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REACTIONS TO TWO TYPES OF INCEST OFFENDERS
" AS A FUNCTION OF THEIR PAST

A Thesis

by

HENRY N. MCGOVERN
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ABSTRACT

REACTIONS TO TWO TYPES OF INCEST OFFENDERS AS A
FUNCTION OF THEIR PAST. (December 1982)

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The father-daughter incest taboo has existed for centuries, posing critical problems to psychotherapists ranging from disbelief of victims' reports to clumsy therapeutic management of the problem. The majority of father incest-offenders fall into two diagnostic categories, the symbiotic and the psychopathic. In the present study, reactions to simulated stories of psychopathic and symbiotic offenders were compared using 120 college students as respondents. Half of the respondents read descriptions of the deprived and abused childhoods of the offenders, while the other half did not read the childhood descriptions. Male subjects were compared with females. Perceived appropriate consequences for the offense were also ascertained. The results indicated that subjects perceived the incest

offender as "disgusting," "perverted," and "sick" and rated the psychopathic as more "aggressive" ($\chi^2 = 10.05$, $p < .002$) than the symbiotic offender and the symbiotic offender as more "sensitive" ($\chi^2 = 6.2$, $p < .01$) than the psychopathic. Although the offender was perceived pejoratively, the recommended consequences were humane. Subjects reading childhood descriptions of offenders perceived the fathers as more "depressed" than subjects not reading the descriptions. Females in the group responding to the symbiotic offender with no childhood presentation rated him as more "disgusting" ($\chi^2 = 9.64$, $p < .002$), "perverted" ($\chi^2 = 5.52$, $p < .02$), "sick" ($\chi^2 = 5.73$, $p < .02$) and "filthy" ($\chi^2 = 5.47$, $p < .02$) than the male subjects. Other significant differences of less importance were found between the sexes in the other groups. Discussion indicates that although negative reactions toward father-daughter incest appear consistent with the taboo, a humane treatment approach seems to be gaining popularity.

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INTRODUCTION

While father-daughter incest has a long history, dating back at least as early as the Biblical era, only in the last few decades has its effects been systematically investigated by the psychotherapeutic community. Still, the majority of the mental health profession continue to demonstrate a lack of understanding and inadequate treatment methods to this critical problem (Burgess, Groth, Holmstrom, & Sgroi, 1978). For instance, Peters (1976) and Geiser(1979) described therapists as construing incest events as Oedipal/Elektra fantasies of the victims when the event is frequently at a dangerous level. Others (Herman & Hirschman, 1977; Browning & Boatman, 1977; Justice & Justice, 1979) indicated that therapists and physicians tend to deny incest occurrences, distance themselves from the victim, and become reluctant to investigate the situation. Herman (1981) indicated that many victims are disbelieved or asked insulting questions such as, "Did you enjoy it?" Further, Sgroi (1982, p. 4) noted that, "In 1978 it was possible to gather most of the notable professionals involved in child-sexual abuse intervention in the United States together in one room and

have fewer than 30 persons present. This will not be the case in 1988." It seems that further research is necessary to alert the mental health and law enforcement communities to the occurrence of incest in the hope that the perpetrators may receive effective therapeutic intervention rather than shunning, ridicule, and disbelief.

Perhaps because incest has remained the most profound of taboos (DeMott, 1980), specification of its incidence becomes a difficult matter. While sibling incest has occurred most frequently, the father-daughter type ranks second and represents the most damaging impact. Although some researchers have indicated that it is impossible to accurately estimate the frequency of occurrence (Scott, 1977), Finkelhor (1978) estimated that 1% of the nation's girls of childhood and adolescent ages have been involved in father-daughter incest. Courtois (1979) stated that the occurrence is increasing, and Herman and Hirschman (1977) reported that 2 to 3% of young girls in their clinical population have experienced sexual abuse by an older male relative. Regardless of which researcher was the most accurate in specifying the incidence of father-daughter incest, the problem is probably a growing one, and appropriate conceptualization and treatment of it are necessary.

To emphasize the importance of attending clinically and legally to the father-daughter incest crisis, it is important to describe the damaging effects experienced by daughters. A preponderance of evidence indicates that daughters involved in sexual relations with their fathers experience long-term guilt, low self-esteem, and depression (Anderson & Schafer, 1979; Burgess, Groth, Holmstrom, & Sgroi, 1978; Geiser, 1979; Herman & Hirschman, 1977; James, 1977; Justice & Justice, 1979; Krieger, Rosenthal, Gordon, & Bennett, 1980; Peters, 1976; Rist, 1979). Other long-term problems include difficulties relating to men that may take the form of promiscuity and prostitution (Browning & Boatman, 1977; Herman & Hirschman, 1977; James & Meyerding, 1979; Rist, 1979) and sexual dysfunction (Geiser, 1979; Justice & Justice, 1979). Further, Justice and Justice (1979) stated that the longer the period of incest occurs, the more long-term will be the damage to the victim. As father-daughter incest relationships frequently continue for periods of approximately five years of the victim's developmental years, one can understand the severity of the long-term consequences.

Some of the short-term consequences provide cues to the professional that father-daughter incest is being practiced. Justice and Justice (1979) reported

that the mood and behavior of the adolescent girl become depressed, and she shows a low self-image. In addition, they indicated that the daughter and mother frequently engage in a role-reversal with the daughter acting as a parent and the mother acting as a child. So the daughter cooks, cleans and takes care of the younger children, while the mother abandons these duties. The daughter becomes secretive regarding the sexual abuse, and a vaginal exam occasionally provides evidence of venereal disease. The preadolescent and adolescent girl usually shows eating and sleeping problems during the period in which sexual relations with her father are being experienced (Geiser, 1979; Justice & Justice, 1979). Justice and Justice also indicated that the preadolescent girl may evidence enuresis, soiling, hyperactivity, fears, phobias, compulsive behavior, learning problems, compulsive masturbation, and excessive seductive behavior. Geiser (1979) likewise stated that daughters show learning problems or hyperactivity in addition to somatic complaints, especially abdominal pain, anxiety, withdrawal and fatigue.

Herman and Hirschman (1981) compared girls whose fathers had limited their exploitations to seductive behavior to girls whose fathers had engaged them in overt sexual behavior. The latter clinical group showed higher incidence of runaways, suicide attempters,

and pregnant teenagers. It is clear that the traumatic effects experienced by the victims of father-daughter incest warrant immediate research efforts and therapeutic advances.

Perhaps the physical event of incest is not responsible for the severity of consequences experienced by the victim. Koch (1980) asserted that the biological and psychological effects of sexual abuse in children are variable, depending on the child's developmental status and the nature of the abuse. Justice and Justice (1979) asserted that some individuals involved in incest relations with their fathers do not experience harmful effects, while DeMott (1980) noted that a master's thesis on "positive incest" was presented at the American Psychiatric Association's 1978 meeting. The female presenter described the event as "an ongoing incestuous relationship which seemed... the happiest period of my life" (p. 12). An editorial note provided at the end of William R. Shelton's "A Study of Incest" (1975) describes a woman who "from the age of six onwards for several years, had an undiscovered happy sexual relationship with her father...and could not be regarded as altogether harmful" (p. 151). While the majority of clinical reports indicate the harmful effects of incest, one must consider that clinical reports, by definition, emphasize clinical

problems. At the same time, nonharmful incest incidents may escape the psychotherapeutic community.

These assertions lead one to speculate on the nature of the specific mechanism(s) responsible for the prevalent trauma involved in father-daughter incest.

The Ultimate Taboo

A plethora of evidence suggest that the severe consequences of incest result from perceiving the sexual relationship as a horrible event that should be kept secret and regarded as a shameful taboo (Burgess, Holmstrom, & McCausland, 1977; Burgess, Groth, Holmstrom, & Sgroi, 1978; Geiser, 1979; Graves & Sgroi, 1982; Herman & Hirschman, 1977; James, 1977; Justice & Justice, 1979; Krieger, Rosenfield, Gordon, & Bennett, 1980; Masters, 1963; Rist, 1979; Sagarin, 1977; Scott, 1977). The reasons for the development of the taboo appear to be mostly superstitious and partially protective and pragmatic.

Justice and Justice (1979) describe the taboo as originating from a superstition of angering the gods during humanity's more primitive era. They also indicate that the taboo's later purpose was an economic one, as it precluded individuals within a family from marrying. Since families usually specialized in one survival skill such as hunting, fishing and the like, individuals marrying within a family would restrict

that family's bartering to the skill practiced by that family. Conversely, marriage between families would promote barter involving various skills and would better fulfill families' needs. It is interesting to note that this aspect of the taboo insured against interfamily marriage but not interfamilial sex.

The biological or "instinctive" theory has postulated a natural, innate aversion towards incest. As Justice and Justice (1979) have indicated, if this instinctive theory were valid, there would be no need for a taboo against the problem. Justice and Justice (1979) stated that although the theory "appeals to those who want to believe that incest does not occur, that it is 'a violation of nature,' the evidence refutes the theory" (p. 276). The interested reader can refer to Meiselman (1978) to find five arguments contradicting the theory of biological barriers to incest.

Consistent with Darwin's primal horde theory, Freud (1913, 1942) developed a quasi-anthropological explanation of the incest taboo. According to the horde theory, early humans lived in a horde controlled by a tyrannical father who drove his sons away to keep all the females for himself. Eventually, the sons banded together and committed patricide so that they could enjoy the females, but two problems developed for the brothers. First, they felt remorse because in

addition to hating the father, they also loved him. Second, rivalry and competition for the females developed between the brothers which resulted in their destroying themselves. Consequently, the brothers created the incest taboo which prohibited them from sexual advances toward the female and avoided their own destruction.

Meiselman (1978) noted that Freud was dissatisfied with his explanation and that antropologists have viewed it as "nothing short of fantastic." It may best be regarded as an allegory of the conditions of primitive families.

A family-oriented theory was offered by the anthropologist, Malinowski (cited by Meiselman, 1978). This theory emphasized that incest is a taboo in order to prevent role confusion, the upsetting of age distinctions, and the mixing up of generations. In this instance, the reasons given for the taboo seem to be more helpful to the problem than the reasons offered by other theories of the taboo.

Although Freud conceived of incest reports from his patients as repressed childhood fantasies, Shelton (1975) notes that in Totem and Taboo, Freud based the crime of incest on the wish of the son to murder his father. The consequence of this wish was theorized to be a tremendous burden of guilt. Again, it is

interesting to note that Freud conceptualized mother-son incest, but construed the reports of incest from his female patients as fantasies. That is, he considered fantasy what very well may have been fact. Unfortunately, vestiges of Freud remain in contemporary therapy.

Although various theories have posited irrational and rational motives for the origin of the taboo, it has become increasingly evident that the effect of the taboo is the most psychologically devastating aspect of an incestuous relationship. While Scott (1977) indicated that in his clinical practice the most difficult problem is the "secret-secret," Masters (1963) stated that the physical act of incest is probably not as harmful as the opinions and reactions of society encountered by the victim. This assertion has been supported by reports from the majority of victims (James, 1977; Burgess et al., 1978; Justice & Justice, 1979). Further, Masters asserted, "There is nothing essentially harmful about sexual intercourse with a close relative. The behavior is damaging, partly or entirely, because it is so strongly prohibited" (p. 195). Masters continued his comment upon the nature of the taboo. "The foundations of its existence are not really pragmatic and benevolent; they are irrational, superstitious and punitive...incest is evil on a

metaphysical level" (p. 198). It seems the elimination of the taboo would minimize pathology and foster clinical efforts toward treating other incest problems that are not "superstitious" or "metaphysically" based; e.g., the daughters role-reversal with the mother.

Several writers have asserted that shame and guilt stem from the message of the taboo, that incest is horrible, wicked and disgusting. Herman and Hirschman (1977) and James (1977) concluded that the shame and guilt experienced by victims is a result of society's perspective of viewing incest as a taboo. They described victims as becoming increasingly burdened with guilt and shame, as they felt the need to keep the incest event a secret. James indicated the girls in her population who eventually disclosed the "secret" felt guiltier after the disclosure due to the repulsion shown by the listener. These girls, then, experience a double-bind; they feel depressed if they suppress their feelings but they are made to feel guilt and shameful if they express their feelings. This burden frequently leads to severe depression, and consequently, many girls either attempt or commit suicide. Although these girls do not represent the majority of daughters involved in incest, they do indicate the profoundest effect of the taboo and the urgency for its elimination. Sagarin (1977) stated that the taboo has not acted as a

safeguard against the commission of incest but has only acted to produce guilt and general psychological problems. Further, Geiser (1979) indicated that the taboo discourages recognition of the incest situation.

Justice and Justice (1979) described the family's reaction to the taboo; "As long as family members think that if they report the problem, the father will be jailed, the child will be taken away, and there will be a 'scandal,' then all are likely to remain silent"

(p. 269). According to their description, if recognition is prevented, the incest relationship will likely occur for a longer period of time. In view of the earlier statement that the victim experiences more severe consequences the longer the incestuous event continues, it can be deduced that professionals encountering incest indirectly promote more severe consequences by their denial, distancing, inexperience and general communication that incest is a horrible taboo. Their reluctance to investigate may encourage ongoing incest and discourage daughters from reporting its occurrence.

According to Burgess et al. (1978) and Rist (1979) most family members experience intense reactions to the incest episode, partially because of the taboo. In their view, fathers are usually hospitalized, imprisoned, or divorced and sometimes engage in near fatal

suicide attempts. Many of these fathers experience intense guilt and shame and seek forgiveness from their families. When the families continue to reject these fathers, Rist reported the fathers usually become depressed. The strongest need of the family members is to blame, and this is directed at the victim, the assailant and/or themselves. Burgess et al. (1978) suspected that many family mass murders may have been precipitated by incest and that anger and blame may be influential in motivating the murders. Again, it seems likely that the taboo is responsible for these strong family reactions.

In Groth's opinion (1982), our society has dealt with father-daughter incest by providing consequences to the offender that are consistent with the strength of the taboo. That is, punitive measures such as long incarcerations for the father have been imposed. One may question if incarceration is an appropriate consequence. As an initial strategy, the answer is an unequivocal "no."

Most therapists and researchers have agreed that our laws dealing with incest are archaic and ineffective. Masters (1964) stated that laws against incest are unnecessary, as other laws cover the problem of sexual relations with children. These laws against rape, sodomy, endangering the welfare of a child, and

incest might better be viewed in the general context of child abuse. Justice and Justice (1979) asserted that criminal law might be effectively invoked if parents refuse to cooperate by participating in therapy, but they emphasized that the focus should remain on treating the problem, not on punishing the parents for the unpardonable act. Likewise, Geiser (1979) echoed the unfortunate court emphasis on prison sentences and commented, "A violent society is not interested in psychiatric treatment of offenders--it wants only punishment" (p. 35). Shelton (1975) also indicated that the aim of prison sentences is not to protect the public but to gain revenge. Further, Groth (1982) stated incarceration provides an unrealistic environment for the offender, as it is free of the demands and stress of family life and the stimulating presence of the victim. Consequently, the offender may resume incest upon release, since he will live in the original conditions. It seems obvious that our current legal process grossly mismanages incest situations in most states.

The current legal contingencies pose strong conflicts for the daughter, as well as the father. Rist (1979) noted that the daughter experiences social and legal repercussions in addition to personal difficulties, and James (1977) indicated that daughters

frequently are interrogated by prosecuting personnel with questions causing undue pain and embarrassment; e.g., "What thing between his legs?" "Where did he put it?" Justice and Justice (1979) indicated that the child's guilt is frequently exacerbated, as she perceives herself as responsible for breaking up the family and sending the father to prison. They further asserted that the girl is hurt more than helped by the judicial process, as it intensifies her guilt, confusion, and feelings of being overwhelmed. The daughter is finally convinced that she is being punished when she is legally removed from the home.

As a final comment on the adverse consequences of perceiving incest as a terrible taboo, Justice and Justice (1979) quoted Maisch, "It is today a well-trying and proven discovery of psychological and psychiatric research that the harmful effects on the family brought about by the official discovery of the offense, and punishment of it are more serious than those which might arise during the course of incest."

Dynamics of the Offender

Although the father-offender has been blamed for initiating a sexual relationship with his daughter, there exists a paucity of research on him, as compared to an investigative focus on the daughters and mothers (Shelton, 1975). Again, perhaps due to society's

overreaction to the taboo, the most conspicuous member involved in the relationship has remained uninvestigated. It may be that the adverse reactions provoked by the father-offender has discouraged investigations by therapists and researchers. Nevertheless, the small amount of existing evidence indicates the offender experiences a great deal of pain originating in a destructive childhood development.

Groth (1982) stated that a basic component in the psychology of the father is his deep-seated feeling of helplessness, vulnerability, and dependency. These dynamics appear to have arisen from a childhood characterized by emotional deprivation and desertion (Geiser, 1977; Justice & Justice, 1977; Scott, 1977). Justice and Justice also observed three general factors present in the childhoods of most incest offenders. The first involves the father-offender never having developed psychologically beyond a fixation stage with his mother. This fixation does not include emotional closeness but rather denotes a mother who is distant and does not allow her son to become close to her regardless of his efforts. The second factor portrays the father-offender as not having identified with his father, who was distant and uncommunicative. The last dynamic shows the offender as having been encouraged to be the "little man of the house" and to take care of

the parents' needs, although reciprocity of caring for needs was absent. In short, it appears that the offender as a child was encouraged to fulfill a parental role to his parents who remain distant and weak.

Consistent with modeling theory (Bandura, 1969), some evidence showed that the father-offender observed sexual abuse within his family as a child. Harbert, Barlow, Hersen and Austin (1974) reported that an incest offender disclosed that at age 10 he observed his uncle playing strip poker with a neighbor's wife and fondling a waitress at a drive-in restaurant and that the uncle instructed him to fondle his younger female cousin. Scott (1977) and James (1977) indicated that offenders often had fathers who molested their daughters (offender's sister) during the offender's childhood. Also, Swift (1977) noted that 19% of the fathers in her study reported sexual abuse to themselves as children, and Groth (1982) indicated a conservative estimate of one-third of offenders having experienced sexual abuse as a child.

Garrett and Wright (1975) interviewed a group of wives of incest offenders who were hospitalized at the time of the interview. While these wives reported that their husbands appeared to be more open, understanding and communicative than before hospitalization, they also stated that their husbands were raised in homes

"without much love," with "an unstable family," were "not cared for or wanted," and frequently experienced "broken homes." Similarly, Gutheil (1977) noted that fathers suffered rejection by their parents, and like Justice and Justice, asserted that the offender maintains strongly dependent, albeit fearful, ties to his mother. The dynamic operating seems to be one in which the offender transfers his dependent needs to his wife, who responds with passivity. Consequently these offenders develop a dependency on the daughter. Further, Gutheil described most offenders as anxious, inadequate, paranoid and sometimes suicidal. Panton (1979) provided MMPI profiles indicating the incest offender shows introversion, self-alienation, despondency, rigidity, inhibition, insecurity and fear of not being able to function in heterosexual relationships. It appears that father-offenders experience certain factors as children that may precipitate the development of personality characteristics in adulthood that may be associated with the incest episode.

Other research has portrayed incest offenders as having particular personalities that seem related to the manner in which the sexual abuse was initiated and maintained. Justice and Justice (1979) indicated that the majority of offenders show symbiotic personalities, while a smaller group represents the psychopathic

personality. The symbiotic offender craves the closeness and nurturance that he never received as a child. Subsumed under the category of symbiotic personalities are the introvert, the rationalizer, the "teacher" (he perceives incest as sex education), the protector and the "elitist," who sometimes desires offspring by the daughter to perpetuate his intelligence and giftedness. In addition, a "tyrant" style is associated with the symbiotic personality in about 20% of the incidences, while between 10 and 15% of symbiotic offenders are alcoholic. The tyrant represents an authoritarian style in which threats of physical beatings may be employed, and other research confirms a strong incidence of alcohol abuse with incest offenders (Herman & Hirschman, 1981; Scott, 1977; Topiar & Satkova, 1974).

Unlike the symbiotic type, who seeks closeness and nurturance, the psychopathic offender seeks stimulation, novelty, excitement, and is more likely to be tyrannical, according to Justice and Justice (1979). These individuals appear to have been so deprived and rejected in their childhoods that they are driven by a "get-even" aggressiveness and hostility. More than the symbiotic type, the psychopaths beat their daughters, especially when they suspect the girls of having boyfriends. The psychopath is also more prone to alcohol, drug abuse, and promiscuity.

Geiser (1977) and Groth (1982) have distinguished between regressed and fixated offenders. The regressed offender becomes attracted to his children as a function of increased daily stress, while the fixated offender develops a primary or exclusive attraction to children during his developmental years. The fixated offender can be further classified as a pedophile, who is attracted to young children or a hebephile, who is attracted to adolescents. Groth made another distinction between the passive-dependent offender, who relates to his wife as a dependent child, and the aggressive-dominant type, who isolates his family and tries to keep them dependent on him. Further, Groth described the pronounced characteristics of most offenders as showing fantasy as a replacement for assertiveness, feelings of isolation, emptiness, fearfulness, and depression, as well as a lack of security and pleasure with deficient empathic skills associated with immaturity. The immature offender seeks his daughter as a source of emotional and sexual satisfaction, as she symbolizes his level of maturity.

While most offenders encountered in the legal psychological arenas seem to come from lower-socioeconomic backgrounds, most research has indicated that offenders do not differ significantly from the rest of the population in terms of education, occupation, race, religion,

and intelligence (Groth, 1982; Herman & Hirschman, 1977; Peters, 1976). A Tennessee psychiatrist reported that he treated an incest victim who was the daughter of a mayor and that a recent arrest for the crime of father-daughter incest was a Baptist preacher from Tennessee (Neale, 1981). So, while incest probably occurs with higher frequency within the lower socioeconomic classes, clinicians need to openly accept the possibility that the problem occurs within their own socioeconomic class.

Although the father is the primary perpetrator of incest, a good deal of evidence suggests that most mothers contribute significantly to the problem, either directly or indirectly (Geiser, 1979; Justice & Justice, 1979; Peters, 1976; Rist, 1979; Sgroi, 1982). Frequently the incest relationship was precipitated by a mother-daughter estrangement (Browning & Boatman, 1977; Burgess, Groth, Homstrom, & Sgroi, 1978; Herman & Hirschman, 1977), and the estrangement was exacerbated by the mother's frequent absence from the home (Burgess, Holmstrom, & McCausland, 1977). In addition, wives showed an inability to enjoy a sexual relationship with the husband, and the daughters found themselves attempting to fulfill this role (Garrett & Wright, 1975; Justice & Justice, 1979; Sholevar, 1975). The aforementioned researchers appear to agree on a

general dynamic operating with the mother. Frequently, the mothers witnessed their fathers leaving their mothers, and experienced coldness and rejection from their mothers. After they married the incest offender, these mothers showed weakness, submissiveness, and depression. Subsequently, they became ineffectual in the maternal role and gradually set the conditions for the daughter to fulfill the role. The mother, like the father-offender, developed dependencies on the daughter, who found herself attempting to satisfy both parents' needs.

From the foregoing, it seems obvious that the incest situation permeates the entire family system and that blame directed solely at the father is neither appropriate nor helpful. If the father is sent to prison for a long sentence, it seems likely that the mother might marry a similar kind of individual, only to create a climate for continued child sexual abuse. Blame and imprisonment have not helped the problem but have served to instigate a great deal of guilt in both the fathers and the daughters. Individual and family therapy has proved to be effective alternatives when used, and the problem would be significantly mitigated by the implementing of these strategies in the mental health and legal professions.

Therapy Strategies

Although the mental health profession has neglected research and treatment of incest in general, some research and therapy evidence has indicated that father-daughter incest can be successfully treated. For instance, Anderson and Schafer (1979) asserted that behavior modification is the probable treatment of choice to change the sexual orientation of the offender, and Harbert et al. (1974) reported the successful treating of a 52 year old male incest offender with covert sensitization. These particular strategies may have limited generalization, though, as they have been employed only in a few isolated instances.

The California Sexual Abuse Treatment Program (CSATP) of Santa Clara County developed in 1971 by Henry and Ann Giarretto seems to enjoy a high degree of effectiveness and very well may be a prototype for therapeutic efforts in other parts of the United States. This program employs the basic principles of humanistic psychology in treating incestuous families, but views authoritative control through the criminal justice system as advantageous, especially in the initial stages of family therapy. Giarretto, Giarretto, and Sgroi (1978) reported that while over 600 families have been treated since the program's inception, no recidivism has occurred.

The CSATP emphasizes a nonjudgmental attitude through two basic premises. One is that the dysfunctional family is characterized by self-hate stemming from an inability to meet their own needs. The other premise asserts that people act as they know how to act, and if they knew how to meet their needs more effectively, they would do so.

The CSATP staff meets weekly to help each other ventilate and resolve negative feelings toward incest. Frequently, the therapists initially feel protective of the child and direct anger at the father and mother for allowing the episodes to have occurred. Gradually, they feel less anger towards the mother and allow her to enter therapy with the daughter but insist that the father remain in intensive individual therapy.

The goals of CSATP are to teach responsibility, to reunite families whenever possible and to eliminate incest. The therapy steps include the following: (1) individual therapy with the daughter, (2) individual counseling with the mother, (3) conjoint sessions with the mother and the daughter, and (4) sessions with other siblings, mother and victim. During this process, the father is given intense individual counseling, receives marital counseling with the mother when they are both ready, and eventually joins the rest of the family.

The child must be convinced that she is not to blame when the secret is disclosed. This involves the mother telling the child she is not to blame with the father acknowledging his irresponsibility to her and apologizing. Therapists give the child the message that sexual feelings are good and normal despite her confusion and guilt related to incest. The child is also given the chance to express her feelings, and the therapist assists her in doing this by the use of play and toys.

The father must be given hope that the family will be helped, but he must also accept the responsibility of his wrong act. The therapist tries to establish contact with him and to reach the lonely and isolated part of this human being. This is accomplished by the therapist directing his/her efforts toward tapping the father's capacity for gentleness and tenderness, and he is helped to show these qualities toward his family.

Eventually the family is brought together under a CSATP group Parents United, which also has subgroups for the siblings and child. The groups begin with meditation exercises and then the parents pair off and give autobiographies to each other. These autobiographies consist of important life events and sexual experiences. These groups are accepting, supportive, and

nurturant, and the participants usually feel much relief at not being ostracized.

A version of the CSATP is one described by Justice and Justice (1979). They see the parents together in group therapy but do not routinely see the children. Individual therapy with the children is warranted if the child demonstrates emotional repercussions, but Justice and Justice practice the dictum, 'primum non nocere', first do no harm. Therapy may induce an iatrogenic effect with the child, as she might perceive it as punitive. Essentially, Justice and Justice teach parents to develop and maintain an intimate relationship and to more effectively deal with stress. Intimacy involves sharing, openness and assertive expression in asking for affection. Stress management includes cognitive strategies, 20 minutes of daily exercise, relaxation techniques, nutrition, and learning to manage time more effectively. Therapeutic attention is also aimed at resolving the role-reversal between parents and children, resolving any marital sexual problems and eliminating alcohol abuse. These strategies appear to be highly effective in eliminating incest and fostering marital happiness.

Although the legal community imposes inhumane, punitive measures in most states, Graves and Sgroi (1982) encourage cooperative intervention into family

incest by the mental health and legal professions. Legal mandates motivate offenders and families to participate in therapy whereas these individuals would be uncooperative otherwise. As the parents grow and mature through therapy, legal control becomes less imperative. Thus, mental health and legal professionals should relinquish their defensive barriers and borrow strategies from each other to grapple more effectively with father-daughter incest.

Statement of the Problem

Perhaps increased professional and public education would result in a better understanding and treatment of the problem. Justice and Justice (1979) asserted that a public/professional information campaign is the first order of business. Certainly strong educational measures would result in mitigation of the taboo, and, consequently, incest offenders and victims might be perceived more humanely. It is the purpose of the present paper to determine the reactions of the public to the incest offender as a function of a humane understanding of him.

Weinberg (1955) indicated that the father-offender is labeled with such pejorative adjectives such as "sick," "perverted," and "disgusting." Although this research is rather old, it appears our cultural reaction to the taboo would currently include such

attributions to the offender. Further, it appears that pejorative labeling of the offender would deter a humanistic approach to the treatment of him but would more likely result in stimulating punitive measures as a penalty for his incest involvement.

As various types of offenders, i.e., symbiotic, psychopathic, appear to provide different degrees of harm, danger, and abuse to the victim, it seems reasonable that penalties should be consistent with the severity of the crime. Consequently, a symbiotic offender perhaps should receive more leniency than a psychopathic offender, and the penalty might be prescribed in degrees of court sanctions and commitment to mental health.

It also seems likely that an understanding of the offender's abused and deprived childhood might result in a more humane consequence to him than if jurors were not presented with descriptions of his childhood.

Although the possible identification of the respondents to the incest perpetrator and victim was not the main focus of the present study, it seems probable that female respondents would tend to identify with a female victim and that male respondents would tend to identify, at least to some extent, with the male perpetrator. The implications of a difference in

responses might be important for selection of male and female jurors in actual court trials.

Thus, three hypotheses were generated in the present study. First, subjects presented with a description of a symbiotic offender would make less negative attributions and provide more humane consequences for incest violations than subjects presented with a description of a psychopathic offender. Second, subjects presented with a description of an offender's childhood would make less negative attributions and prescribe more therapeutic and less punitive consequences to him than subjects who are not presented with a description of his childhood. Third, females would tend to attribute more negative descriptions to the father-incest offender than males.

METHOD

Subjects

One hundred twenty students in introductory psychology classes responded to four permutations of a story of an offender and victim. Each story was presented to 30 subjects.

Materials

Four stories of offenders and victims were constructed based on information typically associated with the offender's childhood, current incest involvement, demographic status and type of offender. Descriptions of childhood and type of offender were manipulated so that half of the subjects received one of two childhood descriptions and, within the halves, two types of offenders. Mundane information was included in stories in which childhood descriptions were excluded in order to keep the length of the descriptions constant. Adjective continuums designed for offender attribution followed the descriptions of the offenders. A list of consequences was provided for subjects to indicate their reaction of what the offender deserves.

The description of the symbiotic offender and psychopathic offender can be found in the appendix.

Subjects responded to adjective continuums and penalty lists similar to prison sentences used as dependent measures by White-Ellison (1977). The adjectives were as follows: disgusting, perverted, respectable, sick, likeable, depressed, aggressive, filthy, confused, sensitive, dependent, crazy, and strong.

The penalties from which the subjects chose ranged in severity from 1-3 years of psychological counseling to the death penalty. For a copy of the form, see Appendix E.

Procedure

A researcher described the study to general psychology instructors and asked permission to distribute the materials to their students during the first 10 to 15 minutes of a class session. As the sex of an experimenter might influence subjects' responses to sexually oriented material (Abramson, Goldberg, Mosher, & Abramson, 1975), the male researcher solicited a female to act as a "co-researcher" when presenting the materials to the classes. Subjects were presented with the verbal instructions:

"Recently, the subject of incest has been investigated in psychological research. The materials we are distributing to you

describe an incest situation to which you may respond. Your participation is voluntary, but as this research is for a Master's thesis, your willingness to respond will be greatly appreciated. Your answers will remain anonymous. Please read the directions carefully and feel free to ask any questions of which you are uncertain."

Subjects were told that a summary of the results and an explanation of the study would be provided if they indicated their interest to their instructor.

Design and Analysis

A 2 x 2 factorial was used with type of offender and childhood versus mundane description as dependent variables. The ratings on the adjectives were analyzed by a Kruskal-Wallis analysis of variance.

RESULTS

As can be seen in Table 1, the first hypothesis, that the four groups would make differential adjectival ratings to the "types" of offenders was partially supported. Two of the 14 adjectives yielded significant differences. A Kruskal-Wallis one-way-analysis of variance indicates that the respondents who rated the psychopathic offender perceived him as significantly more "aggressive" ($X^2 = 10.054$, $p < .002$) than did those who read about the symbiotic offender. Subjects who read descriptions of the symbiotic offender rated him significantly more "sensitive" ($X^2 = 6.2$, $p < .01$) than those who read about the psychopathic offender. All other adjectives produced nonsignificant results. Similarly, the two groups did not indicate differential consequences.

Table 2 shows subjects presented with childhood descriptions perceived the offender as significantly more "depressed" ($X^2 = 4.38$, $p < .04$) than subjects who did not read childhood descriptions. The childhood descriptions produced nonsignificant results for the other 13 measures.

TABLE 1
 KRUSKAL-WALLIS 1-WAY ANOVA (SYMBIOTIC VS PSYCHOPATH)

	Chi-Square	Probability
Disgusting	.29	p < .59
Perverted	1.12	p < .29
Respectable	2.79	p < .095
Sick	.60	p < .44
Likeable	1.00	p < .32
Depressed	.25	p < .62
Aggressive	10.05	p < .002*
Filthy	1.61	p < .20
Confused	.59	p < .44
Sensitive	6.20	p < .01**
Dependent	.18	p < .68
Crazy	.19	p < .66
Strong	3.14	p < .08
Consequences (Most humane to most harsh)	.07	p < .79

*Psychopath perceived as more "aggressive."

**Symbiotic perceived as more "sensitive."

TABLE 2

KRUSKAL-WALLIS 1-WAY ANOVA (CHILDHOOD VS NO CHILDHOOD)

	Chi-Square	Probability
Disgusting	2.03	p < .15
Perverted	1.83	p < .18
Respectable	.06	p < .80
Sick	1.08	p < .29
Likeable	.96	p < .33
Depressed	4.38	p < .04*
Aggressive	1.17	p < .68
Filthy	.34	p < .34
Confused	2.00	p < .16
Sensitive	1.97	p < .16
Dependent	1.73	p < .19
Crazy	.09	p < .76
Strong	.33	p < .56
Consequences (Most humane to most harsh)	.17	p < .68

*Childhood descriptions perceived as more "depressed."

As Table 3 depicts, the results of the Kruskal-Wallis for the four groups formed by combinations of type of offender and childhood/no childhood was similar to those reported in Table 1. Namely, "aggressive" was associated significantly more with the psychopath ($\chi^2 = 10.81$, $p < .013$) as was "sensitive" to the symbiotic offender ($\chi^2 = 8.84$, $p < .03$). The means in Table 3 also indicate that subjects had strong pejorative responses to the four offenders ("Disgusting," $\bar{X} = 6.4$, "Perverted," $\bar{X} = 6.2$, "Sick," $\bar{X} = 6.6$) in addition to perceiving him as having clinical problems ("Depressed," $\bar{X} = 6.1$, "Confused," $\bar{X} = 6.5$).

Table 4 shows the comparisons of the responses of males versus female respondents for each of the four groups. Subjects responding to the group of a symbiotic offender with no childhood description made the strongest attributions, with female subjects indicating the offender to be significantly more "disgusting" ($\chi^2 = 9.642$, $p < .002$), "perverted" ($\chi^2 = 5.515$, $p < .019$), "sick" ($\chi^2 = 5.725$, $p < .017$), "filthy" ($\chi^2 = 5.471$, $p < .019$) and less "strong" ($\chi^2 = 6.37$, $p < .012$) than male subjects. The group presented with a description of a psychopathic offender whose childhood description is not given shows females perceiving the father as significantly less "likeable" ($\chi^2 = 9.434$, $p < .002$) and significantly "crazier" ($\chi^2 = 3.903$,

TABLE 3

KRUSKAL-WALLIS 1-WAY ANOVA (4 GROUPS)

	Mean	Std. Dev.	Chi-Square	Probability
Disgusting	6.4	1.03	2.47	$P < .48$
Perverted	6.2	1.2	5.57	$P < .08$
Respectable	2.48	1.91	3.40	$P < .33$
Sick	6.6	1.03	2.17	$P < .54$
Likeable	2.86	1.62	2.35	$P < .50$
Depressed	6.1	1.2	5.16	$P < .16$
Aggressive	5.93	1.32	10.81	$P < .013^*$
Filthy	5.72	1.41	3.57	$P < .31$
Confused	6.5	1.05	2.64	$P < .45$
Sensitive	3.31	1.84	8.84	$P < .03^{**}$
Dependent	4.66	1.76	3.35	$P < .34$
Crazy	5.3	1.41	5.5	$P < .14$
Strong	2.82	1.58	4.28	$P < .23$
Consequences (Most humane to most harsh)	2.67	2.54	2.05	$P < .56$

*Psychopath perceived as more "aggressive."

**Symbiotic perceived as more "sensitive."

TABLE 4

KRUSKAL-WALLIS 1-WAY ANOVA (SEX COMPARISON OF 4 GROUPS)

Adjective	Group					
	S-NC	S-C	P-NC	P-C	S-NC	P-C
	χ^2	χ^2	χ^2	χ^2	χ^2	χ^2
	p	p	p	p	p	p
Disgusting	9.64	.02	.14	.71	.89	.34
Perverted	5.52	.01	.09	.76	.72	.40
Respectable	.54	.02	2.79	.10	.02	.89
Sick	5.73	2.26	.62	.43	.59	.44
Likeable	1.10	.01	9.43	.002*	.34	.56
Depressed	.08	.06	.69	.41	.05	.83
Aggressive	.10	1.09	.01	.93	.90	.34
Filthy	5.47	.02	1.42	.23	.82	.37
Confused	2.5	.83	2.8	.10	.01	.95
Sensitive	.13	.05	.02	.90	.57	.45
Dependent	1.16	3.30	.06	.81	2.60	.61
Crazy	1.14	.01	3.90	.05*	.51	.48
Strong	6.40	.62	1.58	.21	1.02	.31
Consequences (Most humane to Most Harsh)	.10	4.90	.33	.57	.10	.76

*Females indicated more "disgusting," less "likeable," more "crazy."

**Females indicated more "perverted," more "filthy," more "strong."

***Females indicated more "sick," more lenient consequences.

$p < .048$). In the group reading about a symbiotic offender with a childhood description given, females recommended significantly more humane consequences ($\chi^2 = 4.896$, $p < .027$). All other sex comparison reactions yielded nonsignificant results.

While the open-ended question regarding "further comments" was optional, 46% of the males and 60% of the females chose to respond. Although no attempt was made to discover the incidence of incest experienced by the subjects, three individuals made reference to the experience. One male indicated having a female friend who had a devastating period of father-daughter incest, while one female disclosed her own experience with her father as "difficulty in forgiving" him, as the damage was "substantial." One female only alluded to experiencing abuse from an uncle, as she said incest was "disgusting" whether it was with a father or "weird uncle."

A content analysis of the statements revealed 60% of the males and 75% of the females making, what was defined as, therapeutic/objective suggestions. Therapeutic/objective statements were those making constructive suggestions without the use of hostile overtone. An example of an ideal therapeutic/objective suggestion is made by an 18-year-old female:

"It seems that the whole family has problems. Alex would need help in overcoming his desire for incest with Donna. Donna would probably need help coming to grips with what her father had done to her. Martha needs help in understanding her role as wife and mother. Alex and Martha need to work out their marital problems."

Punitive statements were defined as making incarceration or home eviction recommendations for Alex, and 36% of the males and 41% of the females were included in this response category. Delegation of blame towards each parent was also analyzed, with "blame" defined as aversive consequences experienced by family members that were caused by a particular parent. Eight percent of the males and 9% of the females directed blame to the father-offender and 12% of the males and only 3% of the females directed blame to the mother. In the above categories of therapeutic and punitive suggestions and blame delegation, some overlapping among categories occurred.

Discussion

The general lack of support for the hypotheses may have several plausible explanations, which will be addressed in order of their intuitive appeal.

First, consistent with the connotation of terrible-ness associated with the incest taboo, the respondents indicated that the father-offender is "disgusting," "perverted," and "sick" regardless of which descriptive

permutation they read. That is to say that the subjects reacted to the idea of incest in a globally pejorative manner rather than to the particular details of any one of the offenders. The elements of "sexual assault," "excitement," threats, and physical abuse typical of the psychopathic offender did not produce differential responses from the gentler approach and needs for "closeness" characteristic of the symbiotic offender. Also, the deprivation, rejection, and abuse described in the childhoods of the offenders did not usually elicit different ratings from stories not including the childhood dynamics. It appears at first glance then that the reactions to the "taboo" component of incest were actively operating in the present study.

Another possibility for the absence of support for the main hypotheses may be that the stories were not accentuated sufficiently to produce differential responses. A frequently cited leading researcher in the field of child sexual abuse, Blair Justice, critiqued the stimulus stories at the North Carolina 1982 Conference on Child Sexual Abuse. He indicated that while they were "good," the loneliness and introversion of the symbiotic offender as well as the propensity for trouble with the law characteristic of the psychopath might have been emphasized. Perhaps future studies of this kind might take this methodological weakness into

account by emphasizing the heinous qualities of the psychopath and the personality problems of the symbiotic offender.

Justice (1982) also indicated that several of the highly pejorative scale adjectives, i.e., disgusting, perverted, tend to elicit strong reactions regardless of the associated stimulus. Accordingly, differential responses would not follow. His comment seems to have some credence considering two of the more specific, and less emotionally-laden adjectives, "aggressive" and "sensitive," did produce significant differences. However, other adjectives with less emotional impact, such as likeable, dependent, and confused, did not produce substantial differences, and another highly pejorative adjective, "filthy," did not elicit particularly strong reactions. It seems this second comment by Justice is a methodological consideration rather than a weakness.

Although the comparison of "childhood vs. no childhood" descriptions resulted in no significant differences for 12 of the 13 adjectives, the childhood presentation did produce stronger ratings for "depressed." This finding may have court and clinical implications in that attorneys favoring mental health intervention as opposed to incarceration might help their clients by presenting defendants' childhood dynamics to juries. If the defendant is perceived as

depressed, it seems likely that treatment, rather than punishment, might be recommended.

Interpretation of the sex of respondent comparison should be viewed as a tentative analysis. It appears that females made significantly more emotionally-laden responses, e.g., "disgusting," "perverted," than males when childhood descriptions of symbiotic offenders were not presented. Perhaps females feel more sympathy to the offender reared in an abusive, deprived setting as a child and therefore responded differently than males presented with childhood descriptions. Additionally, machismo attitudes of male subjects may be operating to account for their less sympathetic responses to the symbiotic offender. To reconcile the sex respondent difference, it is probably best to keep both of the aforementioned analyses in perspective. For future research, this should be taken into consideration.

It appears that two adjectives, "aggressive" and "sensitive," produce differential responses which are semantically deductive from the stories. The psychopath who "slapped" his daughter and made threats of "breaking of every bone in her body" is obviously more aggressive than the symbiotic offender not using those tactics. Likewise, the symbiotic father in need of "closeness," telling the daughter the family "would be hurt" if they discovered the incest secret, is

understandably perceived as more sensitive. The distinctions made between the aggressive psychopath and the sensitive symbiotic offender are consistent with the general intentions of the stimulus stories.

Although reactions to the offenders were quite deprecatory, the consequences recommended were rather humane. Subjects usually indicated "family therapy," suggesting a general lack of blame toward particular family members and a preference for treatment rather than punishment. This occurrence was also evident in the content analysis. The contrast between the adjectival responses and the recommended consequences may be saying that while individuals abhor the idea of father-daughter incest, they at least make an objective attempt to deal with the family. This enlightened view of recommendations might be partially reflective of the subject population of undergraduate psychology students.

While disparaging responses to incest offenders may persist for some time, it seems apparent that the advent of an era marked by humane treatment and sympathetic comprehension of the incestuous family may be imminent. Justice and Justice (1979) have appealed for public/professional education which they feel will result in recognition and acceptance of this critical problem, denied and obscured for too long. Further education may stimulate political awareness that will

hopefully create funding for programs similar to those of Giaretto, Giaretto, and Sgroi (1978). Perhaps future studies of the present type will help to desensitize our society toward the incest offender.

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REFERENCE NOTES

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APPENDIX A

Symbiotic Offender
With Childhood Description

SYMBIOTIC OFFENDER
WITH CHILDHOOD DESCRIPTION

Alex Carpenter is a 38-year-old electrician who lives in a middle-class neighborhood with his wife and three children, Donna, 12, Ellen, 8, and Michael, 6. For the last four years Alex and his wife, Martha, have been distant and uncommunicative and have had sex problems. In addition, Alex has a drinking problem. Martha refuses to have any type of sexual relations with Alex more than once a week, and neither of them seem satisfied when they do have sex. Martha finds the role of a mother to be quite stressful and is absent from the home on a regular basis, thus many of the motherly duties have been assumed by Donna, the oldest daughter. Alex has always been fond of Donna and has occasionally helped her with her baths since she was three years old. Since Alex and Martha began having problems, Alex has taken an increased interest in bathing Donna and likes to bathe her nightly. While he has always enjoyed her closeness, two years ago Alex began massaging and playing with Donna's breasts, thighs, and pubic areas. Donna became somewhat tense regarding these nightly baths. Soon after these massage sessions, Alex began having sexual intercourse with Donna. They continued having sexual intercourse twice a week, and Alex warned Donna not to tell anyone, as this was their secret. If she did, the family would be hurt. After Alex's warnings, Donna became more fearful and had problems eating and sleeping properly. Last week, Donna told a teacher about the incest with her father, and the issue was taken to court.

As a child, Alex had always been deprived of nurturance and closeness, as his parents were very cold. Also, Alex's sister told him that their father had played with her 'private areas' when she was 14. When Alex was 16, his father walked out of the home one night and never returned.

APPENDIX B

Symbiotic Offender
No Childhood Description

SYMBIOTIC OFFENDER
NO CHILDHOOD DESCRIPTION

Alex Carpenter is a 38-year-old electrician who lives in a middle-class neighborhood with his wife and three children, Donna, 12, Ellen, 8, and Michael, 6. For the last four years Alex and his wife, Martha, have been distant and uncommunicative and have had sex problems. In addition, Alex has a drinking problem. Martha refuses to have any type of sexual relations with Alex more than once a week, and neither of them seem satisfied when they do have sex. Martha finds the role of a mother to be quite stressful and is absent from the home on a regular basis, thus many of the motherly duties have been assumed by Donna, the oldest daughter. Alex has always been fond of Donna and has occasionally helped her with her baths since she was three years old. Since Alex and Martha began having problems, Alex has taken an increased interest in bathing Donna and likes to bathe her nightly. While he has always enjoyed her closeness, two years ago Alex began massaging and playing with Donna's breasts, thighs, and pubic areas. Donna became somewhat tense regarding these nightly baths. Soon after these massage sessions, Alex began having sexual intercourse with Donna. They continued having sexual intercourse twice a week, and Alex warned Donna not to tell anyone, as this was their secret. If she did, the family would be hurt. After Alex's warnings, Donna became more fearful and had problems eating and sleeping properly. Last week, Donna told a teacher about the incest with her father, and the issue was taken to court.

Incest cases occur in various parts of the United States. It is speculated that incest occurs in some instances without professionals ever discouraging it. When professionals do discover it, they usually do something about it.

APPENDIX C

Psychopathic Offender
With Childhood Description

PSYCHOPATHIC OFFENDER
WITH CHILDHOOD DESCRIPTION

Alex Carpenter is a 38-year-old electrician who lives in a middle-class neighborhood with his wife and three children, Donna, 12, Ellen, 8, and Michael, 6. For the last four years Alex and his wife, Martha, have been distant and uncommunicative and have had sex problems. In addition, Alex has a drinking problem. Martha refuses to have any type of sexual relations with Alex more than once a week, and neither of them seem satisfied when they do have sex. Martha finds the role of a mother to be quite stressful and is absent from the home on a regular basis, thus many of the motherly duties have been assumed by Donna, the oldest daughter. Occasionally, Alex has enjoyed giving Donna baths at night since she was three years old. One night about two years ago, Alex barged in on Donna while she was taking a bath, and sexually assaulted her. He continued bathing her on a nightly basis and became sexually excited during these baths. Donna became afraid of these sessions and felt that something was wrong. Alex enjoyed massaging and playing with Donna's breasts, thighs, and pubic areas and enjoyed having sexual intercourse with her. They continued having sex twice a week, and Alex warned Donna not to tell anyone. If she did, Alex said he'd "break every bone in her body." Once Donna resisted sexually, and Alex slapped her. Donna became increasingly fearful and developed eating and sleeping problems. Last week, Donna told her teacher about the incest with her father, and the teacher notified the police. The issue was taken to court.

As a child, Alex had been deprived of nurturance and closeness, and his parents punished him frequently. Occasionally, Alex witnessed his father having sex with neighbors, and his sister told Alex that the father had "screwed" her once. One night when Alex was 16, his father beat his mother and him, walked out of the house and never returned.

APPENDIX D

Psychopathic Offender
No Childhood Description

PSYCHOPATHIC OFFENDER
NO CHILDHOOD DESCRIPTION

Alex Carpenter is a 38-year-old electrician who lives in a middle-class neighborhood with his wife and three children, Donna, 12, Ellen, 8, and Michael, 6. For the last four years Alex and his wife, Martha, have been distant and uncommunicative and have had sex problems. In addition, Alex has a drinking problem. Martha refuses to have any type of sexual relations with Alex more than once a week, and neither of them seem satisfied when they do have sex. Martha finds the role of a mother to be quite stressful and is absent from the home on a regular basis, thus many of the motherly duties have been assumed by Donna, the oldest daughter. Occasionally, Alex has enjoyed giving Donna baths at night since she was three years old. One night about two years ago, Alex barged in on Donna while she was taking a bath, and sexually assaulted her. He continued bathing her on a nightly basis and became sexually excited during these baths. Donna became afraid of these sessions and felt that something was wrong. Alex enjoyed massaging and playing with Donna's breasts, thighs, and pubic areas and enjoyed having sexual intercourse with her. They continued having sex twice a week, and Alex warned Donna not to tell anyone. If she did, Alex said he'd "break every bone in her body." Once Donna resisted sexually, and Alex slapped her. Donna became increasingly fearful and developed eating and sleeping problems. Last week, Donna told her teacher about the incest with her father, and the teacher notified the police. The issue was taken to court.

Incest cases occur in various parts of the United States. It is speculated that incest occurs in some instances without professionals ever discouraging it. When professionals do discover it, they usually do something about it.

APPENDIX E

Adjective Continuums
Penalty Lists

ADJECTIVE CONTINUUMSPENALTY LISTS

The items below relate to the situation you have just read. The words and phrases at each end of the scale form two extremes. You are to circle the number on the scales that describe your feelings to the father Alex. For instance, if you feel Alex is "very disgusting," you should circle the 6 or 7. If you feel he is "not at all disgusting," you should circle the 1 or 2. If you feel more neutral about Alex's disgustiveness, you should circle the 3, 4, or 5. Please circle a number on each scale, and please be careful not to omit any.

Not at all disgusting	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Very disgusting
Not at all perverted	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Very perverted
Not at all respectable	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Very respectable
Not at all sick	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Very sick
Not at all likeable	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Very likeable
Not at all depressed	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Very depressed
Not at all aggressive	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Very aggressive
Not at all filthy	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Very filthy
Not at all confused	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Very confused
Not at all sensitive	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Very sensitive
Not at all dependent	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Very dependent
Not at all crazy	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Very crazy
Not at all strong	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Very strong

Please circle the appropriate letter indicating the penalty/consequence that you think Alex, and possibly his family, deserves.

- A. 1-3 years prison sentence for Alex.
- B. 1-3 years psychological counseling for Alex.
- C. 1-3 years prison sentence for Alex and removal of Donna from the home.
- D. 1-3 years psychological counseling for Alex and removal of Donna from the home.
- E. 1-3 years of therapy for the entire family.
- F. 5 years prison sentence for Alex.
- G. 5 years prison sentence for Alex and removal of Donna from the home.
- H. 10 years prison sentence for Alex and removal of Donna from the home.
- I. 10 years prison sentence for Alex.
- J. Life imprisonment for Alex.
- K. Death penalty for Alex.

Please include any further comments you might wish to express.

VITA

Henry Nicholas McGovern was born in Wilmington, Delaware, on March 15, 1954. Due to the deaths of his parents during his childhood, he lived with different relatives and attended elementary and high schools in Wilmington, Delaware, Arlington, Virginia and Charlottesville, Virginia. He also attended the Milton Hershey School for Boys from 1964 to 1969. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree with Honors from University of North Carolina-Charlotte in 1977 and was employed in various psychiatric and rehabilitation agencies in Charlotte, North Carolina until 1980.

In 1980 he entered Appalachian State University and began work on his Master's degree in Clinical Psychology. After graduation in 1982, Mr. McGovern will be employed by an agency under the auspices of the North Carolina Department of Human Resources.

The author has published on suicide in the Undergraduate Journal of Psychology at University of North Carolina-Charlotte in 1977 and on reactions to psychotherapy in the Journal of Community Psychology in 1980.