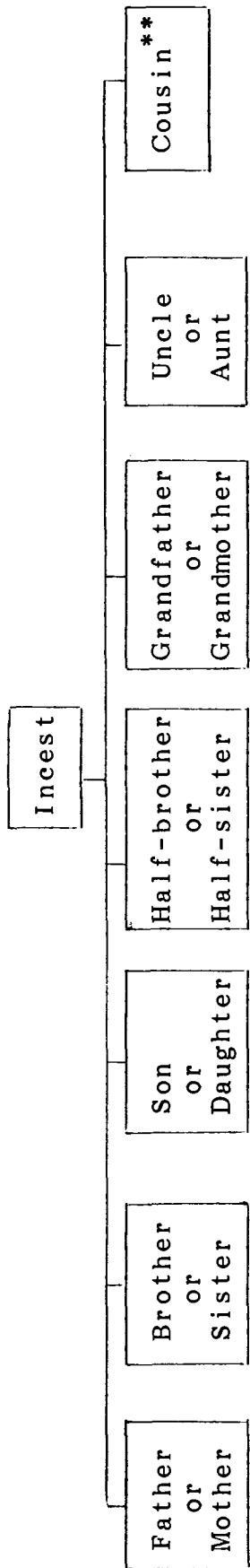
Source: 1977 Analysis of Child Abuse and Neglect Research, Table 2, p.9. (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Centre on Child Abuse and Neglect, January 1978).

FIGURE 1
Sexual Abuse and its Attributes*



*The 'Social Agency Definitional Breakdown'

FIGURE 2
Incest and its Attributes*



*The 'Legalistic Definitional Breakdown'

**It should be noted that although sexual intercourse between cousins is still considered a criminal offence under the Canadian criminal code, generally this only applies to first cousins. There are various exceptions to the 'cousin ruling'.

II. The Universal Taboo: Fact or Fantasy

"Traditional morality owes a great deal to savage superstition, but that merely proves that a great deal of traditional morality is superstitious, not that savage superstition is moral" (Robert Briffault, Sin and Sex).¹

In contemporary society there still remains at least one sexual taboo, according to many authors, that people admit and accept. That taboo² is incest.³

For some of these authors, attempting to determine whether or not incest is a universal taboo, appears to be uppermost in importance to the whole study of the behavior itself (Mead; 1928; Murdock; 1949). For other authors, incestuous behavior, and especially nuclear family incest, has received social condemnation so regularly throughout humankind's history that

¹ As cited in; Bates, Marston. Gluttons and Libertines, New York: Vintage Books, 1967, 79.

² It is interesting to note that the concept 'taboo' was unknown to the western world until Captain Cook returned from his third voyage around the world in the 1770's. Cook records that the natives of Atui used the term 'tafoo' to describe things that were 'not to be seen'. Cook noticed similar terms used throughout parts of Polynesia and deduced that word meant 'forbidden'. Although the origin of the word has never been fully settled, it appears that the most likely derivation comes from two words: 'ta', to mark; and 'pu', a word of emphasis (i.e.) 'very'. In; Wright, N., ed. "Forbidden Fruit." Understanding Human Behavior, New York: Columbia House; Vol.14, 1974, 1671-1672.

³ The term 'incest' appears to be derived from the latin word incestus, meaning 'impure'. Helfer and Kempe (1976; 129), however, also suggest that the term may have been derived from the latin word incestum, meaning 'unchaste and low'.

they suggest it must be regarded as a "universal taboo" (Morgan; 1877: Freud; [1913] 1955; Rohleder; 1917: Marcuse; 1923: Malinowski; 1927: Weinberg; 1955: Maisch; 1972: Meiselman; 1978: Forward; 1978: Rush; 1980). Certainly, after reviewing their work, one is lead to conclude that, for these authors at least, proving the universality of the condemnation is as important as examining the behavior itself.

'Proving' the universality of the incest taboo, however, does not necessarily aid in the understanding of the behavior itself. Beliefs about a behavior are not necessarily reflected in the practice of the behavior, although one may be tempted to make this implication. The universality of the incest taboo, however, still remains a central focus of study for many authors and researchers of incest, and as such, is deserving of a brief examination. How 'universal', then, is the incest taboo believed to be?

The Contemporary Realities

Are sexual relations between family members, who are so closely related as to be forbidden to marry, seen as being the most universal taboo of all? De jure, perhaps, but not, according to the majority of authors and researchers examining the subject, de facto. As Rush (1980; 2) suggests, sex in this day and age appears to have become 'a family affair', and the literature relating to the subject appears to lend support to

this notion. Although, as mentioned previously, the extent of the behavior, as measured by various data sources, varies, the acknowledgment that sexual behavior within the family unit does occur, is unquestioned.

Based on a brief overview of the literature relating to the subject, there are at least four central points that many of the authors do agree upon:

1. as many as one in ten families are believed to be involved in incest;
2. brother-sister incest is believed to be the most common;
3. father-daughter incest is the most often reported, and;
4. mother-son incest is believed to be very rare.⁴

Central of concern to these incest themes appears to be father-daughter incest which, it might be noted, has become both a popular and profitable topic for the first time novelist,⁵ with the authors expressing differing points of view. On the one hand, father-daughter incest is viewed, categorically, as being 'taboo'. On the other hand, it seems, incest - in any form, but

⁴ For the most part, these claims are empirically unsubstantiated and are formulated on the basis of those reported cases which, as argued in Chapter 1, are often questionable. These are the beliefs, however, held by many of authors studying the behavior (Riemer, 1940: Weinberg, 1955: Bagley, 1969: Rosenfeld, 1977: Summit and Kryso, 1978: Summit, 1979: Myers, 1979: Finkelhor, 1979: Fox, 1980: Ministry of Human Resources, B.C.; 1979).

⁵ Katherine Brady's Father's Days. New York: Dell Books, 1980, Charlotte Vale Allen's Daddy's Girl. New York: Vantage Books, 1981, and Armstrong, Louise. Kiss Daddy Goodnight. New York: Hawthorne Books, 1978, are but three of the more recent paperback novels receiving national acclaim. These books are all based on the authors' own experiences with incest.

especially father-daughter incest - is viewed as sexually exciting (both in fantasy and reality) and very definitely a desirable sexual behavior for the sex connoisseur, with any prohibition being considered unacceptable.⁶ To those who claim the latter, even age is not considered a barrier. For these advocates, as noted by Kramer, et al. (1976) "sex after eight is too late".⁷

Regardless, however, of whether one wishes to believe that there are and always have been taboos against sex with children by adults, or against incest, the historical realities show that this belief has not been reflected in the actual behavior. What is believed and what is practiced, it would appear, are often mutually exclusive.

Throughout recorded history, adult-child sex (and especially male-adult female-child sex) is so well documented as to be unquestioned.⁸

⁶ -----
It is interesting to note, however, that some contemporary 'sexual education books' do not regard father-daughter incest as a sexual behavior even worth mentioning. For example, Dr. David Reuben's Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Sex but Were Afraid to Ask. New York: Bantam Books, 1969, does not mention incest in general, let alone father-daughter incest specifically.

⁷ Although those who hold to this belief are arguing more for sex between male-adult and female-child, they do not exclude father-daughter sex from their proclamation. See; Kraemer, William. The Normal and Abnormal Love of Children. Kansas City: Sheed Andrews and McMeel, Inc., 1976 (Introduction).

⁸ As the interest of this thesis relates primarily to father-daughter incest, only a passing comment will be awarded to sexual behavior between male-adult and female-children, as recorded by some historians. This, in an effort to quickly dispell any notion that the father-daughter incest taboo, in particular, may have had its origins in a social belief that

Sex, Marriage, and Little Girls

For many, male-adult female-child sex, at any age, is regarded as "healthy", "acceptable", and "desirable". The Rene Guyon Society, who termed the motto 'sex before eight or else it's too late', promotes sex between children and adults and argues for a reduction in the age of consent to four.⁹

Pedophiles¹⁰ in several countries have banded together in groups in an effort to lobby for the reduced age argument. In England, two major groups can be found who share in this argument; Pedophile Information Exchange (PIE) and Pedophile Action for Liberation (PAL). Similar groups are found in Germany and Switzerland. In the United States, the Childhood Sensuality Circle (CSC) promotes both adult-child and child-child sex (Rush; 1980, 187).¹¹

8-----
8 (cont'd) male-adults should not have sexual intercourse with female children. A review of the relevant literature leads one to the conclusion that this sexual activity was not only socially acceptable throughout the world at various points in time, but was very often sanctioned by marriage.

⁹ Rene Guyon Bulletin September 1, 1975. Also noted in; Kraemer, William. The Normal and Abnormal Love of Children. Kansas City: Sheed Andrews and McMeel, Inc., 1976.

¹⁰ 'Pedophile' refers to those adults who are having, or have had, sex with a child thirteen years of age or younger.

¹¹ Considering that many members within the pedophile organizations also argue for parent child sex, the question arises as to whether or not most incestuous fathers could be considered clinical pedophiles. To date, only one controlled laboratory study has attempted to answer that question. See:

Some authors have argued that adult-child sex is, in the long run, harmless (Bender and Blau; 1937, 501). Gagner and Schurr (1976; 45) refer to Dr. Karl Menninger's belief that children exposed to premature sexual experiences frequently turn out to be unusually charming, attractive, and emotionally healthy.

Anthony Starr (1972), while arguing both the disadvantages and advantages of child sex, maintains that child sex taboos form the basis for most adult feelings of sexual guilt. He further argues that warm and open relationships within the family will prevent the possibility of traumatic childhood complexes and later burdensome feelings of guilt about the sexual act and the natural warmth of emotional relationships.

Gebhart et al. (1965) points to the statements made by the Kinsey team of the 1960's. At the time, they were comparing animal behavior with human behavior in an effort to justify adult-child sex;

"The horror with which society views the adult who has sexual relations with young children is lessened when

11 (cont'd) Quinsey, V.L.; Chaplin, T.C.; Carrigan, W.F. "Sexual preferences among incestuous and nonincestuous child molesters." Behavior Therapy, 10-4 (Sept, 1979), 562-565. Their findings suggest that the incestuous father shows more appropriate age preferences than do child molesters of unrelated child victims. Clinical pedophilia, it appears, is not necessarily linked to father-daughter incest. Further, Vernon Quinsey, in an earlier study, "The assessment and treatment of child molesters: A review." Canadian Psychological Review, 18-3 (Jul, 1977), 204-220, also suggested that incestuous child molesters are, a) almost always heterosexual and, b) least likely to return to the behavior once the behavior has been disclosed.

one examines the behavior of other mammals ... sexual activity between adult and immature animals is common and appears to be biologically normal ... disregard for age, sex, and species need not be regarded as biologically pathological; it is precisely what we see in various animals, particularly monkeys" (Gebhart; 1965, 54).

Dr. Robert S. De Ropp (1969) adds a further comment in this regard;

"The craving of the elderly male for the young female is not necessarily confined to human species ... old stags are always after little ones and the young does are always willing" (De Ropp; 1969, 111-112).

Other authors simply state that "children have a right to sexual pleasure" and that "most of the sexual trauma stuff is nonsense" (Wells; 1978, 152).

One of the more interesting theories related to adult-child sex, or more accurately perhaps, 'why some adults fail to see that having sexual interaction with children should be considered a taboo', is advanced by Aries (1962). Aries (1962; 33: 411) develops the argument that in medieval society the concept of childhood, as we understand the term to mean today, did not exist. Children went from infancy directly to more or less adult roles. This lack of a notion of children being other than small and not altogether competent adults extended to every sort of activity and affected the way adults dealt with children sexually. Aries (1962; 100-106) documents the sexual liberties adults took with children, the public indecency and coarse physical jokes which were regarded as perfectly natural even in the most refined households. Many present-day adult-child sexual behaviors, Aries (1962; 100) suggests, may well be an extension

of these medieval, and perhaps, natural attitudes.

Certainly, the 'love' for 'little ladies' is very much a part of the literary¹² and film industry.¹³ Seldom can one find, indeed, it is difficult not to find, a major North American city that does not promote some aspect of adult-child sex.¹⁴

Suffice it to say, contemporary material relating to sexual activity between adult males and female children (both real and imagined) is abundant. But contemporary attitudes, considered by the majority of child abuse social agencies as being extremely promiscuous, are by comparison to humankind's early recorded

¹² The more classical of these novels include such authors and titles as; Beardsley, A. Story of Venus and Tannhauser; Salton, F. The Memoirs of Josephine Mutzenbacher ; Salton, F. Bambi; Guy De Maupassant The Colonel's Niece; Campbell, R. The Amatory Experiences of a Surgeon ; Potter, W. The Romance of Lust; De Sade The 120 Days of Sodom; Cleland, J. Fanny Hill; Wilkes, J. Essay on Women; and certainly, Nabokov, V. Lolita; to mention but a few. The more contemporary 'kiddie porn literature' includes titles such as; Uncle Jake and Paula; The Child Psychiatrist; Lust for Young Girls; Adults Balling Children; Lollitots; and Little Girls.

¹³ The film industry, or more appropriately perhaps, the 'kiddie porn' film industry, can supply the interested consumer with a variety of titles which label a number of 16mm and video cassettes. Some examples of these titles present the necessary image; Infant Love; Children and Sex; Little Girls; Lollitots; and Little Girls. These, of course, do not include some of the more acceptable films such as; Short Eyes, The Mark, and Pretty Baby. TV has also contributed to the film library. Two of the more informative productions to be noted are; The Fallen Angel, and Little Ladies of the Night.

¹⁴ In Salt Lake City (1979), often termed the 'cleanest town in the U.S.A.' - by the Mormons at least - this author found seven 'drug stores' which sold 'kiddie porn novels' and one tobacco shop which sold 'under-the-counter' porn. This, during the time that Salt Lake City representatives boasted to state senate committees investigating pornography that "pornographic literature is not to be found in this city".

history, stringent. The following brief historical overview is but a small sampling from what appears to be an inexhaustible historical resource.¹⁵

The Alleged Historical Realities

Some of the first recorded incidents of male-adult female-child sex can be found inscribed on clay tablets by coneiform writers living in the ancient civilization of Sumer approximately five thousand years ago (Rush; 1980, 16). These tablets suggest that male-adults had sexual intercourse with female children who were as young as three years of age (Rush; 1980, 17).

The Bible and the Talmud also encouraged sex between men and little girls both in marriage and slavery. The Talmud held that a female child of three years and one day could be betrothed by sexual intercourse, but only with her father's permission; all that need be required was the prospective groom to be able to penetrate the child (Neziken; 1935, 376).¹⁶

The Bible, although not as specific with respect to age as the Talmud, also refers to male-adult female-child sex. The book

¹⁵ The search for both primary and secondary source information in this area was greatly aided by Rush, Florence. The Best Kept Secret: Sexual Abuse of Children, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1980 (chapters 1-9).

¹⁶ This ancient Talmud law received further support by the twelfth century philosopher and Talmudist, Moses Maimonides, who reaffirmed the 'three year and one day' rule (Maimonides; 1972, 18).

of Numbers (31:19) refers briefly to comments regarding the Midian women or "women children".¹⁷

By the eleventh century, for the Hebrews at least, little had changed with respect to female-child and adult-male marriages, although some exceptions are noted. Whereas previous to the eleventh century Hebrew men often took for themselves many wives, after the eleventh century they were limited, by law, to one wife. This wife, however, could (and often was) younger than twelve years of age. Indeed, a woman - more accurately, a child - who had not been "married off" by the age of twelve and a half (na'rah) was considered "an undesirable, over-the-hill spinster" (Rush; 1980, 19). For women in that time of history, "old age", it seems, arrived at thirteen.

According to Hebrew law, then, both before and after Moses, adult men having sex with little girls were found to be neither uncommon nor socially undesirable. This attitude was prevalent in other parts of the world as well. In France, for example, during the thirteenth century, adult males having sex with female children was not an uncommon practice. The poor often betrothed their minor daughters to adult males.¹⁸ This practice continued well into the sixteenth century. Feldman (1974) notes some of the comments stated by the French during that time in

¹⁷ It should be added, however, not without prejudice; Moses had most of them put to death for their seductive behavior.

¹⁸ According to French law 1250 (circa), a child under twelve years of age was considered a minor. See; Feldman, David M. Marital Relations, Birth Control, and Abortion in Jewish Law. New York: Schocken Books, 1974, (178-179).

history;

"As is our custom now of betrothing our daughters even while they are minors ...[13th century] ... our practice is to marry our minor daughters early when the proper match presents itself" [16th century](Feldman; 1974, 178-179).¹⁹

Although sex with minor girls was often sanctioned by betrothal (the promise of marriage), or through marriage itself, this was not always 'the state of affairs'. Returning to early Hebrew times, as Epstein (1967; 166), a noted expert on Judaism sex laws and customs, points out; sex between a man and an unmarried, unbetrothed daughter was both legitimate and respectable providing that the daughter's father had given permission.²⁰ The key point, according to Epstein (1967; 166-182), is whether or not the father had given permission; if he had not, the daughter was considered a prostitute. And the penalty for prostitution, in that day and age, was very clearly defined; "death by fire for the daughter of a priest" (Leviticus 21:9), and "stoning to death for the daughter of an ordinary

¹⁹ Aries (1962; 102-103) also notes that the marriage of a girl of thirteen, and younger, was still very common in seventeenth century France.

²⁰ Certainly, as Epstein (1967; 166-182) points out, the promise of marriage, or marriage itself, was often a deciding factor with respect to whether or not the father gave his permission; but it was not necessarily a mandatory requirement. The father could allow, and some fathers did allow, their daughter to be sexually used for other considerations in lieu of marriage or betrothal (i.e.) money. After the third book of Moses (Leviticus) was given to the people, however, any consideration short of marriage was considered prostitution and was in direct violation of Leviticus 19:29, which stated, in part, "Do not prostitute thy daughter, to cause her to be a whore ...".

citizen" (Deuteronomy 22:20-21).²¹

Adult males, it would appear, had little to be concerned about when it came to having sex with little girls. Throughout early Hebrew times, the only concern was that directed toward the little girl (Neziken; 1935; Epstein; 1967; Maimonides; 1972; Feldman; 1974). If her age was less than three years and one day, the behavior literally meant 'nothing'. If she was under twelve but over three years and one day, the behavior was considered socially acceptable providing the father's consent was obtained. Over the age of twelve, very little attention was paid to the behavior except, perhaps, when the father's property rights appeared to be violated.

Although prostitution within the confines of these aforementioned considerations was not, according to Epstein (1967; 166-182), morally disapproved of in ancient Israel, it was, to some degree, disapproved of in Europe during the thirteenth through sixteenth centuries. But the behavior, nevertheless, was the same. Peters (1976; 407-408) notes that "French fathers, acting in the role of pimp, sold their daughters to all comers who desired sexual favours of little girls; at any price the father might choose". A practice, it might be added, that became understandably embarrassing to the Holy Church of Rome (Rush; 1980, 134).

²¹ It should be noted, however, that the 'stoning to death' of a minor was 'held off' until she reached her twelfth birthday (Rush; 1980, 23).

Even the rape of a child was not regarded as a serious act. More important than the actual behavior was the extent to which the father's property rights had been violated (Epstein; 1967: Feldman; 1974). In fact, statutory rape was never legislated against in western civilization until the thirteenth century.²² Even then, having sexual intercourse with a female under twelve was considered, at worst, a misdemeanor (Hale, 1847; as cited by Rush; 1980, 34-35).

Not until 1576, according to Rush (1980; 35) quoting the seventeenth century writer Sir Mathew Hall from his writings History of the Pleas of the Crown, did jurists rule on a legal age for female consent. After 1576, a female could legally consent to sexual intercourse after her tenth birthday, and legally consent to marriage after her twelfth birthday. But even then, having sex with a ten year old was still considered, legally at least, to be acceptable. Sex with a child under ten was regarded as a felony, and sex with a child between ten and twelve (without her consent), a misdemeanor.²³

²²-----
²² Statutory rape, in this context, refers to the age decreed by statute to be the legal age for a female to consent to sexual intercourse without any legal recourse to the offender.

²³ Although this particular statutory rape law was ruled in 1576, Rush (1980; 35) notes that a man was freed of felonious rape in 1832 after proving the 'rape' took place when the girl was two days beyond her tenth birthday.

Current Law in Canada

Twentieth century law, however, differs from the seventeenth century ruling. Not only is a female considered a minor until she reaches her eighteenth birthday (contrary to the thirteenth century French ruling of twelve) but also, an adult male found guilty of having sexual intercourse with a female minor may find himself paying legal consequences.²⁴

In Canada, these legal consequences, as outlined in the Criminal Code, 'appear' to be very clear. With respect to females under eighteen but not younger than sixteen years of age the Code states;

"Every male person who, being eighteen years of age or more, seduces a female person of previously chaste character who is sixteen years or more but less than eighteen years of age is guilty of an indictable offence and is liable to imprisonment for two years" (C.C.C.; Sec. 151) [emphasis added].

Regarding fourteen to sixteen year old females the Code states;

"Every male person who has sexual intercourse with a female person who
a) is not his wife,
b) is of previously chaste character, and,
c) is fourteen years of age or more and is under the age of sixteen years,
whether or not he believes that she is sixteen years of age or more, is guilty of an indictable offence and is liable to imprisonment for five years" (C.C.C.; Sec. 146 (2)) [emphasis added].

²⁴ Male adult, within this context, is regarded as one who is eighteen years of age or older, however, exceptions to this ruling can reduce the age to fourteen. See; (C.C.C.; Sec. 147), for but one example.

And, with respect to females under fourteen the Code states;

"Every male person who has sexual intercourse with a female person who
a) is not his wife, and,
b) is under the age of fourteen years, whether or not he believes she is fourteen years of age or more, is guilty of an indictable offence and is liable to imprisonment for life" (Sec. 146 (1))[emphasis added].

Exceptions to this ruling, however, are numerous. Should a male adult desire sexual relations with a female minor, 'the eighteen year old barrier' can quickly be reduced to sixteen and, indeed, below fourteen. The Criminal Code allows for this age reduction in the following manner:

1. "not of previously chaste character" and/or in lieu of "evidence of the witness that is not corroborated in a material particular by evidence that implicates the accused" (C.C.C.; Sec.151)[emphasis added], reduces the age from eighteen to sixteen;
2. "that the evidence does not show that, as between the accused and the female person, the accused is more to blame than the female person" [C.C.C.; Sec. 146(2): Sec.146(3)]: and/or "not of previous chaste character" [C.C.C.; Sec. 146 (2)(b)]; this allows for the seduction of females fourteen to sixteen, and;
3. "sexual intercourse of a female under fourteen is permitted by law provided the adult male is married to the female" (C.C.C.; Sec.146(1)), allowing for sex between adult males and female children under fourteen.

It would appear that contemporary law still allows adult males to have sexual intercourse with female children as young as fourteen years of age, and younger; younger, providing the female-child is the wife of the adult male.²⁵

In addition to these aforementioned exceptions, are the many questions related to such vague legal concepts as 'chaste character', 'previous chaste character', 'seduction', and even 'age'. Each of these has brought to light additional legal problems which subsequently create even more exceptions to these seemingly clear penalties.²⁶

Male-adult female-child sex, it would appear, has not changed a great deal from the 1576 ruling noted by Rush (1980;35). The attempt of many since that time to promote a 'taboo' against male-adult female-child sex, backed by the force of law, has resulted in only minor changes. The last four hundred and five years, in particular, have seen little more than the addition of a couple of years to the female's age and only a slight increase in difficulty for the male adult wanting to have sex with females younger than fourteen.

²⁵-----
It is interesting to note that until 1955 child marriage was legal in India. In 1955, fifteen for the female and eighteen for the male became the legal marital age. But, as Rush (1980; 79) points out, according to the 1971 census, 17.5 percent of girls between ten and fourteen were married. Further, Youth Times, March, 1975, (as noted by Rush (1980; 79), states that marriages of female children in India are still common and have religious sanction.

²⁶ For a detailed discussion and critical analysis of these legal points as they relate to sexual offences see; Bhavnani, N. G. Sexual Offences in Canada. Masters of Laws Thesis, U.B.C. (1969).

But, for many in today's society, as in societies five thousand years ago, any restriction is too severe. These advocates still see male-adult female-child sex, in any form and at any age, as perfectly "healthy", "acceptable", and "desirable by both parties" (Bender and Blau; 1937: Gebhard et al.; 1965: De Ropp; 1969: Guyon; 1975: Gagner and Schurr; 1976). Certainly, the desire for male-adult female-child sex seems to have persisted for more than five thousand years; at least for certain segments of the adult male population.

In any event, it would appear, the universality of the father-daughter incest taboo is not to be found in the historical or contemporary mores regarding male-adult female-child sex. The social approach to fathers who have sex with their daughters, therefore, appears to be somewhat different than the approach to male adults having sex with non-related female children.

Fathers and Daughters

Although sexual relations between male-adults and female children have received - to a greater or lesser degree - some social approval throughout humankind's history, the same cannot be said (according to some authors) for sexual relations between fathers and daughters (Weinberg; 1955: Maisch; 1972: Meiselman; 1978: Rush; 1980: Forward; 1978). Meiselman (1978; 3) states the general position of most incest authors when she argues that

'the taboo on nuclear family incest is more or less universal'.

27 Regarding the many exceptions recorded in history Meiselman suggests;

" ... the exceptions that are so frequently listed often serve to distract the reader from apprehending the truly remarkable degree of regularity with which nuclear family incest is prohibited" (Meiselman; 1978, 3).

An examination of the relevant literature, however, lends one to conclude that father-daughter incest has been, for many people throughout history, an acceptable form of sexual interaction. The same is true today, it might well be added, in isolated parts of North America (Weinberg; 1955).²⁸ Once again, the belief, by some authors, that father-daughter sexual interaction was, is, or should be socially prohibited, does not appear to be manifest in practice.

A cursory examination of the anthropological literature reveals a variety of intriguing exceptions which violate the 'father-daughter incest taboo'. Extensive summaries of these

27 Herein, the nuclear family consists typically of a married man and woman with their offspring, although in individual cases one or more additional persons may reside with them. The extended family consists of two or more nuclear families affiliated through the extension of the male-parent male-child relationship rather than the husband-wife relationship. On this point, see also; Murdock, G.P. Social Structure. New York: The MacMillan Company; 1949, 1-2.

28 It is interesting to note that prior to the enactment of The Punishment of Incest Act (8 Edward VII C.45, 1908, Repealed), England did not regard incest as a crime. See: R. V. William Henry Ball and Edith Lillian Ball (1911) A.C. 47, House of Lords; wherein the Lords comment that prior to 1908, incest was not a crime in England. Canada, on the other hand, included incest in their first Criminal Code (1892); which was in force one year later (1893).

exceptions are carefully noted by at least two authors (Weinberg; 1955, 3-40; Maisch; 1972, 11-64). For the most part, these exceptions relate more to the sexual customs of ancient and primitive tribes. Most often, these sexual customs were bound into magical rituals and tribal religious rights. For example, hunters in one African village believed that the hunt for hippopotamus would be more successful if the hunter first had sexual intercourse with his own daughter (Masters; 1963, as noted by Meiselman; 1978, 2).

Forward (1978) relates another example. Among the Indians of the Sierra Madre mountains of Mexico, father-daughter incest is still common and is founded on economics. As Forward notes;

"The Indian works his land fairly far from home. He must have a woman to grind the corn he picks, so he takes his daughter with him while his wife stays home to run the household and take care of the other children. Because a blanket is a major expenditure he usually has only one, which he shares with his daughter. The combination of physical contact, isolation from others, and custom, make incest virtually unavoidable" (Forward; 1978, 11).

But the anthropological literature - although heavily inundated with specific examples - is not the only source which notes violations of what is often considered the 'universal taboo'.²⁹ Patai (1959; 26) notes that in pre-Islamic Arabia it was not uncommon for a father to marry his favorite daughter, if he felt he could not really afford to sell her for allegiance or

²⁹ See also; Weinberg, S.K. Incest Behavior, New York; Citadel Press, 1955 (3-40). Maisch, H. Incest, (C. Bearn Trans.) New York; Stein and Day, 1972 (11-64).

money.³⁰

The Bible cites at least one instance of father-daughter incest. When Lot's daughters plied their father with drink and cohabited with him in order to continue his line, this father-daughter cohabitation appears to have incurred, from Patai's (1959; 25) point of view at least, not the slightest social or supernatural disapproval. Nor were the daughters or the offspring they bore from the cohabitation in any way disapproved of socially. To the contrary, the children born from the incestuous relationship, as adults, became powerful tribal leaders (Genesis 19:30-38).

Other examples include the King of Persia (100 AD) who married his daughter (Maisch; 1972, 22), and Pope Alexander VI (15th century) who publicly announced he was the father of his daughter's children (Maisch; 1972, 29). Also, in the writings of both Chaucer and Boccaccio can be found a general non-concerned almost cavalier like attitude by middle-age societies with respect to father-daughter incest (Rush; 1980, 137).

In North America, Weinberg (1955) found a belief in some subcultures of the United States that incest with a young pre-pubescent daughter could cure venereal disease. These 'back-wood Virginians' justified that they could 'catch' the purity (and, thus, the cure) in the same way they 'caught' the disease.

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Patai (1959), however, does not state whether or not the marriage to his daughter necessarily implied having sexual intercourse with his daughter.

Mead's (1968; 198) anthropological studies lend additional support to the notion that although father-daughter incest is considered by most laypeople as a sexual taboo, it is in fact a relatively common practice, both historically and in contemporary society. Interestingly, she directs a note of advice to contemporary society when she suggests that because a father's attraction to his daughters is so common-place, "society must find the means of protecting him from temptation" (Mead; 1975, 198-199). But as sexologist R.E.L. Masters suggests, "the young female/older man combination is so natural that the frequency of father-daughter sexual interaction should not be surprising. It is simply a matter of convenience, and esthetics" (Masters; 1963, 56).

Sumner's (1940) exhaustive cross-cultural study of incest, as recorded in Folkway's, A Study of the Sociological Importance of Usages, supports Mead (1968) when he concludes that the many instances of incest being practiced shows that the notion of an incest prohibition is by no means universal or uniform. Also, he concludes, that it cannot be traced to a single cause.

The nineteenth century sociologist Emile Durkheim also adds support to Mead's (1968) anthropological conclusions when he states in Incest: The Nature and Origins of the Taboo, as cited by Forward;

"The same cause cannot explain why in one place marriages between maternally related kin are specifically prohibited while elsewhere the prohibition extends to marriages between all consanguine relatives, why in one society the prohibition reaches out to infinity while in another it does not go beyond the

closet collaterals, why among the primitive Hebrews, the ancient Arabs, the Phoenicians, the Greeks, and certain Slavs, did this natural aversion not prevent a man from marrying his father's sister" (Forward; 1978, 11).

Meiselman's (1978; 3) comment, however, does deserve a measure of attention. Although many examples of sanctioned father-daughter incest can be cited, there appears to be as much literature relating to the extent to which it has not received sanction; the most notable of which is Murdock's (1949) analysis of 250 primitive societies. Previously, these same societies had been studied by anthropologists who claimed to have observed many incidences of incestuous behavior. Murdock's (1949) conclusion, however, was to argue that all of these primitive societies had banned the practice of nuclear family incest at one time or another.³¹

In addition, as Meiselman (1978) points out,

"...one should also be aware of the nearly universal human tendency to ascribe what are considered depraved beliefs and practices to ancient or foreign cultures ... without putting it to the test of scientific scrutiny" (Meiselman; 1978, 3).

Again, the Bible offers a comment on the subject; and in this instance, with respect to what ought to be. Sexual interaction between 'close kin' is strictly forbidden (Leviticus 18:7-29). Not only is sex between fathers and daughters forbidden (Leviticus 18:7), but so is sex between all other

³¹ It should be noted, however, that whereas the previous anthropological researchers were recording any incident, whether nuclear family or extended family, as a violation of the incest taboo, Murdock's concern was primarily directed at regular instances and, primarily, to regular instances within the nuclear family.

family members (Leviticus 18:8-18).³²

Indeed, in one of the earliest written survivals of ancient penal practices - the code of the Babylonian King, Hammurabi (circa 2130-2087 B.C.) - can be found a provision for incestuous behavior. Fines, and four other forms of punishment existed in the King's simple code; death, mutilation, branding, and banishment. Banishment, however, was apparently used only as a punishment for paternal incest (Korn and McCorkle; 1959, 378).

Discussion

The debate over whether or not incest taboos and exogamous restrictions are universal, has continued in the literature for over one hundred years. For some authors, whether one accepts the notion that incestuous behavior, particularly father-daughter incest, is a universal taboo depends on whether or not any incidences of the behavior can be found, and empirically substantiated. For these authors, incest is not a universal taboo. For others, accepting a more normative approach to social behavior, if it is found that most societies during some part of their history condemned this particular behavior, then there is as Meiselman (1978; 3) suggests, and as Murdock

³² It is interesting to note that although Leviticus, the third book of Moses, is very specific with respect to non-incestuous sexual behavior, Moses himself was born of the union of his mother and her nephew (Numbers 26:59 and Exodus 6:20). Also, Abraham was married to his paternal sister (Genesis 20:12) and Jacob married two sisters (Genesis 29:21).

(1949; 284-285) found, a taboo on incest that is more or less universal.

But, does the finding of a single incident of incestuous behavior in a human society, regardless of whether or not that society is technologically advanced or primitive and illiterate, necessarily negate the universality of the taboo? Or, for that matter, does the finding of many regular instances both across and within cultures necessarily dismiss the universality of the taboo? Certainly, one could safely argue, that simply because an individual or society accepts a particular behavior as being 'undesirable' or 'taboo' does not necessarily connote the behavior will not be practiced; 'belief' and 'practice' are not necessarily inclusive.

Further, is it really essential to determine whether or not the taboo on incest is universal? Perhaps the strongest argument in support of those attempting to determine the extent to which incest is considered a universal taboo, is that their subsequent incest theory will have greater appeal to those studying incest and its consequences. Or, if it can be shown that the belief (the 'taboo') and the practice (the actual behavior) are mutually inclusive, then, theories relating to the behavior may receive greater acceptance by all concerned. This might best be expressed in a simple deductive argument; if A, then B, given C. Or, 'if you believe incest is and has been a universal taboo manifest in practice, then you are more inclined to accept the reasons (theory) for 'why' it is a taboo, given, of course, you

accept the normative social behavior approach.

The contemporary notion appears to lend itself to the acceptance of this reasoning; incest, especially within the nuclear family, is 'taboo'. It is only natural, therefore, that subsequent to the acceptance of this belief some explanatory theory should be created, which relates to determining the origins of the taboo.

III. Incest Taboo Theories: The Beliefs

"At the most fundamental level, knowledge is organized experience and the search for knowledge is a search for patterns of organization. The organization is always created, and not discovered" (Eugene Meehan).¹

Several theories relating to the origins of the incest taboo have been developed. All of these theories, it might safely be argued, fall into one of three categories:²

1. Biological theory;
2. Psychological theory, and;

¹ Acknowledgment is given Kenneth R. Hover for first using this particular quote as a preface to his third chapter "Strategies." The Elements of Social Scientific Thinking. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976.

² Although the search for source material relating to this section was greatly aided by Karin Meiselman's Incest. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1978, several other authors must also be commended for their helpful overviews of the same topic; Simari, C. and Badkin, D. "Incest." The Journal of Social Relations, 14-2 (1979), 155-177; Burnham, T. "Incest avoidance and social evolution." Mankind, 10-2 (Dec. 1975) 93-98; Burton, R. "Folk theory and incest taboo." Social Problems, 16-4 (Spr. 1969) 505-519; Aberle, D. "The incest taboo and the mating patterns of animals." American Anthropologist, 65-2, (Apr. 1963) 253-265; Frances, V. and Frances, A. "The incest taboo and the family structure." Family Process, 15-2, (Jun. 1976) 235-244; Ember, M. "On the origin and extension of the incest taboo." Behavior Science Research, 10-4, (1975) 249-281; Seymour, P. "The preculture basis of the incest taboo: Toward a biosocial theory." American Anthropologist, 78-2, (1976) 285-305; Bagley, C. "Incest behavior and the incest taboo." Social Problems, 16-4, (1969) 505-519; Gardner, L. "Some remarks concerning incest, the incest taboo, and psychoanalytic theory." American Psychologist, 22-12, (1967) 1051-1059; Murdock, G.P. Social Structure. New York: MacMillan Company, 1949, 284-313; Forward, S. Betrayal of Innocence. Markham, Ont.: Penguin Books Ltd., 1978.

3. Anthropological and Sociological theory.

A brief overview of the salient features relevant to these theoretical perspectives is essential, especially when one recognizes that a social response to a particular behavior is very often influenced by the belief (and supporting theories) a society has accepted regarding that behavior.

Early Views

Prior to the 19th century, incest prohibition was largely explained on ethical grounds and with religious or superstitious beliefs (Morgan; 1877: as noted by Mieselman; 1978: Weinberg; 1955: Forward; 1978: Rush; 1980). Several examples from the literature exemplify this position. One of the more interesting deals with the beliefs held by the Navajos as noted by Neutra, et al. (1977).³ The Navajos believe that three particular seizure syndromes, complete with hand-trembling and fugue states, are caused by having incestuous relations.⁴

³ It should be noted that in the Navajo culture, as recognized by Stephen Proskauer in "Oedipal equivalents in a clan culture: Reflections on Navajo ways." Psychiatry, 43-1, (Fall, 1980) 43-50, stringent taboos existed for incest between brother and sister rather than parent and child. This is in contrast to the Anglo nuclear family where the most stringent taboo is reserved for parent-child incest.

⁴ Goodwin, et al. (1979) suggest, these seizures are most likely attributable to a form of epilepsy. The Navajos have probably observed these physical malfunctions occurring in families where an incest bond has been discovered and the belief has gained support over time whenever similar physical and mental abnormalities have been observed in incest offspring.

David (1973) relates an interesting belief held by the Tamil of Ceylon. Incestuous marriage for these people is felt to be contrary to their "cast classification", with each of three casts being held to share different "natural substances". A break from one cast to another in the form of a marriage is considered alright, but a marriage within the same cast is considered akin to a marriage of the same body; a situation that is not only horrible but absurd to the Tamil. In essence, these casts are analogous to various divisions within the nuclear and extended family.⁵

Other examples include the North Gilbert Islands, where the inhabitants traditionally believed that the sun would fall from the sky if incest went unpunished. Similar taboo violations on Celebes Island, in Indonesia, were thought to precipitate crop failure, and on Mindanao, in the Philippines, to bring on flooding. Adhering to the sanctions was said to prevent these natural disasters (Forward; 1978, 9).

The Biological Views

An interesting relationship between the persistence of the incest taboo throughout history and the development of the taboo in an individual may well be described by a "jargon-jammed truism of biology", as suggested by Forward (1978). "Ontogeny

⁵ For an excellent assesement of myths and the theories relating to them see; Cohn, Percy C. "Theories of myth." Man, 4-3, (1969) 337-353.

recapitulates phylogeny (the development of an individual copies the evolutionary development of the species)" (Forward; 1978, 10).

Most biological theorists appear to agree on some aspect of this 'inbreeding notion' (Morgan; 1877; Westermarck; 1922; Aberle; 1963; Segner and Collins; 1967; Lindzey; 1967; Bischof; 1972; Burton; 1973; Melvin; 1975; Frances and Frances; 1976; Parker; 1976; Edwards; 1977). One of the earliest of these theories to be developed was the biological view exemplified by Morgan (1877). Morgan (1877) suggested that incest prohibitions probably developed from the recognition by humankind over time that nuclear family inbreeding produced physical and mental deformities in the offspring. Although he suggested a strong possibility that consanguinous marriages might well have been the common lot of humanity at one time, he argued that they were probably abandoned in favour of exogamy because of the damaging effects of such marriages on the offspring. Segner and Collins' (1967) (as pointed out by Meiselman 1978; 15) analysis of ancient myths seems to support this notion. They state that approximately one third of known myths containing incest themes described deformed offspring or infertility as a consequence of incestuous relations.

Animal Studies

Morgan's (1877) biological view, however, received only limited support. Although many researchers studying animal behavior seemed to agree with Morgan's suggestions, it was not until Lindzey's (1967) genetic studies became publicized that scientists again turned their attention to the biological notion.⁶

Lindzey's (1967) findings supported both Morgan's (1877) earlier theory and Westermarck's (1922) research with animal inbreeding. Lindzey's (1967) improved animal experiments and improved comparative analysis of human groups seemed to indicate that nuclear family inbreeding, over the long term, accentuates offspring irregularities. But, it is still difficult to see how these genetic studies explain the incest taboo. Lindzey, (1967; 1051) nevertheless, offered a plausible explanation. He argued that any human group that practices inbreeding, either by prescribing it or failing to proscribe it, is at a selective disadvantage and would be very likely to lose out in competition with groups that practiced exogamy. Lindzey (1967), however, failed to elaborate on why this would be the case, although in a sense, the whole Darwinian notion of natural selection fits

⁶ A review of the literature related to the origins of the incest taboo, clearly shows a resurgence of the biological view over the past fifteen years (Aberle, et al.; 1963: Ellis; 1963: Scull and Neel; 1965: Adams and Neel; 1967: Lindzey; 1967: Kortmulder; 1968: Seemanova; 1971: Parker; 1976). It should be noted, both Parker (1976) and Ellis (1963) may be considered to be closer to biosocial rather than purely biological theorists.

solidly with Lindzey's reasoning.⁷

Much of the literature supporting the biological position, however, is based on animal and not human studies. Westermarck's (1922; 35-36: 219) study of animals that were held in isolation and 'forced' to inbreed must be regarded as one of the forerunners. He concluded that continued inbreeding caused abnormalities in offspring, but also added that animals not kept in isolation tended not to breed with immediate 'relatives'. This observation appears to have the support of other authors (Aberle; 1963: Bischof; 1972: Parker; 1976: Edwards; 1977).

For example, Edward's (1977) review of the literature relating to animal studies, lead him to conclude that only when placed in isolation (i.e.) zoos, or in crowded spaces, will animals take to practicing abnormal sex behaviors, which often includes sexual interactions between 'family members'. Similarly, Aberle (1963) argued that animals and birds alike seem to avoid mating with immediate family members. It is as if, as Parker (1976; 285) suggests,⁸ incest avoidance is "built into

⁷ Interestingly, psychiatrist John Schwartzman (1974) also leans toward this explanation when he contends that groups observing the incest taboo and exogamy have a selective advantage by producing more adaptive individuals than would be the case without such practices.

⁸ Parker (1976) argues for a biosocial theory from which can be based the incest taboo. For Parker (1976), incest avoidance is widespread among all other vertebrata, other than humans, and is "built into the wiring". For humans, however, as learned behavior became more important phylogenetically, curiosity and exploration played larger roles in adaption; with subsequent manifest survival advantages. See: Parker, Seymour. "The precultural basis of the incest taboo: Toward a biosocial theory." American Anthropologist, 78-2, (Jun. 1976) 285-305.

the wiring" of the vertebrata. Bischof's (1972) review of animal behavior adds more support to this notion when he draws attention to the incest-preventing mechanisms in mammals. The behavior displayed by the parents, Bischof (1972; 22) claims, ranges from simple threats, to inhibition, repulsion, and total isolation by family members towards those 'breaking' the taboo.

Although most biological theorists or researchers guided by biological theory, seem to share some aspect of the 'inbreeding notion',⁹ difficulties emerge when attempting to equate these animal studies with human studies.

Human Studies

Although biologists have difficulty trying to determine whether or not humans have similar 'built into the wiring' aversion mechanisms, they claim to have less difficulty showing that the offspring of inter-family marriages will often be physically and, or, mentally impaired. Schull and Neel (1965), for example, compared a group of 'first cousin marriages', in Japan, to a group of 'non-related' marriages. After several mental intelligence tests and physical tests, they concluded that although the differences between the two groups were not

⁹ Also stressing the 'inbreeding notion' aspect of the biological theory are authors reviewed by Murdock, G.P. Social Structure. New York: MacMillan, 1949.

statistically significant, there were noticeable differences.¹⁰

Adams and Neel (1967) compared a group of eighteen children, products of nuclear family incest, with a matched group of non-incest children and concluded, as did Schull and Neel (1965), that differences between the two groups, with respect to physical and mental abnormalities, were noticeable. The small sample size, however, lends suspicion to the conclusions inferred from a study of this size.

Seemanova's (1971) Czechoslovakian "children of incest" study, although using a much larger sample (N=86), also has research design flaws, the most critical of which relates to the comparison group selected. It is difficult to determine how closely the comparison group approximates the incest group under study. Nevertheless, Seemanova (1971; 125) concludes from his comparative group study that both physical and mental irregularities were more noticeable within the incest children group than in the comparison group.

Although the biological theory, or more pointedly, the inbreeding component of the biological theory appears to have some supporting evidence, it does not explain how very primitive and illiterate societies have retained the incest taboo. Certainly, if a social group has observed the results of continuous inbreeding between nuclear family members, it is conceivable that the incest taboo could have developed quite naturally from these simple observations. In too many instances,

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First cousin marriages are legal in Japan (1981).

however, human groups simply were not together long enough to make the necessary long term observations.¹¹

Although biological theory relating to the incest taboo may have merit with respect to animal studies (i.e.) some biological mechanism that is 'built into the wiring', this does not necessarily need to be the case for humans. As Meiselman (1978) suggests;

"In no way ... should the reemergence of the biological explanation be taken to imply that humans have an innate, instinctive aversion to incest; there is no evidence that strongly suggests that the incest taboo is not learned by each individual through his or her early interaction with his or her family members and other social agents" (Meiselman; 1978, 23) [emphasis added].

Further, not all authors view nuclear family inbreeding as a negative practice.¹² Recessive traits that come to light may be considered undesirable and, thus, nuclear family inbreeding may be seen as harmful. If, however, they are desirable, as is equally possible, inbreeding may be positively advantageous; as is the purposeful practice of animal inbreeders.

In an early argument, White (1948) discussed this point in some detail. White (1948; 417) suggested, that while inbreeding

¹¹ -----
Ember Melvin (1975) does not consider this question a serious problem. He suggests in "On the origin and extension of the incest taboo." Behavior Science Research, 10-4 (1975), 249-281, that differences in reproductive rates between familial and non-familial matings may have been great enough for people to have recognized the disadvantages of inbreeding and to have consciously prohibited nuclear family incest. He offers in support of his 'inbreeding assertion' evidence, and a model, which is consistent with the inbreeding theory.

¹² For one of the first arguments put forth in this vein see; Sumner, W.G. and Keller, A.G. The Science of Society. New Haven: 1927, 1571-1594.

intensifies the inheritability of undesirable traits, the biological theorists seldom suggest that inbreeding could intensify a desired trait just as easily.

Certainly, there are many examples of incest being continued for generations with consistently healthy offspring resulting. As Forward (1978) notes;

"The Incan princes kept the bloodline pure by promoting brother-sister marriages through fourteen generations, yet neither their bones nor their extensive written records suggest that the line suffered any physical or mental degeneration. The same is true of Ptolemis of Egypt, who after several generations of sibling couplings, produced Cleopatra (whose husband was both her uncle and her brother)"(Forward; 1978, 14).

Another approach for explaining the origins of the incest taboo, it would appear, is required.

The Psychological Views

Although Westermarck (1922) was inclined to think that the incest taboo had a biological origin, he did not dispel the notion that, with respect to humans at least, a non-instinctive psychological mechanism might also account for the taboo. This psychological postulation stated, quite simply, that a natural aversion to mutual sexual expression develops among persons who live together from early childhood. Since the incest taboo relates primarily to the nuclear family where individual family members live close together from early childhood, Westermarck (1922) hypothesized that a sexual aversion would become codified, and thus, an incest taboo would emerge. Later, he

felt, with the importance to some societies of the extended family, this aversion would extend to include other close relatives (Westermarck; 1922, 80: also noted by Meiselman; 1978, 7).

Along the same line, Fox (1962) postulated a sexual aversion incest theory. Fox (1962; 132) hypothesized that because, for the most part, siblings are allowed to freely interact with each other a certain amount of physical and sexual behavior would take place. Because, according to Fox (1962), the aroused sexual feelings would be misunderstood, and, or, dissatisfying, the children would learn sexual aversion. This "learned behavior", he claimed, would be strong enough to carry the children through puberty, adolescence, and into adulthood (Fox; 1962, 132-133: also noted by Meiselman; 1978, 7).

Certainly, an air of plausibility surrounds the Westermarck-Fox 'natural aversion' hypothesis. As Weinberg (1955) notes, brothers and sisters who had been separated for long periods of time during childhood seemed less restrained by the incest taboo. Also, as Fox (1962; 136-137) suggests, children raised together in Israeli kibbutzim seem to reject each other as potential sex partners even though they are not related.

Wolf (1970) offered further empirical support to the Westermarck (1922; 236) contention that "intimate childhood association promotes sexual aversion", offering as evidence the results of his Taiwanese study. A content analysis of household registration records from Taiwan (1900-1925) showed that women

who were forced to marry a childhood associate, by comparison to a similar group of women who were not;

a) bore fewer children,

b) were more likely to leave or divorce their husbands, and,

c) were more likely to commit adultery (Wolf; 1970, 513-514).

Although 'childhood associate' does not necessarily connote 'related associate', similar findings could be inferred, according to Wolf (1970; 514), if the associates were related.

On the other hand, Bagley's (1969) criticisms of the 'natural aversion' hypothesis cannot be ignored. Bagley (1969; 507) questions the reason why such a "naturally developing aversion would need such strict social enforcement, unless, of course, it is not such a 'naturally developing' aversion". Also, Bagley (1969; 509-511) questions how Westermarck (1922) and Fox (1962) would explain the many successful marriages, throughout history, between close relatives who have been raised together.

Although the Westermarck-Fox hypothesis has received some attention, it is by no means the most influential of the psychological approaches relating to the origins of the incest taboo. The most influencing, it might well be argued, stems from the work of Sigmund Freud ([1913] 1955). Without doubt, Freud's ([1913] 1955) psychosexual theory has a great deal of influence on twentieth century psychological thinking. Freud ([1913] 1955) was one of the first who 'revealed' to a society entrenched in Victorian values, that very small children had strong erotic drives, and that the desire for incestuous experience, far from

being extinguished in the intimacy of the nuclear family, became even more intense in early childhood and persisted throughout life as a repressed desire. To Freud ([1913] 1955), the incest taboo, and the universality of that taboo, was clearly understood.

In effect, Freud ([1913] 1955) believed that the incest taboo was learned or acquired rather than innate or instinctive. Initially, he suggested, the taboo evolved through a "primal scene", a sort of instinctual memory in us all. He envisioned this primal scene as a family in which the sons killed their father to possess their mother, then fought among themselves over her. Eventually they realized they had destroyed the social order and felt remorseful over having committed patricide, so they imposed an incest restriction on themselves as penance. Freud ([1913] 1955) saw the incest taboo as the oldest form in which we encounter conscience.

In essence, the taboo has its genesis in the universal conditions of the nuclear family - in the oedipus and/or electra complex to use Freud's ([1913] 1955) terms. The child's infantile sexual attraction to the parent of the opposite sex encounters frustration and rebuffs from the parents; ambivalence is generated, and the impulse is eventually repressed. Further expressions are curbed unconsciously and, later, as adults, these repressed impulses create "reaction formations" - unconscious defenses against violating the earlier learned taboo. Meiselman (1978) summarizes Freud's ([1913] 1955) position quite

succinctly;

"... he viewed the inevitable clash between the incest taboo ... as enforced by the parents ... and the child's incestuous desires to be a universal human experience that is central to personality development, normal and abnormal. He believed that the persistence of repressed incest wishes could explain the particular emotional intensity that is associated with maintenance of the incest taboo - that is, individuals are defending themselves against their own repressed impulses by severely condemning such impulses or behavior in others" (Meiselman; 1978, 8-9).

But even if one accepts Freud's ([1913] 1955) theory regarding the universality of the incest taboo, it does not explain (unless one adds an instinctual element) why in the nuclear family condition inter family sexual practices are rebuffed by the parent. Somewhere in antiquity, it would seem, the primordial parents have learned a preferable pattern of socialization that included non-sexual interaction with nuclear family members.

Sociological Views

For some anthropologists and sociologists the incest taboo evolved through the customs of ancient cave dwellers. Forward (1978; 10) cites two theories in particular.

One theory suggests that because of early man's superior strength he dominated his female mate. Considering her as his property he defended her as such. When his sons grew to puberty he protected his wife from their sexual invasion as he defended all his property against them. Eventually, this paternally

imposed prohibition became a custom, which, in turn, developed into a taboo (Forward; 1978, 10).

The central question, of course, is who protected the daughter from him, or did the 'eventual taboo' not include fathers making sexual advances towards anything considered his own property? (In which case, it might be added, it would necessarily include not only the daughters but also the sons). The theory, it would appear, lacks the necessary consistency required for explaining the all encompassing incest taboo.

A second, and tautological theory, contends that the taboo grew out of necessity. Parents died early, often before their children reached puberty. Fertile years were short and survival dictated that everyone marry early. Since older siblings would be married by the time younger ones reached puberty, siblings rarely married each other, so exogamy became the custom. By the time human life expectancy increased, allowing an age difference between mates, the custom of exogamy had become so entrenched that the incest taboo followed naturally as a means of maintaining the status quo (Forward; 1978, 10).

Although prima facie a plausible theory, several questions surface. For example, what prevented parents from having sexual interactions with their pre-pubescent children, or, was this not considered 'taboo'? When did these 'ancient cave dwellers' conceptualize 'marriage' and the implications surrounding the concept? If 'survival' was important, could not an argument be advanced for staying with the immediate group and reproducing?

Clearly, it appears, this theory is a target for most any critical argument of this variety.

For some sociologists and anthropologists, however, the nuclear family, and a subsequent understanding of it, is antecedant to a clear understanding of incest avoidance (Murdock; 1949, 1-4: Parsons; 1954, 102: Davis; 1966, 402). A review of some of the central points suggested by Murdock (1949), Davis (1966), and Parsons (1954), creates an interesting argument for the origins of incest prohibition.

The nuclear family, as Murdock suggests;

" ... subserves a number of important societal needs - economic cooperation, reproduction, education, and socialization and no society has discovered another means as satisfactory in fulfilling them. Anything that weakens the family, therefore, weakens the body politic by stifling cooperation, lowering reproduction, raising the infant mortality rate, or increasing the proportion of incapable and undersocialized or criminal members. Conflict within the family is a source of weakness, as is abundantly demonstrated by the current sociological literature on family disorganization. No form of conflict is more disruptive than sexual competition and jealousy. The reduction of sexual rivalry between parents and children and between siblings consolidates the family as a cooperative social group, promotes the efficiency of its societal services, and this strengthens the society as a whole" (Murdock; 1949, 295)[emphasis added].

In light of Murdock's (1949; 295) statement, and given his belief in the universal nature of the nuclear family (Murdock; 1949, 2), in combination with Davis' (1966; 405) argument that the nuclear family plays an intregal role in the larger social system, incest avoidance, it might be argued, makes possible the continued cooperation of children, adolescents, and adult children with their parents and one another. In turn, this

promotes social unity by removing sources of rivalry and conflict. Sexual restraints within the nuclear family serve a function for each member of the nuclear family unit, the nuclear family as a whole, and provides advantages for the larger society.

Society in turn, as Murdock (1949) suggests;

" ... supplements individual self-interest and assures that sexual restraints within the family will become culturally normative and will be supported by the various mechanisms of social control" (Murdock; 1949, 295)[emphasis added].

The nuclear family, then, as a smaller group within society (Davis; 1966, 402), requires various means by which to avoid confusion and conflict, which serves only to weaken and not strengthen the group (Davis; 1966, 157-159: 402).¹³ The incest taboo serves this particular function. As Davis (1966) suggests;

"Should the different statuses and relationships in the family become confused, the organization and functional efficiency of the family would be lost. The incest taboo confines sexual relations ... in this way confusion is prevented and family organization is maintained. The incest taboo therefore exists because they are essential to and form part of the family structure" (Davis; 1966, 402).

Certainly, it must be admitted, this argument is plausible, but it too is not without criticism. Indeed, if the nuclear family plays as an important role in the larger society as both Murdock (1949) and Davis (1966) would have us believe, then the incest taboo may serve an important function in that it reduces

¹³ Anthropologist A.D. Coult (as noted by Forward; 1978) is given first credit with the theory that the incest prohibition evolved to prevent role confusion within the family (Forward; 1978, 13)

inter-family conflict, therefore strengthening family bonds, and in turn, strengthening the larger society. The perpetuation of the incest prohibition, therefore, whether based on fact or superstition, becomes a useful social tool.¹⁴

Variations on 'the family disruptive' theory have also been presented by anthropologists (Malinowski; 1927; Levi-Strauss; 1949; 1956). Malinowski (1927), for example, stated many of the same concerns raised by Davis (1966) and Murdock (1949); that disruption in the nuclear family, or conflict between family members, tends also to be disruptive to the larger social system. Incest, Malinowski (1927; 252) suggests, functions as a disruptive mechanism.

Parsons (1954) also adds to this line of theoretical reasoning by suggesting that in order to maintain the emotional balance within the family, each family member must have a certain role pattern and function. The incest prohibition, Parsons (1954; 103) suggests, helps maintain these specific roles. Further, Parsons (1954) suggests, this maintenance of family member roles has broader implications, in that it serves to maintain major economic, political, and religious functions in the larger society.

But the Murdock (1949), Davis (1966) and Parsons (1954) argument is premised on at least three empirically

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It is interesting to note that Durkheim also recognized the social necessity for perpetuating myths, superstitions, and other beliefs. For a detailed discussion in this regard see; Cohn, Percy C. "Theories of myth." Man, 4-3, (1969) 337-353.

unsubstantiated points:

1. that the nuclear family is, and always has been, a 'universal condition';
2. that no form of conflict is more disruptive than sexual competition and jealousy, and;
3. that avoidance of incestuous behavior creates better cooperation between family members.

To date, however, there appears to be no empirical study which can emphatically substantiate the claim that the nuclear family is, and always has been, a universal condition. Further, no empirical study can be found that can emphatically substantiate the claim that sexual competition and jealousy is more disruptive than other forms of conflict. And, further, no empirical study can be found that substantiates the claim the the avoidance of incestuous behavior creates better inter-family member cooperation. Indeed, by accepting the argument, these antecedent premises must be confirmed by default. Questioning the empirical validity of the premises, however, puts the entire argument into question.

Slater's (1959) argument also adds to these questions. Slater (1959) questions most of the theories relating to incest prohibition for maintaining family harmony and thus harmony in the larger social system. Slater (1959; 1045) argues, that most of these theories are tautological, as they state that living societies have behaved in a prosurvival manner. Slater (1959; 1047) feels that long-term interests are only served if they

conform to short-term interests; that no society recognizes what is good for it and does it.

Further, Slater (1959; 1046) argues, that incest prohibitions and exogamy rules are rather late developments in the history of humankind and that nuclear family matings were largely nonexistent in primitive times because of the conditions of life to which early humans were subject; short life expectancy, late sexual maturation, and single births with long nursing periods, not to mention that most parents would be dead by the time most of their children reached sexual maturity. Although Slater's (1959) argument does not account for sexual interaction between pre-pubescent children, it does warrant attention with respect to the other aspects of her argument. The incest prohibition could very well have developed long after the notion of 'the family', and then, for reasons that probably aided the larger society more than it did the individual nuclear family.

Discussion

Certainly, it appears, there is no lack of theories regarding the origins of the incest taboo. But as Murdock (1949; 292) and Davis (1966; 406) suggest, no discipline has adequately determined the taboo's origin, let alone explain the various psychological and sociological ramifications surrounding the taboo. Perhaps the most viable approach to determining the

origin of the incest taboo is, as Murdock (1949; 292) suggests, a multidiscipline approach; and within this context several of the aforementioned theorists may very well merge.

This is the position taken by Alexander (1975; 77), who argues in favour of social scientists and biologists combining approaches and data in an effort to formulate an adequate general theory which will best explain the origins of the taboo. This theory, he suggests, would include not only the human as a biological organism, capable of initiating adaptive strategies, but would also include the human as a social animal wherein group living, sexual competition, parenthood, and various other social interactions, could be analyzed. Within this theoretical framework, Alexander (1975; 96-97) suggests, particular human behaviors may be more easily discerned; incest, and its 'taboo', being but just one of those behaviors.

Then again, perhaps the origin of the incest taboo is lost in antiquity, as is the suggestion of Ford (1961), as cited by Ellis (1963; 131) "... the origins of the prohibition against primary incest are lost in history".

However, whether or not the incest taboo has always been a universal condition, or whether or not the origins of that condition can be established, appears to unalter the belief of many incest authors and researchers who suggest that in contemporary society inter-family sexual interaction is still perceived to be taboo, and the practice of such behavior subject to social prohibition. And, although some fathers in

contemporary society may adhere to the taboo, and to the appropriate practice, other fathers do not, and practice the behavior regardless. What do we know about this father, his family, and certainly, his daughter? These are questions the empirical father-daughter incest researcher has attempted to answer.

IV. Father-Daughter Incest: A Family Affair

"But after all, these things being done secretly, and the mind of man being fickle, how can it be known what any person will do at any particular time and for any particular purpose?" (The Kama Sutra of Vatsyayana).¹

Many authors and researchers of father-daughter incest appear to imply that empirical distinctions can be determined for each of four distinct groups they claim comprise the father-daughter incest dynamic; the family, the father, the daughter, and the mother. More specifically, this implies that differences can be found between:

1. incestuous families and non-incestuous families;
2. incestuous fathers and non-incestuous fathers;
3. daughters involved in father-daughter incest and daughters not involved in father-daughter incest, and;
4. mothers involved in a father-daughter incest family and mothers who are not in a father-daughter incest family.

The comment offered by Forward (1978), however, appears to support the notion that particular characteristics relating to each of the four mentioned groups are not evident.

¹ As cited by; Bates, Marston. Gluttons and Libertines, New York; Vintage Books, 1967 (Chapter 5).

"There are probably more than ten million Americans who have been involved in incest, and they come from every economical, cultural, racial, educational, religious, and geographical background. They are doctors, policemen, prostitutes, secretaries, artists, and merchants. They are heterosexual, bisexual, and homosexual. They are happily married and four times divorced. They are leading productive lives and they have been convicted of murder. They are emotionally stable and they have multiple personalities. In short, they have only one thing in common; incest" (Forward; 1978, 3).

Overall, the participants and families involved in incest appear to form a heterogeneous picture with all social, economic, occupation, and work levels appearing to be represented (Forward; 1978: Meiselman; 1978: Summit; 1979: Berliner and Stevens; 1979: Geiser; 1979: Ministry of Human Resources, B.C.; 1979: Rush; 1980). Researchers and authors of father-daughter incest appear to suggest, however, that certain traits do stand out in this picture. A review and evaluation of these findings are, then, essential. The purpose of the following four chapters, therefore, is:

1. to offer the reader a capsulation of those father-daughter incest characteristics extracted from the incest literature which, in accordance with most authors and researchers of incest, appear to be the most consistent, and;
2. to question the extent to which these particular characteristics are empirically substantiated and the extent to which they support the assertion that empirical differences can be found within each of the four mentioned groups.

The Family

How family members interact, according to Weinberg (1955), is central to an understanding of the incest dynamic. Certainly, it has become a major focus of study for some researchers and authors of incest. As Weinberg (1955) suggests;

"The incest relation is a development inside of a family and is a part of that family. The course of this development together with what it implies in the way of a permissive or propitious family structure are matters of real and central importance. A failure to view and study the incestuous act in terms of a developing social relation can only lead to a truncated and deficient understanding" (Weinberg; 1955, 38).

But only three particular comments, and their corollaries, appear to be consistent throughout the incest literature:

1. the incestuous family is often perceived by social agencies and researchers to be 'dysfunctional' or a 'multi-problematic' unit, and this is often seen to be 'multi-generational' in nature;
2. the incestuous family is seen to have a high regard for strict discipline, and;
3. the incestuous family is often perceived to be 'isolated' from the rest of the larger community and its activities.²

² Hereinafter, 'the family' refers to those families reported as having father-daughter incest behavior. Although similar features may be found in families reporting other types of incest, only those features relating to father-daughter families which are consistent throughout various studies, will be noted.

In a general sense, incest authors and researchers have argued for the incestuous family as being one of two types. Nahashima (1977) and Berliner (1978), in two separate sexual abuse workshops, labelled these families as either 'the multi-problem family' or 'the hidden family'. The multi-problem family is generally well known to various social agencies, and, according to Cormier, et al. (1962), represents about 30% of all reported incest cases in the United States (Nashima; 1977: Berliner and Stevens; 1979). Further, incestuous behavior within this particular type of family is seen to be only one small aspect of a total disintegration of pathological behavior.

Approximately 70 percent of the reported cases of incest, however, are found in 'the hidden family'. This family is rarely known to social agencies, appearing prima facie to have no major psychological or family disturbances, and each family member appears to function productively (Cormier, et al.; 1962: Nahashima; 1977: Berliner and Stevens; 1978: Summit; 1978: Ministry of Human Resources, B.C.; 1979). A closer examination of these incestuous families, however, leads many authors to suggest that they are a dysfunctional unit, implying that emotional, psychological, and social communications between family members are severely impaired. Further, this dysfunction is often multi-generational (Weinberg; 1955: Cormier, et al.; 1962: Lustig; 1966: Rosenfeld; 1977: Finkelhor; 1978: Summit; 1979: Finkelhor; 1979: Ministry of Human Resources, B.C.; 1979).

Many authors see the incestuous family as being relatively isolated from the rest of the community, being involved in only minimal community activities or no involvement at all. Also, according to some authors, these families seem to have a high regard for strict discipline (Riemer; 1940: Weinberg; 1955: Bagley; 1969: Rosenfeld; 1977: Summit; 1978: Finkelhor; 1979).

Although questions relating to the families' sexual morality occasionally appear in the literature, authors and researchers appear to be divided in their conclusions. Rosenfeld (1977), and Finkelhor (1979), for example, view the family as having loose or lax sexual morals with the parents not representing proper role models for their children. On the other hand, Summit (1979) and Sgroi, et al.; 1979, support the Ministry of Human Resources, B.C. (1979) when they suggest that the majority of incestuous families have strict almost prudish sexual morals, to the extent that the parents of these families overreact to suggestions of sex education being offered their children in the school system.

But many of these perceptions are formulated on the basis of findings inferred from particular data sources. For example, many studies on incest used data derived from court and prison settings or other social agencies which have notable problems. Riemer (1940) and Weinberg (1955), in their early research, associated stressful events within the family with incestuous behavior. Also, alcoholism, loss of employment, economic problems, and even restlessness and tension, were associated

with the initiation of incest. All of these correlations, however, may be more a reflection of the particular demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the group being examined than a reflection of characteristics that could be attributable to incestuous families specifically. Without a comparison group, formed from the general or 'normal' population, many of these associations are, at best, speculative, and certainly questionable.

Indeed, it would be difficult for these researchers not to find, in these particular groups, antecedent conditions which emphasize economic and psychological problems. This, one might argue, would in turn suggest such factors as poor housing, crowded conditions, alcoholism, social isolation, personal disturbances, or any number of indicators often associated with poverty and lower socioeconomic groups. Weinberg (1955) and others who have attempted, if only by correlation, to link these antecedent conditions into an incest causal statement, have been attacked by at least two incest researchers (Weiner; 1962: Lustig, et al.; 1966).

Purposive sampling of reported incidents of incest among middle and upper class families have generated opposing conclusions with poor housing, crowded conditions, and social isolation not even being considered factors in the incest dynamic (Weiner; 1962: Lustig, et al.; 1966). Perhaps, the 'typical' incestuous family may only be reflecting characteristics of lower socioeconomic families (Weiner; 1962:

Lustig, et al.; 1966: Henderson; 1972).

The incestuous family profile may, eventually, be found to contain some of the aforementioned characteristics, but, based on the literature reviewed, empirical evidence in support of these assertions, is lacking. Further, even in those socioeconomically deprived populations of families, reported cases of incest are rare. As some authors note, fathers in these families are either not detected and subsequently reported, or, they choose more socially acceptable means of coping with their problems (Cormier and Kennedy; 1962: Gebhard, et al.; 1965).

Disclosure of Incest

According to Gagnon (1965; 181-182), reported and investigated father-daughter incest cases are the exception not the norm, and disclosures that do occur are generally the result of discovery within the family after a family conflict, or the result of third parties reporting 'suspicious behavior' to a social agency dealing with child abuse, or to the police.³

When a father-daughter incest relationship is disclosed, seldom is the father responsible for initiating the disclosure.

Giarretto (1976), however, suggests that with the creation of

³ It should be noted, however, that at the time this statement was made (1965), there were very few agencies to which disclosures could be made. Child abuse centers and crisis centers developed, for the most part, during the 1970's. Disclosures that were made, prior to this time, generally involved only policing agencies.

voluntary offender treatment facilities, similar to the type directs in California, this trend may change.

The daughter involved in the father-daughter affair is also reluctant to disclose the activity. Prior to the daughter's adolescent years, fear of punishment and other more subtle threats are cited most as the reasons for the daughter's secrecy (Summit and Kryso; 1978: Summit; 1979: Ministry of Human Resources, B.C.; 1979). If disclosure is initiated by the daughter, often it is not until she reaches adolescence (13-17 years of age); and then, many authors argue, it is used primarily to gain her freedom from the home and the incest relationship, or to protect younger siblings from the same behavior (Summit; 1979: Ministry of Human Resources; 1979: Finkelhor; 1979: Geiser; 1979: Sgroi, et al.; 1979: Johnston; 1979).

Although some incestuous relationships are reportedly disclosed as a result of an immediate family member or extended family member reporting the incident, or incidents (Burgess, et al.; 1978), most are disclosed by individuals outside the immediate family reporting to child abuse agencies, crisis centers, or policing agencies, what they have been told, or perceive to be, 'suspicious behavior' (Summit; 1979: Ministry of Human Resources, B.C.; 1979). Subsequent to this disclosure, some of these reports are often investigated by a child abuse center, rather than by the police. If the report is turned over to the police, very often the police will contact a child abuse

agency, if one is available in the area, to look after the matter (Ministry of Human Resources, B.C.; 1979).

Many authors suggest that the most common and significant reactions of the daughter, once the incestuous relationship is disclosed to social agency members, are those of guilt and shame, and of the father, initially at least, denial (Summit and Kryso; 1978: Summit; 1979: Berliner and Stevens; 1979: Johnston; 1979: Burges, et al.; 1979: Finkelhor; 1979).

Sexual Contact and Initiation

The greatest portion of reported father-daughter incest cases do not, according to those authors reviewing the subject, involve sexual intercourse (Rosenfeld; 1977: Summit and Kryso; 1978: Meiselman; 1978: Sgroi, et al.; 1979: Finkelhor; 1979: Ministry of Human Resources, B.C.; 1979). As Meiselman (1978; 153) notes; "in the majority of incestuous relationships with daughters under the age of twelve", only genital fondling or oral genital relations were involved". Summit (1979) suggests that many fathers do not have sexual intercourse with their daughters because they feel that "their daughter's virginity must be protected; other forms of sexual contact is not considered by these fathers as, therefore, being wrong" (Summit; 1979, 15). Finkelhor (1979) and Benward and Densen-Gerber (1975; 327-328) also suggest that in most cases not only is there no sexual intercourse, or attempts at sexual intercourse, but this

particular activity is actively avoided. Further, Benward and Densen-Gerber (1975; 328) suggest that less than 30% of all father-daughter incest reports involve sexual intercourse or attempts of sexual intercourse. Most of the sexual activity that is being reported as incestuous is one or more of the other varieties of sexual contact behaviors (i.e.) exhibitionism, fondling, mutual masturbation and oral-genital contact.

Most authors do agree, however, that for most of those father-daughter interactions involving sexual intercourse, the act was preceded by a number of different behaviors over time. Further, it is reported, that father-daughter interactions which involves sexual intercourse, is seldom a single isolated event; it begins with simple fondling and progresses, over time, through various stages of behavioral contacts to culminate, possibly, in vaginal intercourse (Weiner; 1962: Gebhard, et al.; 1965: Gligor; 1966: Rosenfeld; 1977: Summit and Kryso; 1978: Meiselman; 1978: Sgori, et al.; 1979: Geiser; 1979: Ministry of Human Resources, B.C.; 1979).

The same authors, and other empirical researchers reviewed, also agree that the most common location for the sexual contact is in the daughter's own bedroom with the father actively initiating the first sexual overtone (Riemer; 1940: Weinberg; 1955: Maisch; 1972: Gebhard, et al.; 1965: Meiselman; 1978: Forward; 1978). Also, daughters have seldom been reported as the initiators of the sexual contact. Maisch (1972) cites only two exceptions, and Meiselman (1978; 146-147) refers to two

additional cases, reported by Magel and Winnick (1968) and Machotka, Pittman, and Flomenhoft (1967).

Although daughters are not reported to be the initiators of the incestuous behavior, this does not necessarily connote that they are physically forced into the behavior. In both the initial contact and subsequent contacts, physical force, according to the authors reviewed, is seldom used. In the majority of instances, bribery by the father is reported to be used so that the daughter 'consents' to the sexual activity (Summit; 1979; Johnston; 1979; Sgroi, et al.; 1979; Finkelhor; 1979). Threats of violence or other means of duress are more common than actual physical force (Gebhard, et al.; 1965). Subsequent to the initial sexual contact, other forms of bribery by the father are reported to be necessary to maintain both the behavior and the secrecy. Threats of divorce, prison terms and humiliation, are the three most often cited methods used by fathers to maintain secrecy and continue the behavior (Riemer; 1940; Gebhard, et al.; 1965; Weinberg; 1955; Maisch; 1972; Summit; 1979; Forward; 1978; Meiselman; 1978).

Physical violence, however, does occur in some cases. Weinberg (1955) refers to cases where the daughters were beaten into submission. Gebhard, et al. (1965) state that in 147 cases examined, 2 girls were physically abused, and Maisch (1972) reported that six percent of 78 cases he examined, the incestuous relationship was initiated by rape. Meiselman (1978; 152) also reports at least two isolated instances of physical

force being used to initiate sexual behavior in the 38 cases of father-daughter incest cases she examined. But, physical force, it would appear, is the exception and not the rule.

The issue of 'seductiveness', or the culpability of the child participant, has also been examined by some incest researchers as one of the possibilities that might initiate the 'father-daughter affair', and has motivated at least three empirical researchers to examine the possibility. In Meiselman's (1978) study of 38 father-daughter incest cases, of which 25 were natural fathers, three of the daughters admitted the possibility of their having been seductive, although none of them recall anything specific about how the seduction might have occurred (Meiselman; 1978, 164).

Maisch (1972) estimated that six percent of the 78 cases of father-daughter relationships he examined were quite possibly provoked by the daughter's seductiveness, but admits this is only an estimate. Gligor (1966) suggests that close to twelve percent of the daughters in the 57 cases they examined might be guilty of provocative behavior. In both instances, however, distinctions are not made between 'natural' and 'all other father types'.

In addition to these researchers, Cormier, et al. (1962; 208), state that many fathers tell the police who are apprehending them that the daughter was being provocative. The daughters, on the other hand, most often state that they were being coerced into the behavior by the father. Gebhard, et al.

(1965) also note that the courts generally perceive the behavior of the father as coercive, whereas the imprisoned father very often argues that the daughter initiated the behavior by her seductive manner.

The question of whether or not seductiveness should be an issue is addressed by Meiselman (1978), who asks;

"When we say that an adult woman is seductive, the term implies that their behavior is willful and that she can foresee the consequences of it. If an eighteen-year-old daughter is observed to sit in her father's lap while dressed in a bikini, we may be justified in assigning the seductive label to her. But what if an eight year old daughter does exactly the same thing? Is it really accurate to describe her behavior as seductive, or are we being 'adultomorphic' in doing so" (Meiselman; 1978, 165).

Overall, rarely is it found in the literature relating to incest that the daughter actively consented or initiated sexual contact with the father. The general consensus suggests that the daughter, at best, passively involves herself in the sexual activity, and this, generally, out of respect for the father's authoritative position (Sloane and Karpinski; 1942; De Francis; 1969; Gebhard, et al.; 1965; Summit; 1979; Finkelhor; 1979; Sgroi, et al.; 1979; Anderson and Shafer; 1979). At best, it seems, only a passive physical resistance is offered by the the daughter (Riemer; 1940; Weinberg; 1955; Szabo; 1962; Meiselman; 1978). For the most part, emotional 'bribes' or threats are used by the father to enlist and continue sexual contact with the daughter. Bribes such as keeping the family together to avoid separation (Rosenfeld; 1977; Summit; 1979), threats of physical or sexual abuse of other siblings (Yorukoclu and Kempf; 1969),

and the daughter's fear of being abandoned if she does not consent (Anderson and Shafer; 1979), are noted throughout the incest literature as being, what are often referred to as, 'the emotional bribes'.

Authors and researchers of incest further suggest that from these reported father-daughter incest cases there are particular characteristics which appear to relate to each of the individuals involved in the incest affair. The next three parts of this chapter will deal with each of these individuals in the following order; the daughter, the father, and the mother.

The Daughter: The Alledged Victim

Although percentages vary from author to author, the general consensus is that the majority of female children who are sexually abused are abused by fathers or males acting as father figures (Landis; 1956: Gagnon; 1965: De Francis; 1969: Forward; 1978: Meiselman; 1978: Finkelhor; 1979: Summit; 1979: Geiser; 1979: Anderson and Shafer; 1979: Ministry of Human Resources, B.C.; 1979). Geiser (1979; 22) suggests that upwards of 70 percent of all sexually abused female children are abused by those fathers taking on 'father figure' roles. Additional risks are levied at female children who form part of a family that does not include their natural mothers. Landis (1956), Gagnon (1965), and Finkelhor (1979), suggest these females are three times more vulnerable to sexual abuse than those who

reside in a family with their natural mothers. Summit (1979; 11) agrees with this suggestion and also adds that daughters living with step-fathers are five times more likely to be sexually abused than daughters living with their natural fathers.

Initial and Subsequent Sexual Contacts

The initial sexual contact may commence when the child is as young as two months of age or as late as her teens (Geiser; 1979, 21). Frequency of subsequent contacts vary from a one time occurrence to regular daily occurrences which may continue for years (De Francis; 1969; Meiselman; 1978; Summit; 1979; Ministry of Human Resources, B.C.; 1979; Rush; 1980).

Meiselman (1978; 165) reported that the average father-daughter affair lasted about three and a half years. Maisch (1972) also suggests, based on his study, that most of the father-daughter incest cases he examined lasted more than a year with the average length being three years. Incest authors, however, generally agree that most father-daughter sexual involvements end during the daughter's adolescent years (Riemer; 1940; Weinberg; 1955; Cormier, et al.; 1962; Meiselman; 1978; Finkelhor; 1979).

Age

The reported average age of the daughters at the time of first sexual contact also varies from study to study, depending on the data source. Finkelhor (1979) suggests a median age of 10-12 years as the most probable, Geiser (1979; 22) suggests 9-11 years of age, Summit (1979; 11) suggests that age 9 is the age of highest risk, Meiselman (1978; 132) suggests that 8 years of age may be more accurate, and Forward (1978; 20) notes that the average age in her clinical practice is around 7-8.

Intelligence

In general, most daughters involved in father-daughter incest are considered to be relatively normal in intelligence but below average in school grades. Only two empirical studies reviewed suggested that the female participant was found to be below normal intelligence (Kubo; 1959; Gebhard, et al.; 1965) and only one American study attempted to determine IQ levels (Gligor; 1966). Although Gligor (1966) found a small percentage of daughters who had IQ's slightly below the normal population for that age group, the majority (69%) of the sample were of normal or above normal intelligence. Weinberg's (1955) study and Maisch's (1972) study suggest similar results; most daughters are of normal intelligence, but some showed lower than average school grades. Meiselman's (1978; 134) study also supports the

normal intelligence finding. Based on verbal behavior and educational achievement, thirty-six of the thirty-eight daughters were described as having average intelligence.

The Eldest Daughter

In most of the father-daughter affairs, based on the literature reviewed, the daughter involved in the incest behavior (if more than one daughter is in the family), is either the eldest daughter or the oldest daughter still living in the home (Weinberg; 1955: Meiselman; 1978: Summit; 1979). Further, she often takes on a "mother-role", being responsible for many of the housekeeping chores (Meiselman; 1978: Summit; 1979: Finkelhor; 1979: Geiser; 1979).

Perceptions of Father and Mother

The daughter most often perceives the father as being very rigid and authoritarian in addition to being both physically and sexually threatening (Geiser; 1979: Summit; 1979: Ministry of Human Resources, B.C.; 1979). The mother, on the other hand, is often perceived by the daughter as being partially to blame for the incestuous affair, and, in some instances is seen to be a competitive figure (Geiser; 1979: Summitt; 1979; Ministry of Human Resources, B.C.; 1979). Very often, the daughter also

tends to blame herself for the incest affair.

Summit (1979) in his guide for sexual abuse investigation, Typical Characteristics of Father-Daughter Incest, emphasizes seven points relating to the daughter in the father-daughter affair.⁴ These particular points appear to summarize those behavioral characteristics which constantly appear in both the empirical research and treatment oriented literature, and as such, are worthy of note.

Typical Characteristics of the Daughter

1. Secrecy:

Children (the daughter) rarely tell anyone, especially at the time of the first sexual contact. The child typically feels ashamed and guilty. She fears disapproval or punishment from the mother, retaliation from the father, and loss of acceptance and security, in the home (Summit; 1979, 2).

2. Helplessness:

The child feels obligated, obedient, and overpowered by the father's inherent authority, even in the absence of physical force or threats (Summit; 1979, 2-3).

3. Entrapment and Accommodation:

⁴ It should be noted that Summit (1979) includes biological, step, and foster-fathers in his 'typical characteristic' assessment.

The process of helpless victimization, Summit (1979) claims, leads the child to exaggerate her own responsibility in the relationship and to find some virtue in keeping the family together, meeting the father's needs, protecting younger siblings, or protecting the mother from awareness. Disclosure becomes the greatest fear and the greatest sin. Repeated sexual contacts become inevitable and more or less tolerable. She may also learn to extract power for this role, holding out for special favours or liberties (Summit; 1979, 4).

4. Delayed, Conflicted, and Unconvincing Disclosure:

If family conflict triggers the disclosure, it is usually only after some years of continuing incest and increasing tension. Disclosure of the behavior in adolescence is often disbelieved by authorities, fathers become more jealous and controlling, mothers view the daughter's behavior as rebellious, and the daughter may often react against the parents by breaking curfews, running away from home, abusing drugs and alcohol, and becoming sexually promiscuous. False denials are common from children who are involved in incest, and again, often for the protection of the family (Summit; 1979, 7-9).

5. Retraction of Complaint:

Whatever a child says about the incestuous relationship initially, she is likely to change later. If the daughter initiates the disclosure, the mother is upset, disbelieving,

or rejecting and punitive. The father calls her a liar and supports the wife. With criminal evidence lacking the child remains in the house. Unless there is special support for the child and immediate intervention to force responsibility on the father, most girls will give in and retract their complaints (Summit; 1979, 9-10).

6. Prepubertal Initiation:

Girls are at some risk of incestuous molestation from birth through adolescence, with the age of highest risk about nine years old. A girl is three times more likely to be molested by her father or other trusted adult than by a stranger. Initial sexual intrusions do not usually involve vaginal penetration or attempts at actual intercourse (Summit; 1979, 11).

7. Substitute Roles:

The child who has been sexually involved with her father or stepfather often occupies part of her mother's role and also sees meeting her father's needs as part of her duties. Usually she is the oldest girl in the family, or the oldest girl living at home, and is often responsible for looking after younger siblings. In an effort to break away from the family and the incestuous relationship, she may marry at a young age and often marry against her parent's wishes (Summit; 1979, 12).

Although many other behavioral characteristics relating to the daughter have been mentioned in the literature, the

particular factors mentioned in the foregoing review, it is argued, are indeed the most salient and reoccurring 'daughter characteristics'. Fathers involved in 'the father-daughter affair' also appear to possess, according to incest authors and researchers, some distinct characteristics.

The Father: The Alledged Offender

Although the intent and purpose of this thesis is not to suggest reasons 'why' a father involves himself in incest with his daughter, a few of the more interesting commentaries in this regard may aid in introducing the second central figure in the father-daughter incest dynamic.

The justification given by fathers who eventually admit culpability, are almost as numerous as the fathers admitting culpability. Some of the more interesting, as reported by various incest researchers and authors, are; keeping it in the family (Weinberg; 1955), teaching the daughter (i.e.) sex education (Karpman; 1954: Weinberg; 1955: Weiner; 1962: Meiselman; 1978), the wife was frigid (Cormier, et al.; 1962), the duty of the father (Riemer; 1940), she reminded him of an adolescent love (Cormier, et al.; 1962), and, a favour given is a favour owed (Weinberg; 1955). Mention should also be made of the often cited humorous folk belief related by Weinberg (1955); sexual intercourse with the daughter will cure venereal disease (Weinberg; 1955: also cited by, Meiselman; 1978: Geiser; 1979:

Rush; 1980).

Regardless of the reasons cited for the behavior, however, as Forward (1978; 3) notes; "the incestuous father is the most misunderstood sex criminal in our society". But perhaps, as Meiselman (1978; 84) notes; "when an intensely taboo act occurs, we tend to look for 'causes' within the individual who is seen as the perpetrator". As a result, a great deal of personal information has been gathered on the father, but, in the aggregate, only a few points appear to be relatively consistent across these individuals. This section will address itself to these more or less consistent reports.

Age

Age, it would appear, is not a factor. The incestuous father ranges in age from eighteen through sixty. Although some studies suggest means of twenty-seven or twenty-eight (Meiselman; 1978, 60), other studies show the average age of the incestuous father to be closer to thirty to thirty-five (Weinberg; 1955: Summit; 1978: Gebhard, et al.; 1965: Geiser; 1979).

Intelligence

The incestuous father, taken in the aggregate and contrary to early findings (Bender and Blau; 1937: Weinberg; 1955: Kubo; 1959), is not of subnormal intelligence. For the most part, he is of average or better than average intelligence (Cavallin; 1962: Lukianowicz; 1972: Weiner; 1962: Gebhard, et al.; 1965: Meiselman; 1978: Forward; 1978: Summit; 1979: Rush; 1980). Gebhard, et al. (1965), however, discerned two groups of incestuous fathers. Comparisons to their groups led them to suggest that those fathers who had sexual relations with daughters under twelve were more intelligent than those who had sexual relations with daughters over sixteen. What this suggests is difficult to say, and is entirely open to speculation.

Employment History

With few exceptions (Cormier, et al.; 1962: Weiner; 1962: Cavallin; 1962: Meiselman; 1978) most incestuous fathers have a poor employment history (Riemer; 1940: Kaufman, et al.; 1954: Weinberg; 1955: Lukianowicz; 1972: Gebhard, et al.; 1965: Virkkunen; 1974: Summit; 1979). 'Poor employment' is defined in a variety of ways; numerous and infrequent unskilled jobs with frequent periods of unemployment (Riemer; 1940; 569), being

supported by other family members or extended family members (Weinberg; 1955), habitually unemployed (Lukianowicz; 1972; 304), and frequent unemployment as a result of excessive drinking (Virkkunen; 1974; 126). Meiselman (1978; 86) appears to infer from her study of incestuous fathers, however, to favour the view that incestuous fathers have middle class backgrounds and good employment histories. Also, most were found to have professional, or semi-professional skilled work or trades. Further, the little information that is available from Giarretto's (1978) voluntary treatment program supports these assertions; many of Giarretto's (1978) incestuous fathers appear to be from middle class backgrounds. Also, the studies reported by Weiner (1962) and Lustig, et al. (1966), describe the subjects as having good occupational histories.

Economic and Emotional Deprivation

A finding that does appear to be relatively consistent throughout the research literature is that the incestuous father very probably had an economically deprived youth. Poverty, or at least what is perceived by the father as being poor economic conditions in childhood, is perhaps the single most cited characteristic of the incestuous father (Riemer; 1940: Weinberg; 1955: Kaufman, et al.; 1954: Weiner; 1964: Gebhard, et al.; 1965: Lustig, et al.; 1966: Meiselman; 1978: Summit; 1979: Ministry of Human Resources, B.C.; 1979). Weiner (1964) and Lustig, et al.

(1966) also add an additional factor; that of emotional deprivation as a youth.

Many incestuous fathers perceive their fathers as having been very strict and authoritarian; a finding that Meiselman (1978) suggests is consistent with her analysis. Summit (1979) notes that the early poverty and emotional deprivation finding is very often a central characteristic of the incestuous father. Gebhard, et al. (1965), although reluctant to state any other conclusive findings, also suggest that early economic deprivation is a special characteristic of his incest group.

Considering that the authors of those few studies with comparison groups are led to infer these conclusions, and those studies which purposively sampled other than lower socioeconomic incestuous father groups also arrived at these conclusions, the early economic and emotional deprivation hypotheses certainly warrants careful consideration. How the concepts are to be operationalized, of course, is another matter open to a great deal of debate. An interesting hypothesis noted by Meiselman (1978) after her review of the Gebhard, et al. (1965) study, in particular, and other related studies, was that;

" ... there (appears to be) a correlation between the age of the daughter in father-daughter incest and the quality of the father's attachment within the family of origin - the 'healthier his family background, the older the daughter when he initiated incest" (Meiselman; 1978, 87).

A further examination of the literature reveals a second finding common to father-daughter incest research. The incestuous father's behavior is often described, by both the

daughter and authors of incest, as being dominating, almost tyrannical, very authoritative in his approach to family matters, and that he often holds firmly to traditional values (Summit; 1979: Finkelhor; 1979:). Additional support is lent this particular characteristic from other researchers who have examined this factor (Weinberg; 1955: Rhinehart; 1961: Cormier, et al.; 1962: Lustig, et al.; 1966: Maisch; 1972: Meiselman; 1978). Without proper comparison groups, however, it is difficult to determine how incest-specific this characteristic might be. Suffice it to say, the 'authoritarian' and/or 'traditional value' descriptive is given a large degree of support by both authors and researchers of father-daughter incest.

Alcoholism

Alcoholism has been associated with father-daughter incest by many researchers and authors of incest. As noted by Meiselman (1978; 93), "... from the earliest research on incest, chronic alcoholism, or a drunken episode in a time of stress, is often associated with father-daughter incest". But no group of studies, indeed, no single study has been able to show that alcoholism or even excessive drinking should be considered as a father-daughter incest specific factor.

Certainly, for those studies examining the question, alcoholism or excessive drinking is often associated with

incestuous behavior. The problem, however, is whether or not the drinking patterns of incestuous fathers differ from a comparable group of men sampled from the normal population. Further, as Meiselman (1978; 93) notes; "it is difficult to give exact figures on the percentage of incestuous fathers who are alcoholics or problem drinkers, because these terms are seldom defined in research reports".

Estimates of incestuous fathers who drink excessively vary from twenty to fifty percent. Even Gebhard, et al. (1965), who defined an alcoholic as a man who drank twelve ounces of liquor or more a day, found less than twenty-five percent of his sample of incestuous fathers to be problem drinkers or alcoholics. Further, Virkkunen's (1974) study on alcoholic incestuous fathers showed little difference between the incestuous father group and the non-incestuous father comparison group.

Previous Criminal Record

The incestuous father, in the aggregate, might well be classified as a 'non-criminal type'. Other than the more obvious exceptions, those serving sentences for the offence itself, most incestuous fathers simply do not have previous criminal records (Martin; 1958: Gebhard, et al.; 1965). Some, however, as Weinberg (1955) notes, have been involved with delinquent behavior prior to the incest disclosure, but most of these activities were described more as "minor offences" (Weinberg;

1955, 98); (i.e.) minor offences such as public fighting. In general, all the studies reviewed appear to support the notion that most incestuous fathers simply do not have criminal records.

Mental Disorders

Very often the incestuous father is seen by other members of contemporary society as being "mentally ill" or "sick" (Meiselman;1978, 84). Some studies on incest appear to support this notion (Weinberg; 1955: Lukianowicz; 1972).

Weinberg (1955; 98) described a major portion of the fathers he studied as being "indiscriminatively promiscuous" and further, "psychopaths" who were unable to sustain their relations with other persons, seemed emotionally retarded, and appeared to have no facility for socially intimate contacts or for appreciating the distress of others. Most of the incestuous fathers studied by Weinberg (1955) seemed to have little regard for their families or other people's feelings. Lukianowicz (1972; 305) noted similar findings and suggested that nineteen out of the twenty-six fathers studied should be considered 'psychopathic'.

Most studies, however, do not agree with the psychopath finding. Cavallin's (1962) review of the literature did not reveal a single case of an incestuous father who had been subjected to psychiatric examination and study (Geiser; 1979,

50). Lustig, et al. (1966) found no cases in which the father was considered anti-social, Gebhard, et al. (1965) suggested that less than ten percent of their sample might be considered psychopathic or "amoral delinquents", and Meiselman's (1978; 96-97) study suggested to her that perhaps only two of the thirty-eight fathers warranted the "psychopath label".

The number of psychotic incestuous fathers is also minimal. Although most studies have found no psychosis (Weiner; 1962: Cavallin; 1962: Lustig, et al.; 1966: Lukianowicz; 1972), other studies report a few isolated incidents (Kubo; 1959: Merland, et al.; 1962: Gebhard, et al.; 1965: Medlicott; 1967: Meselman; 1978).

Overall, the proportion of psychotic incestuous fathers, in the aggregate, is minimal. Most often, it would appear, psychosis develops after the disclosure of the incestuous relationship. Weinberg (1955) and Cavallin (1962), for example, suggest that most of those fathers considered psychotic gained the label after being incarcerated in prison for the offence. Weiner (1962) reports similar findings for incestuous fathers being treated in out-patient departments, suggesting that the disclosure of the affair and the subsequent exposure to treatment staff and other family members initiates a state of psychosis or provides an opportunity to impose such a label.

Paranoid thinking patterns have also alledgedly been observed by Weinberg (1955). Three other studies using psychological testing lend support to this notion (Weiner; 1962:

Cavallin; 1962: Meiselman; 1978), but again, only a few fathers of this type were observed in the aggregate.

Hypersexual Activity

Although it is difficult to determine precisely what is meant when an author uses the term 'hypersexual activity', it is interesting to note that whereas some authors suggest the incestuous father is generally pre-occupied in some way with sex (Weiner; 1962: Lukianowicz; 1972: Shelton; 1975), other authors dispute the notion (Maisch; 1972), and still others suggest the incestuous father, indeed most sex offenders, are not much different than other non-sex criminals (Gebhard, et al.; 1965). Weinberg's (1955) comment in this regard is to simply suggest that the incestuous father has 'loose' sexual morals. Little can be said, it would seem, about the incestuous father being 'over-sexed' until such time as a definition for such a term can be agreed upon.

Pedophilia Tendancies

Although Marcuse (1923) mentioned the possibility of the incestuous father being a pedophile, independent of the incestuous behavior, he offered no empirical evidence to support the comment. Weinberg (1955) also suggested that some of his

incestuous father sample were pedophiles but, again, did not cite either the number of fathers or evidence to support the comment. Also, Gebhard, et al. (1965) recognized a pedophile variety of incest offender, but did not suggest that the incestuous father is indeed a pedophile.

Perhaps the only clinical studies to date that have attempted to determine whether or not the incestuous father is a clinical pedophile are those reported by Quinsey, et al. (1979) and Quinsey (1977). Herein, the suggestion is that incestuous fathers and pedophiles are two distinctly different types of sexual offenders.

Typical Characteristics of the Father

Considering the amount of information that has been collected on the incestuous father, in the aggregate only a few salient characteristics emerge. Summit's (1979) Typical Characteristics of Father-Daughter Incest, once again, covers most of these points, and a brief summation of his comments are worthy of note.

1. Denial:

The man accused of incestuous activity rarely admits any fault or wrongdoing. Upon disclosure of the activity, he will often call the daughter a liar. He often convinces himself that "nothing really happened", he "had a right to initiate his daughter into sex", and he was "protecting her

from outsiders". The ultimate denial is amnesia. Often, the father is very convincing in his protest of innocence. Only occasionally does the father accept the accusation without contest (Summit; 1979, 15).

2. Marital Dissatisfaction:

Although the parents may be very dependent on one another, they are not rewarding of each other. Each tends to feel trapped, each tends to blame the other for the growing indifferences of their sexual relationship (Summit; 1979, 16).

3. Crises of Power:

The man most often seeks contact with a child when he is frustrated in his usual adult gratifications. He may be out of work, disabled, passed over for promotion, or rejected in an attempted affair. He may be feeling "over the hill", "insignificant", or "underappreciated". For some men there is no immediate crisis of power, but rather a lifelong need to exploit others, especially women, for power (Summit; 1979, 16-17).

4. Clean Record:

Most incest offenders have no other criminal record and no prior indication either of sexual abnormality or mental illness.

5. Traditional Values:

The most typical incest offender is seen by his children as rigid, stuffy and old-fashioned. He is likely to place a

high value on the obedience of children and the subordination of women. He may be sexually inhibited, rigidly define 'right' and 'wrong', may consider extramarital sex so forbidden he feels forced to develop alternatives within his family, and may often be unable to acknowledge and communicate sexual needs within a mature relationship. The incestuous father may have a high regard for the value of physical punishment and an unquestioning respect for authority (Summit; 1979, 18-20).

6. Problems with Tenderness, Trust, and Communication of Feelings:

The incestuous father tends to be distant, reserved, demanding, and unaffectionate. He devotes more energy to maintaining roles than in building relationships. He feels unmanly in open, sharing intimate contacts, unless they are polarized with sexual tension (Summit; 1979, 20).

7. Social Class:

All classes, educational levels, occupations, cultures and races are represented among incest offenders. Although a majority of convicted offenders are socially disadvantaged, in Santa Clara County, the families in treatment are almost exactly representative of the population at large (Summit; 1979, 20-21).

8. Sexually Victimized as a Child:

Some men admit to being sexually abused as a child. Others recall being severely punished when caught by their

parents in adolescent sexual experimentation (Summit; 1979, 21).

9. Abused as a Child:

Many incestuous fathers report that they grew up in very punishing, rejecting homes, with distant, disapproving fathers. These men share with other formerly abused children the tendency towards low self-esteem, poor impulse control, inadequate, uncertain parenting and a high respect for control and discipline (Summit; 1979, 21-22).

Although other behavioral characteristics relating to the incestuous father are mentioned in various parts of the literature, only the few aforementioned points, it is argued, appear to be relatively consistent throughout both the empirical and treatment oriented incest literature. The same comment appears to be the case for those characteristics relating to the third major figure in the father-daughter incest dynamic; the mother. This figure, according to incest researchers and authors, also has, in the aggregate, some specific characteristics.

The Mother: A Silent Partner

Finkelhor (1979; 78) and Summit (1979; 22) suggest that a child not living with her natural mother is three times more vulnerable to sexual abuse than a child who is living with her natural mother. But some female children living with their

natural mother may still find themselves involved in a sexual relationship with their father in spite of their mother's presence.

The mother is regarded as the most enigmatic figure in the father-daughter incest dynamic, and, according to Forward (1978; 45) might be considered 'the silent partner'. Her participation, however, is, according to Forward (1978; 45), characterized more by what she does not do than by what she does do.

Although some authors report isolated cases of father-daughter incest where the mother "actively promoted" the relationship (Weiner; 1962: Gebhard, et al.; 1965: Lustig, et al.; 1966: Maisch; 1972: Forward; 1978), most authors appear to agree with Gebhard, et al. (1965) that these cases probably represent less than six percent of all daughters' mothers.

Eighty to ninety percent of the mothers in the father-daughter dynamic, however, are perceived by incest researchers and authors as being the family member who "sets up" the father and daughter for the incest relationship. Meiselman (1978; 112) suggests that the mother usually does this by "withdrawing from her sexual role in the marriage and ignoring the special relationship that may then develop between husband and daughter". Although researchers contend that the mother's involvement in the relationship is 'silent', in that she is not knowingly aware of the relationship per se, nevertheless, it is an involvement, if only by default and not by intention.

Forward (1978; 45) suggests this type of mother is best understood by dividing her involvement into two categories; her activity leading up to the incest and her activity in response to its disclosure. Prior to the first contact, Forward (1978; 46) states, the mother is most frequently seen as a person who "discards her emotional duties", is often "disappointed and bored with her husband", sees her marriage as "a habit", is often "depressed at the realization she is no longer young and attractive", and often seeks "volunteer work, school, a job, or other social commitments as a means of escape". At the same time, the mother is very often both emotionally and financially dependent on the husband. Although, as Forward (1978; 47) admits, many of these comments describe a large percentage of the population, she suggests that what separates "the silent partner" from other mothers sharing similar problems is that she tends to pass many of the problems onto the daughter by abdicating her maternal role in a gradual transfer of duties. These duties, Forward (1978; 46) suggests, may include everything from housekeeping to sex. Although this gradual role transfer is not consciously intended to culminate in an actual sexual relationship between father and daughter, it is, according to Forward (1978; 46), "a logical extension of the activity". Within this context, the mother becomes a victim precipitator, and as such, a 'partner' in the incest dynamic.

The mother's response should she discover the father-daughter relationship, according to Forward (1978; 51),

is generally one of denial, this often in spite of the evidence. After denying to herself that the affair could possibly happen, often the mother will react toward the child with anger and hostility. Generally, the mother sides with the father, feels jealous of the daughter, and often blames the child for initiating the behavior.

Dependency and Passivity

Forward's (1978; 45-53) relatively brief description of the incestuous daughter's mother appears to have some support in the literature. Whereas the father is very often seen as a very controlling authoritarian individual, the mother is seen to be somewhat immature and passive, and is almost always seen to be both economically and emotionally dependent on the husband (Weinberg; 1955: Cormier, et al.; 1962: Luckianowicz; 1972: Rosenfeld; 1977: Meiselman; 1978: Forward; 1978: Finkelhor; 1979: Summit; 1979: Ministry of Human Resources, B.C.; 1979: Fox; 1980).

Passivity and dependency are, however, described in a variety of ways. For example, the mother of the incestuous daughter has been described as a masochist (Weinberg; 1955), very needy of emotional strength (Kaufman, et al.; 1954), passive and submissive (Cormier, et al.; 1962), and a much suffering woman who is either masochistic or psychopathic (Lukianowicz; 1972). In addition, some authors suggest these

mothers allow themselves to be belittled and even beaten by the husband (Rosenfeld; 1977: Finkelhor; 1979). Overall, the mother appears to be both subordinate to and dependent upon, the husband.

Sexual and Emotional Deprivation

The mother of an incestuous family, according to some authors, has not often experienced a normal family life as a child. Abnormality in this instance is characterized by parent desertion (Lustig, et al.; 1966: Maisch; 1972), rejection and hostility by the mother's parents (Kaufman, et al.; 1954), various forms of emotional deprivations (Lustig, et al.; 1965), and a childhood background that often included physical and/or sexual abuse (Summit and Kryso; 1978: Geiser; 1979).

Summit and Kryso (1978) report, for example, that one treatment center for child abuse has found consistently that more than eighty percent of the mothers in the program have had childhood backgrounds of sexual abuse. Further, many of these mothers can trace sexual abuse to their mothers and grandmothers (Summit and Kryso; 1979).

Illness or Absence

The question of whether or not a father-daughter incest relationship was the consequence of the mother being ill or absent from the home for a period of time, has also been addressed by some authors (Marcuse; 1923: Weinberg; 1955: Kubo; 1959: Cavallin; 1962: Gebhard, et al.; 1965: Gligor; 1966: Maisch; 1972). Although Summit (1979) and Finkelhor (1979) suggest that if a mother is frequently ill that the daughter may be in greater risk of sexual abuse, in the aggregate, it would appear, this is not necessarily the case.

Some researchers, however, do report correlations with a mother being ill and the onset of father-daughter incest. Maisch (1972), for example, reports that twenty percent of the mothers in his 78 cases were ill at the onset of the incest, and Cavallin (1962) found two mothers out of the twelve in his sample were absent; one deceased and one under psychiatric care. Kubo (1959) and Gligor (1966) also report that some of their mothers were ill or absent at the onset of the incest, but no figures are given.

The Promiscuous Mother

Is the daughter's mother promiscuous? Although, as noted by Meiselman (1978; 121), "researchers have seldom defined promiscuity", and that "its meaning is quite different in various times and places", and further, "that the qualifications for promiscuity are grossly unequal for males and females", it nevertheless has been one of the many questions directed towards the mother. Overall, however, this question appears to be unanswered. A review of those studies which address the question appears to suggest that some mothers are reported to be promiscuous (Kaufman, et al.; 1954: Weinberg; 1955: Szabo; 1962: Gligor; 1966: Maisch; 1972: Lukianowicz; 1972: Meiselman; 1978). The definitions of promiscuousness are so varied, however, it becomes difficult to determine, in the aggregate, just what is being observed. Suffice it to say, promiscuity does not appear to be a significant characteristic of the mother in the father-daughter incest affair.

The Frigid Mother

Although many authors suggest that the mother may have been sexually depriving the husband, what this means, exactly, is difficult to determine. Once again, a term is used by incest

researchers which lacks a clear definition - frigidity; although some authors use this term to describe the wife's behavior with respect to her sexual involvement with the father.⁵ Some researchers, however, attempt to be a little more explicit. Riemer (1940; 571) found the greatest portion of his incestuous father group being barred from sexual intercourse with his wife prior to him initiating sexual interaction with his daughter. Gebhard, et al. (1965) suggest that many fathers in their sample were denied sexual access to their wives. Lustig, et al. (1966) suggest that most of the mothers in their sample rejected the husband sexually. Meiselman (1978; 125) also suggests that a small number of the mothers in her incest daughter sample may have rejected the father sexually. Mothers are also perceived by some authors as being very prudish in matters of sex and discussions about sex are often forbidden and siblings who do discuss sex are often scolded (Rosenfeld; 1977; Finkelhor; 1979; Summit; 1979).

Again, although there appears to be indications that some mothers may have been denying sexual access to the fathers, it does not appear to be so consistent as to be considered a 'mother specific' characteristic. Therefore, it must remain as another question requiring further empirical investigation.

⁵ Maisch (1972), however, does suggest a partial definition for the term when he suggests that 26 percent of his 78 incestuous father sample were having sexual relations with their wives on only rare occasions; and this by the mother's choice.

The Mother Role

Without doubt, one of the most consistent suggestions in the literature related to father-daughter incest, is that the daughter very often takes on 'the mother role' or becomes the female authority in the household (Kaufman, et al.; 1954: Rhinehart; 1961: Magal and Winnick; 1968: Kennedy and Cormier; 1969: Summit and Kryso; 1978: Forward; 1978: Meiselman; 1978: Summit; 1979: Finkelhor; 1979: Geiser; 1979: Ministry of Human Resources, 1979).

Meiselman (1978; 27) suggests that this particular finding was first described by Kaufman, et al. (1954), and has been quoted throughout the literature as one of the most probable ways in which the father-daughter relationship is initiated.

Essentially, Kaufman, et al. (1954; 270) suggest that the mother 'selects' a daughter (generally the eldest) to share in her personal conflicts. The daughter is not only treated well in comparison to the other siblings, but also takes on an early adult role. This role quickly escalates to include taking care of the other siblings and doing the major portion of house work. Gradually, the mother relinquishes her responsibilities to the daughter, allowing her to take on the role of 'little mother'. In turn, according to the incest authors who emphasize this point, this creates a wife-like relationship with the father, which in many cases, initiates the father-daughter incestuous behavior.

Although this particular theoretical incest scenario is plausible, authors fail to explain how daughters as young as three or four years of age, for example, begin to take on this 'mother role'. Further, Meiselman (1978; 129) suggests, 'the role reversal of mother and daughter may be prevalent in many other kinds of disturbed families'. Indeed, this 'mother role' does not necessarily connote the beginning of an incestuous affair.⁶

Nevertheless, the 'mother role' finding appears to be, for most incest researchers, a major characteristic of the father-daughter incest relationship. Whether this role development can be directly attributed to the mother, or whether this role develops as an indirect 'reward' by the father, or, whether it is created by the daughter, or, all of the above, is difficult to say. Suffice it to say, the characteristic remains consistent throughout a number of father-daughter incest studies, but, the reason for it appears to be open to speculation.

⁶ Meiselman (1978; 129) uses the term 'role reversal' rather than 'mother role'. Other authors have also used this term (Summit; 1979). The term, however, leads the reader to infer that the daughter not only takes on the 'mother role', but that the mother takes on the 'daughter role'. This thesis will, however, refer to the term as meaning only that the daughter takes on many of the responsibilities generally assumed by the mother.

Unaware - Unbelieving - Denial

Second only, perhaps, to the 'mother role' suggestion, is the response of the mother once the father-daughter relationship is disclosed. Again, in the aggregate, the mother often states she had no knowledge of any sexual interaction between the father and the daughter, does not believe her husband could be involved in any sexual interaction with the daughter, and then, denies the whole suggestion, often, in light of solid evidence. In most cases, the mother, similar to the father, calls the daughter a liar or suggests she is 'making the whole thing up', with the former response being reserved for the 'older' daughter (9 to 10 years of age and older) and the latter response being reserved for the younger daughter (De Francis; 1969: Kennedy and Cormier; 1969: Summit and Kryso; 1978: Forward; 1978: Meiselman; 1978: Ministry of Human Resources, B.C.; 1979: Geiser; 1979: Finkelhor; 1979: Fox; 1980).

Certainly, it would appear, the mother also plays an integral role in the father-daughter incest dynamic. Although it is difficult to extract all the particular characteristics which may be suggested as being 'mother specific', some general descriptives do surface. Once again, Summit (1979) summarizes these particular descriptions, and his summations are certainly worthy of note.

Typical Characteristics of the Mother

1. Mother Absent:

Girls who live without their natural mother are three times more vulnerable to sexual abuse than girls who live with their natural mother. A mother who is emotionally distant, frequently ill, or unaffectionate, often results in the girl being in greater risk of sexual abuse (Summit; 1979, 22).

2. Punitive Reaction to Sex:

Mothers of children who become sexually abused, picture sexual matters as dangerous and forbidden. They tend to scold their daughters for asking questions about sex, for masturbation, or even dressing or acting in a sensuous style. These responses are believed to make them more vulnerable to another adult figure who appears to give them permission and opportunity to explore sex, albeit in the process of exploiting them (Summit; 1979, 22-23).

3. Unaware:

Mothers in incestuous families are often accused of setting up or endorsing the incest. These prejudicial views ignore two factors: implicit trust and careful deception. She cannot imagine that her husband could be capable of incest. She is carefully shielded from any clues. On the other hand, there is a substantial proportion of mothers who seem blind to the most blatant indications of sexual abuse.

The most striking finding is that women who were themselves sexually molested as children fail to see similar behavior patterns with respect to their children (Summit; 1979, 23).

4. Subordinate Role:

Although there are exceptions, by and large, mothers in the incestuous family believe their husbands are more capable and decisive than they are. They are likely to have less education than their husband, and little experience or confidence in surviving outside of his protection (Summit; 1979, 24).

5. Unbelieving:

Although some mothers accept the allegations and react decisively to protect the child from further abuse, by and large, mothers are unable to believe their daughters and can not imagine their husband involved in or initiating incest. They cannot imagine it could have gone on without their knowledge. Further, it is easier to believe their daughter is lying, or that she is confused. It is easier to accommodate to losing a troublesome daughter to an alternative home setting than losing a breadwinner to jail (Summt; 1979, 24).

6. History of Sexual Abuse:

A remarkable proportion of the mothers of abused children are themselves survivors of sexual abuse (Summit; 1979, 25).

Discussion

It would appear that some authors and researchers of incest have attributed particular descriptives to the major participants involved in the father-daughter incest family, and, that when taken in the aggregate, these descriptive characteristics appear to separate them from their non-incestuous counterparts. Once again, however, without comparison groups, sampled from the non-incestuous population, many, if not all of these purportedly universal characteristics, must be regarded as questionable and subject to a more rigorous methodological investigation.

At best, characteristics derived from descriptive or exploratory studies of the type reviewed must be regarded as tenuous. Although they may offer the researcher or treatment oriented staff member a heuristic, or more pointedly, a general notion of what characteristics they might expect when confronted with a population of those who are or have been involved in father-daughter incest relationships, they cannot be regarded as 'scientific facts'. Before these characteristics can be regarded as 'scientific facts', several methodological problems must be solved satisfactorily. The purpose of the next chapter will be to examine some of these issues.

V. Incest Research: Present Problems

"In chemistry or in physics there is often no problem of finding (the pure case). When the chemist wants to establish a proposition about sulphur he can use any lump of chemically pure sulphur (provided its crystalline form is irrelevant to the experiment) and treat it as a true and pure representative of sulphur. If a social scientist wants to study the Norwegian voter, it would simplify research enormously if he could find the pure voter, the one person who would be representative of all Norwegian voters, so that all that was necessary would be to ask him or watch his behavior. At present, the belief in the possibility of finding (the pure case), on the individual or collective level of analysis, seems to have disappeared completely from social research" (Galtung; 1967).¹

What is believed to be known about the family and participants in the father-daughter incest dynamic is, for the most part, based on purportedly quantitative research findings. As noted earlier, however, these findings may vary depending on the definitions selected, the data sources examined, the methods used to gather the data, and the perspectives taken by both the primary and secondary data collectors.² How these variations alter incest research findings and, specifically, father-daughter research findings, is the subject of this

¹ From Galtung, John. Theory and Methods of Social Research. New York: Columbia University Press, 1967, 16.

² 'Primary' data collectors, in this context, refers to those who accumulate the initial findings (i.e.) the file information recorded by a psychologist, or the file information recorded by a child abuse counsellor. This, as opposed to 'secondary' data collectors (i.e.) incest researchers who examine and extract from those files the findings they believe to be relevant to the study of incest.

section.

Reliability and Validity

Labovitz and Hagedorn (1976; 1) argue that before an item of information can be considered a 'scientific fact', it must be a reliable and valid piece of information.

"The major goal of scientific research is to establish causal laws that enable us to predict and explain specific phenomena. At a minimum, to establish these laws a science must have reliable and valid information or facts" (Labovitz and Hagedorn; 1976, 1).

Variation in research findings are most often directly related to these two critical standards of scientific inquiry. As Gertz and Talarico (1980; 168) note, "reliability and validity represent the key criteria of precision and authenticity in social science research".

Reliability, Gertz and Talarico (1980; 168) suggest, "refers to dependability in measurement, and can be inferred if a measurement is repeated and gives the same result - again and again". Validity, they suggest, "consists of the authenticity of the operational definition of the variables; specifically, whether one is measuring the concept in question" (Gertz and Talarico; 1980, 168). Certainly, considerable attention has been directed to these two criteria, especially as to their importance in social science research (Hirschi and Selvin; 1973, 201; Kerlinger; 1973, 442-456; Labovitz and Hagedorn; 1976, 1-2; Gertz and Talarico; 1977, 217; Nettler; 1978, 54-117; Babbie;

1979, 129-133; Kidder; 1981, 121-142).

These comments receive support from Hirschi and Selvin (1973; 201), who argue that "reliability ... connotes accuracy, similarity, and stability". Therefore, they suggest, "unreliability is thus a synonym for error, difference, and instability" (1967; 201). Further, Hirschi and Selvin (1973; 201) suggest that there are four particular sources for reliability error:

1. two or more observers, each looking at the same phenomenon, will see it differently;
2. two or more samples of the same population will give different results;
3. two or more sets of items from the same pool of items will produce different measures, and;
4. the results of two or more studies of the same sample by the same investigator using the same items will be different at two or more points in time.

Their first consideration, 'variation of findings over observers', however, must be considered as the most critical. More pointedly, if observers have different conceptions of the behavior under observation (1973; 207-208), and if they are guided by different definitions of terms central to the behavioral concept, then, differing observations and subsequent results can be expected.

When several observers are required for a study, researchers often attempt to reduce this particular type of

reliability error by introducing precise definitions for those terms which are central to the investigation. Also, attempts may be made to improve inter-observer consensus. These concerns are most often reflected in such terms as inter-judge consensus and inter-rater reliability (Hirschi and Selvin; 1973, 202).

However, primary data collectors, for example psychologists, police officers, court administrators, prison officials, and child abuse agency counsellors, are not necessarily guided by these concerns. As a result, information that is gathered often differs between sources. A secondary data collector, (i.e.) a researcher attempting to gain information relating to a behavioral phenomenon by extracting that information from a particular source, may recognize that the findings differ dramatically from those findings obtained by other secondary data collectors who have gained their information from other primary or initial data collecting sources. Inferences drawn from any one of these data sources, therefore, become subject to reliability questions.

Further to these particular problems is an additional and often overlooked reliability problem source; the various ways in which relevant information is processed and transmitted throughout the data reporting system. As Gertz and Talarico (1980; 169) note; "when many sources are involved ... the transmission of the data throughout the system enhances the likelihood of error".

Father-daughter incest research is also subject to several reliability and validity problems. The validity of father-daughter incest research findings is suspect, due in part at least, to the various definitions and operationalizations awarded key terms central to the behavioral phenomenon. Differing data sources, research methodologies, and data collector perspectives raise additional questions with respect to the reliability of the findings.

In an effort to determine the extent to which the assertions, posited by authors and researchers reviewed thus far, meet these two critical scientific standards - reliability and validity - a close examination of each of these aforementioned reliability and validity problem sources is warranted. This examination begins with the search for relevant empirical literature.

The Search for Father-Daughter Incest Research

At the turn of the century the incidences of incest were estimated to be no more than one or two cases per million population (Weinberg; 1955). But perhaps because incest was so tightly cloaked within the family, it was less likely to be reported to police or social agencies and many authors argued that for every reported case of incest, at least twenty-five went unreported (Geiser; 1979, 45).

Today, Henry Giarretto (1976; 4), director of the Child Sexual Abuse Treatment Program in Santa Clara County, California, estimates the one-in-a-million figure at least 200 times too small; his conservative estimate is a minimum of 40,000 cases per year. But even this figure is regarded by many as an underestimate (Forward; 1978, 3: Geiser; 1979, 45: Rush; 1980, 2). For many authors and researchers of incest, the 'incidence of incest figure' is believed to be as high as a quarter of a million cases per year in the U.S., with as many as one in every ten people in the country having been involved in an incestuous experience at some time in their life (Forward; 1978, 3: Geiser; 1979, 46).

In addition, according to those authors reviewing the area, all incest researchers would agree that the most common incest offender is male and that the most common incest victim is female (De Francis; 1969: Summit; 1979: Meiselman; 1978: Geiser; 1979: Ministry of Human Resources; 1979). Further, they argue, that the most commonly reported incest is father-daughter incest (Weinberg; 1955: De Francis; 1969: Forward; 1978: Finkelhor; 1979: Summit; 1979: Rush; 1980).

Given the magnitude of the estimates and given that most of the reported incest is father-daughter incest, one might logically infer that there would be little difficulty in obtaining a number of quantitative empirical studies which deal exclusively with natural fathers who have had sexual intercourse with their natural daughters. But nothing, it seems, could be

more difficult; quantitative studies of this variety are rare.

Prior to the 1930's, there were very few empirical attempts at studying incest, in the general sense of the term, let alone father-daughter incest specifically. Meiselman (1978; 27) notes, however, that " ... the first scientifically oriented attempts to study cases of incest were made in the late nineteenth century; case histories were published in Latin by Richard von Krafft-Ebing [(1886) 1965]". Although some research continued to appear in German journals in the early 1900's (Rohleder; 1917; Marcuse; 1923) only one study of any significance appeared in the American journals prior to 1930 (Bender and Blau; 1937).

A search through the more recent journals leads to another conclusion. If the acceptance or rejection of an empirical piece of father-daughter incest research depended on whether or not that study reported findings based on an aggregate of twenty or more cases of all types of 'fathers' (utilizing the 'social agency definition' for 'father' and 'incest behavior'), one would be hard pressed to find more than fourteen such studies reported in the professional journals between 1930 and 1981. This would also include reports from countries other than the United States and Canada (Riemer; 1940; Weinberg; 1955; Weiss, et al.; 1955; Martin; 1958; Kubo; 1959; Merland, et al.; 1962; Szabo; 1962; Gephard, et al.; 1965; Gligor; 1966; Medlicott; 1967; Lukianowicz; 1972; Maisch; 1972; Peters; 1976; Meiselman; 1978). In fact, Canada reports not one such study of this size.

Further, if the acceptance or rejection of an empirical piece of research depended on whether or not that study reported findings based on an aggregate of twenty or more cases of only natural fathers who had sexual intercourse with their natural daughters, fewer than ten such studies would be found, and most of these would have to be extracted from larger more general studies of incest and sexual abuse (Riemer; 1940: Weinberg; 1955: Martin; 1958: Szabo; 1962: Gebhard, et al.; 1965: Gligor; 1966: Luckianowicz; 1972: Maisch; 1972: Meiselman; 1978).³

The search for empirical research is limited even further if one wishes to obtain a profile of natural fathers who have had sexual intercourse with their natural daughters as compared with natural fathers who have not had sexual intercourse with their natural daughters (Martin; 1958: Gebhard, et al.; 1965: Gligor; 1966: Meiselman; 1978). In other words, no matter how accurate the description of the incest category may be, without an acceptable comparison group, it is impossible to state that the characteristics observed are specific to this particular group of incestuous fathers.⁴

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Initially, for this section of the thesis, the parameters drawn for a 'reasonable' piece of empirical research was 'any study done in Canada or the United States which reported findings based on an aggregate of 50 or more cases of natural-fathers having sexual intercourse with their natural-daughters'. Only one study (Weinberg; 1955) met these criteria, with one additional study (Gebhard, et al.; 1965) appearing to meet these criteria, notwithstanding a questionable definition for 'incest behavior'.

⁴ The search for relevant empirical literature in this regard was greatly aided by Meiselman's Incest. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1978, (chapters 2-3): Geiser, R.L. Hidden Victims. Boston: Beacon Press, 1979, (chapter 5): Helfer,

The state of the research in this respect is commented on by Meiselman (1978) who claims;

"However obvious this research design may seem to the reader, only Martin (1958), Gebhard, et al. (1965), and Gligor (1966) have employed it. In the entire history of incest research, I have been unable to find another instance of the use of an appropriate control group" (Meiselman; 1978, 50).

Certainly, these researchers must be given credit for their efforts, but, a reanalysis of the studies, as reported by Meiselman (1978; 44-50), shows only Gebhard, et al. (1965) and Gligor (1966) with twenty or more cases of natural fathers and natural daughters, and in both studies it is questionable whether or not actual intercourse was involved. Meiselman's (1978) research, although in excess of twenty cases of natural fathers and natural daughters, also has questionable incest behavior criterion. Similar to other incest researchers (Table 2: Table 3), Meiselman (1978) utilizes 'sexual contact' as her incest behavior criteria rather than 'sexual intercourse'.

4 (cont'd) K.E. and Kempe, H.E. Child Abuse and Neglect. Cambridge, Mass.: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1976, (chapters 7-8): Summit, R. and Kryso, J. "Sexual abuse of children: A clinical spectrum." American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 48 (1978), 237-251; Weinberg, S.K. Incest Behavior. New York: Citadel, 1975. In addition, summations of literature reviews and findings from crisis centers and private practices lead to additional materials; see, Summit, R. Typical Characteristics of Father-Daughter Incest. Torrance, Ca: Harbor - U.C.L.A. Medical Center, 1979; Ministry of Human Resources (B.C.) Sexual Abuse: A Complex Family Problem. Province of British Columbia, 1979. Also, a computer search for all psychological and sociological articles relevant to this section offered additional materials, as did Lawton-Speert and Wachtel A. Child Sexual Abuse and Incest. Child Sexual Abuse Project Working Paper One; Social Planning and Research, United Way of Lower Mainland, Vancouver, 1981.

Further, the comparison groups are problematic. Gebhard, et al. (1965) utilize a group of imprisoned sex offenders all of whom were convicted of sex offences other than incest who, if only because of their particular sexual preference, may not be considered comparable to the 'normal' population of adult males. This may limit, one could argue, generalizations to the 'normal' society.

Gligor (1966) also attempts to create a comparison group from the court records he is analyzing. Again, however, it might be argued that a non-incestuous comparison group taken from court files still may not compare favourably with a non-convicted group in the larger society.

Meiselman (1978), whose study focuses primarily on the daughters involved in father-daughter incest, selects a random sample of non-incest daughters from the treatment files she examined to form a comparison group. Although, it might be argued, that Meiselman's (1978) study may represent the larger population more favourably than do the comparison groups of Gebhard, et al. (1965) or Gligor (1966), the reader is still led to question whether or not a non-incestuous comparison group, drawn from treatment files, is the best comparison group available. Individuals receiving psychological assistance may, because of their psychological problems, represent a deviant group with characteristics quite different than a group randomly sampled from the larger society.

In essence, all three authors have utilized one deviant group as a comparison group for another deviant group. If a generalization to the larger society is the desired end result, or simply a comparison to a non-criminally convicted population or a non-psychologically disturbed population, all of these comparison groups would be considered suspect.

Suffice it to say, a search of the literature reveals very few quantitative studies analyzing or describing twenty or more cases which relate to natural fathers, natural daughters, and sexual intercourse. By broadening the definition for 'father' and by broadening the definition for the behavior which constitutes 'incest', (i.e) a heavier leaning toward 'the social agency definition' as presented in chapter one, only a few additional quantitative studies are realized.

Meiselman's (1978) review of the literature related to incest supports these assertions. Table 2 briefly summarizes Meiselman's (1978; 44-50) review of those studies which contain twenty or more of 'all types' of father-daughter incest cases. Included is an additional column which reflects those studies which have indicated a natural father-natural daughter breakdown with a total in excess of twenty cases. Also included, is Meiselman's (1978) research study. In addition, Table 3 indicates the data sources and methodology used by the various incest researchers.

Table 2

Incest Research Exceeding 20 Cases Per Study

Author	Country	Incest Research N	Natural Father Cases n	Incest Criteria
Riemer (1940)	Sweden	58	58	sexual contact
Weinberg (1955)	United States	203	159	intercourse
Weiss, et al (1955)	United States	26	-	sexual contact
Martin (1958)	United States	30	30	intercourse
Kubo (1959)	Japan	36	31	sexual contact
Merland, et al (1962)	France	34	-	sexual contact
Szabo (1962)	France	96	-	intercourse (implied)
Gebhard, et al (1965)	United States	165	-	sexual contact
Gligor (1966)	United States	57	-	intercourse (implied)
Medlicott (1967)	New Zealand	35	-	sexual contact
Luckianowicz (1972)	Northern Ireland	55	26	intercourse (implied)
Maisch (1972)	West Germany	78	34	sexual contact
Peters (1976)	United States	100	-	sexual contact
Meiselman (1978)	United States	58	25	sexual contact

Table 3

Incest Research: Source and Method

Author	Data Source	Methodology	Comparison Groups
Riemer (1940)	Psychiatrist Evaluations	Interviews	No
Weinberg (1955)	Authority Reports	Structured Interviews	No
Weiss, et al (1955)	Psychiatrist Evaluations	Interviews Rorschach, TAT	No
Martin (1958)	Prison Records	Blacky Test, TAT, Mich. Pict.	20 pris.
Kubo (1959)	Various Institutions	Interviews	No
Merland, et al (1962)	Psychiatrist Evaluations	Interviews	No
Szabo (1962)	Court Records	Court Record Study	No
Gebhard, et al (1965)	Prison Records	Structured Interviews	2 Control Groups
Gligor (1966)	Court Records	Court Record, IQ Tests	Crt. Rec. Cnt. Grp.
Medlicott (1967)	Psychiatrist Records	Interviews	No
Luckianowicz (1972)	Psyc. Hosp. Out Patients	Interviews	No
Maisch (1972)	Court Records	Questionnaire Interviews	No
Peters (1976)	Rape Crisis Center	Interviews	No
Meiselman (1978)	Psychology Files	Struct. Inter. Questionnaires	Non-Incest Patients

Overall, based on the review of incest literature in general, it would appear that the best 'the empirical literature' can offer the researcher interested in incest, are findings based on many small qualitative studies, and/or, simple descriptive studies, plus, the suggestions reported in child abuse and treatment agencies' files noted by counsellors who occasionally encounter cases of father-daughter incest (De Francis; 1969: Giarretto; 1978: Finkelhor; 1979: Summit; 1979: Ministry of Human Resources, B.C.; 1979). The accumulation of these, plus the more specific aforementioned studies, may give the father-daughter incest researcher a more intuitive understanding of what is believed to be known about the behavior and the participants involved. Although this would seem to be poor consolation for the researcher seeking to find father-daughter incest profiles, it would appear, despite the believed magnitude of the behavior, that this is precisely the present 'state of the art'.

The Definition Problem

As argued earlier in the introductory section of this thesis, the relatively large disparities between the various 'incidence of incest estimates' might well be attributed to the definition an author selects, with 'the social agency definition' and 'the legalistic definition' being viewed as extreme ends of an 'incest continuum'. Similar definitional

concerns become apparent when attempting to discern from the relevant incest literature the particular characteristics which might be specific to father-daughter incest behavior and the social dynamics surrounding that behavior. Incest authors and researchers simply do not adhere to specific definitions, with definitions often varying between each piece of research. In light of this suggestion, an additional caution is worthy of note.

Often, the concepts central to father-daughter incest are not clearly defined. For example, 'family' may or may not be defined in the same way the general public understands the term. 'Family' to some incest authors and researchers may consist of a married couple with their natural children (and the occasional extended family member) (Murdock; 1949, 1-4; Weinberg; 1955) or, it may consist of a divorced woman, a live-in boyfriend, an adopted child, and a step-father on the boy friend's side of the family (Geiser; 1979, 44: Forward; 1978, 3-4). For many social agencies and incest researchers both examples are considered equally as a valid 'family' (Ministry of Human Resources; 1979: Geiser; 1979, 44: Meiselman; 1978, 42-44).

Other concepts central to the father-daughter incest dynamic that are seldom clearly defined are; 'father', 'mother', 'daughter', 'other siblings', and, of course, 'incestuous behavior' or simply 'incest'. Again, 'father' may be the natural father of the children in the family or he may be a step-father, foster-father, live-in-boyfriend or surrogate father. Similarly,

the mother may be the natural mother of the children in the family or she may be a step-mother, foster-mother, live-in-girlfriend or surrogate mother. The same is true also of the 'daughter'. She may be the natural daughter of the father in the incest dynamic or she may also be a step-daughter, foster-daughter, or simply the child of the woman who the man is presently living with; for many incest and child sexual abuse researchers she is still considered a 'daughter' regardless of the legal status. The same appears to be the case with respect to the term 'other siblings'.

The terms 'incest' and 'incestuous behavior', although discussed in some depth in the opening chapter of this dissertation, deserve one additional comment. Although the most strict criterion for incest is genital intercourse, and some studies have adhered to this definition (Weinberg; 1955), unless otherwise stated in the particular article or book being reviewed, one would be wisely cautioned not to interpret the term as necessarily denoting sexual intercourse. For most incest and child abuse researchers, this term describes virtually any number of types of sexual contacts.

The magnitude of these central conceptual and definitional problems are clearly realized when Geiser (1979) suggests that;

" ... beyond the legal definition of incest there are three particular categories of sexual misuse (sic) of children within the family which, although not legally defined as incest are often regarded as incest by many social agencies and incest researchers" (Geiser; 1979, 44).

These categories are explained by Geiser (1979, 44-45) in the

following manner:

1. psychological incest; the violation of a psychological or emotional bond that exists between people who call themselves a family. The family may contain children who are neither blood relatives to each other nor blood relatives to one parent. For example, a father may have sexual relations with his stepdaughter, a foster-father with his foster daughter, or the boy friend of a divorced mother may have sexual relations with her daughter. Any adult who fills the social role of parent and who has sex with a child in the 'family' commits psychological incest (Geiser; 1979, 44);
2. sexual contact; any sexual behavior between family members, other than the sexual behavior between the husband and wife, which includes exhibitionism, masturbation, mutual masturbation, oral, anal, digital insertion, petting and touching of sexual organs, and other fondling of a sexual nature, is considered incestuous (Geiser; 1979, 44), and;
3. same sex contact; consists of any contact or variety of contacts mentioned in points one and two, but between the same sex. For example, father-son, mother-daughter, foster-father and foster-son, foster-mother and foster-daughter, etc. or like-sex siblings; all are considered incestuous (Geiser; 1979, 44-45).

Geiser's (1979) view is, indeed, the view held by many incest researchers, or it must be, for seldom it seems do incest researchers feel it necessary to define these critical terms in

their presentations.

A simple comparison of Geiser's (1979; 44-45) three categories to the legal definitions of the same central terms, show that two distinctly different phenomena are, by definition, being observed. Without clearly stating these distinctions before a piece of empirical literature is generated, the reader - who may perceive these central terms as being more in favour of the legalistic definitions - will unquestionably be misled.

The purpose of this brief recapitulation, then, is not to reiterate an argument already stated in a previous section, but rather to act as an aid; a 'reader caution'. Hereinafter, whether in this particular monograph or in any other material relating to incest or its surrounding dynamics, the reader would be wise indeed to 'assume' that all terms central to the piece of literature being reviewed are more in line with 'the social agency definition' than 'the legalistic definition'; unless, of course, otherwise stated.

Data Collection Methodology

One of the most serious problems facing incest researchers seeking an accurate father-daughter incest profile is that of formulating an adequate research design. The legal sanctions against incestuous behavior, the very real emotional intensity surrounding incest, and the social and familial condemnations associated with the behavior, not to mention the belief held by

many in contemporary society that the incestuous father must be 'sick', creates a barrier that makes the 'ideal study' impossible.

The 'ideal study', one could argue, would consist of the examination of subjects in two randomly selected groups:

1. Group 1;

a large random sample of natural fathers from an incestuous father-daughter population who have admitted to having sexual intercourse with their natural daughters, preferably several incidences of sexual intercourse over some period of time, and who are representative of incestuous fathers. The same should be the case for the daughters involved with the incestuous fathers.

2. Group 2;

an equally large random sample of natural fathers from the larger population who have not had sexual intercourse (or, for that matter, any other overt sexual interaction) with their daughters. Again, the same should be the case for the daughters involved with this non-incestuous father group.

Although this 'ideal study' may also have some research design flaws, it would be superior to any research design reviewed in the incest research literature thus far.

Two questions, however, lend suspicion to even this 'ideal study'. How do we truly know that the groups are representative of the population of incest participants or representative of

the non-incest participants? Selecting both of these groups presupposes that each group member will be telling the truth. Especially, how is one to determine that the non-incestuous father-daughter group members are, indeed, not involved in an incestuous relationship that simply has not been detected? Considering the aforementioned prohibitions relating to the behavior, undetected incestuous fathers can be expected to lie, and their daughters (if only by their father's intimidation) can be expected to support the lie. Suffice it to say, the study of father-daughter incest, reluctantly perhaps but nevertheless, necessarily involves far simpler and less sophisticated research designs and research methodologies. Meiselman (1978) comments in this regard:

"The serious study of incest behavior necessarily involves the use of skewed, nonrepresentative samples, since the most feasible approach to obtaining a sample is to work under the auspices of legal, social, or clinical agencies that frequently encounter cases of incest in the population it serves. After incest cases are studied in a variety of settings, it is hoped that a composite picture of the 'true' nature and scope of incest in our society will eventually emerge. In the meantime, individual researchers need to be very conscious of their own sample's skew - that is, the manner in which their particular research setting influences their findings about incest" (Meiselman; 1978, 32) [emphasis added].

Although, according to Meiselman (1978), this appears to be 'the state of the art' in incest research methodology, some comments relating to these data sources and obvious 'skews' are important to note.

A Note on Skewness

Most father-daughter incest studies are, for the most part, extracted from larger more general incest or child abuse studies. It is, therefore, only understandable that many father-daughter incest researchers move toward those settings in which the larger studies are conducted. Each of these data sources are, according to Meiselman (1978; 32), subject to 'skew problems'. To some statisticians, however, Meiselman's (1978; 32) comment relating to 'skewed, nonrepresentative samples' and 'sample skew', may be misleading.

To the statistician, suggesting that a sample is 'skewed' implies a comparison to either a given baseline (or mean) or, at the very least, a comparison to another representative group of a larger population. In effect, this might be stated as, skewed from what, or in comparison to what?

Meiselman's (1978) notion and use of 'skew', however, is not to be taken as a statistical referent, rather, only as a synonym for 'leaning towards'. For example, Meiselman (1978; 33) suggests that 'a court or prison sample tends to be skewed toward a lower socioeconomic level'. Also, Meiselman (1978; 33) suggests that 'many imprisoned incest offenders are more criminally inclined' and 'the incest offender skew may favour the individual with a background of criminal activity'. Regarding these comments, the reader should only infer that Meiselman (1978; 32-33) is offering a caution; more accurately,

that each particular father-daughter data source often carries with it a 'built-in' prejudice. More pointedly, prisons tend to incarcerate more fathers with backgrounds in crime, and court samples of incestuous fathers tend to reflect an overrepresentation of lower socioeconomic groups; and these comments are based, perhaps, more on what some may regard as 'self evident' notions than on empirical facts.

For example, an incestuous father with little or no visible means of economic support may lack the necessary legal fees, and thus the necessary legal sophistication and support, to argue against an indictment before going to court. Also, the incestuous father with a background of criminal charges may have a higher probability of being incarcerated than one without a history of criminal charges. Although both these notions may appear to be self evident, until they have empirical verifiability they must still be regarded as being only probable contentions.

Meiselman's (1978; 32) comments regarding what she refers to as 'skew problems', does have some merit if they are taken only as a simple caveat. Most importantly, it cautions the father-daughter incest researcher and the reader of father-daughter incest research studies, not to make unsubstantiated causal statements based on the findings derived from the descriptions of a single data source. Examining some of the more common father-daughter incest data sources aids in exemplifying these comments.

Data Sources

Meiselman (1978; 32-36) suggests that there are at least six major data sources from which incest researchers have drawn data and inferred conclusions.

1. courts and prisons;
2. juvenile detention homes, homes for unwed mothers, family service agencies, etc.;
3. psychiatric hospitals, child guidance clinics, out patient departments, child abuse treatment centers, etc.;
4. psychotherapeutic files, psychiatrists' files, psychologists' files, etc.;
5. letters submitted by request through magazine advice columns, and;
6. anonymous questionnaires presented to student populations.

Courts and prisons have been a popular data source for incest researchers (Rasmussen; 1934: Riemer; 1940: Martin; 1940: Cormier, et al.; 1962: Merland, et al.; 1962: Szabo; 1962: Gebhard, et al.; 1965: Cavallin; 1966: Gligor; 1966: Maisch; 1972: Shelton; 1975) but they do have some definite disadvantages. Although Meiselman (1978; 32) notes, that "prisoners tend to be quite cooperative as a group", Gebhard, et al. (1965) report that some of the offenders continue to deny the offence. Further, as already noted, samples of incestuous fathers extracted from court or prison files may not represent

or accurately reflect the characteristics of all incestuous fathers.

Incest researchers who fail to recognize the influence of the court or prison setting may include as part of their incest profile, characteristics that suggest offenders are more likely to come from lower socioeconomic backgrounds and have histories of other criminal activity; a statement which any critical methodologist would argue has very questionable external validity.

Juvenile detention homes and similar institutions also have been popular data sources for incest researchers (Hersko, et al.; 1961: Halleck; 1962; Malmquist, et al.; 1966: Lukianowicz; 1972). These share similar problems with the court and prison setting data sources. As Meiselman (1978; 33) suggests, "collecting cases through social agencies tends to limit sampling to the lower socioeconomic groups, since middle and upper-class families are more likely to seek aid from private practitioners". Incest researchers, after examining data derived from these sources, may be tempted to add to their conclusions invalid causal statements relating incest to delinquency (Halleck; 1962: Lukianowicz; 1972: Malmquist, et al.; 1966). For example, if it is hypothesized that incest 'causes' delinquency, or even if incest is highly correlated with delinquency, a sample of incest cases derived from a delinquent girls home would very likely support that notion; this in turn may very well tempt the researcher to state that 'incest causes

delinquency', or 'prostitution', or 'shoplifting', or any number of activities which lend favour to that researcher's particular theoretical premise. Indeed, if it can be shown that the delinquency was antecedent to the incest, a reverse of this 'causal statement' could be stated with equal plausability (i.e.) shoplifting 'causes' incest.

Psychiatric hospitals and similar institutions, along with the files of psychiatrists and psychologists, have been by far the most popular data sources and, further, considered the most viable source for finding cases of incest (Bender and Blau; 1937: Tompkins; 1940: Rascovsky and Rascovsky; 1950: Wahl; 1960: Rhinehart; 1961: Weiner; 1962: Heims and Kaufman; 1963: Bigras; 1966: Magal and Winnick; 1968: Berry; 1975: Peters; 1976: Herman and Hirschman; 1977: Browning and Boatman; 1978: Meiselman; 1978: Justice and Justice; 1979). Once again, however, the data source setting can often lead the researcher to infer inaccurate conclusions. Many patients may be either motivated or referred to these institutions by medical doctors or psychiatrists who perceive the patient as having some mental disorder. As a result, samples drawn from these settings will undoubtedly reflect the perceptions and theoretical perspectives of both the initial referral source and the ultimate data source. Such psychiatric concepts as, for example, psychosis, neurosis, early childhood trauma, gross psychopathology, or any number of character disorders (Freud; [1913] 1946: Kubo; 1959: Wahl; 1960: Gebhard, et al.; 1965: Berry; 1975: Peters; 1976) may be found,

which may be more a description of the observer's perspective or theoretical orientation than it is an accurate characteristic descriptive of the 'patient'. The same, it might be argued, is true of data gathered from the files of sex therapists. Samples may favour 'sexual dysfunction' and 'sexual communication difficulties'. Lacking data source controls, an incest researcher might well be tempted to make general statements which are highly questionable and often externally invalid.

Letters and anonymous questionnaires have also been used as data sources, on occasion, by incest researchers (Landis; 1956; Greenland; 1958). These sources have their problems, not the least of which is the concern over whether or not the responses are indeed true. Further, as Meiselman (1978; 36) suggests, these methods may require "a very large number of subjects in order to obtain a very small number of incest case histories". Those that are discovered are not verifiable, contain only minimal amounts of information, and the responses could be slanted in very subtle ways. Information from these sources often relies on the respondents' memory of a long past event and the response often depends more on the respondents' immediate frame of mind rather than the frame of mind at the time of the incident or incidents (Meiselman; 1978, 36).

Further to these particular ways in which 'skewness' can occur, is the additional, and often overlooked notion, that incestuous behavior is often viewed as an entirely negative experience. Data used for establishing profiles are collected

almost exclusively from those sources involved in intervening or treating incestuous individuals who are reported to be either 'harmful to another' or 'harmed by another'. None of these sources reports on the possibility of the incest experience being a positive experience to the participants involved. Any analysis of these data sources, therefore, is going to reflect, whether by default or intention, a definite prejudice in favour of incest being a negative and undesirable behavior. This 'built-in' value judgement will in turn reflect on the initiator of the act - most often the male - as being an 'offender', and the recipient of the act - most often a female - as the 'victim'. Indeed, by accepting any of the above data sources as valid data bases, one may also be involved in the 'unknowing' acceptance that the act of incest is a negative and undesirable behavior.

Certainly, the problem of what Meiselman (1978; 32) refers to as "skewness", is an 'occupational hazard' that incest researchers will constantly have to monitor. In many ways it is similar to, and as much of an occupational hazard as, data collector perspectives; what is collected is often determined by what some data collectors regard as being important enough to collect.

Perspectives

Although a great deal of criticism regarding theory guided data collection has been levied at psychiatrists and psychotherapists, it by no means excludes other practitioners or social agencies dealing with incest. But, considering that the greatest number of articles, books, and commentaries dealing with incest comes from information found in the files of psychiatrists and psychologists and considering that the greatest bulk of these reported findings deal with fewer than ten (and often only a single case) of incest (Table 2: Table 3), it becomes critically important to understand how these practitioners or social agencies view incestuous behavior. It may well be that what is described is only that which 'fits' these practitioners' or social agencies' particular conception or theoretical beliefs about the behavior. In essence, theoretical approaches and individual values can, and often are, closely related (Bernstein; 1978, 3-53). This consideration becomes critical when, for example, a Freudian psychotherapist reports findings on a single case of father-daughter incest based on the notes derived from an unstructured interview. The theoretical approach often forms the bases of the report. Subsequently, incest researchers using such data sources exclusively, may be doing little more than adding additional support to the theory and lending little new knowledge to the phenomenon being investigated.

Meiselman (1978; 43-44) suggests that "a structured interview would help eliminate some of the more obvious biases" and aid in gaining more consistent data from case to case and clinician to clinician. To date, few have utilized the structured interview method (Weinberg; 1955: Gebhard, et al.; 1965). Also, Meiselman (1978; 34) suggests using various psychological tests, which, used consistently, although not necessarily exclusively, would aid in gaining consistency in information, and comparison of results from one source to another would be greatly aided. A few have attempted to incorporate this particular methodology into their practice (Bender and Blau; 1937: Kaufman, et al.; 1954: Weiss, et al.; 1955: Martin; 1958: Weiner; 1962: Cavallin; 1962: Awad; 1976). Regarding both suggestions, however, Meiselman (1978) appears to overlook a very critical 'perspective problem'. Who designs the structured interview and the psychological testing packages? If it is psychiatrists or psychologists would this not once again introduce the possibility of a psychological theoretical perspective?

At best, it would appear, single case studies offer evidence that support other single case studies reported by authors with similar perspectives. Given a number of these studies, the incest researcher may extract some of the consistent findings which in turn may be compared favourably to yet other studies conducted in different data source settings. But, this does not necessarily eliminate individual

perspectives, nor does it completely neutralize the particular theoretical perspective from which the case is viewed. Although it does aid in gaining a little more consistent quantitative data than might otherwise have been obtained, the question remains; quantitative data that supports which or whose theoretical position?

Discussion

Several additional criticisms might be directed at father-daughter incest research other than those discussed in this section. The few examined, however, were directed, primarily, at the general adequacy of incest research in general. Certainly, methodological detail may vary depending on each study's research design, but, certain methodological requirements should be met in order for a study to merit consideration as to being reasonably adequate.

One requirement, although not necessarily the most critical requirement in an adequate study, must relate to the precision in which terms central to the study are defined and, subsequently, operationalized. Another requirement relates to the extent to which findings (i.e.) characteristics of incest participants, are measured against the characteristics of non-incestuous individuals. Regarding father-daughter incest research, several questions and criticisms have been directed at these two particular requirements, the answers of which appear

to lend doubt to the efficacy of most, if not all, father-daughter incest research findings.

In addition to these more apparent validity and reliability problems, are questions which relate to the process in which each of the particular father-daughter incest cases are involved before they are recorded by a social agency as, indeed, being a case of father-daughter incest. The purpose of the following chapter will be to examine this process as practiced by one particular child abuse social agency.

VI. The Agency: The Process of Generating Data

"Knowledge of man is not neutral in its import; it grants power over man as well" (Friedrichs; 1970, 164).

Authors and researchers who have examined the validity of social agency statistics, have tended to address their critiques to one or two major areas:

1. the validity of social agency statistics; how accurately the actual numbers derived from agency file information reflect the 'true' reality, and;
2. the validity of social agency file information; did the process or manner in which the file information was subjected before the statistic was reported alter or distort the initial report or observation.

This section of the thesis is primarily concerned with the latter of these two areas; the validity of social agency file information in general.

The General Problem

A number of authors and researchers have recognized that official crime statistics, very often those offences 'known to the police', are problematic as valid crime information

indicators.¹ Crime known to the police are themselves a result of social processing (Nettler; 1978, 55). As Nettler (1978) suggests;

"It is a rule of thumb that any measure of human action becomes less representative of all the events it might have gauged as it is filtered through social sieves. To put it another way, the more records used as measures of crime are 'socially processed' the less accurate they are as indicators of all criminal acts" (Nettler; 1978, 54).

Further, not only are they "less accurate as indicators of all criminal acts" (Nettler; 1978, 54) but the information relating to these statistics (as argued earlier in this thesis) may also be misleading and an inaccurate reflection of any particular criminal phenomenon.

For example, very often delinquencies are counted not necessarily by 'seeing' them but rather on how they are 'believed to have been seen' by those official or quasi-official individuals involved with the gathering of information relating to each delinquent (Cicourel; 1968, 121; Skolnick; 1966, 71). Also, a careful examination of suicide statistics may reveal more about the social process of definition and negotiation used to generate the eventual statistics than does it information about 'suicide' (Douglas; 1967; Ross; 1975). In a similar vein, information gained from statistics relating to 'illegitimate births' may also be misleading (Nettler; 1978, 58). As Berkov and Sklar (1975; 365) suggest, "in some of the United States

¹ See Nettler's (1978; 57-73) review of the literature on this point.

illegitimate births are not counted at all, in other states, children of all married women - including separated women regardless of whether the father of the child is their husband - are considered legitimate".

Father-daughter incest researchers who attempt to estimate father-daughter incest occurrences, and who attempt to develop father-daughter incest specific profiles from the information contained in agency files, are involved with many of the problems noted by these particular authors and researchers.

Early criminologists, for example Quetelet (1842) [as noted by Silverman and Teevan; 1975, 67], assumed that "... the official crime rate calculated from data gathered by official collecting agencies was a good substitute and reflected reasonably well the actual crime rate" (Silverman and Teevan; 1975, 67). But, estimates of crime calculated from data gathered by official collecting agencies is not a good substitute and does not reflect reasonably well the actual rate of criminal occurrences (Silverman and Teevan; 1975, 67-71; Nettler; 1978, especially 54-74).

Similarly, determining the universe, the actual number of father-daughter incest occurrences at any given time for any given place, may be unknowable; at least, for all practical purposes. Theoretically, if every human was under constant surveillance (as in Orwell's 1984), then virtually every human behavior and, certainly, every occurrence of father-daughter incest could be known. Further, given that other information

relating to the behavior was also collected, descriptive father-daughter incest participant profiles could be accumulated which, when compared to non-incestuous participants, could show which of the profile characteristics were truly unique to that particular incest group.

Such an 'ideal' data collection methodology and subsequent data source, however, is not probable in the near future. As a result, contemporary father-daughter incest researchers are restricted to less desirable data sources; using data gathered by official collecting agencies as a substitute for the theoretical ideal.

Suffice it to say, at this point, that both estimates and characteristic profiles of father-daughter incest participants, calculated from social agency data, are problematic. Estimates of father-daughter incest, as argued in the first section of this thesis, vary, depending on the definition, the information source, the method used to obtain the information, and the perspective taken by the data collector. Characteristic profiles, which are considered by most authors and researchers of incest as being unique to the father-daughter incest participants, are also, for the many reasons suggested in the previous section, suspect.

In addition, whether or not a reported father-daughter incest incident is recorded by a social agency as being a valid father-daughter incest statistic, is often governed by how the agency processes the case. This 'processing procedure' may

effect what is believed to be known about both the extent of the behavior in actuality and the characteristics attributed to the participants involved in the behavior. Skogan's (1975; 18) comment summates this position succinctly;

"... Every statistic ... is shaped by the process which operationally defines it, the procedures which capture it, and the organization which interprets it".

This comment receives additional support from other researchers, particularly ethnomethodologists, who have examined the processes which appear to aid in the construction of social agency file information (Sudnow; 1967: Douglas; 1967: Cicourel; 1968). As Lehmann and Young (1974) note;

"... the ethnomethodologist seeks to discover the methods that people use in their everyday life in constructing social reality and to discover the nature of the realities they have constructed" (Lehmann and Young; 1974, 23).

By so doing, these ethnomethodologists often unveil elements of the 'silent dialogue' that underlie a great deal of face to face encounters (Lehmann and Young; 1974, 23). 'Elements', it might be argued, that may alter, distort, or aid in constructing subsequent file information that is not necessarily substantiated by empirical facts.

For example, Cicourel's (1968) study, which relates directly to the criminal justice system and other social agencies involved with the system, suggests that social agency members responsible for processing juvenile delinquents often 'create' delinquents simply by 'piecing together' unsubstantiated facts or comments gained from conversations with

parents, police, teachers, and others who may be involved in some way with a suspected delinquent (Cicourel; 1968, 84: Lehmann and Young; 1974, 24). And, as Lehmann and Young (1974) note:

"Ethnomethodologists like Cicourel show in their work that deviance may be as much an artifact of organizational processing as it is of interactions among significant others" (Lehmann and Young; 1974, 24).

Implicit in the conclusions inferred by these particular researchers is the notion that members of social organizations often, whether by intention or default, develop special perspectives for handling their clients (Lehmann and Young; 1974, 23). These 'special perspectives' may in turn generate fictitious records which, when analyzed by secondary data collectors (very often a social science researcher) may lead those collectors to infer conclusions which move them further from, rather than closer to, the actual behavior under investigation. Further, these fictitious records may also tend to both legitimize the necessity of the agency and its raison d'etre. Denzin's (1970) summation of these concerns are worthy of note:

- 1) organizations perpetuate themselves through time by generating fictitious records and public ideologies of legitimacy;
- 2) comparable organizations differ in the meaning they assign to the same events (birth, death, mental illness, cured, etc.), and;
- 3) the production of organizational records is basically an interactional process based on rumor, gossip, overheard conversations, discrepant information and biographically imperfect bookkeeping (Denzin; 1970, 272).

The purpose of this section, then, is to examine some of these concerns, within the context of Skogan's (1975; 18) "shaping of a statistic" comment, by outlining the procedure to which a suspected, and subsequently reported, father-daughter incest incident might be subjected, before being considered a valid father-daughter incest statistic.

The Father-Daughter Incest Funnel

Gaining information and knowledge about father-daughter incest in particular is similar, it might be argued, to gaining information and knowledge about crime in general.² Regarding crime, Silverman and Teevan (1975) suggest;

"Knowledge about crime can be represented as a funnel with the number of crimes decreasing as one moves through the funnel. Between actual crime and official statistics on crime, or crime recorded, there are two intervening steps, crime detected and crime reported." (Silverman and Teevan; 1975, 67).

Figure 3 illustrates this informational process. Similarly, Figure 4 is an exemplification of how incidents of father-daughter incest might be observed, noted, and subsequently recorded.

² The search for relevant material for this section was greatly aided by; Griffiths, Curt T.; Klein, John F.; Verdun-Jones, Simon N. Criminal Justice in Canada. Toronto; Butterworth and Co. Ltd., 1980 (97-102). Nettler, G. Explaining Crime (2nd ed.). Toronto; McGraw-Hill Co., 1978 (54-118). Silverman, Robert A. and Teevan, James, J. Crime in Canadian Society. Toronto; Butterworth and Co. Ltd., 1975 (67-80). Skogan, W. G. "Measurement problems in official and survey crime rates", Journal of Criminal Justice, 3-2 (1975) 17-31.

Figure 3
Funnel of Crime

ACTUAL----->	DETECTED----->	REPORTED----->	RECORDED
CRIME	CRIME	CRIME	CRIME
(unknown)	(knowable)	(file)	(statistics)

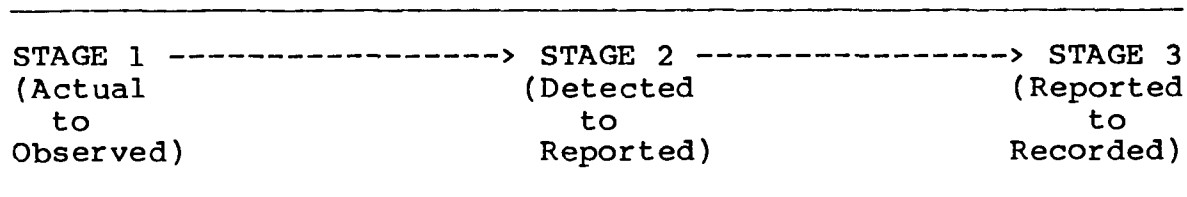
Figure 4
Father-Daughter Incest Funnel

ACTUAL----->	DETECTED----->	REPORTED----->	RECORDED
INCEST	INCEST	INCEST	INCEST
(unknown)	(knowable)	(file)	(statistics)

Silverman and Teevan (1975; 67), however, suggest that not all actual crime is detected and not all detected crime is reported. Further, Gertz and Talarico (1977; 219) point out that not all reported crime is recorded. At each stage of the process a number of discretionary decisions may be made, by a wide variety of persons, which may cause an incident not to be reported, or cause an incident to be reported inaccurately. Therefore, if we think of 'error' as the gap between the actual and the observed incident, the detected and the reported incident, and the reported and the recorded incident, then, it is possible that an increasing degree of 'information error' might be generated as criminal cases are processed, both within

and through, each of these three major stages in the funnel. Although determining how much 'information error' is incurred within and between each of these stages may be empirically unknowable, the suggestion deserves attention. Figure 5 exemplifies these three major stages.

Figure 5
Funnel of Information Error



The First Stage

The first stage of the information and knowledge process, (detecting crime, or, similarly, detecting father-daughter incest occurrences), lies in the realm of the general public; those who perceive themselves to be victims, family members, relatives, neighbors, friends, or other persons in authority (i.e.) teachers, doctors, police. The initial stage also initiates the first 'informational filtering steps'; the perceptual and the conceptual filter. Skogan's (1975) comments, relating to crime in general, is appropriately suited to this particular suggestion.

"The first public filter through which events must pass

is perceptual; someone must know that a specific incident has taken place. The problem is also conceptual; people must define an event as falling into the domain of events which the police must do something" (Skogan; 1975, 20) [emphasis added].

Regarding the perceptual filter, the general difficulty is that some events may escape detection (Skogan; 1975, 20). An observer may think or perceive 'something is happening' but is unable to isolate an actual event. Skogan (1975; 20) suggests, as an example, employee theft or shoplifting, which is 'observed' only in the form of inventory shrinkage. Similarly, a school teacher may suspect a case of father-daughter incest but only 'observes' the incident as a result of seeing various secondary indicators which the teacher may perceive as being indicative of that particular behavior. Reports based on this perceptual information, however, may generate misleading information regarding both the behavior and participants observed.

The conceptual filter is concerned, primarily, with 'who does the reporting' when an incident is observed. Skogan (1975; 20) refers to observers who differentiate consumer fraud from criminal acts; the difference between crime and the moral legitimaization of 'ripping off'. An observer may be aware of someone cheating on his income tax return, for example, but feels that that type of 'criminal activity' is alright. As a result, the criminal act is not reported to an official reporting agency. Similarly, an observer may be aware of a father 'fondling' or 'playing with' his daughter in a manner that to most people may not be considered appropriate to the age

of the daughter. However, should the observer not see this to be a problem, again, the behavior may not be reported. How the observer conceptualizes the event, it would appear, very often determines which events may fall into the domain of events about which either the police or other official social agencies may be interested in knowing.

Many criminal events, however, father-daughter incest included, are not reported even though the observer recognizes them as criminal and recognizes that they should be reported. Various studies have attempted to determine why people do not report these incidents.³ Although the authors of these studies suggest that the people interviewed gave various reasons for why they failed to report some criminal activities, the two reasons most often stated were:

1. the crime was not considered serious enough, (i.e.) the harm or loss as a result of the crime was seen as being slight, and;
2. nothing could be done even if the crime was reported, so why bother.

Further, Silverman and Teeven (1975; 68) add, with reference to McClintock's (1970) study, that there are six

³ Skogan (1975; 20-21) refers to two studies in particular when he offers reasons for why people do not report criminal behavior to the police. See; Crimes and Victims: A Report on The Dayton-San Jose Pilot Survey of Victimization. Washington, D.C.; Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, 1974. Ennis, P. H. Criminal Victimization in the United States: A Report of a National Survey. Washington, D.C.; United States Government Printing Office, 1967.

particular conditions which may also lead to a low probability of a crime being reported:

1. trivial crimes, or even serious crimes in which the trouble of reporting is not worth it to the victim;
2. crimes where the criminal is known to the victim as an acquaintance or close associate;
3. crimes where the victim is intimidated by the criminal;
4. crimes in which the victim believes that the police will be ineffective;
5. crimes that a witness may not report because he does not want to be involved or he does not agree with the law, and;
6. crimes which may be tolerated by society and thus may go unreported.

Suffice it to say, there are a variety of reasons and conditions which appear to determine whether or not a criminal offence is reported, father-daughter incest included, even though they may be clearly recognized as offences prohibited by law by those observing the offence.

The Second Stage

The second stage of the information funnel, reported crime or reported father-daughter incest, also includes problems which prevent an accurate collection, and subsequently an accurate reflection, of those events that are reported. Again, the problems associated with the accurate collection of reported

father-daughter incest occurrences, and the information associated with those occurrences, are similar in many ways to those relating to any other criminal behavior. Some distinctions, however, are discernable between the two information funnels. The most critical distinction relates to how policing agencies respond to a reported crime by comparison to how a child abuse agency responds to a reported father-daughter incest occurrences.

The Police Response

Regarding the police response to crime in general, the police are made aware of more crimes than they officially respond to or record in their files (Griffiths, et al.; 1980, 100-101; Nettler; 1978, 64-70; Silverman and Teevan; 1975, 69; Skogan; 1975, 21). For example, Levens (1978) reports that during a six month period the Vancouver City Police dispatched a patrol car to investigate less than half (43.8%) of the incidences reported to them by telephone, and although most of the remaining calls were referred to other social agencies, seldom were these referrals recorded (Levens; 1978, 360-361). Similarly, in a U.S. study, Black (1970) found that 35% of all events reported to police went unrecorded. Further, Black (1971) notes that crime reports were written in only 72% of the felony cases and in only 53% of the misdemeanor cases attended to by a police officer (also noted by Griffiths, et al.; 1980, 101).

A number of reasons have been offered by researchers for why police officers fail to record in their files many of the reported crimes. The few most often cited are:

1. the wishes of the complainant for leniency often deters the attending police officer from writing an official report (Black; 1970);
2. if respect is shown the attending officer by both the complainant and the offender, often, the attending police officer will decide not to file an official report (Black; 1970);
3. the more serious the offence, as viewed by the attending police officer, the more likely a report will be filed (Black; 1970);
4. police in smaller communities may personally know the offender and thus may be more likely to overlook or treat extra-legally some offences that police in larger urban areas treat routinely as cases for the courts (Esselstyn; 1953), and;
5. many offences are not recorded because the injured party refuses to make a formal complaint (Silverman and Teevan; 1975, 69).

Much of this information loss may also be attributed to the many ways in which an attending police officer may respond to the event. After appraising the situation, an attending police officer has the discretionary power to deal with the event in a

number of ways.⁴ Levens' (1978) comment in this regard is most appropriate;

"On arrival at the scene the officer(s) appraise the situation and decide on the most appropriate response. The repertoire of responses includes simple restoration of calm with no other action, mediation of the dispute, involvement of the social service network through either indirect or direct referral, or a call on emergency crisis counselling service, referral to family court, or in extreme cases ... arrest" (Levens; 1978, 357).

Some of these responses, however, require an officer to file lengthy reports, whereas other responses require little or no recording of information.

Overall, it would appear that the greatest amount of information is lost in recording what police view as minor crimes and the least amount of information is lost in recording what police view as major crimes (Black; 1970). Certainly, this suggestion is supported by Nettler's (1978; 64-70) review of the literature in this regard. Although some of the research reviewed by Nettler (1978) included other factors which might also account for why police are more apt to respond to and subsequently record a reported crime, how serious the crime was seen to be by the police was considered by all researchers as being one of the most, if not the most, important deciding factor (Goldman; 1963; McEachern and Bauzer; 1967; Piliavin and Briar; 1964; Black and Reiss; 1967; Terry; 1967; Hohenstein;

⁴ For more detail on the powers of police discretion see: Griffiths, C.; Klein, J.; Verdun-Jones, S.N. Criminal Justice in Canada. Toronto; Butterworth and Co., 1980, 97-100. Also see: Kelly, W. and Kelly, N. Policing in Canada. Toronto; MacMillian Publishing, Co., 1976, and The Law Reform Commission of Canada, Studies on Diversion. Ottawa; Information Canada, 1975.

1969).

Additional support to this finding is found in Ericson's (1981: 1982b) studies of police patrol officers and police detectives. Herein, Ericson (1981: 1982b) notes that how police officers see particular criminal behavior will often help determine their response to the behavior. Further to this notion, Ericson (1981) argues, in Making Crime, that the generation of criminal statistics is partially a function of the seriousness of the criminal behavior as conceptualized by the investigating police detectives.

In addition, information may be lost or inadvertantly altered when facts relating to the investigated crimes are carelessly recorded. This careless recording might also include the addition of information, or inferences, not necessarily relating to the facts of the case under investigation. Skogan (1975; 20-21) suggests that "clerical carelessness" accounts for the loss of information in three particular ways:

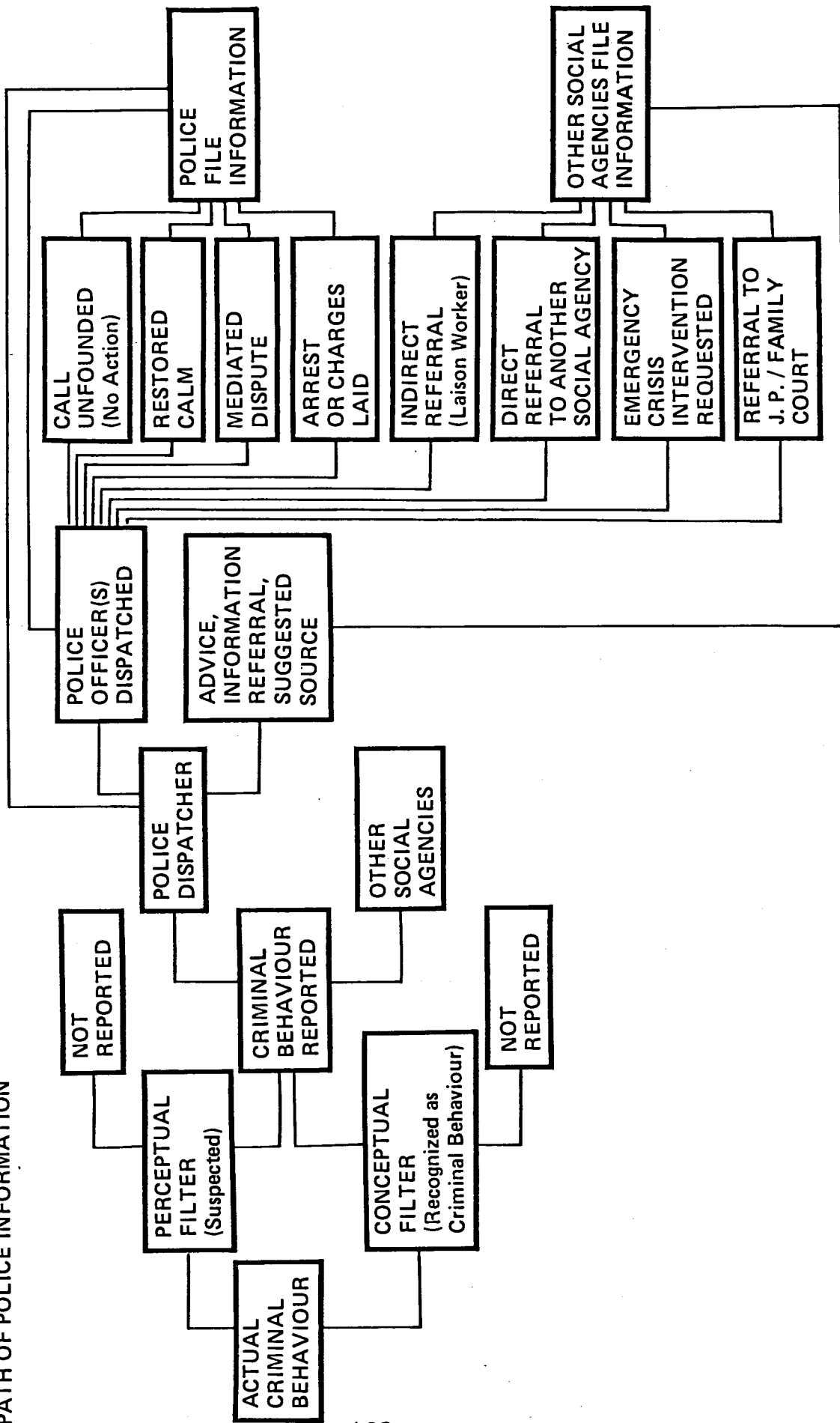
1. a failure to record information that has been reported;
2. a failure to record reported information that has been investigated, and;
3. a failure to record accurate information.

Certainly, information about crime can only be gained if reported crimes are noted, and investigated, and the information gained from the investigation, accurately recorded. A great deal of relevant information is lost, however, in the second stage of the crime funnel, primarily due to the decision by police to

either not investigate what they consider to be non-serious crimes, or, not record (or record inaccurately) the information they have gained from some of those reported crimes that have been investigated. With respect to these aforementioned points, Figure 6 indicates the path which a suspected criminal case, reported to the police, may take, and accentuates, further, the number of discretionary decision making points within the information handling process where important and relevant information may be lost.⁵

⁵ It should be noted that the hypothetical example being used refers to possible information losses or 'information filtering' with respect to a single police agency. Added information losses may occur when information is passed between policing agencies or when information is not passed to other concerned policing agencies.

Figure 6
PATH OF POLICE INFORMATION



The Child Abuse Agency Response

In general, suspected father-daughter incest occurrences may be reported directly to a child abuse social agency by a number of different persons, for example, individuals in authority over children (i.e.) teachers, social group leaders, and doctors.⁶ All of these individuals, it might be mentioned, have been advised by the Ministry of Human Resources (1979) to report to child abuse agencies any suspicious physical or behavioral abnormalities they may observe which may indicate physical or sexual child abuse.⁷ In addition to these observers are those more directly involved with possible child abuse occurrences (i.e) neighbors, relatives, nuclear family members, other social services, policing agencies, the child, and on occasion, the father.

Police dispatchers, as well as police officers dispatched to investigate domestic disputes, may refer many of these cases to other social agencies (i.e.) crisis intervention centers and family court counsellors (Levens; 1978, 374). These agencies, after an investigation, may in turn report suspected child abuse

⁶ Most of the information in this section is based upon the comments gained from interviews with key personnel in a British Columbia lower mainland child abuse center, and upon information extracted from the analysis of that agency's files.

⁷ Under British Columbia's Family and Child Services Act (1980), Section [7](1)(2)(3)(4), it is mandatory for all persons to report suspected child abuse.

cases over to a child abuse agency. Or, police dispatchers, as well as police officer dispatched to investigate other reported criminal behavior, may be informed of a child abuse incident, which may lead them to report the incident directly to a child abuse agency.

Regardless of the reporting source, however, once a suspected child abuse case is reported to the agency, agency counsellors will attempt to quickly determine:

1. whether the report is valid, and;
2. whether or not the child or children involved in the suspected child abuse case may be in risk of either, further physical abuse, or, further sexual abuse.

An affirmation of either of these conditions leads child abuse agency members to take immediate steps to investigate and, if necessary, intervene and place the child or children in a temporary child care setting or foster home. Further investigations, interviews, and subsequent evaluations by agency members and supervisors (as to the extent to which remaining in the initial home setting may be considered a risk to the child's or children's welfare) may lead the agency to request the intervention of the family court. The court, in turn, may order that the child or children be placed temporarily or permanently in an alternate home setting, generally a foster home.

In addition, should agency members suspect that the investigated case merits attention by the criminal justice system, the case may be turned over to a police agency, or to a

Crown prosecutor, via the swearing of an information by an agency supervisor.

Several discretionary decision-making processes are involved in this sequence of events, and, similar to the police responses to crime, relevant information may be lost, altered, or added by inference at and between each decision-making point.

Further, some child abuse agencies, for example those child abuse centers under B.C.'s Ministry of Human Resources, are recently attempting to coordinate their investigations with the local police. Within this framework, the investigation of a reported child sexual abuse, and the coordination of that investigation with the policing agency, involves two particular investigatory stages; the reporting stage and the initial interview stage. The second stage also includes decisions with respect to an intervention plan, or more pointedly, how the agencies are going to deal with each of the individuals involved in the case; the alleged victim, the alleged offender, and, in many instances, the non-offending parent - most often the mother. The last stage also determines whether or not, and if so, what type of intervention will be recommended for any or all individuals involved in the case, and also whether or not criminal charges should be laid against the alleged offender. In addition, decisions are also made by the child abuse centers supervisors as to whether or not removing the child from the home setting is necessary.

Although it may be argued that this particular investigatory process may aid both social agencies (the police and the child abuse center) in gaining both more and better information than might have otherwise been obtained by a single recording source, it might also be argued that this combination may increase the probability of distorting the overall information. As noted earlier, utilizing police file information may not assist in gaining a closer approximation of the behavior. Combining two reporting sources, both of which may be subject to information distortions, may be aiding in adding to, rather than subtracting from, information error.

Figure 7 outlines the path a suspected father-daughter incest case may follow when under this child abuse and police agency investigation and shows the major points where various informational losses and alterations may occur.⁸ Within this process, a few additional comments are worthy of note.

For example, although reports may be made by phone or in person during office hours at the local district child abuse office during the day, in the evening or at night, calls can also be made via Emergency Services or Helpline (Vancouver; ZENITH 1234). Although most decisions are made after the local office child abuse counsellor has consulted with the district

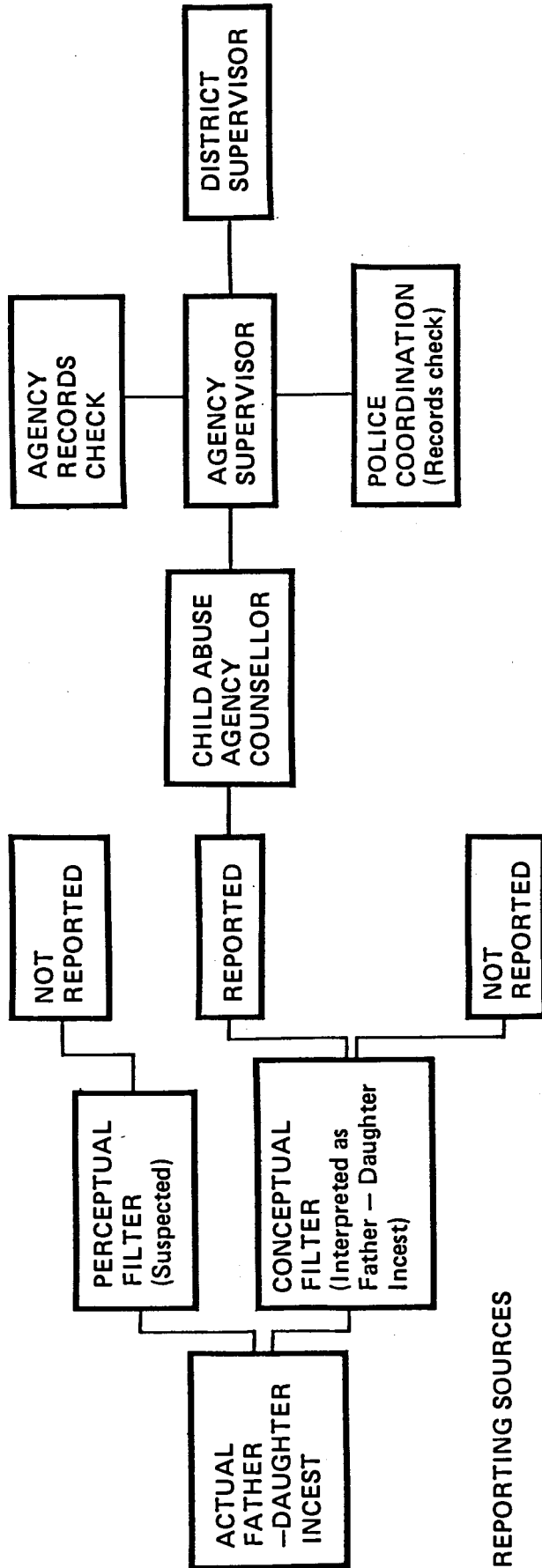
⁸-----
It should be noted, however, that Figure 7 is not intended to be regarded as a perfect depiction of the entire child abuse-police agency process, nor the path that all cases may take, but rather it is intended only to aid the reader in recognizing some of the major decision making points in this particular process where information may be recorded inaccurately.

supervisor, at night decisions are often made by only the child abuse counsellor; given that the report is regarded as 'an emergency'. It should be recognized, however, that as a general rule child abuse counsellors can act only as consultants. Counsellors do not have the single authority for case decisions, nor can they initiate independent investigations.

Also, although two separate investigations are conducted with sexual abuse reports (the child abuse agency and the police agency) this is not necessarily the case with other types of reported child abuse (i.e.) emotional abuse, neglect.

Finally, without a decision to lay criminal charges, there is no mandate by which the child abuse agency, or the police agency, can force the offender to leave the home. Criminal charges must be laid if the alleged offender is to be removed from the home, however, the reported victim, should that victim be a child, may be removed from the home if the child abuse agency considers that the child has no support in the family and is considered to be at risk of abuse in the immediate future.

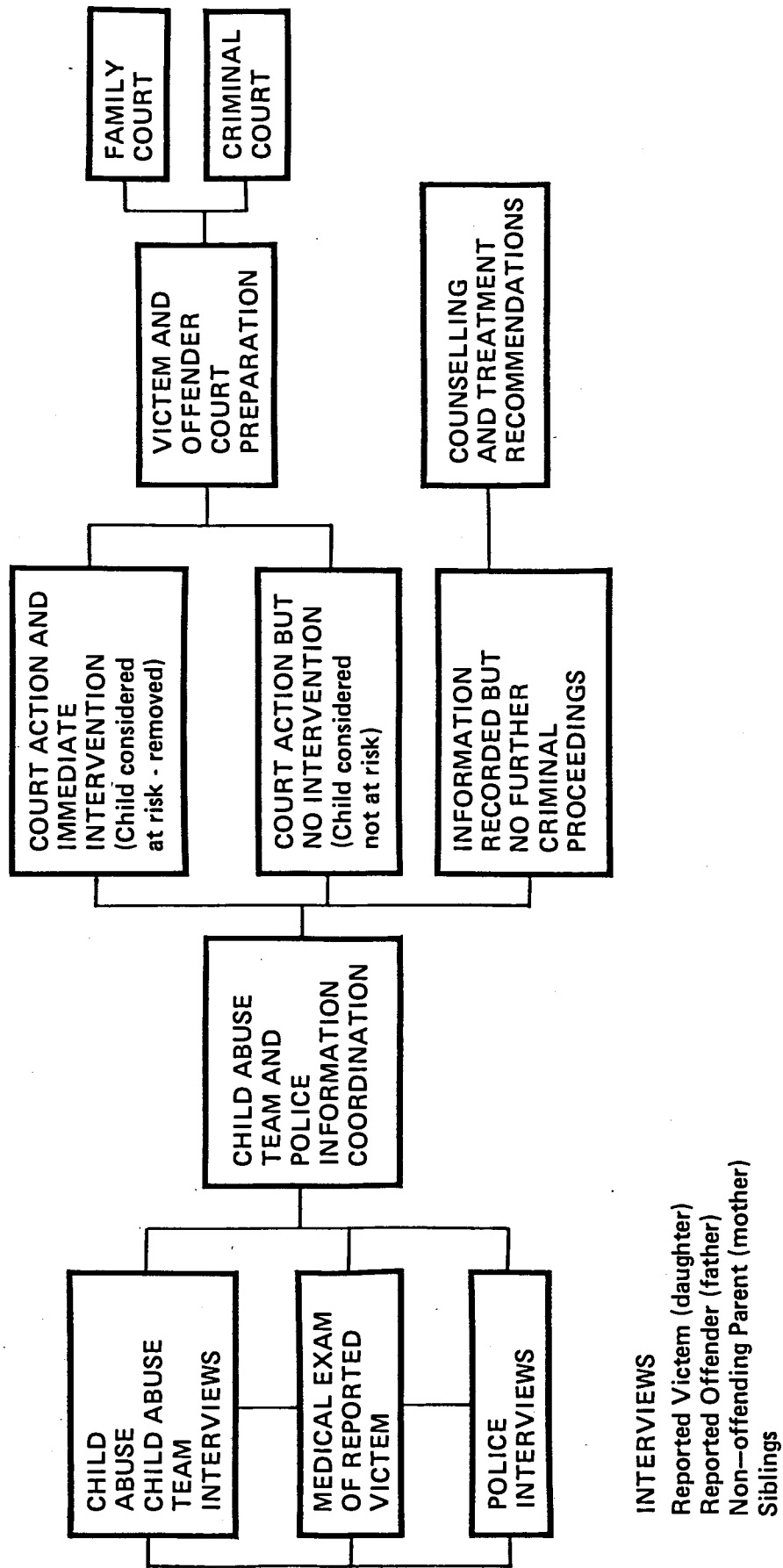
Figure 7
 PATH OF CHILD ABUSE AGENCY INFORMATION
 STAGE 1 : REPORTING



REPORTING SOURCES

- Schools
- Public Health
- Doctors
- Hospitals
- Day Care
- Citizens
- Neighbors
- Community Agencies
- Family Members
- Self - referral
- Police
- Others

Figure 7
 PATH OF CHILD ABUSE AGENCY INFORMATION (Cont.)
 STAGE 2: INTERVIEWS



The Third Stage

Further complicating the information problem, are concerns that relate to 'how' criminal cases are counted and reported. Or, more accurately, what constitutes 'a case'? Once again, father-daughter incest incidences are not exempt from these problems.

At various points in the process, actual case counts may vary. General crime statistics may vary between reporting agencies. For example, policing agencies may count ten break and enters committed by one individual as ten break and enters, whereas the court prosecuting the same cases may only count them as one case of multiple break and enters (Nettler; 1978:58-59). Criminal case count also varies between policing agencies and between courts (Eisenstein and Jakob; 1977, 175: 1973; 713)

These same problems may also effect case counts of father-daughter incest. For example, child abuse agencies may count five incidents of father-daughter incest as involving one father with five daughters. On the other hand, the court (which may ultimately prosecute the case, given the necessary evidence required by law) may very well count this same multiple father-daughter incest incident as only one case.

Suffice it to say, all types of information may be subject to various and differing manipulations as the case to which that information applies moves through the process of becoming a

'valid' statistic. The concluding question must be, therefore, how valid is that statistic, and the information relating to that statistic?

The Double Distillation Funnel

Although many father-daughter incest cases may never move beyond a child abuse agency's investigation, some may be returned to 'the criminal justice system funnel' for further investigation and possible prosecution.⁹ Once again, information relating to the behavioral phenomenon may be lost, 'filtered out', altered, or added through inference, during this returning process. Information gained by child abuse agency members is not necessarily the same kind of information needed by the criminal justice system, or, more pointedly, the Crown prosecutor who will ultimately prosecute the case.

Conceptual differences, guided in part at least by the objectives and concerns of each agency, it might be argued, may determine the kind of information each agency considers to be

⁹ Several authors have regarded the flow of criminal cases through the criminal justice system (i.e.) the police, the courts, the prisons, as 'the criminal case flow' or 'the criminal justice funnel'. See in particular; Clare, P. and Kramer, J. Introduction to American Corrections. Toronto: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1976, 12. Pursley, P.D. Introduction to Criminal Justice (2nd ed.) London: Glencoe Publishing Co., 1978, 16-18. Griffiths, C., Klein, J., and Verdun-Jones, S.N. Criminal Justice in Canada. Toronto: Butterworth & Co., 1980: 133, 147. It is also interesting to note that Tepperman (1977) refers to the system and the flow of cases through it as 'the vast machine'. See; Tepperman, L. Crime Control. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, Ltd., 1977, 2.

relevant. The child abuse agency, guided by their concern for the welfare of the child, may consider any information (factual or suspected) that aids in the determination of this concern, important and relevant. The Crown prosecutor, on the other hand, may glean from that body of information only that which satisfies the legal framework and/or the goals and objectives of that particular legal jurisdiction. Consequently, a great deal of the information that may relate to the behavior and surrounding circumstances, may be filtered out.

For example, valuable information relating to father-daughter incest may be 'filtered out' or 'lost' when actual father-daughter incest cases are 'reclassified' by prosecutors. In Europe, for example, there are a variety of offenses under which incest is listed and prosecuted. An actual father-daughter incest case may be prosecuted as 'indecent assault with children under age' (Maisch; 1972, 67). In some parts of the United States, 'statutory rape' is frequently the offence charged, and often because it has the greater penalty (Sagarin; 1977, 134). Only a case by case study of these offence categories would reveal which involved natural fathers and daughter.

Further to these suggestions, is the loss of information through 'plea bargaining'. Plea bargaining, or 'plea discussions', or 'plea agreements', or 'plea negotiations' (see especially on this point; Cousineau and Verdun-Jones; 1979:295-296) tends to yield a more inaccurate reflection of the

behavior being prosecuted. A 'deal' in this respect often tends to find the accused person charged with a lesser offence; an offence which may focus on a different (or, indeed, a less serious) aspect of the behavior.¹⁰

Certainly, it might be argued, this 'distillation effect', the gleaning of only legally relevant information by Crown prosecutors and the possible loss of knowledge of actual behaviors through plea bargaining, suggests a further question. How many father-daughter incest convictions may themselves be, in fact, the result of plea bargaining from even more serious offences? More pointedly, how many fathers charged with multiple incest offences, for example, have plea bargained from charges resulting from having incestuous relationships with many daughters (which may include some daughter of a very young age) to one charge of having an incestuous relationship with one daughter (and a daughter who may be quite mature in age)? Although this information may never be known, the question deserves a measure of consideration. This is especially critical when one considers that if information was extracted at this level in order to assess both the extent of the behavior and the particular attributes that might help assist in formulating policy to control and/or treat the behavior, that information might well be so 'distilled' or distorted that any inferences derived may be totally misleading.

¹⁰ Several authors have addressed this particular issue. See; Cousineau and Verdun-Jones; 1979: also, the review offered by Griffiths, et al.; 1980:159-166).

Indeed, even between and within each stage of this particular funnel, information relating to a father-daughter incest case may be misleading. Similar to both the police response system and the child abuse agency response system, the criminal justice funnel adds, in its own way, to the alteration, filtering, or distortion of information relating to criminal cases.

Considering that a criminal case may pass through the entire double system (i.e.) child abuse agency to police, police to courts, courts to corrections, and corrections to after-care agencies, it would appear safe to argue that a great number of informational distortions may occur. Each distortion may not only alter the information relating to each case, but comparisons of aggregated data between any two of these junctures may also prove to be inconsistent.

Considering the information distortion problems associated with the police agency, the child abuse agency, and the criminal justice system beyond these agencies, (not to mention the perceptual and conceptual processes involved in the very early reporting stages), the question then becomes; at what point in this 'double distillation process' does the information best reflect the actual behavioral reality and the circumstances surrounding that reality?

Discussion

Certainly, there appears to be considerable doubt as to the validity of each father-daughter incest statistic and to the validity of the information relating to that statistic. Further, information relating to each case appears to be subject to the same information distortions, filterations, and manipulations as is any other criminal case passing through the criminal justice funnel. Incest cases, father-daughter incest cases in particular, may be subject to even greater validity problems, for each of these cases may be involved with not only the criminal justice system but also the child abuse agency system. As the father-daughter incest case passes through this double distillation system, more and more information may be distorted through inaccurate reporting, new information may be added that may not have substantiation, other information may be filtered out, and, in the final analysis, one is left with but a single question; is any of this information, regardless of where in the overall process the information was taken, a valid reflection of the behavior in question?

In light of the many validity and reliability problems inherent in father-daughter incest research, (i.e) definitional problems, data collection problems, the problems related to the data source, the problem of data collector perspectives, and the particular reliability problem relating to the process by which file data may be generated, one further question deserves

examination; how do these problems effect file information in general, and the data ultimately reported, in particular?

The following two chapters will attempt to examine some of the file information collected by a child abuse agency in light of some of the problems considered thus far. More pointedly, does an analysis of that agency's file information support the notion that the definition selected by the social agency varies the number of father-daughter incest occurrences ultimately reported, and, does a further analysis of the file information lead to the inference that conceptual differences can be noted between 'biological father-daughter' incest and 'non-biological father-daughter' incest?

VII. Legal and Social Definitions: Empirical Distinctions

"If we are interested in communicating our ideas accurately, we need clear definitions. If, on the other hand, we wish to use words merely persuasively, we need be less clear about their definitions" (Nettler, Explaining Crime, 1978).¹

Most of what is known about the father-daughter incest dynamic is based in the reported American and European studies reviewed in the previous sections of this thesis. Whether or not these findings are similar for Canada is not known. To date, no single Canadian study of father-daughter incest, with an aggregate of twenty or more cases, has been reported in the professional literature.

Also, a review of the aforementioned American and European literature does not clearly indicate whether or not the reported incidences of father-daughter incest are inflated by legal standards or by social agencies who include non-biological fathers in the father-daughter incest incidences reports. Although at least one Canadian social agency (Ministry of Human Resources; 1979) defines incest in such a way as to support the notion that the inclusion of non-biological father-daughter incest will increase reported father-daughter incest incidences overall, to-date, no study has been reported in the professional

¹ Nettler's comment, in this context, relates to 'functions of definitions'. For the source of the statement, see; Nettler, G. "Definition of Crime", Explaining Crime. Toronto; McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1978, 33.

literature that empirically supports this notion.

Further, a review of the aforementioned literature reveals no reported differences between natural father-daughter incest and non-biological father-daughter incest. Whether or not determining these differences are essential to a better understanding of the father-daughter incest dynamic, in general, is difficult to say. However, in light of Saggarin's (1977; 135) comments, as noted in chapter 1, differences between these two groups should be discerned, if only to offer a clearer description of the participants involved in the behavior.

The intent of the following two chapters, then, is to examine three particular aspects of father-daughter incest. This examination will take the following form:

1. A presentation of a Canadian child abuse agency's file information with the intent to add further support to the argument that the social agency definition used for incest, and father-daughter incest in particular, 'creates' larger incidences of the behavior than is seen to be the case by those guided by the legalistic definition;²
2. An attempt to determine, in light of Saggarin's (1977; 135) comments, where differences are evident between the characteristics and behavior of 'natural fathers' and their daughters and 'other fathers' and their daughters, and;
3. An attempt to show, by de-aggregating these agency's data,

² Because confidentiality has been assured, this agency will hereinafter be referred to as simply 'the agency'.

that the reader's conceptions of father-daughter incest (formulated from a general review of father-daughter incest literature) may be altered and that the data ultimately reported by the agency will not reveal these distinctions.

Methodology

Access was gained to the information contained in the files of a Canadian social agency responsible for responding to complaints of child abuse reported to them from individuals living within an approximate twenty-five mile radius of the agency. All file information generated between May 1, 1978 through April 30, 1981, was examined. In an effort to gain as much information as possible on a single case, a decision was made to extract a large amount of qualitative information from a small number of file reports, rather than a small amount of qualitative information from a large number of file reports. A purposive sampling procedure was used for selecting those files most relevant to the purpose of the thesis.

A purposive selection was made of only those files where it was recorded that a child abuse counsellor had interviewed and made judgements about the validity of a child sexual abuse report. From these files, only those involving incest, as defined by the broad social agency definition, were selected.

According to the agency's reports, over the three year period (May 1, 1978 - April 30, 1981) 324 suspected incidences

of child sexual abuse were reported to the agency. Of the 324 reports, 77 were determined by the agency's supervisors to be 'serious' and worthy of a more 'indepth investigation by one or more agency counsellors'. Of these 77 investigated reports, 74 were recorded by the agency as cases of incest. 54 of the 77 investigated reports were classified, by the agency, as father-daughter incest.

Although a breakdown of the 74 cases was noted (Figure 8: Table 4), only the file information relating to the 54 father-daughter incest cases, as recorded by the agency, was coded and analyzed.³

Coding

An 'initial content questionnaire' was prepared which contained questions relating to those particular characteristics reported in the incest literature (Appendix A). Each 'question' was regarded as a descriptive variable, and was coded in such a way as to exhaust all possible findings related to that variable (Babbie; 1979, 241). Although a lack of information required the deletion of many of the initial questions, adequate information remained to empirically test the aforementioned contentions. On this basis, the following empirical findings are presented.

³ -----
Because all the file information relating to the investigated father-daughter incest reports, as defined by the social agency, are being analyzed (N=54), the analysis should be regarded as being based on a total population and not a sample of a population.

The Comparison Base

As argued earlier, for a case to be found incestuous in Canadian law, three points in particular must be proven:

1. the relationship of the accused to the victim (blood relationship);
2. the behavior (sexual intercourse), and;
3. corroboration (witnesses and/or evidence to support the allegations).

Points (1) and (2) in this simplified legal framework were used as a basis for comparing the social agency definition to the legal definition of incest (Chapter 1).

Relationship Increases

Table 4 and Figure 8 indicate that of the 74 reports, considered by the social agency as incest, only 42 reports would be regarded as incest by the legalistic definition; and this given that both the behavior and corroboration required by law is also available.

Males were recorded as the offender in 72 of the 74 files; with only 2 females being recorded as offenders. Seventy-one of the 74 files recorded females as the alleged victims, with only 3 files recording males as victims. A father-son incest report constituted one recording. Table 5 relates the offender-victim

incest breakdown as recorded by the agency.

By combining non-biological 'fathers' (n=30) and biological fathers (n=24) into an 'all father' category (N=54), the agency under study reported an incest rate 76% greater than the rate that would have been recorded had they used the legal definition. And again, this calculation gives no consideration for the behavior and corroboration dimension which are essential to the legal definition framework. Table 4 and Figure 8 shows these distinctions. Again, it should be noted, within the simplified legal framework, only 24 of the 54 reports qualify as father-daughter incest.

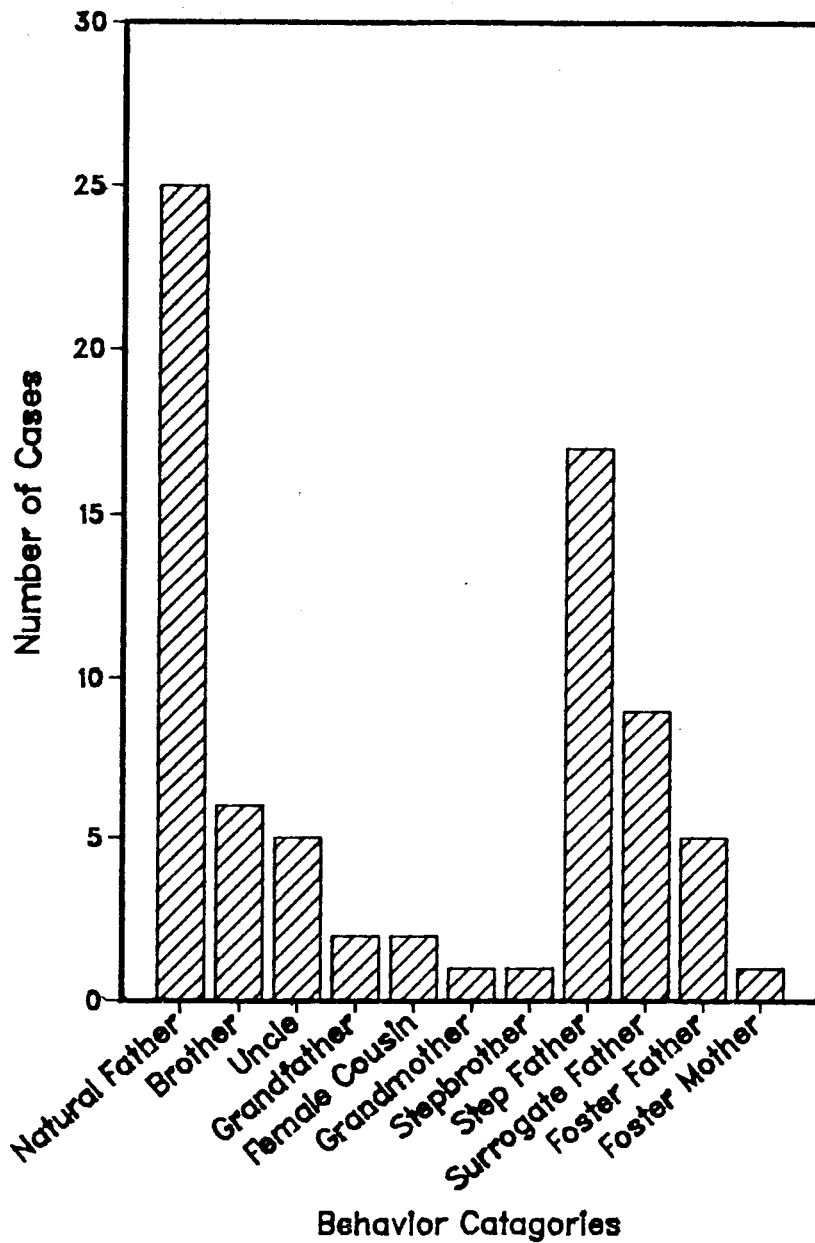
Table 4
Breakdown of Social Agency Incest Cases
(N=74)

Reported Offender	n	% of N	Definition Status
Natural Father	25	33.8	Legal & Social
Brother	6	8.1	Legal & Social
Uncle	5	6.7	Legal & Social
Grandfather	2	2.7	Legal & Social
Female Cousin	2	2.7	Legal & Social
Grandmother	1	1.4	Legal & Social
Stepbrother	1	1.4	Legal & Social
Total Legal	42	56.8	
Stepfather	17	22.9	Social only
Surrogate Father	9	12.1	Social only
Foster Father	5	6.8	Social only
Foster Mother	1	1.4	Social only
Total Non-Legal	32	43.2	

Table 5
Offender-Victim Incest Breakdown
(N=74)

Offender (Adult)	Victim (Child)	n
male	female	71
female	male	2
male	male	1

Figure 8
Breakdown of Incest Cases
By Social Agency Definition
N=74



Father-Daughter Incest Definition Increases

The largest increase in incest reports must be attributed to the inclusion of non-biological fathers, or 'other fathers',⁴ added to the legal definition for father-daughter incest. Of the 54 alledged cases of father-daughter incest, only 24 involved natural fathers; 30 involved non-biological fathers. Within the legal definition, the inclusion of non-biological fathers increases the incidences of alledged father-daughter incest, for this particular agency, by 125% (Table 6).

Table 6
Father-Daughter Incest Breakdown
(N=54)

Father	n	% of N
Natural	24	44.4
Legal Category	24	44.4
Stepfather	16	29.6
Surrogate Father	9	16.7
Foster Father	5	9.3
Non-Legal Category	30	55.6

⁴ Hereinafter, 'other fathers' may be used to describe all other non-biological fathers, (i.e.) stepfathers, foster fathers, and surrogate fathers. 'All fathers' may be used to describe the total of 'other fathers' and 'natural fathers'. 'Surrogate fathers' refers to those 'live-in-boyfriends,' as according to some of the agency members, who have resided with the female child for six or more months.

Father-Daughter Incest Behavior Increases

Further to the requirement in law that the father must be the biological father of the daughter, is the actus reas, or, the behavior itself. Sexual intercourse between the two parties must be proven to have occurred before an act of father-daughter incest can be legally claimed.

The agency's case files were next analyzed to determine what proportion of agency reported incest cases involved sexual intercourse. It was difficult to determine precisely how many cases involved sexual intercourse. Most often, agency personnel made inferences that sexual intercourse had taken place at one time or another during an ongoing relationship. In only four of the 54 cases examined did agency members record that sexual intercourse formed part of the sexual interaction. Rather than prejudice uncertain cases, a decision was made to also include those cases agency members recorded as attempted sexual intercourse with the four 'certain' cases. This in turn, of course, gives acknowledgment that sexual intercourse may have occurred in doubtful cases. But, even given this allowance, the overall behavior considered by the agency to be incestuous, still magnified father-daughter incest incidences when examined within the legal framework.

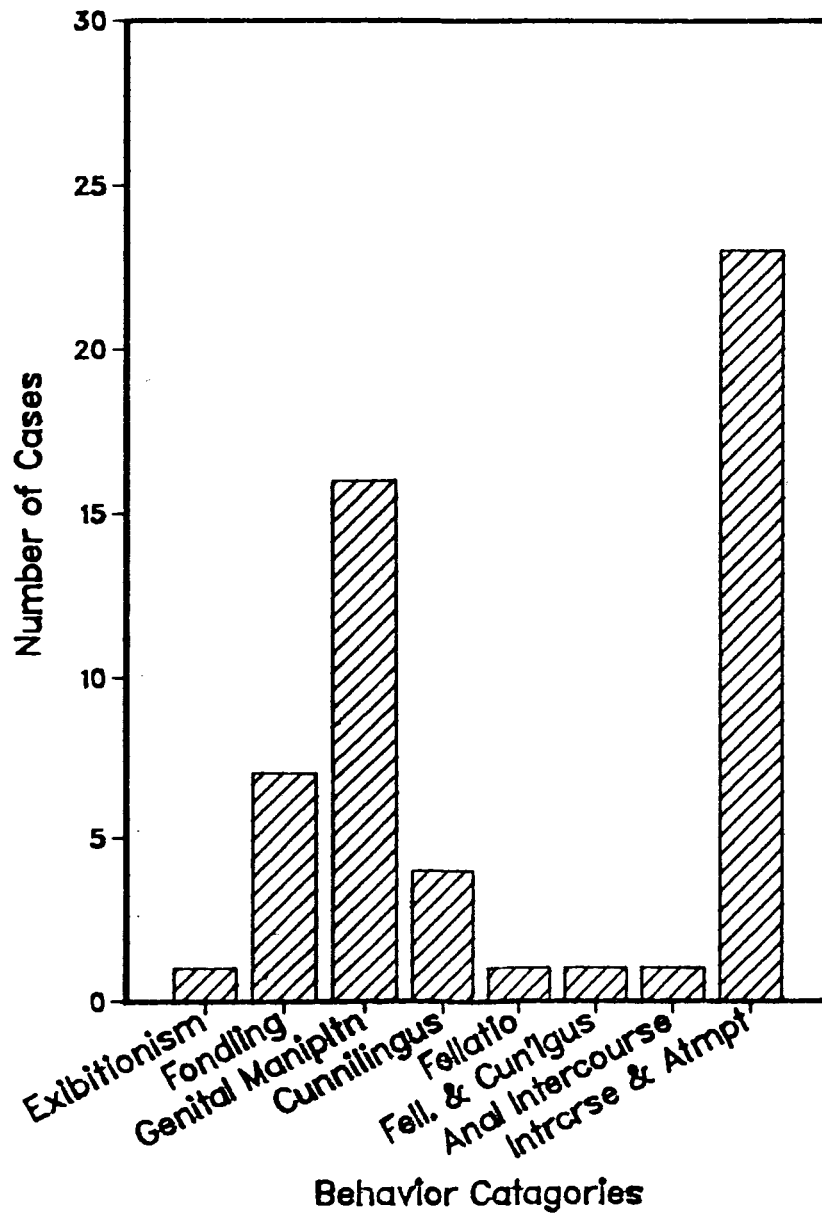
Category Distinctions and Operationalizations

Additional operational difficulties were encountered when attempting to extract, from the file information, behaviors other than intercourse or attempted intercourse. Overall, there appeared to be eight distinct categories of behavior; behavior which the agency personnel deemed to be worthy of recording as child sexual abuse. For the purposes of this study, these behaviors were categorized as:

1. exhibitionism;
2. fondling;
3. genital manipulation;
4. cunnilingus (only);
5. fellatio (only);
6. fellatio and cunnilingus;
7. anal intercourse, and;
8. intercourse and attempted intercourse.

Figure 9 reflects these behavior category breakdowns for the 54 father-daughter incest cases recorded in the agency's files.

Figure 9
Father-Daughter Behavior
For All Father Types
N=54



Defining and Operationalizing Category Behaviors

In the coding of the file data, an attempt was made to distinguish;

- a) which files contained information relating to only one particular behavior category, at the time the incident was disclosed to the child abuse agency,
- b) which files contained information relating to two or more behaviors, at the time the incident was disclosed to the child abuse agency.

Classifying behaviors within each category involved some definitional and operational problems. Sexual intercourse, attempted sexual intercourse, and anal intercourse related to the actual or attempted penetration of the daughter's vagina or anus by the male, and determining which cases related to which category was a relatively simple matter. Similarly, sexual behavior related to the categories 'fellatio and cunnilingus', 'fellatio (only)', and 'cunnilingus (only)', were relatively easy to determine. It should be noted, however, that the 'fellatio and cunnilingus' category was added to discriminate the one case that reported that both behaviors formed the sexual interaction. The general finding, however, with respect to these data, was that one or the other of these oral sexual behaviors was practiced to the exclusion of the other.

The greatest difficulty involved operationalizing the 'exhibitionism', 'fondling', and 'genital manipulation' behaviors. For these behaviors, the agency's operationalization was accepted. More pointedly, a father repeatedly being naked in full view of his daughter, was viewed by the agency as 'exhibitionism'. It should be noted, however, that nakedness alone did not necessarily constitute a sexual behavior abuse, some additional sexual connotations on the part of the father generally formed a part of the exhibitionism scenerio. Also, most of these behaviors were classified by child abuse counsellors without any official guidelines.

'Fondling' related to fathers who were reported to be repeatedly 'playing with' their daughters in a manner, ultimately judged by an agency member, as being not appropriate to the age of the child, and in a manner which generally constituted subtle sexual behaviors. Of all the behavior categories, this particular behavior was the most difficult to determine. In most instances, a case was determined to belong to the 'fondling' category almost by default; if the recorded behavior did not clearly fit into one of the other seven categories, it was generally classified as fondling.

The 'genital manipulation' category, on the other hand, included reports of behavior involving one or both parties having been involved in 'mutual genital manipulation'. Generally, this was reported as the daughter 'playing with the father's genitals'. Also included in this category were cases

reporting the father masturbating or manipulating the daughter's vagina. No attempt was made to further discriminate behaviors within this particular category (i.e.) mutual masturbation, daughter to father masturbation, father to daughter masturbation.

The 'fondling' cases (Figure 9: Table 7) relate to those 7 of the 54 files which record only fondling as the behavior. The same applies to the single reported case of 'exhibitionism'. On the other hand, other behavior (i.e.) 'sexual intercourse' and 'attempted sexual intercourse', often involved other included behaviors as well (i.e) 'fondling' and 'genital manipulation'.

Most of the eight behavior categories, however, remained relatively autonomous. The 'exhibitionism' and the 'fondling' categories included no other behavior information relating to other behavior categories. The 'genital manipulation', 'cunnilingus (only)', 'fellatio (only)', and 'fellatio and cunnilingus' categories contained only those behaviors attributed by default to that particular category (i.e.) fondling, genital manipulation.

Within the intercourse and attempted intercourse category, although including other behaviors (i.e.) fondling, genital manipulation, only three cases described attempted fellatio and two attempted cunnilingus. The anal intercourse category, however, included an attempted vaginal intercourse and an attempted fellatio case along with other behaviors (i.e.) fondling, genital manipulation.

Table 7 and Table 8 relate the behavior categories formulated. Further, given these category and behavioral distinctions, Table 7 indicates the percentage of cases classified in each behavior category and, the number of fathers involved in each behavior category. Also, table 8 lists the percentage of cases classified in each behavior category by father group.⁵

⁵ Not noted was 'pornographic pictures'. 5 cases, in the other father group, included taking pictures of the behavioral activity. Which particular behavior category involving the picture taking, was not noted.

Table 7
 Father-Daughter Behavior Breakdown
 (N=54)

Behavior Category	% of N	Natural Fathers (n=24)	Other Fathers (n=30)
Exhibitionism	1.9	-	1
Fondling	12.9	3	4
Genital Manipulation	29.6	9	7
Cunnilingus (only)	7.4	1	3
Fellatio (only)	1.9	-	1
Fellatio & Cunnilingus	1.9	1	-
Anal Intercourse	1.9	1	-
Intercourse & Attempt	42.5	9	14

Table 8
 Percentage Breakdown of All Fathers Behavior
 (N=54)

Behavior Category	Natural Fathers % of n (n=24)	Other Fathers % of n (n=30)
Exhibitionism	-	3.3
Fondling	12.5	13.3
Genital Manipulation	37.5	23.4
Cunnilingus (only)	4.2	10.0
Fellatio (only)	-	3.3
Fellatio & Cunnilingus	4.2	-
Anal Intercourse	4.2	-
Intercourse & Attempt	37.4	46.7

Police Involvement and Father-Daughter Incest

The file information also indicated that policing agencies were occasionally involved with the father-daughter incest reports. Of the 54 father-daughter files examined, however, only 5 files recorded that charges had been laid under the Criminal Code. Whether an inference could be made from this recording that the police did not regard many of the incidents as being worthy of criminal charges, is difficult to say. It should be noted that criminal charges could have been filed sometime after the interviewing process had been completed. Data to this effect was not available. Also, information relating to the disposition of the five instances where criminal charges were laid, were not available. Further, it was difficult to determine from the file information whether the incident was first reported to the police and they, subsequently, notified the child abuse agency, or whether the child abuse agency was the initial reporting agency and they, in turn, requested a police agency. In any event, Table 9 reflects this particular aspect of these data.

Table 9
Police Involvement and Criminal Charges
(N=54)

Father	Police	No	Unknown	Charges	No	Unknown
Natural	13	6	5	2	14	8
Other	20	2	8	3	4	23
Total	33	8	13	5	18	31

Discussion

This section addressed three particular questions.

- a) Is there evidence to support the argument that, in Canada, social agencies may increase or 'create' incidences of incest by including non-blood relatives in their incest data reports?
- b) Is there evidence to support the argument that, in Canada, father-daughter incest data reports may be increased by social agencies who include non-biological fathers in their agency data reports?
- c) Is there evidence to support the argument that, in Canada, father-daughter incest data reports may be increased by social agencies who include behavior other than sexual intercourse in their father-daughter agency data reports?

The analysis of this agency data affirms all three questions. Inferences based on the evidence presented suggests

that incidences of incest, and father-daughter incest specifically, are magnified by the inclusion of non-blood relatives in this particular agencies data reports. Further, the inclusion of sexual behavior other than sexual intercourse, the required behavior necessary to prove a case under section 150 of the Criminal Code, creates larger incidences of incest than is seen by those guided by the legal code. As a result, as the analysis of the agency data shows, no more than nine of the agency's 54 reported cases of incest would qualify as possible legal cases of incest, and these would prove to be incest only if the required corroborating evidence was available.

In addition to this notion, as the analysis suggests, although a policing agency was involved in 33 of the 54 'all father-daughter incest' cases at the time the behavior was disclosed to a social agency, in only five instances were criminal charges laid.

A further examination of the file information leads to another question. Will inferences based on the findings derived from various de-aggregated groupings of the file information lead one to conclude that statistics based on the aggregated information are misleading to the reader of those statistics? In this vein, two additional questions warrant examination:

1. Are there differences to be found between biological, or natural fathers, and non-biological or other fathers?
2. Are there differences to be found between the daughters involved in the natural-father group and the daughters

involved in the other-father group?

The purpose of the following chapter is to examine these questions more closely.

VIII. Conceptual Variations: Determining Differences

"The difference between the awareness of the facts in terms of immediate experience and the awareness of these same facts in terms of full conceptual penetration is the difference between ignorance and knowledge" (Gustav Ichheiser).¹

Although, prima facie, the information recorded in the agency's files appeared to support many of the conclusions arrived at by the incest researchers reviewed in the previous chapters, particular variations were noted when de-aggregating the data. The purpose of this chapter is to present those de-aggregated findings which lend support to the notion that behaviors and characteristics, as recorded in the agency's files, vary between natural fathers and their daughters and other-fathers and their daughters (as previously defined).

The presentation of these particular findings, therefore, may in turn:

- a) alter some of the initial conceptions one might formulate when reviewing the father-daughter incest literature, and,
- b) alter some of the initial conceptions one might formulate about father-daughter incest after reviewing reported child abuse agency statistics.

¹ From; Ichheiser, Gustav. Appearances and Realities, San Francisco; Jossey-Bass Inc., 1970, 11.

General Comment On Natural Father-Other Father Differences

As noted in the previous section, the child abuse agency reported 54 cases of father-daughter incest; 24 'natural father-daughter' cases and 30 'other father-daughter' cases. An analysis of the recorded file information relating to each of these two groups was conducted. Prefacing and interjecting into this comparison, however, are relevant findings and descriptions relating to the total group; herein referred to as the 'all father' group (N=54). These particular descriptions are offered both as a comparison aid and, where applicable, to note where differences have been found between the findings derived from the analysis of this particular population and the findings reported in the previously reviewed father-daughter incest literature. The following summates the most notable of those findings.²

Reported Age of Daughter At Behavior Disclosure

The father-daughter incest literature reviewed suggests that the average age of the daughter, at the time the incestuous behavior is disclosed to a social agency, (which includes any

² As noted in the previous chapter, the 54 'all father-daughter' incest cases comprise the total of those suspected and reported father-daughter incidents where child abuse agency members have subsequently investigated and compiled file information. As such, the 54 cases represent a total population and should not be regarded as a sample of a population.

one or more of the behavior categories discussed in the previous section) varies between seven years of age (Forward; 1978, 20) and eleven and twelve years of age (Finkelhor; 1979; Geiser; 1979, 22). Of the literature reviewed, none of the authors offered a median age, although Finkelhor (1979) suggests an estimated median of between ten and eleven years.

The agency data for the all-father group, on the other hand, shows the average age of the daughter at the time of disclosure to be closer to the upper end of these reported averages (11.7 years) with little difference between the natural-father group (11.4 years) and the other-father group (11.8 years). Computing the median age, however, appears to move the daughter's age beyond the upper range averages reported in the literature, with all three father groups sharing the same median age (14.0 years). An arbitrary grouping of the daughters into three groups, pre-schoolers (0-6 years), pre-adolescents (7-12 years), adolescents (13-17 years), also shows the largest number of father-daughter incest cases, in the all-father group, to be closer to the adolescent range than the pre-adolescent or the pre-schooler range.

A slight difference between the natural-fathers and other-fathers is noted when examining the 7-12 year range. More other-father cases than natural-father cases fall into this particular category; a finding that also appears to follow for the adolescent group or 13-17 year old category. Table 10 and

Table 11 relate these particular distinctions.³

Table 10
Reported Age of Daughter
At Time of Behavior Disclosure
By Daughter Age Group
(All Father Group)
N=54

Daughter Age Group	All Father Group N=54	% of N
Under 6 years	8	14.8
7-12 years	15	27.8
13-17 years	31	54.4
Total	54	100.0
Mean age	11.7	
Median age	14.0	

³ The behavior categories relating to Table 10 - Table 16 are those considered to be sexually abusive by child abuse agency members (as noted in the previous chapter of this thesis).

Table 11
 Reported Age of Daughter
 At Time of Behavior Disclosure
 By Daughter Age Group
 (Natural and Other Father Group)
 N=54

Daughter Age Group	Natural Father Group n=24	% of N	Other Father Group n=30	% of N
Under 6 years	5	20.8	3	10.0
7-12 years	5	20.9	10	33.3
13-17 years	14	58.3	17	56.7
Total	24	100.0	30	100.0
Mean age	11.4		11.8	
Median age	14.0		14.0	

Reported Age of Daughter At Behavior Initiation

Although it was not possible to discern from the agency file information which of the particular behavior categories initiated the father-daughter relationship, it was possible to discern, for most (50 cases) of the all father group, approximately when the relationship was initiated.⁴

Some of these findings, are at variance with those findings of other incest researchers. For example, nine years of age is considered 'the age of greatest risk' for daughters, according to Summit (1979, 11) and Geiser (1979, 22). An analysis of the agency data leads to the inference that, for this agency at least, the mean age is closer to ten for the all-father group (10.1 years) and a median age closer to twelve (12.2 years).

Some support for Summit (1979, 11) and Geiser (1979, 22) is noted, however, when de-aggregating the all-father group data. The mean age of behavior initiation for the natural-father group is in the nine year age range (9.5 years). But the median age computation, once again, increases 'the age of greatest risk' (11.8 years).

⁴ Each of these approximations, it should be noted, were determined by the child abuse counsellor investigating the case and are based on information gained from a number of sources; the daughter, the mother, other siblings, relatives, and, in some instances, the father. Also, as previously noted, what type of behavior constituted sexual abuse was also determined, primarily, by the investigating counsellor or counsellors.

The other-father group mean (10.7 years) appears to both not support the Summit (1979, 11) or Geiser (1979, 22) finding, but also differs from the natural-father group. And, once again, the median age computation, for the other-father group, moves the daughter's age closer to the adolescent category than to the pre-adolescent category (12.5 years).⁵ Table 12 and Table 13 relate these particular distinctions.

5 It should be noted that median ages were computed only to show that reporting mean age computations may also aid in misleading the reader of father-daughter incest research findings. None of the father-daughter incest authors reviewed reported median ages.

Table 12
 Reported Age of Daughter
 At Time of First Behavior Contact
 By Daughter Age Group
 (All Father Group)
 N=54)

Daughter Age Group	All Father Group N=54	% of N
Under 6 years	8	16.0*
7-12 years	21	42.0*
13-17 years	21	42.0*
Total	50	100.0*
Unknown cases	4	7.4**
Mean age*	10.1	
Median age*	12.2	

* Adjusted percentages; does not include unknown cases.

** Percentage of total (N=54).

Table 13

Reported Age of Daughter
At Time of First Behavior Contact
By Daughter Age Group
(Natural and Other Father Group)
(N=54)

Daughter Age Group	Natural Father Group n=24	% of n	Other Father Group n=30	% of n
Under 6 years	5	21.8*	3	11.2*
7-12 years	9	39.1*	12	44.4*
13-17 years	9	39.1*	12	44.4*
Total	23		27	100.0*
Unknown cases	1	4.2**	3	11.1**
Mean age*	9.5		10.7	
Median age*	11.8		12.5	

* Adjusted percentages; does not include unknown cases.

** Percentage of total (N=54).

Secrecy Time

The length of time between what is judged by a social agency member as being the first sexually abusive behavior by a father towards his daughter and the time when the behavioral relationship is disclosed to a social agency authority, might best be described as 'secrecy time'. Estimates of this particular time range varies throughout the literature. Some authors suggest the father-daughter relationship may last for years (De Francis; 1969; Meiselman; 1978; Summit; 1979; Geiser; 1979; Rush; 1980). Indeed, in some individual instances this may be true, as Meiselman (1978; 61-67) notes from her psychotherapy study. Maisch (1972) and Meiselman (1978), however, do suggest an average secrecy time range based on their studies. Maisch (1972) suggests that the mean age range between the first behavior overtone by the father and the time when the behavioral relationship is disclosed to an outside authority, is three years. Meiselman; 1978) suggests that the mean time range is closer to three and a half years.⁶ None of the researchers reviewed offered a median time range, nor do any of the authors attempt to determine whether or not there is a difference in the secrecy time range between natural-fathers and other-fathers.

⁶ Behavior initiation involves any one of the behavior categories previously described and is not necessarily the same behavior as the behavior reported at the time of disclosure to a social agency.

These mean and median secrecy time ranges, however, were discernable from these agency data. Although there appears to be little variance in secrecy time between the all-father group mean (1.6 years) and the all-father group median (1.8 years), differences are noted when comparing the natural-father group mean (1.9 years) to the other-father group mean (1.1 years). These differences are increased when comparing the natural-father group median (2.2 years) to the other-father group median (1.5 years). Based on the median secrecy time range differences for these data, secrecy time for natural-fathers is 47 percent longer than for other-fathers.⁷ Table 14 and Table 15 note these findings.

⁷ As secrecy time is ultimately dependent on the rate of disclosure, one might well question why non-biological father-daughter incest relationships are disclosed sooner than biological father-daughter incest relationships. Although speculation in this regard is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is interesting to note that none of the father-daughter incest authors reviewed have attempted to empirically examine this particular dimension.

Table 14

Mean Secrecy Time
By Daughter Age
And Father Group
(N=54)

Father Group	Behavior Initiation Age	Behavior Disclosure Age	Secrecy Time (years)
Natural (n=24)	9.5	11.4	1.9
Other (n=30)	10.7	11.8	1.1
All (N=54)	10.1	11.7	1.6

Table 15

Median Secrecy Time
By Daughter Age
And Father Group
(N=54)

Father Group	Behavior Initiation Age	Behavior Disclosure Age	Secrecy Time (Years)
Natural (n=24)	11.8	14.0	2.2
Other (n=30)	12.5	14.0	1.5
All (N=54)	12.2	14.0	1.8

Behavior Category by Daughter Age Group

Several comments regarding the type or category of behavior and the age of the daughter are worthy of note. In the all-father group, for each of the eight behavior categories, the largest percentage of cases involved the adolescent daughter (13-17 year) age group. This particular age group accounted for 31 of the 54 reported cases (57.4%).

The vaginal intercourse and attempted vaginal intercourse behavior category, the behavior category closest to the legal definition of incest, involved 23 of the 54 reported cases, with 16 of the 23 being found in the adolescent daughter age group. Table 16 relates these particular distinctions.

Table 16

Behavior Breakdown
By Daughter Age Group
(All Father Group)
N=54

Behavior Category	(Daughter Age Grouped in Years)							
	0-6	%	7-12	%	13-17	%	n	%
Exhibitionism	-	-	1	1.9	-	-	1	1.9
Fondling	1	1.9	2	3.6	4	7.4	7	12.9
Genital Manip.	5	9.3	4	7.4	7	12.9	16	29.6
Cunnil. (only)	-	-	3	5.5	1	1.9	4	7.4
Fellatio (only)	-	-	-	-	1	1.9	1	1.9
Fell. & Cunnil.	-	-	-	-	1	1.9	1	1.9
Anal Intercourse	-	-	-	-	1	1.9	1	1.9
Inter. & Attempt	2	3.6	5	9.3	16	29.6	23	42.5
Total	8	14.8	15	27.8	31	57.4	54	100.0

A comparison of the natural-father group to the other-father group still shows that, for both groups, the largest percentage of reported cases involve adolescent daughters (13-17 years). In the natural-father group, 14 of the 24 cases involved adolescent daughters (58.3%) and in the other-father group, 17 of the 30 cases reported involved adolescent daughters (56.7%).

Little difference was noted between the natural-father group and the other-father group with respect to behavior category preferences. The percentage of vaginal intercourse or attempted vaginal intercourse was also found to be similar for both father groups (29.1% and 30.0%).

Subtle differences between the natural-father and other-father group are noted, however, when selecting for particular behavior categories by pre-schooler and pre-adolescent age groups.

Genital manipulation with pre-school daughters (0-6 years) accounts for 5 of the 24 reported natural-father cases (20.8%). A single report for each of the fondling, genital manipulation, and cunnilingus (only) behavior categories, with pre-adolescent daughters (7-12 years), accounts for three more of the 24 cases (12.6%). Two reports of intercourse or attempted intercourse with pre-adolescent daughters (7-12 years) accounted for an additional 8.3 percent of the 24 reported natural-father cases.

Also, in the natural-father group, four particular behavior categories were noted in the ten reported cases involving

pre-schoolers (0-6 years) and pre-adolescents (7-12 years); fondling, genital manipulation, cunnilingus (only), and intercourse or attempted intercourse. Of the ten reported cases, however, only two involved intercourse or attempted intercourse; both with pre-adolescent daughters (7-12 years). These two reports represented 8.3 percent of the 24 natural-father cases.

By comparison, in the other-father group, five particular behavior categories are noted involving pre-schoolers (0-6 years) and pre-adolescents (7-12 years); exhibitionism, fondling, genital manipulation, cunnilingus (only), and intercourse or attempted intercourse. Of the thirteen reported cases in these age groups, five involved intercourse or attempted intercourse; two with pre-schoolers (0-6 years) and three with pre-adolescents (7-12 years). These five reports represented 16.7 percent of the 30 other-father cases, or, double that of the natural-father reports for the same daughter age group.

In addition, the analysis of these agency data, with respect to that specific behavior category considered closest to the legal definition for incest (vaginal intercourse), showed that the overall behavior category mean for daughters (11.7 years) increased (12.9 years) when considering only that legal behavior category. And, once again, differences were noted when comparing the daughter age mean in the natural-father group to the daughter age mean in the other-father group for this particular behavior category; showing means of 14 years and 12.2

years respectively. Although the natural-father group median remained unchanged (14 years) the other-father group median increased slightly (13.3 years).

Table 17 reflects the mean and median age of daughters in the vaginal intercourse or attempted vaginal intercourse behavior category for each father group.

Figure 10 graphically illustrates the relationship between the age of the daughter and the number of reported incidences of vaginal intercourse or attempted vaginal intercourse for all fathers. Figure 11 compares this relationship between the natural-father group and the other-father group.

Table 18 and Table 19 relate a breakdown of each of the particular behavior categories for both father groups by daughter age group.

Table 17

Reported Incidences of
Vaginal Intercourse and Attempt
By Daughter Age and Father Group
(N=23)

Father Group	Daughter Mean Age	Daughter Median Age
Natural (n=9)	14	14
Other (n=14)	12.2	13.3
All (N=23)	12.9	13.3

Figure 10
Intercourse and Attempt
All Father Group
By Daughter Age
N=23

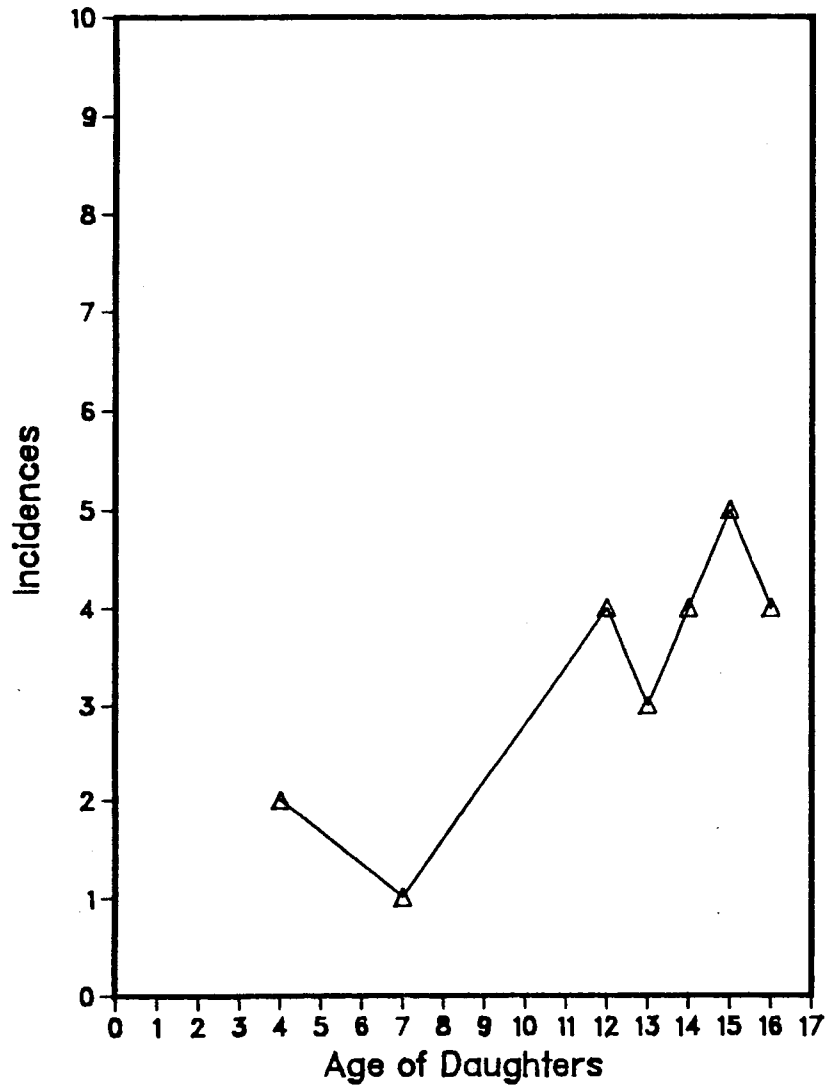


Figure 11
Intercourse and Attempt
Natural Father and Other Father Groups
By Daughter Age
N=23

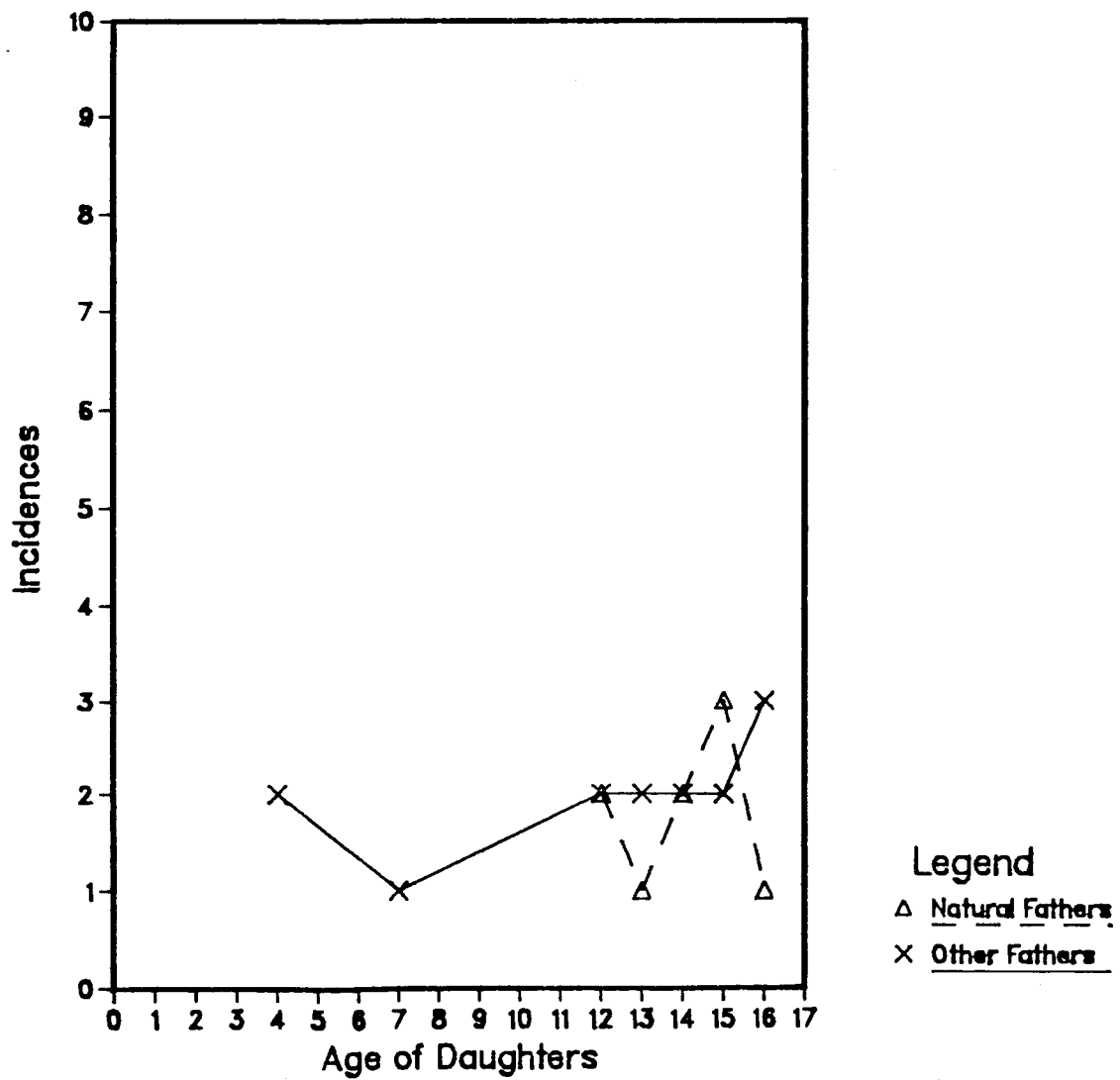


Table 18

Behavior Breakdown
 By Daughter Age Group
 (Natural Father Group)
 N=24

Behavior Category	(Daughter Age Grouped in Years)							
	0-6	%	7-12	%	13-17	%	n	%
Exhibitionism	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fondling	-	-	1	4.2	2	8.3	3	12.5
Genital Manip.	5	20.8	1	4.2	3	12.5	9	37.5
Cunnil. (only)	-	-	1	4.2	-	-	1	4.2
Fellatio (only)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fell. & Cunnil.	-	-	-	-	1	4.2	1	4.2
Anal Intercourse	-	-	-	-	1	4.2	1	4.2
Inter. & Attempt	-	-	2	8.3	7	29.1	9	37.4
Total	5	20.8	5	20.8	14	58.3	24	100.0

Table 19
 Behavior Breakdown
 By Daughter Age Group
 (Other Father Group)
 N=30

Behavior Category	(Daughter Age Grouped in Years)							
	0-6	%	7-12	%	13-17	%	n	%
Exhibitionism	-	-	1	3.3	-	-	1	3.3
Fondling	1	3.3	1	3.3	2	6.7	4	13.3
Genital Manip.	-	-	3	10.0	4	13.3	7	23.4
Cunnil. (only)	-	-	2	6.7	1	3.3	3	10.0
Fellatio (only)	-	-	-	-	1	3.3	1	3.3
Fell. & Cunnil.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Anal Intercourse	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Inter. & Attempt	2	6.7	3	10.0	9	30.0	14	46.7
Total	3	10.0	10	33.3	17	56.7	30	100.0

Discussion

There appears to be some empirical grounds to suggest that differences may be found between the two father groups and the daughters involved in each of the father groups. This finding would appear to lend empirical support to Sagarin's (1977; 135) belief that "it is entirely possible that more would be learned if a distinction were made between the types of fathers".

Based on the analysis of this agency's file information, some notable distinctions were found. For behavior initiation, mean and median daughter ages appear to vary between the two father groups. However, although the natural father group appears to initiate more behaviors with younger daughters than do other fathers, the age of the daughters at the time the relationship is reported to the social agency, appears to be similar.

Regarding vaginal or attempted vaginal intercourse, the behavior category closest to the legal definition for incest, more other-fathers were involved in this behavior with pre-school daughters and pre-adolescent daughters than were natural-fathers. Mean and median daughter ages also varied between the two father groups with respect to this particular behavior category.

'Secrecy time', the time between the initiation of any of the behavior categories and the time a particular behavior

category was disclosed to a social agency, also varied between the two father groups. Natural father-daughter incest relationships, based on the analysis of these data, appear to be kept 'secret' for a longer period, by comparison to non-natural father-daughter incest relationships.

Additional differences were noted between what was reported in the incest literature and what was found in this particular file information. Average or mean ages were found to be somewhat different, with the literature reporting a younger daughter age average for all behavior categories. Greater differences were noted when computing mean and median daughter ages for only the vaginal intercourse or attempted vaginal intercourse category. Further, when considering only vaginal intercourse or attempted vaginal intercourse, reported incidences of this particular behavior category appears to be related to the age of the daughter; the older the daughter, the greater the possibility of this particular behavior category being reported. Also, the initiation of this particular category (based on daughter age) appears to vary slightly between father groups. Natural fathers compared to other fathers, (on the basis of this agency file information), appear to be involved in this particular behavior with daughters who are older.

Certainly, these findings must be regarded with a great deal of scepticism. Considering the overall population size (N=54) any findings inferred must be regarded as exploritive at best and certainly not generalizable beyond this particular data

set. This caution becomes even more critical when it is recognized that, for example, many of the vaginal intercourse and attempted vaginal intercourse inferences are based on sub-populations that are even smaller (N=23). Indeed, larger populations, or samples taken from larger father-daughter incest populations, and a subsequent de-aggregation analysis of the populations, may prove to be in opposition to these particular findings. However, future researchers exploring and investigating this particular behavioral phenomenon, may consider, in light of these exploratory findings, that part of their analysis must include a comparison of father groups whenever they find themselves involved with more than one type of 'father'.

In light of the many problems noted earlier in this thesis with respect to father-daughter incest research, and in light of the findings and conceptual differences noted in the last two sections of this thesis, one is left to question just how valid any statements, derived from social agency file information, might be. Statements derived from file information compiled by social agency members appear not to be as accurate a reflection of the behavioral reality as one might first suppose and these findings tend also to mislead those who conceptualize the behavior somewhat differently than do those agency members accumulating the information.

The final chapter of this thesis will summarize some of the key findings and suggest methods whereby some of these

misleading agency reports may be corrected, and also suggest methods whereby future father-daughter incest researchers may gain more valid and reliable research data.

IX. Conclusion

"Seek simplicity and distrust it"
(Alfred North Whitehead).

Although a major goal in science is to seek parsimony in both theory and research, with respect to human behavior, it may not be advisable to seek this simplicity too soon. The theory and research relating to father-daughter incest, as exemplified in this thesis, appears to reflect the authors' and researchers' desire for parsimoniousness over the desire for accuracy and, subsequently, the best empirical quality. Whether by intent or default, many of these authors appear to have aided some social agencies in generating information that leads the lay public further from, rather than closer to, the empirical truth.

The general intent of this thesis was to argue that father-daughter incest research findings may not be as valid a reflection of that behavioral reality as the authors and researchers reporting the findings suggest. Information relating to both the estimates as to the extent of the behavior and what is believed to be known about the participants involved in the behavior, appear to vary.

Primary to these informational variations, it was argued, is how authors and researchers define key concepts central to the behavior. The researchers perspective, the information source a researcher selects as being a valid source for

reflecting the true behavioral reality, and the particular research method used to investigate the source, also, it was argued, tends to lead researchers to infer findings that are misleading to the readers of that research.

In addition, the process to which each reported father-daughter incest incident is subjected to by primary data collectors (the social agency members) also, it was argued, tends to complicate and distort recorded file information from which secondary data collectors (the incest researcher) examines and makes inferences. Any one or any combination of these factors, it might be concluded, tends only to construct information in such a way as to lead readers of that information to accept notions and beliefs about the behavior that leans further from, rather than closer to, a more accurate reflection and subsequent understanding of the behavioral reality.

Empirical support was given some of these notions by analyzing the file information of a child abuse agency. The social agency definition awarded 'father', 'daughter', and 'incestuous behavior', it was shown, significantly increased the number of father-daughter incidences by comparison to the legal definition. Further, how 'father' is defined also influences inferences made regarding the characteristics of both father and daughter.

Considering that social policy and/or treatment policy may be influenced by the information recorded in social agency files, it becomes critically important not only to determine

precisely as possible what is being recorded in the files, but also how the information came to be recorded. Statistics derived from an aggregate of this type of information may well be constructed to support the agency members perspective which may not necessarily be the same perspective shared by other readers of those statistics. In essence, this total process becomes the vehicle whereby a social 'reality' can be constructed. Only when funding sources insist on social agencies accurately recording and accurately reporting child abuse cases in such a way as to differentiate between 'father-types' and 'behavior categories' will this concern over a potential myth creation or reality construction be dispelled.

Contributions

A common question directed at a thesis of this type is often 'what has this work contributed to the behavior under examination; incest in general and father-daughter incest in particular?' Certainly, the aforementioned comments must be regarded as central to the purpose of the thesis, however, several other contributions are worthy of note.

The Incest Taboo Universality Argument

In addition to a more concise and comprehensive literature review than could be found in any single source dealing with the

argument that incest in general is and always has been a 'universal taboo', this thesis also posited several questions worthy of further discussion. For example, should incest, and particularly father-daughter incest, be considered a 'universal taboo' simply because most societies, over most of their history, believed that the behavior was 'wrong'? Does this belief negate the historical facts that suggest that many societies during some part of their history practiced some aspect of the behavior? Should it not be agreed that belief and practice are necessary, over time and throughout all societies, before a particular behavior can be considered a 'universal taboo'? Indeed, does determining whether or not the behavior is a taboo aid in any relevant manner to the actual understanding of the behavior as practiced in contemporary society?

Although these questions may be deserving of further discussion, the author of this thesis would suggest that the affirmation or negation of any of these questions lends little more than 'interesting reading' to but one more of many complex human behaviors.

Incest Theories

In spite of the aforementioned question relating to the universality of the incest taboo, several sources were examined in an effort to provide the reader of this thesis with a concise and succinct review of the various theories relating to that

notion. However, all the theories, this thesis argued, lacked either logical consistency and/or empirical support. And, once again, whether or not any of these theories aid in understanding the actual father-daughter incest reality, is questionable.

Participant Profiles

A comprehensive review of the empirical literature relating to the descriptive aspects awarded each of the individuals involved in the father-daughter incest dynamic, by authors and researchers of incest, leads the author of this thesis to conclude that most, if not all, of the suggested profiles, must also be held as questionable. Suffice it to say, that this thesis has argued, and concludes, that a descriptive profile of any deviant group, or member of a deviant group, is most useful when it can be compared to a non-deviant group or non-deviant group member. None of the empirical research studies reviewed had obtained comparison groups from a non-deviant population. The extent to which the descriptive profiles can be considered specific to the incest group, therefore, must, as this thesis argued, be held as questionable.

Incest Research Problems

Most of the problems involved with the incest research examined are methodological in nature. Vague operationalizations of key concepts, questionable sources from which incest information was extracted, and questionable research methods, these, in total or in part, aided in generating most of the validity and reliability criticisms posited in this thesis.

In addition, although many single case studies (or studies reporting on five or less cases) can be found in the literature, only seven studies reported 20 or more natural father cases; and these were gained only by extracting them from larger more general studies of incest. The 54 cases examined in this thesis (of which 24 were natural-fathers), therefore, shares in the 'top ten' of large father-daughter incest studies. The question that begs to be asked, however, is, 'can seven or eight questionable studies be considered adequate research from which social and treatment policy can be developed?' The author of this thesis suggests that it is not adequate.

Further, the review of the incest literature revealed not a single study which was directed at how information was accumulated in the files of those sources incest researchers examined. Certainly, as this thesis argued, the process underlying information gathering must also be considered an intergal part of any empirical research question;

father-daughter incest research questions not excluded.

The Agency File Information Analysis

Although an analysis of 54 father-daughter incest cases formed part of this thesis, it should not be considered the essential part of the thesis. More correctly, the analysis aided in supporting some of the notions posited throughout this work. For example, some empirical support was lent Saggarin's (1978) comment that differences may be found between biological fathers and non-biological fathers and that these differences may be important to the study of father-daughter incest in general. Based on the analysis of the child abuse agency file information, this thesis would argue and conclude that differences between the two father groups may be noted in all father-daughter incest studies that deal with several 'father-types'. Indeed, based on the analysis of the child abuse file information, several additional differences were noted between the two father groups. Whether or not these differences can be found in other father-daughter incest studies is difficult to say, however, this thesis argued and concludes that future father-daughter incest researchers would be well advised to be aware of the possibility. After all, treatment programs directed at natural-fathers but based on inferences derived from studies dealing with 'all-father' groups may, understandably, be ineffective.

Future Research

Although this thesis levied several criticisms and questions at the scientific adequacy of empirical incest research in general and father-daughter incest research in particular, and levied criticisms at the lack of methodological rigour overall, it must also be concluded that no single methodology can be considered as the most appropriate for studying and accumulating valid information relating to a human behavioral phenomenon. It may well be that any research design will find difficulty in obtaining data which yields an accurate depiction of the actual father-daughter incest reality. Indeed, multi-methodological and multi-dimensional approaches may be the best way in which to capture the true essences of this particular human behavior. Regardless of the methodological approach, however, some general suggestions for improving future research in this area are worthy to note.

For example, defining and operationalizing key concepts central to the behavior under investigation, in such a way as to clearly differentiate between 'father types' and 'behavior categories', would greatly aid in improving both the empirical accuracy of a study and also aid in comparing the findings of one study to another.

Attempting to select comparison groups or match groups would aid in improving the accuracy of 'father-daughter incest

participant profiles'.

Future researchers might also consider the necessity of examining and comparing how various observers conceptualize father-daughter incest. In this way, a greater understanding of the underlying processes involved in the recording of father-daughter incest information may be gained. For example, no empirical study has attempted to support the notion that the lay public does conceptualize father-daughter incest differently than do child abuse social agency members.

Finally, future researchers might also attempt to determine how and to what extent the mother's involvement in the incest dynamic influences the father-daughter relationship. Certainly, empirical studies focusing on this dimension would have a definite bearing on how feminist theorists view the 'father-daughter affair'.

Although it appears that much of what is known about father-daughter incest and the participants involved in the behavior remains open to debate and examination, the literature, in a general sense, has offered some direction for future research. By incorporating some of the forementioned points in their investigations, future researchers may gain additional information that will narrow the gap between what is believed about the behavior and what is in fact. Hopefully, this work will aid in that endeavor.

APPENDIX A

Initial Case File Questionnaire

General Data

A. Sexual Abuse Offender:

- | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| 1) father | 2) stepfather | 3) surrogate father* | 4) foster father |
| 5) mother | 6) stepmother | 7) surrogate mother* | 8) foster mother |
| 9) brother | 10) stepbrother | 11) foster brother | 12) sister |
| 13) stepsister | 14) fostersister | 15) grandfather | 16) stepgrandfather |
| 17) grandmother | 18) stepgrandmother | 19) uncle | |
| 20) aunt | 21) male cousin | 22) female cousin | 23) brother-in-law |
| 24) sister-in-law | 25) acquaintance/
friend | 26) stranger | |

B. Offense Report By:

- | | | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| 1) child (victim) | 2) mother | 3) father | 4) other family member |
| 5) offender | 6) friend of victim | 7) family friend | 8) neighbour |
| 9) social agency | 10) school | 11) siblings | 12) family doctor |
| 13) other medical
practioner | 14) other | | |

C. Police Involvement?:

- | | | |
|--------|-------|------------|
| 1) yes | 2) no | 3) unknown |
|--------|-------|------------|

* male or female friend of father or mother which ever the case may be

APPENDIX A (continued)

D. Criminal Charges Laid?:

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) unknown

E. Family Court Proceedings in Progress?:

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) unknown

F. Type of Sexual Exploitation:

- 1) exhibitionism
- 2) pornographic use
- 3) bestiality
- 4) fondling
- 5) genital manipulation (masturbation)
- 6) cunnilingus
- 7) fellatio
- 8) anal intercourse (attempt)
- 9) intercourse (attempt)
- 10) variety
- 11) other

N2
G.

Length of abuse:

- 1) one occasion
- 2) 1 month
- 3) 2 months
- 4) 3-6 months
- 5) 6 mth - 1 yr
- 6) 1 yr - 2 yr
- 7) 2 yr - 3 yr
- 8) 3 yr - 5 yr
- 9) over 5 yr
- 10) unknown

H. Frequency of contact:

- 1) daily
- 2) bi-weekly
- 3) weekly
- 4) monthly
- 5) 3 month
- 6) 6 months
- 7) yearly
- 8) once
- 9) unknown

I. Location of abuse:

- 1) victims bedroom
- 2) offenders bedroom
- 3) in home of victim
- 4) park
- 5) car
- 6) other areas
- 7) variety
- 8) unknown

APPENDIX A (continued)

J. Time of sexual abuse:

- 1) morning
- 2) afternoon
- 3) evening
- 4) variety
- 5) unknown

K. Month of Year reported:

- 1) January
- 2) February
- 3) March
- 4) April
- 5) May
- 6) June
- 7) July
- 8) August
- 9) September
- 10) October
- 11) November
- 12) December

L. Year of report:

- 1) 1978
- 2) 1979
- 3) 1980
- 4) 1981

Family Characteristics:

A. Social Economic Class:

- 1) upper
- 2) middle
- 3) lower
- 4) unknown

B. Social Assistance:

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) unknown

C. Work Status of Parent:

- 1) mother part-time, father full-time
- 2) father part-time, mother full-time
- 3) mother part-time, father part-time
- 4) mother full-time, father full-time
- 5) mother part-time, father unemployed
- 6) mother full-time, father unemployed
- 7) father part-time, mother unemployed
- 8) father full-time, mother unemployed
- 9) mother unemployed, father unemployed
- 10) unknown

APPENDIX A (continued)

D. Occupation of Father:

- 1) clerical
- 2) trade
- 3) service
- 4) professional
- 5) unskilled
- 6) unknown

E. Occupation of Mother:

- 1) clerical
- 2) trade
- 3) service
- 4) professional
- 5) unskilled
- 6) housewife
- 7) unknown

F. Marital status:

- 1) married with natural children
- 2) married children stepfather
- 3) married children stepmother
- 4) surrogate father
- 5) surrogate mother
- 6) separated from wife with custody
- 7) separated from husband with custody
- 8) divorced father custody
- 9) divorced mother custody
- 10) single father
- 11) single mother
- 12) married with foster children
- 13) surrogate parents
- 14) unknown

G. Marital history of father:

- 1) first marriage
- 2) second marriage
- 3) common law
- 4) single parent
- 5) previously married, common law at present
- 6) other
- 7) unknown

H. Marital history of mother:

- 1) first marriage
- 2) second marriage
- 3) common law
- 4) single parent
- 5) previously married, common law at present.
- 6) other
- 7) unknown

APPENDIX A (continued)

- I. Family Size:
 1) two
 6) seven
 2) three
 7) eight
 3) four
 8) nine & above
 4) five
 9) unknown
 5) six
- J. Religious affiliation:
 1) Protestant
 5) fundamentalist
 2) Catholic
 6) other
 3) Mormon
 7) unknown
 4) Judaism
- K. History of Social Agency Contact:
 1) other involvement at present not sexual abuse
 2) previous involvement not sexual abuse
 3) involvement physical abuse present
 4) involvement physical abuse previous
 5) previous involvement sexual abuse
 6) other
 7) unknown
 8) no
- L. Community Involvement:
 1) isolated
 4) unknown
 2) low profile some activity
 3) high profile
- M. Previous History of Physical Abuse:
 1) yes
 2) no
 3) unknown
- N. Would Family be Re-Assessed as Dysfunctional Unit:
 1) yes
 2) no
 3) unknown
- O. Has Family Previously been Assessed as Dysfunctional Unit:
 1) yes
 2) no
 3) unknown

APPENDIX A (continued)

- P. Is Sexual Assault Multi-Generational:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown
- Q. Is Physical Assault Multi-Generational:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown
- R. Is Dysfunctional Family unit Multi-Generational:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown
- S. Does Family have Strict Sexual Morals (Including Little or no Sex Education):
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown
- T. Does Family Believe in Liberal Sexual Morality (Including Incest):
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown
- U. Is Family Concerned with Community Standards:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown
- V. Is Sexual Assault used as Incident to Maintain Function and Avoid Separation:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown
- W. Is Adequate Privacy Available for Family Members:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown

APPENDIX A (continued)

X. Has Family Been Observed or Assessed as Having Psychiatric Disorder:

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) unknown

Y. Are Parents Harsh with Strict Discipline:

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) unknown

Z. Upon Disclosure did Family Overall Interpret Victim as Attention Seeking:

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) unknown

Aa. Which of the Following Characteristics would be Attributed to the Family:

- 1) overly affectionate
- 2) very unaffectionate
- 3) high regard physical punishment
- 4) low regard physical punishment
- 5) little financial stress
- 6) high financial stress
- 7) parents very strict
- 8) parents derelict in duty a lot of freedom
- 9) employment stress
- 10) closed isolated family
- 11) others
- 12) unknown

APPENDIX A (continued)

Victim Characteristics:

- A. Sex:
- 1) Male
 - 2) Female
- B. Victims Presentage:
- 1) 0-1 yr
 - 2) 1-2yr
 - 3) 2-3yr
 - 4) 3-5yr
 - 5) 5-6yr
 - 6) 5-6yr
 - 7) 6-7yr
 - 8) 7-8yr
 - 9) 8-9yr
 - 10) 9-10yr
 - 11) 10-11yr
 - 12) 11-12yr
 - 13) 12-13yr
 - 14) 13-14yr
 - 15) 14-15yr
 - 16) 15-16yr
 - 17) 16-17yr
 - 18) other
 - 19) unknown
- C. Religion:
- 1) Protestant
 - 2) Catholic
 - 3) Mormon
 - 4) Judaism
 - 5) fundamentalist
 - 6) other
 - 7) unknown
- D. Race/Ethnicity:
- 1) Irish
 - 2) Italian
 - 3) German
 - 4) French Canadian
 - 5) Polish
 - 6) French
 - 7) Spanish
 - 8) English
 - 9) Scottish
 - 10) Jewish
 - 11) Native Indian
 - 12) East Indian
 - 13) N.A. Black
 - 14) Caribbean Black
 - 15) other
 - 16) unknown

APPENDIX A (continued)

F. Education:

- | | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1) pre-school | 2) grade 1 | 3) grade 2 | 4) grade 3 |
| 5) grade 4 | 6) grade 5 | 7) grade 6 | 8) grade 7 |
| 9) grade 8 | 10) grade 9 | 11) grade 10 | 12) grade 11 |
| 13) grade 12 | 14) dropped out | 15) other | 16) unknown |

G. Age Initial Assault:

- | | | | |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1) 0-1 yr | 2) 1-2yr | 3) 2-3yr | 4) 3-5yr |
| 5) 5-6yr | 6) 5-6yr | 7) 6-7yr | 8) 7-8yr |
| 9) 8-9yr | 10) 9-10yr | 11) 10-11yr | 12) 11-12yr |
| 13) 12-13yr | 14) 13-14yr | 15) 14-15yr | 16) 15-16yr |
| 17) 16-17yr | 18) other | 19) unknown | |

H. Type of Encounter:

- | | |
|--|------------|
| 1) situation to which victim actively agreed and involved | 5) unknown |
| 2) situation to which victim passively agreed and involved | |
| 3) situation which was forced physical contact | |
| 4) situation which was emotional force for contact | |

I. Bribery Involved:

- | | | |
|--------|-------|------------|
| 1) yes | 2) no | 3) unknown |
|--------|-------|------------|

J. Type of Bribery:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1) emotional | 2) attention |
| 3) economic | 4) special privileges |
| 5) protection from physical abuse | 6) protection other siblings |
| 7) no | sexual abuse |
| 9) unknown | 8) others |

APPENDIX A (continued)

K. Has Victim Been Observed or Assessed as having Psychiatric Problem:

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) unknown

L. How Did Disclosure Occur:

- 1) victim telling person outside family
- 2) sibling discovered and told
- 3) mother discovered and told
- 4) someone in extended family discovered and told
- 5) someone outside family discovered
- 6) direct retaliation threat to offender
- 7) victim reporting to social agency
- 8) other
- 9) unknown

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M. When Disclosure Occurred:

- 1) was it threat to gain freedom
- 2) upsetting to victim as satisfied in relationship
- 3) protection of younger siblings
- 4) someone else reported child denies confirms
- 5) someone else reported child confirms
- 6) other
- 7) unknown

N. How Does Victim See Offender:

- 1) as responsible for acts
- 2) self as responsible for acts
- 3) blames mother
- 4) blames siblings
- 5) other
- 6) unknown

O. How Does Victim See Mother:

- 1) at fault for sexual acts
- 2) as threat to her relationship with offender
- 3) as a competitive figure for attention offender
- 4) as supportive for victim
- 5) unknown

APPENDIX A (continued)

- P. How Does Victim See Father:
- 1) as rigid authoritarian
 - 2) effective father
 - 3) as threat physically or sexually
 - 4) other
 - 5) unknown
- Q. Has Victim Ever Been Charged with Criminal Offense:
- 1) yes
 - 2) no
 - 3) unknown
- R. Has Victim Appeared in Court on Charges:
- 1) yes
 - 2) no
 - 3) unknown
- S. Has Victim Ever Participated in C.J.S. Program Such As Diversion or Probation:
- 1) yes
 - 2) no
 - 3) unknown
- T. Has Victim Ever Been Involved in the Following Offences:
- 1) shoplifting
 - 2) theft
 - 3) B & E
 - 4) car theft
 - 5) alcohol related offences
 - 6) drug related offences
 - 7) arson or fire related offences
 - 8) others
 - 9) no
 - 10) unknown
- U. Has Victim Ever Been Involved in Prostitution:
- 1) yes
 - 2) no
 - 3) unknown

APPENDIX A (continued)

V. Has Victim Ever Been Involved in:

- 1) excessive use of alcohol
- 2) excessive use of drugs
- 3) suicide attempts
- 4) self-mutilation
- 5) seductive type behavior
- 6) running away
- 7) excessive clinging, touching dependency
- 8) others
- 9) no
- 10) unknown

W. Has Victim Ever Been:

- 1) pregnant
- 2) miscarried
- 3) abortion
- 4) V.D.
- 5) no
- 6) unknown
- 7) N.A.

X. Could Victim Be Described As Having:

- 1) made inappropriate sexual overtures older males
- 2) seen as shy or frigid towards males
- 3) normal relations for her age
- 4) being excessive promiscuous
- 5) unknown

Y. Has Victim Displayed any of Following Physical Indicators:

- 1) physical trauma genital areas
- 2) awkward walk as if stiff
- 3) bruises mouth
- 4) bruises breasts, thighs, buttocks
- 5) pain in abdomen
- 6) pain in throat
- 7) offensive vaginal odour
- 8) migraine headaches
- 9) obesity
- 10) hoarding food
- 11) anorexia nervosa
- 12) pregnancy refusal to identify father
- 13) hyperactivity
- 14) fainting spells
- 15) fecal spoiling
- 16) others
- 17) unknown

APPENDIX A (continued)

Bb. When Disclosure Occurred did Victim Reveal:

- 1) guilt and shame
- 2) child separated self physically and mentally to cope with assault
- 3) encountered blurred and repressed
- 4) inconsistent stories about facts
- 5) child uncertain somewhat apologetic
- 6) child feared punishment disapproval so kept secret
- 7) child enjoyed bribes for secrecy
- 8) fear of family break-up
- 9) others
- 10) unknown

Cc. Has Victim Been Seen as Incurable, Running Away, Behavioral Problems Generally:

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) unknown

246 Dd. Victim Attempted to Disclose Relationship Previously to:

- 1) Mother
- 2) father
- 3) siblings
- 4) friends
- 5) relatives
- 6) teacher
- 7) social agency
- 8) others
- 9) no
- 10) unknown

Ee. Is Victim Responsible for Great Amount of Maintenance and Household Chores for Siblings and Father:

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) unknown

Ff. Sleeping Arrangements for Victim:

- 1) own room
- 2) share room 1 same sex
- 3) share room 2 same sex
- 4) share room 3 or more same sex
- 5) share room 1 opposite sex
- 6) share room 2 opposite sex
- 7) share room 3 or more opposite sex
- 8) unknown

APPENDIX A (continued)

Z. Has Victim Displayed any of following Behavioral Indicators:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1) pre-occupation sexual acts and terms inappropriate for age | 2) seductive around older males |
| 3) fear showers closed doors | 4) attractive charming personality |
| 5) poor eye contact | 6) depression and or anxiety |
| 7) little self-control emotions or acts | 8) aggressive witness |
| 10) unemotional to events that call for emotion | 9) hyperactive behaviour |
| 13) fear of home generally | 11) sleep disturbances, nightmares |
| 15) fear of going to bed | 12) exposing self |
| 17) fear of separation of family | 14) hysterical to small events |
| 19) seek sexual contact anyone | 16) fear of house being destroyed |
| 21) knowledge of sex beyond years | 18) pre-adolescence interest in fire |
| 23) other | 20) regressing behavior (thumbsucking) |
| 25) unknown | 22) lack of sexual knowledge, terminology and understanding |
| | 24) no |

Aa. Does Victim Experience Any of Following in School:

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| 1) absenteeism excessive with note from parents | 2) truancy |
| 3) concentration problems | 4) behavioral problems |
| 5) tiredness falling asleep in class | 6) fear of going home after school |
| 7) discusses fear of father | 8) problems peer relationship |
| 9) refusal to undress for physical education | 10) no |
| 11) unknown | |

APPENDIX A (continued)

Gg. Has Victim Previously Been Sexually Abused by Another Offender:

- | | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-------------|
| 1) father | 2) stepfather | 3) surrogate father | (boyfriend) |
| 4) foster father | 5) mother | 6) stepmother | |
| 7) surrogate mother | 8) foster mother | 9) brother | |
| (girlfriend) | 11) foster brother | 12) sister | |
| 10) stepbrother | 14) foster sister | 15) grandfather | |
| 13) stepsister | 17) grandmother | 18) step grandmother | |
| 16) step grandfather | 20) aunt | 21) male cousin | |
| 19) uncle | 23) brother-in-law | 24) sister-in-law | |
| 22) female cousin | 26) stranger | 27) no | |
| 25) acquaintance | | | |
| friend | | | |

APPENDIX A (continued)

Father Characteristics:

A. Status of Father:

- 1) natural
- 2) step
- 3) surrogate
- 4) foster
- 5) other
- 6) unknown
- 7) N.A.

B. Age:

- 1) 16-20
- 2) 21-24
- 3) 25-28
- 4) 29-32
- 5) 33-36
- 6) 37-40
- 7) 41-44
- 8) 45-48
- 9) 49-52
- 10) 53-56
- 11) 57-60
- 12) 60-above
- 13) N.A.

C. Religious Affiliation:

- 1) Protestant
- 2) Catholic
- 3) Mormon
- 4) Judaism
- 5) Fundamentalist
- 6) other
- 7) unknown
- 8) N.A.

D. Race/Ethnicity:

- 1) Irish
- 2) Italian
- 3) German
- 4) French Canadian
- 5) Polish
- 6) French
- 7) Spanish
- 8) English
- 9) Scottish
- 10) Jewish
- 11) Native Indian
- 12) East Indian
- 13) N.A. Black
- 14) Caribbean Black
- 15) other
- 16) unknown
- 17) N.A.

E. Citizenship:

- 1) Canadian
- 2) Landed Immigrant
- 3) other
- 4) unknown
- 5) N.A.

APPENDIX A (continued)

F. Education:

- 1) grade school
- 2) high school
- 3) college post-secondary 2yrs.
- 4) university B.A.
- 5) graduate work
- 6) post-graduate work
- 7) unknown
- 8) N.A.

G. Father Appear to Have Problem with Alcohol:

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) unknown
- 4) N.A.

H. Father Appear to have Problem with Drugs:

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) unknown
- 4) N.A.

I. Would Father Appear to have Attained Previous to Sexual Assault Proper Bonding Relationship with Children:

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) unknown
- 4) N.A.

J. Does Father have any Previous Criminal Charges:

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) unknown
- 4) N.A.

K. Would Father's Marital Situation be Classified as Poor:

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) unknown
- 4) N.A.

L. Would Father's Verbal Communication with Wife be Classified as Poor:

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) unknown
- 4) N.A.

APPENDIX A (continued)

M. How would Father's Sexual Relationship with Wife be Classified:

- 1) very frequent
- 2) frequent (once a week)
- (3 times a week at least)
- 3) infrequent (less than once a month)
- 4) very infrequent
- 5) unknown
- (less than every 6 months)
- 6) N.A.

N. Would Father's Verbal Communication with Children be Classified as Poor:

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) unknown
- 4) N.A.

O. Would Father be Classified as a Self-centred Individual:

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) unknown
- 4) N.A.

P. Would Father be considered a Rigid Authoritarian:

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) unknown
- 4) N.A.

Q. Would Father be Classified as Having a Poor Self-image:

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) unknown
- 4) N.A.

R. Previous to Sexual Assault has Father Experienced any of the Following in Reference to Employment:

- 1) recently fired
- 2) promotion
- 3) laid off
- 4) problems maintaining steady employment
- 5) high pressure stress related job
- 6) unsatisfied with employment
- 7) good work record
- 8) no
- 9) other
- 10) unknown
- 11) N.A.

APPENDIX A (continued)

- S. Father Appears to be of Normal Intelligence:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- T. Father Has Not Been Known to be Involved in Extra-marital Affairs:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- U. Father Overreacts to Sex Education for his Children within Educational System:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- V. Father Overprotective of Children and Tends to be Jealous of Adolescent Behavior (Dating):
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- W. At Disclosure Father's Reaction is:
1) child seeking attention 2) confesses but saying guiding sex-education
3) child seductive towards father 4) if admits claims intoxication
5) if admits claims mental stress 6) if admits claims drugs
7) other 8) denial
9) unknown 10) other
11) N.A.
- X. Does Father Physically Abuse His Wife:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- Y. Does Father Physically Abuse His Children:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.

APPENDIX A (continued)

- Z. Does Father Physically abuse Victim:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- Aa. Does Father Sexually abuse Wife:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- Bb. Does Father Sexually abuse Siblings:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- Cc. Was Father Sexually Abused as A Child:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- Dd. Was Father Physically Abused as a Child:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- Cc. Was Father Emotionally Abused as a Child:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- Dd. Previous to Assault did Father Have Separate Sleeping Arrangements from His Wife:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- Ee. Has Father Had Any Major Physical Illnesses:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.

APPENDIX A (continued)

Ff. Has Father had any Major Mental Illnesses:

1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.

Gg. Does Father Have any Pedophilia Associations:

1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.

APPENDIX A (continued)

Mother Characteristics:

- A. Status:
- 1) natural
 - 2) step
 - 3) surrogate
 - 4) foster
 - 5) other
 - 6) unknown
 - 7) N.A.
- C. Religious Affiliation:
- 1) Protestant
 - 2) Catholic
 - 3) Morman
 - 4) Judiasm
 - 5) Fundamentalist
 - 6) other
 - 7) unknown
 - 8) N.A.
- D. Race/Ethnicity:
- 1) Irish
 - 2) Italian
 - 3) German
 - 4) French Canadian
 - 5) Polish
 - 6) French
 - 7) Spanish
 - 8) English
 - 9) Scottish
 - 10) Jewish
 - 11) Native Indian
 - 12) East Indian
 - 13) N.A. Black
 - 14) Caribbean Black
 - 15) other
 - 16) unknown
 - 17) N.A.
- E. Citizenship:
- 1) Canadian
 - 2) Landed Immigrant
 - 3) other
 - 4) unknown
 - 5) N.A.
- F. Education:
- 1) grade school
 - 2) high school
 - 3) college post-secondary 2yrs.
 - 4) university B.A.
 - 5) graduate work
 - 6) post-graduate work
 - 7) unknown
 - 8) N.A.

APPENDIX A (continued)

- G. Mother Appear to Have Problem with Alcohol:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- H. Mother Appear to have Problem with Drugs:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- I. Would Mother Appear to have Attained a Proper Bonding Relationship with Children:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- J. Is Mother Emotionally Dependent on Husband:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- K. Would Mother's Verbal Communication with Husband be Classified as Poor:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- L. How would Mother's Sexual Relationship with Wife be Classified:
1) very frequent (3 times a week at least) 2) frequent (once a week)
3) infrequent (less than once a month) 4) very infrequent
5) unknown (less than every 6 months)
6) N.A.
- M. Is Mother Economically Dependent on Husband:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- N. Is Mother a Passive Subservient Woman:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.

APPENDIX A (continued)

- O. Would Mother Appear to have a Poor Self-image:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- P. Does Mother See Child as A Competitive Figure for Her Role:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- Q. Did Mother Admit That Victim Attempted to Tell her About Abuse Before Actual Disclosure:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- R. Did Mother Have Knowledge of abuse Previous to Disclosure:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- S. Was Mother Physically Abused as a Child:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- T. Was Mother Sexually Abused as a Child:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- U. Was Mother Emotionally Abused as a Child:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.

APPENDIX A (continued)

- V. Where was Mother When Abuse Occurred (generally):
- 1) at work
 - 2) shopping
 - 3) in house
 - 4) recreation or visiting
 - 5) hospital
 - 6) other
 - 7) unknown
 - 8) N.A.
- W. Has Mother Been Physically Abused by Husband:
- 1) yes
 - 2) no
 - 3) unknown
 - 4) N.A.
- X. Has Mother Been Sexually Abused by Husband:
- 1) yes
 - 2) no
 - 3) unknown
 - 4) N.A.
- Y. Would Mother be Classified as Having Overly Strict, Prudish Sexual Morals:
- 1) yes
 - 2) no
 - 3) unknown
 - 4) N.A.
- Z. Did Mother take part in Sexual Education with Victim:
- 1) yes
 - 2) no
 - 3) unknown
 - 4) N.A.
- Aa. Did Mother take part in Sexual Education with Siblings:
- 1) yes
 - 2) no
 - 3) unknown
 - 4) N.A.
- Bb. What did Mother do at Time of Disclosure:
- 1) deny saying child's imagination
 - 2) admits and is relieved
 - 3) denies any knowledge but accepts it
 - 4) N.A.
- Cc. Does Mother Physically abuse Victim:
- 1) yes
 - 2) no
 - 3) unknown
 - 4) N.A.

APPENDIX A (continued)

- Dd. Does Mother Physically Abuse Siblings:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- Ee. Does Mother Sexually Abuse Victim:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- Ff. Does Mother Sexually Abuse Siblings:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- Gg. Previous to Disclosure Did Mother have Separate Sleeping Arrangements from her Husband:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- Hh. Has Mother Had any Major Physical Illnesses:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- Ii. Does Mother Have any Criminal Charges:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- Jj. Would Mother be Classified as Ineffective Parent with Victim:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- Kk. Would Mother be Classified as Ineffective Parent with Siblings:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.

APPENDIX A (continued)

Ll. Would Mother be Considered of Normal Intelligence:

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) unknown
- 4) N.A.

Mm. Has Mother Suffered any Major Mental Illnesses:

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) unknown
- 4) N.A.

APPENDIX A (continued)

Sibling General Characteristics:

- A. Are Siblings Aware of Sexual Abuse: 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
1) yes
- B. Have Any of Siblings Been Sexually abused Besides Victim:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- C. Would Siblings be Characterized as being Jealous of Special Attention Given to Victim by Offender:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- D. Have any of the Siblings been Physically Abused:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- E. Do Siblings Have Good Communications and Relationship with Father:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- F. Do Siblings Have Good Communications and Relationship with Mother:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.
- G. Do Siblings Have Good Communications and Relationship with Victim:
1) yes 2) no 3) unknown 4) N.A.

APPENDIX A (continued)

- H. Do Siblings have Knowledge of Sex Education From:
- | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|
| 1) mother | 2) father | 3) peers | 4) school |
| 5) other | 6) no | 7) unknown | 8) N.A. |
- I. Were Siblings Interviewed by Social Agency:
- | | | | |
|--------|-------|------------|---------|
| 1) yes | 2) no | 3) unknown | 4) N.A. |
|--------|-------|------------|---------|
- J. Are Siblings Considered At Risk After Disclosure:
- | | | | |
|--------|-------|------------|---------|
| 1) yes | 2) no | 3) unknown | 4) N.A. |
|--------|-------|------------|---------|
- K. Ordinal Position of Children:
- | | | | |
|---------|-------------|------------|--------|
| 1) only | 2) youngest | 3) 2nd | 4) 3rd |
| 5) 4th | 6) 5th | 7) 6th | 8) 7th |
| 9) 8th | 10) 9th | 11) oldest | |
- L. Oldest or Only Child Living at Home:
- | | | | |
|--------|-------|------------|---------|
| 1) yes | 2) no | 3) unknown | 4) N.A. |
|--------|-------|------------|---------|

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