GENDER SPECIFIC REACTIONS
TO INCEST

DISSERTATION

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by

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The problem of incest is beginning to receive a recognition and research attention long overdue. Becoming more evident is the prevalence and far reaching effects of incest. Currently, little distinction is made between the treatment approach for males and females, yet research indicates differences between the two sexes. This study explores possible differences between male and female incest victims in (1) their moral ethic, (2) their self-definition, (3) the basis from which they felt compelled to comply with the incestuous abuse, (4) the reasons they believed the sexual abuse was right or wrong, (5) the reasons for telling someone or keeping the incest a secret, (6) how they decided whether or not they made the right choice, (7) the manner in which they have changed since the abuse began, (8) the content and degree of their own guilt and/or lowered esteem, and (9) the ideas they have of changes which could have prevented the abuse.

Responses were gathered from ten males and ten females (ages 6 to 54) using a structured interview. The subjects had been abused by a male parent figure and were currently in or finishing group counseling for the incest. Apparent gender differences were found in areas 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 8.
The findings seem to indicate that females tend to experience incest as a violation not only of self, but of their relational network. Female victims perceive themselves as connected to others and to make decisions based on what they believe will maintain the harmony and the relationship. Their emotional damage is to their personhood, their confidence in their relational network, and anxiety over their own lack of ability to keep everyone happy.

For many male victims, incest is experienced as a violation of the self and of their stable power structure. Because many male victims tend to perceive themselves as separate and to make decisions based on what the role or rule dictates, their emotional damage is to their sense of potency and reinforces their fear of intimacy.

Although the findings of the study are limited, gender specific trends toward reaction patterns did emerge. Limitations of the study are discussed and recommendations are made for future research.
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GENDER SPECIFIC REACTIONS TO INCEST

Incest is a hidden but widespread problem. The exact or even relative frequency of incest is difficult to gauge, yet the "occurrence of [this] very real sexual trauma in the lives of children is not the extremely rare event that we might wish it to be" (Meiselman, 1978, p. 39). Various studies estimate that from one-fourth to over one-half of all women in the United States are victims of incest or other sexual abuse before age 18, and that among reported victims of incest, girls outnumber boys seven to one (Forward & Buck, 1978; Russel, 1984). Since the male is unlikely to report abuse (Finkelhor, 1979), one-third of all incest victims may in actuality be boys (Montani, 1983, Russell, 1984). Experts estimate that over 50 percent of all sexually abusive parents were themselves victims of incest (Cameron, 1983). Incest is a social problem with negative effects that multiply through succeeding generations. Reparative treatment of the victims of incest would seem to be the best way to prevent those victims from perpetuating, in some way, the damage done to them.

Recognition of the problem of incest has been slow in coming; thus, therapeutic treatment of victims has suffered from inattention. Because many professionals have limited
information and are so poorly prepared to cope with child sexual abuse, clinicians and investigators who deal with cases of incest today are, in a sense, pioneers exploring largely uncharted territory (Sgroi, 1982). Counseling of incest victims is still so limited, there are few time-tested models that can confidently be used to treat a victim, or little adequate data available for building a precise model. A key element in being able to design an effective treatment plan is to know not only what happened to the client, but to know how the client was affected by the event.

Writers from the time of Epictetus have noted that it is not the event that determines its meaning, but a person's view of the event. Two people can experience the same event, such as rejection by a friend, yet one may feel devastated and resist new relationships, while another may rebound quite quickly to try again. Since meaning is determined by perception, we need to consider the individual perspective one brings to the situation in order to more accurately interpret the response of both adults and children (Finkelhor, 1983). In studying the impact of incest, then, it seems necessary to consider how each individual views, and thus makes meaning of, his or her interactions with others.

Because the primary caretaker in the first three years of life is typically female, the identity development of each gender is affected differently. Female identity develops in a context of sameness and attachment. To define male
identity, however, boys must develop as different from or opposite of the female caretaker, thus separating themselves from the object of their first dependency. This different process of individuating results in a different relational perspective for each gender (Chodorow, 1978).

Research indicates that men and women do perceive differently their conception of self and their relationship to others (Pollak & Gilligan, 1982). Men tend to conceptualize themselves as separate from others and are threatened by intimacy, while women tend to view themselves as connected to others and are afraid of separation (Gilligan, 1977, 1982b; Pollak & Gilligan, 1982). Each self-definition is intricately linked to a moral ethic, used for making decisions, evaluating actions and choices, and making meaning out of events (Lyons, 1983). The definition of self as connected to others, a view held predominantly by women, is correlated with a relational ethic of care and responsibility. The self-definition of separateness, held predominantly by men, is correlated with an ethic of justice and rights. The male ethic seeks balance through equalizing of power, while the female seeks harmony through care, communication, and response to need. The male sees pain as coming from the expression of aggression; to the female pain is caused by the failure to respond. In similar style, men tend to see strength as assertion and aggression, while women view nurturance as an act of strength (Langdale & Gilligan, 1980).
If personality development is dissimilar in males and females, and each sex comes from a different mindset in the ways they perceive themselves in relationship to others, it seems probable that each sex internalizes a distinct meaning regarding the incest experience.

Although the research indicates specific gender differences related to self-definition and moral ethic, a survey of the research revealed no studies that sought to determine if incest was perceived or reacted to differently by each gender. Currently therapeutic treatment is the same for both male and female victims of incest (Dixen & Jenkins, 1981). There is a need to examine the reports of incest victims to determine if there is a distinct meaning the incestuous experience has for each sex. This study was designed to obtain data to bridge the gap between studies in gender differences and studies on the effects of incest.

Synthesis of Related Literature

This review of literature is presented in three parts: (1) the effects of incest; (2) male and female moral differences; and, (3) use of the structured interview in research.

Incest

The problem of incest is not a new one, but until recently it was a largely ignored subject. Throughout most of the history of the social sciences, incest was too perverse a subject for public discussion (Gentry, 1978; Carruthers,
1973). Even Freud, a doctor trying to free his patients from sexual repression and who based much of his theory on childhood sexuality, had an ambivalent attitude toward incest. Initially Freud accepted, then later doubted the validity of his patients' self-reports of incest because he couldn't believe that sexual acts against children could be so prevalent (Herman & Herschman, 1977). Even today, society tends to deny or obscure the reality of incest (Masters & Johnson, 1976) or assumes that it only occurs in degenerate lower classes (Sagarin, 1977). Many family care professionals currently cloak the probability of incest through the use of ambiguous language (Adams & Roddey, 1981). The magnitude of this abuse is beginning to be acknowledged. Yet the incidence of incest cases still appears to be underreported rather than exaggerated, based upon clinical experience (Giaretto, 1978; Herman & Herschman, 1977).

When research attention was first focused on incest victims, conclusions were neither fair to the victim nor helpful in determining effective therapy. Bender and Blau (1937) were the first American researchers to report case studies of children who had experienced sexual relations with adults. Their research involved 16 children, 5 male, 11 female, ages 5 to 12 who were admitted to Bellevue Hospital's Children's Ward, Psychiatric Division. Bender and Blau reported that these children were generally attracted to adults, were hyperactive, and that some of them were very
cooperative or took an active (seductive) role in the sexual relations reported. The authors concluded that the children should not be treated as totally innocent parties since they may have behaved seductively or may have initiated the sexual relations.

In a 1942 study (Sloane & Karpinski, 1942), the child victim was still seen as responsible for the incestuous encounter. In discussing five post-pubertal females who had experienced incest over a long period of time, the authors concluded that the subjects were complying females. The researchers spoke about their subjects using terms such as delinquent or promiscuous, implying that these characteristics were responsible for the incest in some way. Sloane and Karpinski also referred to incest impulses and indicated that the young women helped "cause" the incest by their particular personality traits.

As recently as 1955 (Weiss, Rogers, Darwin, & Dutton, 1955), in a study of 73 young females victimized by related adults, the females were labeled as participating if they did not fight, submitted passively or acted seductively. Weiss and his associates thus labeled 44 (60.27%) of the 73 girls they studied as participating. The remaining 29 cases were listed as accidental (28.77%) or as undetermined (10.96%). No incidents were listed as "perpetrated" by adults. Seeing the young victim as a willing partner is a view that still exists today.
Many perpetrators don't believe harm is done to a child through sexual contact. In fact, several organizations are lobbying for the legalization of what they call intergenerational sex. Some researchers have stated that no permanent or significant damage may be experienced by a child who is, or has been, incestuously victimized (Yorukoglu & Kemph, 1966; Henderson, 1983); but, the damage is a result of forceful and cruel treatment by the perpetrator or involvement in court proceedings (Schultz, 1973). A much larger body of research, however, delineates both the short-term and long-term serious effects of incestuous encounters (Finkelhor, 1979; Gelinas, 1984; Justice & Justice, 1979; Meiselman, 1978; Sgroi, 1982).

The focus of research on incest has begun to shift toward the motives and dynamics of the perpetrator, the characteristics of high risk children, and to the family dynamics which breed incestuous problems. Taking the victim out of the instigator role has allowed attention to be focused on the ways these children were affected by the transgression of society's incest taboo.

Much research attention has been given to the long-rather than the short-term effects of incest. Hospital emergency rooms regularly see child victims of sex offenses, and the children seem to suffer many of the same traumatic consequences as do adult rape victims (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974). During and/or immediately after incest and its
disclosure, the effects are primarily emotional (VanderMey & Neff, 1982). The victims usually feel rejected, used, trapped, confused, humiliated, betrayed, disgraced, fearful and depressed (Forward & Buck, 1978; James, 1977; Weber, 1977).

As evidenced by unusually large numbers of child sex victims among the clientele of psychotherapists (Herman & Hirschman, 1977; Swift, 1977), the long-term effects go beyond the immediate emotions to thoughts, decisions, and other behavioral manifestations of these emotions. Promiscuity, inability to assume a mother-wife role, prostitution, sexual dysfunctioning, alcoholism, drug abuse, delinquency, depression and suicide all have been found to be correlated with incest (Gelinas, 1984; Meiselman, 1978; Weber, 1977).

Though no studies were found that were designed to compare gender reactions to incest, some researchers have observed apparent dissimilarities between male and female incest victims. Simari and Baskin (1979) noted that other researchers argued that females nearly always suffered significant negative effects, but that males were more immune to damage from incest or sexual abuse. Nasjleti (1980) has pointed out that male incest victims have been virtually ignored by most investigators of incest. In her work she found in boys a consistent pattern of extreme resistance to discussing their molestation experience. Most boys "just wanted to forget it ever happened" (p. 270). Dixon, Arnold and
Calestro (1978) stated that father-son incest is an under-reported psychiatric problem. From a study of six cases, they concluded there were more parallels between father-son and father-daughter incest than between father-son and mother-son incest. They suggested the sex of the parent is a more important variable in cases of incest than the sex of the child. In all six cases in their study, "the sons expressed internal negative feelings, even homicidal wishes toward the father, but in none of the families did the son describe the mother as a nonprotector" (Dixon et al., 1978, p. 837). Still left unexplored, however, is the gender specific meaning given to incest and its emotional after-effects.

**Male-Female Moral Differences**

According to research on the maturation of children (Bogo, Winget & Gleser, 1970; Omark, Omark & Edelman, 1973), comparative research on the male and female brain (Durden-Smith & Desimore, 1983), extensive cognitive and psychological research of both sexes (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974; McGuinness, 1978, 1981), and moral research (Gilligan, 1977), there is reason to assume that because of their gender differences in thinking, perceiving and interacting, females may be affected differently by sexual abuse than are males. Through the recent inclusion of females in theory-building research (Gilligan, Langdale, Lyons, & Murphy, 1982) and the
construction of reliable coding manuals (Lyons, 1983), Gilligan found, that in addition to the conception of morality as justice indicated in Kohlberg's (1969) previous research on males, there also existed a conception of morality as care. In addition to the two moral ethics, Gilligan also clarified two primary modes of self-definition, two distinct systems of defining the self in relation to others, as separate or connected (Gilligan, 1980).

Langdale and Gilligan (1980) have noted that to an overwhelming degree, male psychologists have studied men and then generalized their findings to statements about all human beings. In the study of human development it has been assumed there is one pattern of development and that the pattern can be most readily seen in the male. Freud (1925) built his theory of psychosexual development on the basis of his work with the male client. He observed "that for women the level of what is ethically normal is different from what it is in men" and concluded that "women have less sense of justice than men . . . that they are more often influenced in their judgments by feelings of affection and hostility" (p. 257).

Piaget (1932/1965) observed sex differences in his study of children's games. He noticed that boys were more concerned with establishing clearly the rules of the game and that later, rules were the means of agreement. He saw girls, however, as less concerned with rules, but he didn't seem to consider their emphasis on the other people they played with
as significant. His analysis focused on the observation that ". . . the legal sense is far less developed in little girls than in boys" (p. 77). He later commented on the girls' extreme tolerance. Piaget did not conclude there were two separate forms of development, but that there was only one form, that based on male's behavior, with little girl's behavior varying from it.

One of Piaget's questions to children that has relevance to this study on incest was, "Should one hit back?". Children were given a choice of four responses: "don't hit because it is naughty; give back the same; give back more; give back less" (p. 302). In analyzing their replies, Piaget was again confronted by sex differences:

Boys, especially toward the ages of 7-8, are inclined to give more, the desire for equality gaining the ascendant later toward 11-12. Girls, on the contrary, as soon as they have ceased in the majority of cases to think it 'naughty' to hit back, are of the opinion that one should give back less than one has received. (p. 302)

In a more recent study described by Travis (1982), a male or a female college student was seated at a console where the individual could receive and send either a shock or a reward to an unseen partner of the same sex. When a male received a shock, he got angry, returned shock for shock and felt a sense of relief. A female, however, when she received a shock, reacted with surprise and returned a reward believing that kindness was the preferable way to respond. This action gave the female a sense of relief.
Piaget's (1932/1965), Travis's (1982), and Gilligan's (1982) studies pointed out how the differences in the conception of morality governed by rules for the boys and the conception of morality governed by relationships for girls were demonstrated in moral conduct. It seems to be a reasonable progression to ask how a boy would choose to react to sexual abuse by a family adult, if he were able to do so. And, if his response is prevented, what are the internal effects? Likewise, how is a girl wanting to respond, and if her efforts to end the abuse are futile, what are the internal effects for her?

The research by Gilligan and her associates (1982) on which this study is based has empirically demonstrated:

1. That there is a distinct conception of morality as care which can be systematically identified and reliably coded;

2. That the conception of morality as care can be systematically and reliably distinguished from the conception of morality as justice identified in previous research;

3. That the different conceptions of morality can be identified in real-life moral dilemmas (i.e., in people's descriptions of their actual experiences or moral conflict and choice);

4. That a definition of self in relation to others is a central component of people's self-concept;

5. That there are two different conceptions of self that can be systematically identified and reliably coded;

6. That these two different conceptions of self can be identified in people's descriptions of themselves;
7. That these two different conceptions of self are differentially related to the two different conceptions of morality;

8. That these two different conceptions of self and two different conceptions of morality are related to the different ways people think about moral choice; and

9. That these different conceptions of self and morality are significantly related but not absolutely confined to gender. (p. 1-2)

**Structured Interview**

Because "the individual's opinion of himself . . . influences every psychological process" (Adler, 1956, p. 36), the personal meaning and impact of any experience would be greatly affected by the individual's self-definition.

In order to include both the victim's opinion of self and how he or she constructs reality and the meaning of life situations, the interview format was selected as the most direct method to elicit this subjective information. The effective use of the interview in earlier studies gives credibility to this type of unstructured exploratory mode. For example, a circular type of research was used by Piaget (1929/1976) in which he interviewed children on how they viewed the world. He then used their responses to construct a developmental schema.

In more recent developmental research, Kohlberg (1969) interviewed children, adolescents and adults, asking them structured questions about various moral dilemmas and supplementing responses with unstructured exploratory questions.
Using their answers, Kohlberg determined moral development differences, built a structure of stages of moral development, created a coding manual to score for these differences and used the system to analyze the responses to the original structured and unstructured questions.

Belenky (1978) used a structured interview with twenty-one women during counseling and Gilligan and Belenky (1980) interviewed the same women one year after counseling concerning their decision to have an abortion. That time-limited crisis magnified the process of developmental transition and brought into focus for them the pattern of change. Their data was instrumental in validating the existence of a "care ethic" morality apart from the "rights ethic" previously accepted as universal.

An intensive study of thirty-six males and females of various ages was the foundation of Gilligan's (1980) work on women's development. She used a structured interview format to ask the subjects how they defined moral problems and what experiences they construed as moral conflicts in their lives. Through additional probing, open-ended questions, data was collected on conceptions of self and morality, experiences of moral conflict and choice and judgments of hypothetical moral dilemmas (Gilligan, 1982).

In summary, incest victims are currently viewed as a single group, yet advances in moral research suggest that the ways boys perceive and react to incest is probably not
identical to the perception and reaction of girls, and that this difference is a result of each gender's orientation toward other people—from a position of connectedness or separateness. If the gender differences current moral researchers have identified are also related to the perceptions of incest held by the victims of the act, there could be significant implications for the therapeutic treatment of incest victims and the structured interview has been found to be a useful tool for gathering such information. This study was designed to help clarify possible gender specific reactions to incest, information which might allow therapeutic interventions to be more precise.

Research Questions

To carry out this exploratory study, the following research questions were posed.

1. Are there apparent differences between male and female incest victims in:
   a. their moral ethic, i.e., the way they judge actions and choices?
   b. their self-definition, i.e., the way they view themselves in relation to others?

2. Are there apparent differences between male and female incest victims in:
   a. the basis from which they felt compelled to comply with the incestuous sexual abuse?
b. the reasons they believed the sexual abuse was right or wrong?
c. the reasons for telling someone or keeping the incest a secret?
d. how they decided whether or not they made the right choice?
e. the manner in which they have changed since the abuse began?
f. the content and degree of their own guilt and/or lowered esteem?
g. the ideas they have of changes which could have prevented the abuse?

Method

Subjects

The subjects for this study were obtained from counseling groups in a north Texas county child abuse treatment program, a non-profit agency adult incest victim treatment program, a Sex Addicts Anonymous self-help group and an incest perpetrator self-help group. Selection of subjects was restricted to people who had been sexually molested by a male who was older than the victim and who was acting as a parent or parent-figure, i.e., in a caretaking or supervisory role. To get a broad sampling, two males and two females were to be selected from each of five age groups: 6-9, 10-13, 14-17, 20-30, over 30. During the time of the study, however, two
subjects were not located, one male for age group 6-9 and one female for age group 20-30. Two additional substitute subjects (one male and one female) were selected for the 30+ groups. Choosing replacement subjects over thirty years old balanced out the proportion between children and adult participants. Table 1 shows the age and sex distribution of the subjects.

Table 1
Grouping of Subjects by Age and Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Males Ages</th>
<th>Females Ages</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6-9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7, 9</td>
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<tr>
<td>10-13</td>
<td>10, 13</td>
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<td>14-17</td>
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<td>20-30</td>
<td>21, 24</td>
<td>21</td>
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<tr>
<td>30+</td>
<td>34, 44, 46</td>
<td>33, 38, 54</td>
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N = 20

The 20 subjects were selected on the basis of a demonstrated ability to articulate ideas and a willingness to discuss aspects of their incest experience. The counselors for the groups from which the subjects were selected used guidelines developed by the researcher to assist them in making recommendations for subjects (see Appendix A). The sequence in which the subject recommendations were received
by the researcher determined the sequence in which the potential subjects were contacted and later interviewed. The author went to the various meeting sites of the groups to speak with the persons who had been recommended, or spoke to them by telephone, to explain the project and request their participation. When a subject declined, or later decided not to participate in the study, another recommendation from the same age group was requested until all the subjects were selected. The first two males and two females in each age group to agree to the interview were accepted. In the case of the 6-9 age group where one male was not available and the 20-30 age group where one female subject was not available, two replacement subjects over the age of 30 were selected. Counselors for the adult groups were asked to recommend three subjects over 30 years old from each gender. The first three males and three females who agreed to the interview were accepted. Each adult over 18 years of age who agreed to participate in the study signed a consent form (see Appendix B). For the subjects in the study under 18 years of age, a parent or guardian signed the consent form (see Appendix C).

Structured Interview

Each subject was interviewed using a structured, seven part open-ended interview. To elicit the greatest clarity of information from each person's responses, the interview proceeded from structured questions to unstructured, exploratory
and clarifying questions (see Appendix D). The interview questions were designed to make explicit: (1) any possible conflicts experienced in the abuse situation as each incest victim perceived them; (2) the decision process used to handle the incest situation; (3) the basis for judging the actions of the victim and of the victim's family members; (4) the criteria used to decide if choices made by the victim or others involved in the situation were right or not; (5) the position of the victim in relation to others; and (6) the impact that relational position may have had in determining perceptions, choices, and reactions. Interviews were conducted over a two and one-half month period.

To minimize the gender effect of the interviewer, the female author and a trained male counterpart each interviewed one-half of the male and one-half of the female subjects from each age group. For the two groups of N-1, the female interviewed the male age correct subject and the older female replacement subject. The male interviewed the older male replacement subject and the age correct female subject.

All interviews were audio taped on a standard tape recorder in full view of the subject. The taped interviews were transcribed verbatim by a secretary for later analysis. The interviews of subjects under 18 years of age were at the offices of the county Department of Child Welfare and were conducted during the subject's regularly scheduled group therapy meeting. Interviews with the adult subjects were at
locations mutually arranged upon by the subject and the investigator.

**Training of Interviewer**

The male interviewer was thirty-four years old, had a Master of Arts degree in counseling and eight years of work experience. His experience included five years of counseling on a suicide prevention hotline.

Training of the male interviewer consisted of: a description of the purposes of this research, a verbal explanation and discussion of the justice/care ethic and separate/connected mode of self-definition, verbal examples of how each mindset and ethic might be expressed, rehearsal of the interview questions and feedback from the researcher after each of the first three interviews. He was not told which gender typically exhibits which ethic or self-definition. He was instructed to encourage response elaborations by questions, inquisitive looks or silence in order to detect the subject's pattern of thinking and to draw out the emotional reactions to and perceptions of the incest experience.

**Training of Coders**

The coding of the transcribed interviews was completed by two coding assistants. One coder was a forty-two year old male student in a doctoral counseling program and one was a thirty-two year old female who possesses a Bachelor of Arts degree and informal experience in counseling. They were
selected because of their maturity and apparent ability to perceive subtleties in communication.

Training for the coders consisted of reading fifty-three pages of preparatory theoretical material that explained fully the history and use of the two ethics and two self definitions. During two two hour training sessions led by the researcher, the coders examined units containing conceptually distinct ideas and practiced classifying those ideas according to the constructs of morality as either care-response or as justice-rights (see Appendix E), and classifying the relational perspective according to the constructs of either connected or separate (see Appendix F). The coders practiced coding sample interview transcripts together and independently in three training sessions. The coders practiced until an intercoder consistency of 80 per cent agreement in classification of units in a whole interview was attained. The intercoder consistency was calculated by comparing each coder's classification of a unit with the other's classification of the same unit, and marking that unit's score as in agreement or disagreement.

Scoring

From the transcripts, responses to each question were subdivided by the researcher into conceptually distinct ideas according to the guidelines used by Lyons (1983) (see Appendices E and F). The unit of analysis contained only one
idea and the expressions of that idea. These units were circled in the transcript so that coding could be done by the two coders.

Concept units in the answers to the interview questions related to research questions 2a, 2b, 2c, 2d, and 2g were scored for moral perspective with the designation being either a care-response ethic or a justice-rights ethic. Responses to the interview questions related to research questions 2e and 2f were scored for a self-definition of either connected or separate (see Appendices E and F).

After the coding of each marked unit by both coders, the total number of responses in each category of care or justice, or of connected or separate was tallied to determine the moral ethic and self-definition of each subject. Predominance was ascribed when over 55 per cent of a subject's coded unit responses were from one mode. If there was no predominant pattern of response the subject was labeled as equally expressing both systems of separate/justice or connected/care. As a double check on the method of scoring by individual units, the coders were instructed to give one summary label for the whole interview style of either connected/care, separate/justice, or equally balanced, based on the coders overall impression.

After the subjects' interviews were labeled, the interviews were grouped according to primary mode of moral ethic
and self-definition. The content material from each gender group was compared and studied for similarity and uniqueness.

Results

Research Question 1 asked if there are apparent differences between male and female incest victims in (a) their moral ethic and (b) their self-definition.

To collect the responses used to answer research Question 1, the two coders made judgments on 345 total concept units related to moral ethic and self-definition. The coders averaged 73.3 per cent agreement over all the units coded. On four of the interviews, coder agreement fell below 65 per cent; on two interviews there was above 85 per cent coder agreement; and on four interviews above 90 per cent coder agreement. For the double check in which the coders gave one summary label for each interview of either connected and care or separate and justice based on their overall impression, 85 per cent coder agreement was obtained.

Table 2
Predominant Moral Ethic of Subjects

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<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Care</th>
<th>Justice</th>
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<td>10 male</td>
<td>30% (3)</td>
<td>40% (4)</td>
<td>30% (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 female</td>
<td>70% (7)</td>
<td>20% (2)</td>
<td>10% (1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2 shows the distribution of subjects when classified according to their predominant moral ethic. Table 3 shows the distribution of subjects when classified according to their self-definition.

Table 3
Predominant Self-Definition of Subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Connected</th>
<th>Separate</th>
<th>Equal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 male</td>
<td>50% (5)</td>
<td>30% (3)</td>
<td>20% (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 female</td>
<td>100% (10)</td>
<td>0% (0)</td>
<td>0% (0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Because the research by Gilligan and associates (1982) and Lyons (1983) demonstrated that the conceptions of self as connected was significantly correlated with a morality of care and responsibility and the conception of self as separate correlated with a morality of justice and rights, the total of each subject's responses that were coded care or connected were tallied together and responses that were coded justice or separate were tallied together for further comparison. Table 4 reflects the summary of each subject's total responses, classifying them as operating from either a connected self-definition and care ethic or a separate self-definition and justice ethic. The data contained in Tables 2, 3 and 4 indicate an apparent difference between male and
female incest victims in both their moral ethic and their self-definition.

Table 4

Summary of Scores of Self-Definition and Ethic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Connected/Care</th>
<th>Separate/Justice</th>
<th>Equal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 males</td>
<td>50% (5)</td>
<td>40% (4)</td>
<td>10% (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 females</td>
<td>90% (9)</td>
<td>0% (0)</td>
<td>10% (1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Research Question 2a asked whether there are apparent differences between male and female incest victims in the basis from which they felt compelled to comply with the incestuous sexual abuse.

Fourteen of the 20 subjects interviewed stated they believed they had no choice except to cooperate with the perpetrator. Three female victims and one male victim believed they had a choice, and two female victims stated that they never considered whether they had a choice. Appendix G summarizes the replies these subjects gave regarding their compliance with the incest.

Fear of harm was the common theme among the males in their explanation of compliance. Only one male voiced being motivated by fear that the man wouldn't like him any more.
The females, on the other hand, had a mixture of reasons for compliance with the fear of harm being prominent for only two persons. Three cooperated out of a response of obedience: "I honored my father . . . I wanted to obey him;" "He was my father . . . I did what I was told." Three females complied because of confusion over whether the actions were wrong or whether these behaviors were common in families: "I assumed it was just part of life". One female voiced a fear of alienating her mother if she went to her for help to stop the incest, and one female said she ignored it all, "... like it never occurred" (see Appendix G).

Six out of 10, or 60 per cent, of the male responses implied or stated a fear of being physically hurt, only 2 out of 10, or 20 per cent, of the female subjects mentioned fear of bodily harm. Five out of 10, or 50 per cent of the females stated or implied being motivated by obedience to authority, or by passively accepting the situation without question. None of the males mentioned any form of submission because of obedience. The responses of males and females indicated apparent differences between male and female incest victims in their perceptions of the pressures that compelled them to comply with the sexual abuse.

Research Question 2b asked are there apparent differences between male and female incest victims in the reasons they believed the sexual abuse was right or wrong.
The results of the responses are summarized in Appendix H and show the male respondents to have as many reasons for their beliefs regarding the wrongness of the abuse as there are male subjects. Only two males overlapped in their reasoning that incest was wrong because it had been done to them by a male. The female subjects, however, were more similar in their responses. Forty per cent, 4 of 10, of the females mentioned the failure of the male adult to be responsible for the protection of them as a child. Another 40 per cent, or 4 of 10, seemed to imply the lack of protection, but voiced it as failure to carry out some undefined relational role responsibility. Example: "... your dad is your dad." "That was [not] something a father should be doing." "Why [me] ... he had my mother."

There is an apparent difference between male and female incest victims in the reasons they believe the incest to be right or wrong. There is a distinct pattern in the way female victims view the incest as wrong because of the failure of the perpetrator to be responsible in the relational role. There is not an obvious pattern of responses for the males.

Research Question 2c asked whether there are apparent differences between male and female incest victims in the reasons for telling someone or for keeping the incest a secret. The responses to this question for males and females are summarized in Appendix I. Ninety per cent, 18 of 20, did not tell anyone about the act of incest right away, but had
waited several weeks to many years to tell. One-half, 5 of 10, of the males had waited until adulthood to mention the incest while only one female waited that long.

When comparing the subjects' reasons for not telling someone about the incest immediately, it is important to take note of what the subjects do not talk about as well as the reasons they do discuss. Four of the 10 males, or 40 per cent, mentioned a fear of personal consequences such as punishment or trouble which required a "bravery" from them in order to tell. No male mentioned any concern about the disclosure's effect on a relationship or on any other person.

Four females, or 40 per cent, however, spoke of not wanting their mothers to become angry with them or of wanting to protect their mothers by keeping the knowledge from them. The females' focus on another's anger rather than the personal consequences voiced by the males, seems to reflect a more relational concern than the self consequential concern of the male. Four females, 40 per cent, said they simply did not consider taking the initiative to tell. None of the females mentioned the concept of courage or bravery as a prerequisite for telling someone about the incest.

Females' responses tend to show consideration of the effects of the incest on others or on relationships when deciding to tell or not to tell about abuse. Males' responses tend to focus on how the repercussions of telling about the incest will effect them personally. Apparent differences
do exist between male and female incest victims in the reasons they kept the incest secret and the considerations which resulted in the later decision to tell or not.

Research Question 2d asked whether there are apparent differences between male and female incest victims in how they decided whether or not they made the right choice. In other words, what are the criteria on which they relied in evaluating their own choice of action? Appendix J contains excerpts of the subjects' answers.

Both male and female respondents reported an assortment of reasons they used to decide if they had made the right choice when they decided to tell or not to tell about the incest. Nearly all focused on the wisdom of finally telling about the abuse rather than on any earlier decision to maintain the secrecy. Both genders gave positive reasons for telling someone about the incest such as gaining personal safety, feeling better about themselves, receiving help and therapy for family members, gaining an improvement in family relationships, and of believing that justice prevailed. All 20 of the subjects judged the rightness of their decisions according to the consequences. If the decision to tell about the incest resulted in positive effects or the absence of consequences the victim feared, the decision was judged to be right.

Although there is no apparent difference between the male and female incest victims in the process they used to
judge whether they had made the right choice, there is an apparent difference in the focus of their concern. Both males and females judged the rightness of whether or not to tell on the basis of the decision's consequences, yet the females were more frequently concerned with the effects on their relationships while the males were more often concerned with stopping the personal hurt.

Research Question 2e asked whether there are apparent differences between male and female victims in the manner in which they have changed since the abuse began. Appendix K contains relevant excerpts from the interviews where subjects tried to describe their changes.

Story after story related various versions of emotional damage, of feeling ashamed, loss of personhood, withdrawal from friends, sexual inhibition and of depression and fear. Gender lines were blurred by the similarity of the responses of personal pain. No one reported being unaffected by the incest experience. Three females, 30 per cent, and one male, 10 per cent, however, reported extended periods of a total blocking out of awareness of the experiences.

Although there were a variety of changes found among the incest victims, there were no apparent differences between the male and female victims in the manner in which they had changed as a result of the abuse.

Research Question 2f asked whether there are apparent differences between male and female incest victims in the
content and degree of their own guilt and/or lowered esteem. Some of the responses of the subjects are listed in Appendix L.

From the interview material comes evidence of the battles these victims fight in trying to sort through confusion, fear and guilt, to assign responsibility and to decide on a course of action. This process and its various levels of intensity seems to have no pattern unique to either gender. Both sexes appeared to suffer the same degrees of pain, grief, shame, guilt, and personal devaluation. Both were shaken by the adult's sexual intrusion and anxious about the possible repercussions from its disclosure. Concerning the degree of guilt and lowering of self esteem, there are no apparent gender specific reactions.

There are indications, however, of apparent differences in the content of the expressions of guilt and lowered esteem of females and of males. Appendix L contains interview excerpts directly related to the research question on guilt and self-esteem, but a broader view is necessary to understand the scenario described by males and females.

The females tended to make comments like: "He didn't protect me . . . not worthy for my mother," "He messed up his own kids' lives," "I kept trying to protect her," "Maybe mother wasn't giving him what he needed," "I didn't know why [he was doing it]," "An adult should not take sexual advantage
of somebody smaller," "Me and my mother got closer". The theme running throughout the stories of the females is that of a relatedness, a network. They seemed to struggle to figure out everything, such as: what went wrong, and with whom, for what reason, with what consequences and on whom and what did they cause or could they do to help.

This reaction was in contrast with male comments like: "I felt trapped," "I had a great fear of being in trouble," "I was intimidated," "He was a man and that's not right," "I got brave and told," "I got tired of it," "It makes you feel good inside," "He did this to me, so I had to do this to him."

"The males tended to speak in a context of "me and them", in contrast to the females frame of reference as an "us." Males would often focus on evaluating a specific happening while the female tried to understand the total situation including everyone's motivations, needs and extenuating circumstances.

These differences in content emphasis become less prominent in responses of the older subjects. There seems to be a blending of both ideas of "I" and "us" for the more mature males and females. This type of blending seems to indicate a polarization of a self-definition perspective in young children that, with experience, becomes more balanced.

No apparent difference was found between the genders concerning the degree of guilt and lowered esteem. However, there did seem to be a difference in the content of the expressions of their guilt and esteem between males and females.
The contrast of a "me/them" thinking for males and an "us" position for females was more evident with the younger subjects and less distinct with the older ones.

Research Question 2g asked whether there are apparent differences between male and female incest victims in the ideas they have of changes which could have prevented the abuse.

In general, the responses of both genders, summarized in Appendix M, reflect a rather fatalistic reaction. The subjects focused more on what each might have done differently during or after the abuse instead of on ideas regarding how incest could be avoided. Responses concerned with the actual prevention of the original incest experience were rather unrealistic such as "Mom already getting a divorce" or "My [grandparents] shouldn't have gotten married," or "If my mom had never met this guy. . . ." The general consensus of both males and females appears to be that the abuse was unavoidable and no apparent differences were found between the genders in the ideas they have of changes which could have prevented the abuse.

A clarifying follow-up to Question 2g was "Do you have any suggestions for preventing sexual abuse from happening to other kids?". The subjects' recommendations are listed in Appendix N. The focus of the ideas presented by females differed from the focus of those presented by males. Of the seven females who gave suggestions, five (71%) gave ideas
that involved a relational solution, a connecting with somebody. Of the ten suggestions given by the males, six (60%) were suggestions for individual action and four suggested joint efforts. Those males whose answers involved joint efforts were the four oldest male subjects. These results do suggest an apparent difference in focus between the female incest victims who stressed shared solutions and the younger male victims who stressed individual actions.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to explore the reactions and perceptions incest victims had of their abuse to determine if there were any gender specific reactions to the experience. A comparative analysis of the interviews indicated apparent differences between male and female incest victims in their moral ethic and their view of themselves in relation to others.

All of the female subjects in this study (100%) defined themselves as being connected to others and seven of the ten (70%) voiced a moral ethic of care and response. These findings seem to differ from those of Gilligan and her associates (1982) whose subjects were people of high levels of intelligence, education and social class. In Gilligan's study, 63 per cent of the female subjects defined themselves as responding from a position of connectedness and 75 per cent from an ethic of care and response.
Only 30 per cent of the male victims in this study viewed themselves in terms of separateness from others, yet 79 per cent of the males in Gilligan's study did so. While 14 per cent of the males in Gilligan's sample demonstrated a moral ethic of care and response, that percentage doubled to 30 per cent of the males in this study who operated from an ethic of care and response.

It may be that the differences in these findings are a result of research variables such as variations in coding procedures, accuracy of the coders, or methods of determining predominance in ethic and self-definition. Since both this study and Gilligan's study are based on obtaining material from an interview format, dissimilarities could be attributed to the subjective factors involved in making any judgment.

The differences between the results of this study and those of Gilligan may, however, reflect a difference in the two populations studied. It is possible that the higher incidence of connectedness among both male and female incest victims in this study is a product of the family dynamics from which they came. Typically, the victims' families had been disrupted in some way by separation, divorce, or at least significant discord in the parental relationship. This threat to security could produce anxiety about losing a loved one, resulting in children who are hyper-attentive to their parents' moods and needs, and want to win or keep their parents' love. Such family conditions could lead a child to
think more frequently in terms of his or her connection to the significant others they are dependent upon.

Another explanation for the difference between these results and those of Gilligan's may lie in the nature of the child who becomes the victim. The responsive child, more willing to please, could be targeted as an appealing and safe victim for sexual involvement. According to Sgroi (1982) some male perpetrators are wanting the love and nurturance they missed in their early life, but are unable to handle the anxiety of a mutual relationship with an adult female. These males might turn to a child who cares about them and makes no relational demands on them. Also, the child who is less assertive and more compliant may be viewed as a person who can be successfully threatened into compliance.

A final consideration of the differences between these findings and those of Gilligan's may be the effect individual and group psychotherapy has had on the subjects of this study. Therapy may have encouraged both males and females to focus on the relational perspective of interconnectedness and responsiveness. The resolution of these research differences would need to be pursued in future studies.

One dissimilarity this study found between the sexes was in the pressures they believed compelled them to comply with the incest. The females were motivated by a desire to be obedient, by confusion over moral rightness (and so submitted to the judgment of the adult), and by a fear of hurting their
mother by telling. These findings imply a pattern of placing consideration of a relationship or the other person before the consideration of self. Males, on the other hand, reacted almost totally from a fear of physical harm which they felt incapable of fighting against. When deciding whether to tell about the abuse, this same gender related response difference was evident. The female victims considered the effects on others or on their relationships while the males thought predominantly of the repercussions to themselves personally.

Further evidence of a possible pattern of gender related response style comes from answers to the interview question asking for reasons the subjects considered the abuse to be right or wrong. The female respondents tended to judge the incest to be wrong because the perpetrator failed to be relationally responsible. Many of the males saw the incest as a transgression of what that perpetrator's role was to be, implying the person did not play by the rules.

The gender pattern that seems to emerge from this research is that the female incest victim places concern for others over concern for self, and the male victim tends to focus on his (and other's) safety as accomplished through strength or adherence to rules. This pattern of behavior was also found in many other studies. Travis (1982) and Piaget (1932/1965) noted that the females they studied refrained from retaliating out of an empathetic belief that kindness
helps the other person. The males, however, seemed to believe that negative force is best stopped by force.

Pollak and Gilligan (1982) found that women tend to read safety into relationships while males tend to perceive danger in intimacy and see safety in competition. McGuinness' (1978, 1981) physiological study identified gender differences which seemed independent of culture. She found the male child was more rule bound and more involved with objects than people. The female child was found to attend more to faces than objects, vocalize more and be comforted more by speech than were boys. McGuinness summed up the differences by saying males tended to be takers of action while females were communicators.

The conclusions of McGuinness, Piaget, Gilligan and Pollak imply a possible predisposition of females to be verbally and relationally oriented which would lead to the connected and care mindset, and a predisposition of males to be physically interactional with things as opposed to people which would lead to a mindset of separateness and a corresponding ethic of justice and rights through the balance of power. The results of this study support the idea that an ethic of care and response and a self-definition of connected is more typical of the female victim while an ethic of justice and rights and a self-definition of separate is more common of the male victim than the female.
In summary, the findings of this study seem to indicate females tend to experience incest as a violation not only of self, but of their relational network. Female victims perceive themselves as connected to others and to make decisions based on what they believe will maintain the harmony and the relationship. Their emotional damage is to their personhood, their confidence in their relational network, and anxiety over their own lack of ability to keep everyone happy.

For many male victims, incest is experienced as a violation of the self and of their stable power structure. Because many male victims tend to perceive themselves as separate and to make decisions based on what the role or rule dictates, their emotional damage is to their sense of potency and reinforces their fear of intimacy.

In this study, all twenty of the subjects believed the experience of the incest did damage to them. While three females and one male victim reported "very nice" abusers with the male stating he had enjoyed the extended sexual encounters, all four of them reported deeply damaging effects from those seemingly benign experiences. The findings of this research seem to challenge the ideas of those who believe that no permanent or significant damage may be experienced by a child who has been incestuously victimized (Yorukoglu & Kemp, 1966; Henderson, 1983), and supports the contention that the effects of incest are not always immediately
obvious, but are like a "time bomb" waiting to be triggered (Gelinas, 1984).

Although it has been argued that females nearly always suffer significant negative effects, but that males are more immune to damage from incest or sexual abuse (Simari & Baskin, 1979), the findings of this study do not support those conclusions. The male and female subjects in this study reported attempts to block-out awareness of the incest and continued efforts to convince themselves of the insignificance of the abuse. One woman even had total amnesia about the abuse for 17 years. Yet all subjects described painful and sometimes emotionally debilitating aftereffects of the incest. These findings of the attempts to repress the experience seem to support those of Nasjleti (1980) who found most boys "just wanted to forget it ever happened", but couldn't. This study though, also found girls wanting to forget about the abuse. Forgetting, however, did not erase the persistently eroding effects of the sexual misuse according to the interviews. An explanation for why males may appear to be less affected by incest than females may be their ability to be more single-minded, more narrowly focused and more persevering (McGuinness, 1981). In other words, it may not be that males are more immune to the incest experience, but that they can refocus their attention away from the damage more effectively than females. Frequently, there is also a long latency between the termination of abuse and the
emergence of a traumatic neurosis (Gelinas, 1984). Because the effects of incest are often not immediately obvious, boys may appear to be less affected, although their apparent immunity seems to be untrue.

Another issue brought out in the interviews with the older male victims in this study was fear of latent homosexuality. Though it has been pointed out (Montani, 1983) that this fear is a major concern with male victims of incest, in this study the fear of latent homosexuality was not mentioned by the seven youngest male subjects. The three men in this study who were over thirty-five, however, reported having anxiety about the possibility of being homosexual when they became sexually active with females. Failure in their sexual performance or failure to satisfy the female in some way seemed to trigger an insecurity about their masculinity which in turn aggravated their fears of secretly being a homosexual. Because the younger male victims did not directly mention a fear of being homosexual, this finding may imply that the sexual issue does not surface with intensity for the male victim until he is older and sexually active with females.

All of the respondents in this study mentioned that group therapy had been valuable to them. Seeing other victims and hearing their stories helped the subjects feel more normal, feel less isolated, less guilty and dirty. In group counseling, the importance of the abuse was not allowed to be
covered up and ignored; it was taken seriously, thus relieving the pressure of secrecy. In group they helped each other get over the embarrassment of talking about the incest. They were helped to express the feelings they didn't realize they had. And they made friends without having to hide anything from them. Group therapy, then, could be considered as an essential element in the treatment of incest victims.

Though this study found some apparent reactions to incest unique to each gender, it is important to note that these findings only suggest trends in the way male and female incest victims experienced the abuse. There are several limitations in this study which prevent the findings from being more definitive or broadly applicable. This study was limited to findings from a small population (N = 20), from a broad age range of subjects (ages six to fifty-four), and from a select group where all have had group counseling experience. The male and female subjects were not matched according to the nature or number of incestuous experiences, nor the period of time that elapsed between the abuse experiences and the research interview. It is unclear whether these variables would influence the interview responses and thus the findings.

This study is one effort in the search to define more specifically the effects incest has upon the male and female victims. To confirm and refine the gender specific reaction patterns emerging from this study on incest victims, further
research is needed (1) to identify the variables that significantly effect the victim's reaction to the incest; (2) to discover if and to what extent victims of incest who are in group therapy would differ in self-definition and moral ethic from those with no therapeutic experience; and (3) to verify if male and female incest victims are representative of the general population in relation to each gender's self-definition and moral ethic.
Appendix
Appendix A

Guidelines for the Selection of Interview Subjects

The interview subject must:

A. have been in an incestuous relationship, or had an incestuous encounter with a family member or someone in the family structure who served in a caretaking capacity.

B. the perpetrator of the incest must have been at least eight years older than the victim.

C. the subject must have basic recall of the incest experience, i.e., not excessively amnesic or a multiple personality.

D. the subject must be willing to talk about the incest experience.

E. the subject must have above average communication skills, an ability to articulate ideas and a good vocabulary.

The above guidelines are to help you in recommending a person you think would be a good interview subject. The major findings of this research will come from the thoughts and feelings expressed by incest victims. In your selection, consider the individual's general ability to communicate and to express the often times nebulous feeling that accompany incest.
Appendix B
Parent's Consent Form

Your permission is requested for ________________ to participate in a research project on reactions to incest. This will consist of one 15-20 minute taped interview, with all identities concealed, and no prying into intimate details. The interview will be conducted in a room in the same building as group, just before, during or immediately after the time allowed for the regular group meeting. The interview will be carried out by a licensed female therapist who has much experience working with incest victims; therefore, the interview should be a positive experience.

This research is very important and will allow therapists to develop better ways to help people who were sexually abused work through problems which may have resulted from incest.

Thank you for your help and participation.

_____________________________________

Linda M. Marten

I understand the conditions of this research and give ______________ permission to participate. I agree to allow the interview material to be used in research, professional journals and teaching presentations with the understanding that the identity of the interviewed person or anyone else involved or mentioned will be held in strict confidence by the interviewer.

Date _______ Signed ____________________________

Relationship to child: ____________________
Appendix C

Consent Form

You are requested to participate in a research project on reactions to incest. This will consist of one 15-20 minute taped interview with all identities concealed, and no prying into intimate details. The interview will be conducted by a licensed female therapist who has much experience working with incest victims; therefore, the interview should be a positive experience.

This research is very important and will allow therapists to develop better ways to help people who were sexually abused work through problems which may have resulted from incest.

Thank you for your help and participation.

________________________________________

Linda M. Marten

I understand the conditions of this research and agree to participate. I give permission for the interview material to be used in research, professional journals and teaching presentations with the understanding that the identity of the interviewed person or anyone else involved or mentioned will be held in strict confidence by the interviewer.

Date ___________  Signed ___________________________________
Appendix D

Interview Questions

(To be supplemented with appropriate clarifying and probing questions.)

1. How did the sex play from ______ get started? Did you believe you had to go along with it or did you have a choice? If you did have a choice, for what reasons did you agree to cooperate? If you didn't have a choice, what were the reasons you had to cooperate?

2. Do you think what was done to you was right or wrong? What made it wrong (or right)? For what reasons was it bad (or good)? Did anyone know what was happening to you? Should someone have noticed?

3. Did you tell someone about it right away? Was that a difficult decision? What were the issues you had to consider in making that decision? What helped you make up your mind?

4. Do you think you made the right choice? How can you tell?

5. How would you describe yourself to yourself? Is the way you see yourself now different from the way you saw yourself before the incest?

   If "no" - the sexual abuse did not change you? How did it affect you? or How were you able to not let it bother you?
If "yes" - describe the changes in you. Or, How would you, or your friends, describe you before and after?

Did anyone else in the family change after the sexual abuse started? After it was no longer a secret? How?

Do you think it hurt you? In what way?

6. Do you have times of feeling bad about it? How often? What do you do when you feel bad? What do you think about that makes you feel bad? Can you think of anything that would make you feel better about that? Better about it all? Better about you?

7. Could the sexual abuse have been prevented? What could have changed it? What could we do so it won't happen in other families to other kids? What would you tell other kids?
Appendix E

Morality as Care and Morality as Justice: A Scheme for Coding Considerations of Response and Considerations of Rights

A. The Construction of the Problem

Considerations of Response (Care)

1. General effects to others (unelaborated);
2. Maintenance or restoration of relationships; or response to another considering interdependence;
3. Welfare/well-being of another or the avoidance of conflict; or, the alleviation of another's burden/hurt/suffering (physical or psychological);
4. Considers the "situation vs./over the principle";
5. Considers care of self; care of self vs. care of others.

Considerations of Rights (Justice)

1. General effects to the self (unelaborated including "trouble", "how decide");
2. Obligations, duty or commitments;
3. Standards, rules or principles for self or society; or considers fairness, that is, how one would like to be treated if in other's place;
4. Considers the "principle vs./over the situation";
5. Considers that others have their own contexts;

(appendix continues)
B. The Resolution of the Problem/Conflict

Considerations of Response (Care)
1. General effects to others (unelaborated);
2. Maintenance or restoration of relationships; or response to another considering interdependence;
3. Welfare/well-being of another or the avoidance of conflict; or, the alleviation of another's burden/hurt/suffering (physical or psychological);
4. Considers the "situation vs. the principle";
5. Considers care of self; care of self vs./care of others;

Considerations of Rights (Justice)
1. General effect to the self (unelaborated including "trouble", "decision");
2. Obligations, duty or commitments;
3. Standards, rules or principles for self or society; or, considers fairness, that is, how one would like to be treated if in other's place;
4. Considers the "principle vs./over the situation";
5. Considers that others have their own contexts.

C. The Evaluation of the Resolution

Considerations of Response (Care)
1. What happened/how worked out;
2. Whether relationships maintained/restored;

(appendix continues)
Considerations of Rights (Justice)

1. How decided/thought about/justified;
2. Whether values/standards/principles maintained.

Appendix F

A Scheme For Coding Responses to the
"How Have You Changed" Question

A. General and Factual
   1. General factual
   2. Physical characteristics
   3. Identifying activities
   4. Identifying possessions
   5. Social status

B. Abilities and Agency
   1. General ability
   2. Agency
   3. Physical abilities
   4. Intellectual abilities

C. Psychological
   1. Interests (likes/dislikes)
   2. Traits/dispositions
   3. Beliefs, values
   4. Pre-occupations

D. Relational Component
   1. Connected in relation to others:
      a. Have relationships: (relationships are there)
      b. Abilities in relationships: (make, sustain, to care, to do things for others)

(appendix continues)
c. Traits/dispositions in relationships: (help others)

d. Concern: for the good of another in their terms

e. Preoccupations: with doing good for another; with how to do good

2. Separate/objective in relation to others

a. Have relationships: (relationships part of obligations/commitments; instrumental)

b. Abilities in relationships: (skill in interacting with others)

c. Traits/dispositions in relationships: (act in reciprocity; live up to duty/obligations; commitment; fairness)

d. Concern: for others in light of principles, values, beliefs or general good of society

e. Preoccupations: with doing good for society; with whether to do good for others

E. Summary Statements

F. Self-evaluating Commentary

1. In self's terms

2. In self in relation to others

   a. Connected self

   b. Separate self

Subjects' Responses to "Did you have a choice about going along with it?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yes</strong> - &quot;I honored my father ... I had to obey him, but ... I loved him. I wanted to obey him.&quot; Age 12</td>
<td><strong>No</strong> - (nodded no but wouldn't give a reason) Age 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No</strong> - &quot;He would kill me.&quot; Age 9</td>
<td><strong>No</strong> - &quot;... because I was scared [he might] hurt me.&quot; Age 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No</strong> - &quot;... he told me if I didn't ... I would regret it. His sister told me ... he put a gun on her.&quot; Age 16</td>
<td><strong>No</strong> - &quot;I was trapped. I didn't know ... if it was right or wrong, and if I said no I thought he wouldn't like me anymore.&quot; Age 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No</strong> - &quot;... I acted like I was asleep. ... I was afraid if I screamed ... my mom wouldn't have believed me.&quot; Age 13</td>
<td><strong>No</strong> - &quot;... I was scared I'd get really hurt really bad or something.&quot; Age 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yes</strong> - &quot;... most of the time I told him to quit ... start crying and then I'd leave ... Sometimes ... he wouldn't stop. I always started crying. I didn't know why [he was doing it]. I didn't know that you weren't even supposed to be doing it.&quot; Age 15</td>
<td><strong>No</strong> - &quot;He was older than me and he's much bigger ... and he threatened me.&quot; Age 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yes</strong> - &quot;... actually I just didn't feel like [stopping] it.&quot; Age 7</td>
<td><strong>No</strong> - &quot;... I was very much intimidated by his height and the fact that he was an older person.&quot; Age 44 (was 9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? - &quot;I just didn't think about having a choice or not, it was like this is the way everybody lives. I didn't think there was any different life.&quot; Age 38 (under age 8)</td>
<td><strong>No</strong> - &quot;... I didn't want to get him mad at me ... if he got violent and hit me and yelled.&quot; Age 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>No</strong> - &quot;I felt trapped [by] the age difference. I was 8.&quot; Age 34</td>
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</tbody>
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(appendix continues)
### Subjects' Responses to "Did you have a choice about going along with it?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>? - &quot;... it never came into my mind whether it was right or wrong. ... It's just like it never occurred.&quot; Age 21 (under 14)</td>
<td>No - &quot;I had a great fear of being in trouble ... of somebody accusing me of being the one who started it.&quot; Age 24 (was 8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No - &quot;... he was my father and this is what he said and so I just did it.&quot; Age 33 (about 7)</td>
<td>Yes - &quot;... he soothed it over so ... I wasn't threatened. ... it felt good.&quot; Age 46 (was 10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No - &quot;... he was a father figure and you're not supposed to tell the father anything. ... I was afraid if I told my mother, I would cause a problem between them.&quot; Age 54 (pre-teen)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>


Appendix H

Responses to "Was what was done to you right or wrong and why?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W - &quot;A father is supposed to protect his child and not misuse his child. It would [also] be against her mother. It would hurt her.&quot; Age 12</td>
<td>W - [What made it wrong] &quot;... him.&quot; Age 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W - &quot;... [because it was] my dad.&quot;</td>
<td>W - &quot;Because he's an older man ... It can hurt me. It can hurt anyone. [It hurt me] in my heart.&quot; Age 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W - &quot;Because he knew better, and ... I was only about 12. ... I didn't know nothing about sex.&quot; Age 16</td>
<td>W - &quot;... he's just my mom's boyfriend. It's not his responsibility for me to know [this stuff].&quot; Age 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W - &quot;Because ... your dad is your dad to love you but not in a passionate romantic way.&quot; Age 13</td>
<td>W - &quot;He was a man and that's not basically right.&quot; Age 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W - &quot;I just didn't think, didn't feel like that was something a father should be doing to his daughter ... nobody else ... had told me that.&quot; Age 15</td>
<td>W - &quot;... it was my brother. ... I don't know how to put it, but I know it was wrong.&quot; Age 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W - &quot;[Because] it's against the law.&quot; (Asked if she knew at the time if it was good or bad, she nodded no.) Age 7</td>
<td>W - &quot;Because he forced me into a situation where I didn't want to be.&quot; Age 44 (was 9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W - &quot;You don't get a sense of security or love out of that. ... get a warped sense of yourself, like you're just a thing to be used, rather than ... a person.&quot; Age 38</td>
<td>W - &quot;I was too scared to sense anything about anything. ... it's just what I've learned, playing with your children has always been wrong.&quot; Age 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W - &quot;At the time I wasn't sure. [Now] I feel it was wrong.&quot; Age 34</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
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(appendix continues)
Responses to "Was what was done to you right or wrong and why?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Females</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W - &quot;... he should have been responsible ... he was an older person. He supposed to know things that I wasn't. He was like leading me on.&quot; Age 21</td>
<td>? - &quot;I would hope that people wouldn't have to go through anything like that to be able to deal with life, but it needed to happen to me or it wouldn't have. ... I hate to make a judgment call ... it's not only past, it was part of my life.&quot; Age 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W - &quot;... an adult should [not] take sexual advantage of somebody smaller and younger ... he was supposed to protect me [but] used me for his own pleasure. ... wrong because of the effect it had ... and because it's a sin.&quot; Age 33</td>
<td>W - &quot;... because they kept it a secret and ... didn't want my parents to know. ... at that time ... [for] any sexual inclinations ... there was always punishment.&quot; Age 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W - (When age 9-10) &quot;The episode with my uncle ... I still didn't know if it was wrong. I just got tired of what he was doing. I didn't like it.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 years later - &quot;[Concerning my stepfather] I just knew it wasn't right, I mean, why should he be fooling with me when he had my mother?&quot; Age 54</td>
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</table>
## Appendix I

Reasons for telling someone or keeping it a secret

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Waited</strong> - &quot;I was afraid [mom] would be mad at me . . . accuse me.&quot; Age 12</td>
<td><strong>Right away</strong> (told brother and he said to) &quot;tell Mom, [Difficult] because [she] can't hear while reading [book].&quot; Age 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Waited</strong> - &quot;I had to think right from wrong. I thought right would be good, so I told.&quot; Age 9</td>
<td><strong>Waited</strong> - &quot;After my sister told I got brave enough and I told.&quot; Age 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Right away</strong> - &quot;I was just wondering why I don't know [what sex was like with somebody my age]. Since my momma didn't believe me . . . I had to tell somebody . . . [wanted] some kind of help.&quot; Age 16</td>
<td><strong>Didn't tell</strong> (Aunt walked in on it) - &quot;I thought I might get in trouble.&quot; Age 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Waited</strong> - &quot;I was really feeling right then, guilty, and [then] was really scared he'd do more. [But] I didn't want [Mom] to be . . . mad at me. I don't think we can make it without him . . .&quot; Age 13</td>
<td><strong>Waited</strong> (had been threatened) - &quot;I just got tired of it and finally told my sister.&quot; Age 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Didn't tell</strong> - (Father turned himself in). &quot;I felt if I told anybody I would get in trouble or they would hate me or wouldn't believe me.&quot; Age 15</td>
<td><strong>Waited</strong> 7-8 years - &quot;Somebody was talking about homosexuality. That's what brought it up. I made fun of it.&quot; Age 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Didn't tell</strong> (till sister offered to exchange information on dad) - &quot;I told [her] because I wanted to know what my father did to her!&quot; Age 7</td>
<td><strong>Waited</strong> - (turned self in as abuser and then told of being abused) &quot;I didn't see my dad was hurting me . . . I figured nobody would believe me I guess. . . . I didn't want to hurt anybody else.&quot; Age 21</td>
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(appendix continues)
### Appendix I—Continued

Reasons for telling someone or keeping it a secret

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<tr>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Didn't tell until adult - &quot;Sex was always such a secret ... I just knew it wasn't a thing to talk about.&quot; Age 38</td>
<td>Didn't tell until adult - &quot;I tried to put it all the way out of my mind. [In therapy] everybody kept asking if I had been abused ... I was trying to think about how it related to [sexual abuse] between me and my daughter.&quot; Age 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waited (several years) - &quot;I don't think ... that I really thought I was keeping a secret. My brother and I were just talking, it was kind of like, 'Oh, yeah, Grandpa did this and this to me.'&quot; Age 21</td>
<td>Didn't tell until adult - &quot;I didn't want to remember ... so I didn't remember. [In therapy] they told me it would help [to] ... dig into all of it. I'm glad I did it.&quot; Age 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waited - &quot;I never told anybody until my mother died when I was 14. It was then like that threat was over ... nothing would happen to my mom.&quot; Age 33</td>
<td>Didn't tell until 40 - &quot;I was afraid to tell my parents because they would punish me for being involved with it ... in the incest group, as a perpetrator, we dug deep and [I] finally brought it out ...&quot; Age 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waited a month - &quot;I don't know why [I waited]. I just don't know.&quot; Age 54</td>
<td></td>
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</table>
### Appendix J

Responses to "Did you make the right choice in telling or not telling? Why?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes - &quot;[Because] he's in jail now.&quot; Age 12</td>
<td>Yes - &quot;'Cause ... I couldn't sleep without telling my mom.&quot; Age 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes - &quot;I have people to help me now.&quot; Age 9</td>
<td>Yes - &quot;Because if I didn't he would have just kept on doing it and doing it ... kept on hurting me, hurting my 2 sisters and we hated it.&quot; Age 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes - &quot;Because it's not happening anymore ... I don't feel stupid like I used to ... I feel real normal.&quot; Age 16</td>
<td>Yes - &quot;I found out that he really wouldn't hurt me and that he got in more trouble ... he has apologized for it lots of times ...&quot; Age 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes - &quot;... my mom and dad have worked it out and everything. It [also] brought our [she and dad] relationship ... closer together.&quot; Age 13</td>
<td>Yes - &quot;Because I can get therapy and he can get therapy, too.&quot; Age 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes - &quot;Because if I didn't it couldn't have been stopped and he needs to go to trial. ... see it's bad if I didn't tell.&quot; Age 7</td>
<td>Yes - &quot;Because I've met other people that had the same or similar incidents occur ...&quot; Age 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes - &quot;I was glad he told ... so it would quit. What really could I have done to stop him? He's a lot stronger ... [I was] taught to obey your parents no matter what ... It's not my fault that I didn't make him quit.&quot; Age 15</td>
<td>Yes - &quot;Because I feel good about it and it's getting things straightened out in our family and nobody's getting hurt anymore and everybody's getting help.&quot; Age 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? - &quot;It was the wrong choice [not to tell] ... but it might have been the</td>
<td>Yes - &quot;I just feel better about it. ... if I can convince myself that I was right, then I shouldn't have to feel guilty about it or bad ...&quot; Age 34</td>
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<tr>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>right choice because I don't know if anybody had known what to do to handle it.</strong>&lt;br&gt;Age 38</td>
<td><strong>Yes - &quot;... by not dealing with it at the time, I've continued to allow myself to play victim... in many different situations. I can't imagine having a better life than I have now after dealing with all this.&quot;</strong> Age 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yes - &quot;I don't have any regrets from telling... [it didn't change] any way my family thinks of me...&quot;</strong>&lt;br&gt;Age 21</td>
<td>? - &quot;[Talking about it was] to help yourself and to get rid of that block and move on.&quot; Age 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yes - &quot;Because of the guilt... I felt dirty. When I told the first person... it wasn't me... that this man was wrong and that I was not to blame...&quot;</strong>&lt;br&gt;Age 33</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Yes - &quot;It stopped, eventually... he would have penetrated. I just don't know if I could have ever handled that or not.&quot;</strong> Age 54</td>
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</table>
### Appendix K
Changes since the abuse began

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;[I] was selfish before then . . . [now] more loving toward my mother. She [now treats] our feelings like . . . they needed to be counted.&quot; Age 12</td>
<td>&quot;Different [now after abuse]&quot; (couldn't elaborate). Age 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;[Was] sad, [now] happy. I feel better . . . other people too notice you are better, . . . you're being good and doing just great!&quot; Age 9</td>
<td>&quot;[I'm] different now] I'm proud that he is gone . . . put away for good . . . . [I'm proud now].&quot; Age 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;[During] the abuse, I never was really around [kids] my own age. Now that it has ended, I'm into everything.&quot; Age 16</td>
<td>&quot;I'm proud of myself now. I was upset and mad at myself [for not telling].&quot; Age 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;[During abuse] I was sad alot, really upset, scared . . . depressed all the time. [Now] I'm doing okay. I can talk to him more freely . . . .&quot; Age 13</td>
<td>&quot;[When] it was going on I never cared about my hair . . . clothes. I didn't care about myself because . . . I let him keep on . . . I was scared. Now I've got more friends . . . . I look and act nicer.&quot; Age 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Before, I always used to be real happy . . . I didn't ever worry about what people thought of me and now it's real hard to think anything good about myself. Me and my mother got closer . . . .&quot; Age 15</td>
<td>&quot;[I'm] not so much scared . . . now that he's gone. I think that it was just another stage . . . . [Now] I'm more brave to take on stuff.&quot; Age 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;[Now] I know it's wrong . . . every night I say my prayers . . . and I don't have nightmares anymore.&quot; Age 7</td>
<td>&quot;Anytime I'm approached sexually [by a woman], I get the same feeling of terror . . . that I'm being forced to do something . . . having no choice.&quot; Age 44</td>
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(appendix continues)
Appendix K—Continued

Changes since the abuse began

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;I think [the abuse] made me not a person. I had no value in myself, I was a reflection of whoever I was around.&quot; Age 38</td>
<td>&quot;I was really secluded and to myself . . . now I'm really outgoing. Getting those things straightened out. It makes you feel good inside that you're talking about it . . .&quot; Age 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;[I didn't change] because of what happened, . . . I can't really say for sure. [I do] have problems with relationships with men.&quot; Age 21</td>
<td>&quot;I always felt like somebody could tell something had happened to me . . . like I had those kind of relationships. I was closer with my parents [before] . . . I stayed away. [Now] I feel happier or lighter. [Not] carrying around something all the time.&quot; Age 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;[Afterwards] I was scared and shy. I felt very dirty . . . that there was something about me, that when people saw me that knew that I was this dirty person . . . so I wouldn't have a lot to do with people.&quot; Age 33</td>
<td>&quot;[I'm] not nearly ashamed . . . as I was. Before . . . I couldn't have a relationship unless I was being victimized either sexually or emotionally.&quot; Age 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I thought that [anything that went wrong] was somehow my fault. What bothered me most was my mother's attitude . . . she thought I enjoyed it! She chose my stepfather over me. . . . [I felt] like excess baggage . . . .&quot; Age 54</td>
<td>&quot;I'm more insecure [with women], more reserved . . . shyish. I [fear] not performing as a full male. . . . having this other relationship sort of reinforces that you could be homosexual, you can't satisfy women . . . that is an underlying fear.&quot; Age 46</td>
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Appendix L
Content and degree of guilt and/or lowered esteem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;I go to my room and cry. He didn't protect me... he proved himself not worthy for my mom. I tell my mom I'm a brat [even when I'm not] and she always gets on me.&quot;</td>
<td>[When I feel bad] I tell my mom. She says it's okay [I feel better about me when I'm with] my horses.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 12</td>
<td>Age 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;[Almost] all the time [I feel bad about what happened] I get so nervous I wet my pants. [I] draw horses [to feel better].&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;I keep telling myself, hey, he did this to me, so I had to do this [jail] to him. [The abuse] hurt me mentally but not physically. I hurt me because I didn't tell . . . I was mad at myself.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 9</td>
<td>Age 13</td>
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</table>
| "When I do think about my stepfather and what he did to me, most of the time I cry. [I try] to think about something else. [Boyfriend and I] are supposed to get more time together for me to fight those feelings back. So far it [works]." | Sometimes I'm mad at him that he did it to me, and I really liked him alot. I'm scared . . . he could die . . . or go to jail for the rest of his life. It's just sad . . . I just like him like a friend . . . ."
| Age 16                                                                 | Age 10                                                                |
| "I don't [feel bad] that much anymore . . . I've got a friend . . . she was sexually abused . . . we just kind of talk together." | "It hurt me inside. I think of it some [and feel bad] but then I get my mind off of it. I think about other things like candy . . . ."
| Age 13                                                                 | Age 13                                                                |
| "Most of the time I'm happy, but when . . . I start thinking about it like why did I let it happen, why didn't I tell, and why didn't I make him quit . . . sometimes I convince myself it's not my fault, and sometimes I don't . . . [then] I get depressed." | "[It hurt me] deep down. Before, I felt guilty that it was all my fault. . . . my fault was to not tell anybody. [I feel bad] 'cause me and my brothers got further apart. I" |
| Age 15                                                                 | (appendix continues)                                                  |
Appendix L—Continued
Content and degree of guilt and/or lowered esteem

<table>
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<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;A lot [of times I feel bad]. I try to tell myself to stop thinking bad and start thinking stuff like your father is going to go to the carnival . . . [I think of being a bad, bad girl. [So I start being good . . . I don't gripe . . . .&quot; Age 7</td>
<td>don't think [the bad feeling] will ever [leave] . . . . it just goes when I think about something else.&quot; Age 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;... the emotional pain and hurt . . . has effected my whole life, just keeping that in [blocked it for 26 years]. [When I hurt I still] try to stuff it back in. [I'm learning] it's okay to hurt . . . it's better to get it out.&quot; Age 38</td>
<td>&quot;Yes, I do think [it hurt me]. I don't minimize it as much now. There is a lot of rage involved [in the] incidents that I had no control over . . . . Talking about it helps.&quot; Age 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;[I'm hurt] mentally and emotionally some. I have problems with having relations with men. You think about the first time you did that . . . now I know it was definitely wrong . . . and it just makes it hard. . . . my first flashbacks are [of the] abuse.&quot; Age 21</td>
<td>&quot;It didn't hurt me physically, but it hurt me inside. It's like somebody's ripping your insides out . . . all I've got to do is just talk about it and it would keep me feeling good and realizing [abusing someone is] wrong . . . I don't want it to happen again.&quot; Age 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I always thought I was a dirty scum. Christ has made the big difference in my life. . . . what I deal with now is . . . feelings of hate and bitterness . . . [he] has messed up his own kids' lives. I can handle myself and move on . . . but they can't and he ruined their lives . . . .&quot; Age 33</td>
<td>&quot;It hurt me quite a bit . . . took away alot of self-esteem. [I still feel bad] a couple of times a month. I take my mind off it. Just keep busy doing something else.&quot; Age 34</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>&quot;It was very emotionally damaging . . . and quite a bit sexually. It set up (appendix continues)</td>
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### Appendix L—Continued

Content and degree of guilt and/or lowered esteem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
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| "It hurt me as far as trusting . . . and self-esteem.  
[For years] I felt like I wasn't worth anything. I don't feel bad about it [now]  
... since my mother died  
... for some reason . . .  
all those years I kept trying to protect her." Age 54 | sexual patterns that took almost 20 years to break.  
No [I don't feel bad] anymore." Age 24 |
| "It came back to make me feel insecure. You could only have a satisfying relationship with a male . . . that was underlying even though I pushed it out. I still sometimes feel I'm not the virile . . . or macho man. We've got to . . . change that hurt. [Then] I think we can stop some of these future victimizations." Age 46 |
Appendix M

Any changes which could have prevented the abuse?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes - &quot;My mom already getting a divorce from him like she threatened to do.&quot; Age 12</td>
<td>Yes - &quot;Get [him] put in jail.&quot; Age 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No - &quot;Nothing [could have changed it].&quot; Age 9</td>
<td>Yes - &quot;. . . if we would've told, it would've been prevented, but we were scared to.&quot; Age 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes - &quot;... if I had something to fight him off with ... but it is hard to fight someone off that's bigger than you.&quot; Age 16</td>
<td>Yes - &quot;If my mom had never met this guy it might have never happened.&quot; Age 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? - &quot;I never thought about that.&quot; Age 13</td>
<td>? - &quot;Don't know, because I don't know what caused him to do it.&quot; Age 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No - &quot;... because I don't think there was anything that I did particularly that made him do it.&quot; Age 15</td>
<td>No - &quot;[Just] could have told.&quot; Age 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes - &quot;My mommy could've walked in.&quot; Age 7</td>
<td>? - &quot;They should have done something about it.&quot; Age 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes - &quot;My [grandparents] shouldn't have gotten married ... but I probably wouldn't be around.&quot; Age 38</td>
<td>No - &quot;No.&quot; Age 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes - &quot;... I could have known better and said no.&quot; Age 21</td>
<td>Yes - &quot;Yeah, I imagine if I had told somebody . . . .&quot; Age 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? - &quot;I don't know.&quot; Age 33</td>
<td>No - &quot;If it hadn't have been me it would've been somebody else.&quot; Age 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No - &quot;He just thinks all women are open season.&quot; Age 54</td>
<td>? - [Don't know] Age 46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix N

Responses to: Any suggestions which could prevent sexual abuse from happening to other kids?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Let the kids play out what really happened . . . they would get help like I did.&quot; Age 9</td>
<td>&quot;Tell 'em [kids] to watch out.&quot; Age 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Press charges . . . tell somebody . . . before the relationship goes any further.&quot; Age 16</td>
<td>&quot;Let the kids get courage enough to tell.&quot; Age 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I just hope it can. . . . I don't actually think it can be prevented.&quot; Age 13</td>
<td>&quot;Just tell [kids] pretty soon [about abusers] before they find out from someone else.&quot; Age 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I don't know.&quot; Age 15</td>
<td>&quot;[Tell kids] that it's wrong and he shouldn't have done it . . . that no one's going to hurt him . . . if they do tell.&quot; Age 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;... tell the man to quit, . . . if he don't, just run out . . . and go tell someone.&quot; Age 7</td>
<td>&quot;If somebody has . . . an incest thought . . . then to talk.&quot; Age 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Educate the children [what is] proper affection and love. [And] the education of the parents.&quot; Age 38</td>
<td>&quot;We've got to believe children.&quot; Age 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;... to have a functional family . . . [with] less secrets.&quot; Age 21</td>
<td>&quot;Teach [people] to look for some sort of signs of this stuff going on.&quot; Age 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Give children the right information . . . .&quot; Age 33</td>
<td>&quot;... they have to tell somebody if something like this happens . . . but it doesn't always help, . . . especially with boys.&quot; Age 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I don't know if you can prevent it. Some old coot's going to do it . . . all you can do is teach the child . . . .&quot; Age 54</td>
<td>(appendix continues)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix N—Continued

Responses to: Any suggestions which could prevent sexual abuse from happening to other kids?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Females</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;No . . . [all] you can protect them from would be the emotional process afterward . . . the shame and guilt.&quot; Age 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;. . . parents should be involved in what their children learn about sex . . . the appropriateness of acts . . .&quot; Age 46</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
References


