PERSONALITY AND PSYCHOPATHOLOGY

A Series of Monographs, Texts, and Treatises

David T. Lykken, Editor

1. The Anatomy of Achievement Motivation, *Heinz Heckhausen*. 1966*
2. Cues, Decisions, and Diagnoses: A Systems-Analytic Approach to the Diagnosis of Psychopathology, *Peter E. Nathan*. 1967*
3. Human Adaptation and Its Failures, *Leslie Phillips*. 1968*
4. Schizophrenia: Research and Theory, *William E. Broen, Jr.* 1968*
5. Fears and Phobias, *I. M. Marks*. 1969
6. Language of Emotion, *Joel R. Davitz*. 1969
7. Feelings and Emotions, *Magda Arnold*. 1970
8. Rhythms of Dialogue, *Joseph Jaffe* and *Stanley Feldstein*. 1970
9. Character Structure and Impulsiveness, *David Kipnis*. 1971
10. The Control of Aggression and Violence: Cognitive and Physiological Factors, *Jerome L. Singer* (Ed.). 1971
11. The Attraction Paradigm, *Donn Byrne*. 1971
12. Objective Personality Assessment: Changing Perspectives, *James N. Butcher* (Ed.). 1972
13. Schizophrenia and Genetics, *Irving I. Gottesman* and *James Shields*. 1972*
14. Imagery and Daydream Methods in Psychotherapy and Behavior Modification, *Jerome L. Singer*. 1974
15. Experimental Approaches to Psychopathology, *Mitchell L. Kietzman, Samuel Sutton,* and *Joseph Zubin* (Eds.). 1975
16. Coping and Defending: Processes of Self-Environment Organization, *Norma Haan*. 1977
17. The Scientific Analysis of Personality and Motivation, *R. B. Cattell* and *P. Kline*. 1977
18. The Determinants of Free Will: A Psychological Analysis of Responsible, Adjustive Behavior, *James A. Easterbrook*.
19. The Psychopath in Society, *Robert J. Smith*.
20. The Fears of Adolescents, *J. H. Bamber*.
21. Congenitive Behavioral Interventions: Theory, Research and Procedures, *Philip C. Kendall* and *Steven D. Hollon* (Eds.).
22. Adult Sexual Interest in Children, *Mark Cook* and *Kevin Howells* (Eds.).

*Titles initiated during the series editorship of Brendan Maher.

Adult Sexual Interest in Children

Edited by

MARK COOK
University College, Swansea

and

KEVIN HOWELLS
University of Leicester

1981

ACADEMIC PRESS
A Subsidiary of Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers

London New York Toronto Sydney San Francisco

1

A Comparison of Intrafamilial Sexual and Physical Child Abuse

CONSTANCE AVERY-CLARK,* JOYCE ANN O'NEIL
and
D. R. LAWS

Atascadero State Hospital, Atascadero, California, U.S.A.

Introduction

In 1962 Kempe and his co-workers published an article on the battered child syndrome that brought public outrage and professional concern over the maltreatment of children in general and the physical abuse of children in particular. Since that time, the concept of child abuse, or as some professionals prefer to call it, child misuse (Brant and Tisza, 1977), has expanded considerably to include physical, emotional and sexual maltreatment and neglect (Rosenfeld and Newberger, 1977). While some define child abuse more conservatively as including very specific acts of omission and/or commission occurring between certain adults and children, others consider child abuse to potentially include almost any type of interaction that can transpire between a wide variety of adults and children.

There is virtually no literature that examines the similarities and differences that exist between different types of child abuse. Many professionals indicate that they do not consider such a topic to be worthy of extensive discussion because they view all acts of child abuse

*Present Address: Sexual Offender Program, Department of Social Services, Division of Corrections, P.O. Box 236, 700 E. Capital Avenue, Jefferson City, Missouri 65102, U.S.A.

as being equivalent in that acts all represent exercises in power, aimed at controlling others (Cohen *et al.*, 1969; Forward, 1978). However, others argue that the dynamics, etiology and effect of various types of abuse are quite different and deserving of individual and comparative attention (Walters, 1975; Crime Prevention Unit, 1976). Even a superficial reading of the literature on child abuse raises some interesting issues with respect to whether or not different types of abuse represent altogether different phenomena, as well as whether or not the comparison of types of abuse is a worthwhile subject for discussion. Such issues appear to be especially provocative with respect to sexual versus physical child abuse.

For instance, a look at the incidence statistics on cases of reported sexual and reported physical child abuse pose some perplexing questions. At first glance it might appear that sexual and physical child abuse are very similar in that physical child abuse is known to be one of the most common forms (Gil, 1971) and sexual child abuse is likewise considered to be widespread (Lustig *et al.*, 1966; Leaman, 1977; Groth, 1978; Herjanic and Wilbois, 1978). However, on closer inspection, the incidence statistics reveal surprising differences between cases of reported intrafamilial sexual and physical child abuse. While many researchers acknowledge that the existing incidence data on both sexual (Schecter and Roberge, 1976) and physical (Lystad, 1975) child abuse are unreliable and represent only a fraction of the actual number of assaults on children, the information that does exist suggests that reported cases of physical abuse far outnumber those of sexual abuse. Various studies on physical abuse have put the estimated number of cases in the United States between 30 000 and 60 000 annually (Kempe *et al.*, 1962; DeFrancis, 1969; Zalba, 1971) and suggest that somewhere between 84 and 97% of all parents use some form of physical punishment in rearing their children (Gelles, 1978). On the other hand, the American Humane Association has estimated the annual number of cases of father–daughter incest to be around 5000 (Summit and Kryso, 1977) with this type of incest comprising about 75% of the cases of intrafamilial sexual child abuse (Schecter and Roberge, 1976). Gebhard *et al.* (1965) report that about 3·9% of the average, non-prisoner population has experienced incest. These statistics alone suggest that there may be some very significant differences between intrafamilial sexual and physical child abuse that are worthy of examination.

The breakdown of the literature on sexual and physical child abuse further suggests that a comparison of these two phenomena might reveal some interesting information. A superficial reading of the literature indicates that these two types of abuse are almost always discussed separately and in completely different publications. Articles on incest rarely refer to instances of physical child abuse and vice versa. The primary material used in developing the discussion presented in this chapter comes from 80 references that are concerned specifically with either sexual or physical child abuse within the family, or with both. Of these 80 references, 39 (48·75%) are concerned almost exclusively with sexual child abuse, and 34 (42·5%) are devoted almost exclusively to physical child abuse. Only 7 (8·75%) include a discussion of both in any substantial form. When mention is made in most of the articles of the other type of abuse it is usually for the purpose of indicating that it is to be excluded from the discussion; infrequently sexual and physical child abuse are linked together in descriptions of cases involving both types of abuse in the same family (Gil, 1971; Oliver and Taylor, 1971; Oliver and Cox, 1973; Summit and Kryso, 1977) or they are defined in the same article (Crime Prevention Unit, 1976). But vary rarely are they discussed together for the purpose of comparing and contrasting them on any significant dimensions. Only two works reviewed include serious discussions of both sexual and physical child abuse (Walters, 1975; Helfer and Kempe, 1976), and of these two, only the former explicitly attempts to compare and contrast them in a productive fashion.

From this rigid separation of discussions of sexual and physical child abuse in the literature, as well as from the wide variation in reported incidents of these two types of abuse, there is some reason to suspect that these acts of commission against children differ in important ways. The purpose of the following discussion is to shed some light on what appears to be somewhat of a controversy within the literature on child abuse as to whether or not sexual and physical child abuse constitute similar or divergent phenomena. The discussion begins with a definition of terms, a description of the emphases and limitations of the chapter, and a critical review of the research in the field. This is followed by a review of the literature on sexual and physical child abuse that attempts to compare these types of abuse with respect to various psychological, psychosocial and cultural etiological factors. The discussion concludes with remarks concerning differences and similarities in the aim of sexually and physically abusive acts and a note on treatment implications.

Table 1

Articles on sexual abuse	*Articles on both*	*Articles on physical abuse*
Bagley, 1969	Crime Prevention Unit, 1976	Abrahamsen, 1970
Brant and Tisza, 1977	Gil, 1971	Antler, 1978
Browning and Boatman, 1977	Helfer and Kempe, 1976	Bennie and Sclare, 1969
Flugel, 1926	Oliver and Cox, 1973	DeFrancis, 1969
Forward, 1978	Oliver and Taylor, 1971	Elmer, 1967
Frances and Frances, 1976	Summit and Kryso, 1977	Elmer and Gregg, 1967
Gebhard *et al.*, 1965	Walters, 1975	Galdston, 1965
Groth, 1978		Garbarino, 1977
Guttmacher, 1951		Gelles, 1973
Heims and Kaufman, 1951		Gelles, 1978
Herjanic and Wilbois, 1978		Gil, 1970
Hirning, 1947		Gil, 1975
Karpman, 1954		Giovannoni, 1971
Kaufman, *et al.*, 1954		Goode, 1971
Leaman, 1977		Helfer and Kempe, 1968
Lester, 1972		Johnson and Morse, 1968
Lukianowicz, 1971		Justice and Justice, 1976
Lukianowicz, 1972		Kadushin, 1967
Lustig *et al.*, 1966		Kempe *et al.*, 1962
Machotka *et al.*, 1967		Lystad, 1975
Maisch, 1972		Melnick and Hurley, 1969
Marmor, 1955		Merrill, 1969
Masters, 1964		Morris and Gould, 1963
Meiselman, 1978		Paulson and Blake, 1969
Parker, 1974		Radbill, 1968
Peters, 1976		Smith and Hanson, 1975
Raphling *et al.*, 1967		Spinetta and Rigler, 1972
Reimer, 1940		Steele, 1976
Sarles, 1975		Steele and Pollock, 1968
Schecter and Roberge, 1976		Terr, 1970
Schwartzman, 1974		Wasserman, 1967
Sgroi, 1975		Young, 1964
Sonden, 1936		Zalba, 1966
Sonden, 1936		Zalba, 1971
Swanson, 1968		
Virkkunen, 1974		
Wahl, 1864		
Weinberg, 1955		
Weiner, 1962		
White, 1964		

DEFINITIONS OF TERMS AND EMPHASES OF THE DISCUSSION

The focus of this chapter is on sexual and physical acts of commission against children. These acts have been selected not only because of the substantial differences between reported cases of these types of abuse as well as the infrequency with which they have been discussed together in the literature, but also because of the senior author's interest in the relationship between sexual arousal and physical abuse based on research being conducted with violent child molesters at Atascadero State Hospital.

Initial attempts at defining child abuse conceived of the acts as qualitatively different from those interactions that normally occur between adults and children (Gelles, 1978). Whether the result of a "sick" person or family system, sexual and physical acts of commission against children were originally thought of as discrete and unrelated to the behaviour that is regularly exhibited by parents in relation to their offspring. However, this qualitative approach to the definition of these types of abuse poses certain problems as it is rare to find agreement between individuals with respect to what constitutes discrete acts of physical or sexual child abuse. Take, for example, the following from Walters (1975):

> "Johnny is struck by his father for misbehavior. His hand strikes the boy's face, leaving temporary imprints of his hand, which eventually fade. Johnny cries" (p.24).
>
> "Johnny is struck by his father for misbehavior. His hand is directed to the boy's face, but Johnny turns his head. The blow hit Johnny's ear, rupturing his eardrum. Johnny is off balance and strikes his head against the wall. Johnny is unconscious and is taken to the hospital, where it is found that his skull is fractured" (p.24).

Or, the following:

> "Father walks around nude in the house and encourages his two teen-age daughters to do so. They comply. Father makes remarks about their breasts. A neighbor observes this and reports this situation" (p.26).
>
> "Father walks around nude, encourages his two teen-age daughters to do so, and they comply. He "wrestles" on the bed with one while nude, has an erection, and sexual relations result" (p.26).

Given these two sets of examples of physical and sexual interactions between adults and children, it would probably be easy to obtain agreement from most people that the second example in each set represents a case of child abuse. Agreement as to the abusive or non-abusive nature of the first example in each set would be more difficult to obtain. Acts of child abuse do not appear to be as qualitatively distinct from normal adult-child interactional behaviour as was once thought. Many researchers in both sexual (Brant and Tisza, 1977; Summit and Kryso, 1977) and physical (Giovannoni, 1971; Gelles, 1978) child abuse would agree that abusive acts exist along a continuum with typical parent-child interactional patterns, and the simply quantitative distinction that does exist between abusive and non-abusive behaviour often makes these acts difficult to define. Walters (1975) suggests some useful definitions that convey the notion of a spectrum of behaviours. These are quoted and paraphrased as follows:

> "Physical abuse of a child is action taken by a parent or parent surrogate caretaker that results in physical harm or injury to the child wherein death of the child will result from continued assault" (p.27).
>
> "Sexual abuse of a child is action taken by a parent or parent surrogate caretaker that results in sexual activity and possibly even physical injury to the genitals of the child" (p.29).

These definitions convey the importance of the role of the parents in abuse. Studies of both sexual (Brant and Tisza, 1977) and physical (Gil, 1970; Justice and Justice, 1976) child abuse indicate that the great majority of perpetrators are parents or parent surrogates. Thus, this chapter focuses on sexual and physical child abuse *within* the nuclear family system. Emphasis will be placed on the role of the adult not only because other chapters in this book examine the victim's influence, but also because most of the literature on abuse focuses on parental participation. However, this chapter does not explicitly address the issue of types of adults within the categories of sexual and physical abuse nor, for that matter, types of children within these groupings; although typologies of adults and children involved in abuse will be referred to indirectly throughout, this chapter attempts to examine similarities and differences between sexual and physical child abuse based on generalizations that can be made about these types of abuse across typologies of abusers and victims. (For more specific readings on typologies of abusers and victims see, for example, Frosch and Bromberg, 1939; Guttmacher, 1951; Karpman, 1954; Revitch and Weiss, 1962; Mohr *et al.*, 1964; Gebhard *et al.*, 1965; Kozol *et al.*, 1966; Shoor *et al.*, 1966; Mohr and Turner, 1967; Swanson, 1968; Cohen *et al.*, 1969; Cormier and Simons, 1969; Merrill, 1969; Gil, 1971; Jaffe *et al.*, 1975; Walters, 1975; Wolfe and Marino, 1975; Summit and Kryso, 1977; Groth, 1978; Meiselman, 1978.)

CRITICAL EVALUATION OF THE RESEARCH

The literature on incest and physical child abuse inevitably begins with a treatise on taboos and legal sanctions, followed by a description of deficiencies in the research. Current areas of argument as well as points where the research has clearly fallen short of minimal experimental requirements are presented below. The deficiencies in research design are common to both the sexual and physical child abuse literature. Individual analysis would therefore be redundant. The following criticisms are applicable to both areas of research.

The main criticism is the question of true representativeness of samples. Most frequently, the majority of subjects in the literature are identified through legal and/or psychiatric agencies. The former results in an increased apparent incidence of both types of abuse in lower social classes (Weiner, 1962; Lester, 1972) while the latter increases the probability that family members will be labelled as psychologically disturbed (Lester, 1972; Spinetta and Rigler, 1972). As a result, truly representative samples are difficult to obtain, and infrequently appear in the studies.

The lack of representativeness is also apparent when consideration is given to the sample sizes that are used in this research. Few studies have obtained a sufficiently large sample to allow for generalizations concerning the psychological functioning of the families that participate in sexual and physical child abuse. In fact, quite the opposite has occurred with the frequently published single-case reports often extrapolating their findings to the entire abuser population (Walters, 1975). The failings of this type of thinking are apparent.

In addition to these problems of subject selection and sample size, the information obtained from family members involved in this research is gathered most often after the abuse has been reported and legal or therapeutic action taken. Such action directly affects the

family members involved, frequently making them appear more disurbed and unstable than they actually may have been prior to or at the time the abuse occurred (Lester, 1972).

Another serious question that pertains to the psychological analysis of family members involved in abuse has to do with the use of vague terms such as "immature", "passive", "dependent", and "frustrated" to characterize these individuals. Rarely are these terms operationally defined or specific interactional behaviour patterns described that could identify the present functioning of the abusive family members. Also, a number of psychological tests used to evaluate abusive individuals have not been standardized on the population that they are attempting to evaluate. For example, there is very little in the clinical histories or psychological test protocols of incestuous families that cannot be found in families where abuse does not occur. Current assessment devices usually fail to differentiate between characteristics of abusive and non-abusive families (Weiner, 1962).

Two final and very important research deficiencies include the lack of "blind interpretation" of test protocols and the lack of control groups. Participants are identified through their offences, thereby influencing the evaluator's clinical assessment. Additionally, the lack of control groups makes evident the lack of comparative analysis of both within and between abusive and non-abusive individuals and families (Lester, 1972).

A Comparison of Sources of Sexual and Physical Child Abuse

As with the initial definitions of child abuse, early attempts at explaining sexual and physical child abuse had a decidedly medical or "disease" flavour to them. The sources of abuse were thought to lie within the individual parents and/or children involved in the abuse; they were regarded as having some constitutional defect that, in essence, made them "sick" and caused them to initiate the abuse. Recently, a more quantitative approach to the explanation of child abuse has developed. Advocates of this approach criticize the initial, pathological explanations for focusing too exclusively on the individuals involved, and for failing to consider relevant contextual and interpersonal variables that might influence participation in child abuse (Gil, 1970; Gelles, 1973). The following discussion attempts to examine not only the findings of the more traditionally oriented etiological studies that explain child abuse on a more psychological level, but also the results of the recent ecologically oriented investigations that consider the role of the family and larger culture in the development of sexual and physical child abuse. Sexual and physical child abuse will first be compared and then contrasted with respect to psychological, psychosocial and cultural etiological factors.

SIMILARITIES IN SOURCES OF SEXUAL AND PHYSICAL CHILD ABUSE

It is upon reviewing the clinical and experimental literature on sources of abuse that one first begins to sense that the differences between sexual and physical child abuse that might be expected on the basis of the large discrepancy between reported cases of these types of abuse as well as on the basis of the rigid segregation of discussions of sexual and physical child abuse into separate articles may be more imaginary than real. As one reads through the literature on posited psychological, psychosocial and cultural sources of child abuse, one becomes aware of the similarities in the etiology of these types of abuse.

Psychological Studies

A large number of clinical and experimental studies in the literature on sexual and physical child abuse emphasize the individuals involved in the abuse. The characteristics of the adults in particular are frequently focused on as the prime source of both types of abuse.

(a) *Characteristics of parents.* There are numerous psychological studies of parents involved in incest that suggest that these adults are very immature, dependent and irresponsible people who have great difficulty making decisions, holding down employment, and providing nurturance for those who are dependent on them (Kaufman *et al.*, 1954; Heims and Kaufman, 1963; Gebhard *et al.*, 1965; Lustig *et al.*, 1966; Machotka *et al.*, 1967; Raphling *et al.*, 1967; Lester, 1972; Lukianowicz, 1972; Schecter and Roberge, 1976; Browning and Boatman, 1977; Summit and Kryso, 1977). There are about an equal number of studies on parents involved in physical child abuse that suggest the same characteristics for this type of abusive adult (Kempe *et al.*, 1962; Zalba, 1966, 1971; Paulson and Blake, 1969; Wasserman,

1967; Steele and Pollock, 1968; Melnick and Hurley, 1969; Giovannoni, 1971; Spinetta and Rigler, 1972; Lystad, 1975; Smith and Hanson, 1975; Justice and Justice, 1976; Steele, 1976). These studies suggest that even when abusive mothers are distinguished from abusive fathers, both sexually and physically abusive mothers have a tendency to be more passive and dependent than abusive fathers; however, both sexually and physically abusive mothers and fathers tend to alternate between being very ineffectual and withdrawn on the one hand, and exhibiting very sudden and aggressive emotional outbursts on the other.

Although early investigations indicated that parents who sexually abuse their children suffer from gross intellectual and personality disturbances in the form of mental retardation, psychosis and organic brain impairment, more recent studies suggest that the majority of these parents do not experience such severe disorders (Weiner, 1962; Bagley, 1969; Lukianowicz, 1972). Reports on cases of physical child abuse indicate very similar findings in that physically assaultive parents are usually not mentally deficient, psychotic or organically impaired (Kempe *et al.*, 1962; Wasserman, 1967; Steele and Pollock, 1968; Spinetta and Rigler, 1972). In cases of physical child abuse, Antler (1978) reports that about 10% of parents involved have severe personality and/or intellectual deficits; this percentage is comparable for those adults involved in incest.

High rates of alcoholism have been noted in fathers who sexually abuse their children; these fathers have frequently been found to have been drunk at the time they committed the incestuous act (Gebhard *et al.*, 1965; Machotka *et al.*, 1967; Virkkunen, 1974). Similarly, studies of physically assaultive parents have noted a higher rate of alcoholism in these adults as compared to non-abusive adults (Giovannoni, 1971; Lystad, 1975).

(b) *Dynamics of parents.* Investigators who do not consider a description of the traits of abusive parents to be sufficient explanation for the abusive act frequently pose underlying, intrapsychic dynamic processes as the reason for the parents' immature and abusive acting out behaviour. Most of the dynamic studies focus on the parents' early experiences with the inadequate nurturing. For example, studies on sexually abusive adults suggest that these individuals have many unmet dependency needs that result from early emotional crippling at the hands of their parents (Kaufman *et al.*, 1954; Marmor, 1955; Weiner,

1962; Lustig *et al.*, 1966; Lukianowicz, 1972; Meiselman, 1978). By the same token, Justice and Justice (1976) report on investigations that suggest that physically abusive parents appear to be dependent and panicky in the face of responsibility because they have "been reared in a way that precluded the experience of being mothered and nurtured" (pp.38–39). Other investigations support the contention that physically abusive parents have failed to resolve their dependency needs as a result of early emotional deprivation (Galdston, 1965; Melnick and Hurley, 1969; Spinetta and Rigler, 1972; Steele and Pollock, 1968; Lystad 1975; Smith and Hanson, 1975). As both sexually and physically abusive parents appear to have failed to resolve these so-called oral conflicts, they have great difficulty catering to the dependency needs of their spouses and children. In the resulting frustration, feelings of insecurity, and need for attention on their own part, the parents turn to their children, initially for affection and eventually in an abusive manner. These dynamic studies suggest that sexually and physically abusive parents are themselves in search of a nurturing parental figure.

(c) *Learning in parents.* One of the implications of the dynamic approach to the development of child abuse is that learning, and particularly early learning, plays a very important role. One of the most intriguing findings in the clinical and experimental literature on sexual child abuse is that adults who abuse children have usually been exposed to abuse as children, often specifically to sexual abuse (Lustig *et al.*, 1966; Raphling *et al.*, 1967; Brant and Tisza, 1977). Similarly, and even more frequently, parents who physically abuse their children appear to have experienced childhood physical abuse (Kempe *et al.*, 1962; Paulson and Blake, 1969; Goode, 1971; Spinetta and Rigler, 1972; Steele, 1976). Both sexually and physically abusive parents appear to have learned to deal with frustration most often by acting out assaultively against others, particularly those who are more helpless. While their own parents may have provided them with much anguish by abusing them, they also provided them with dramatic models for coping with stress. Usually the physical and sexual assaults of these adults do not represent isolated outbursts but, instead, reflect a learned pattern of acting out behaviour when faced with conflict (Walters, 1975).

This early learned pattern of acting out behaviour is frequently maintained in the adults' later life because these abusive individuals tend to associate with others who handle stress in similar and familiar

ways. As a result, people who have been abused as children and who are likely to become abusive as parents often make friends with and marry individuals who are likely to further reinforce the use of abusive acting out under stress. Abusive parents frequently have spouses who come from similarly abusive backgrounds. Oliver and Cox (1973), reporting on families involved in both physical and sexual child abuse, describe the marriages of the adults who participated in the abuse as follows: "When disturbed members of the family married, they married disturbed partners" (p.86).

(d) *Conclusions on psychological studies.* Parents who sexually abuse their children have been found to have similar traits as well as dynamic and learning patterns to parents who physically abuse their children. Both sets of adults appear to have failed to establish adequate personal identities as mature individuals, and tend to respond impulsively to stress.

Psychosocial Studies

In the past two decades there has been a growing emphasis in the clinical and experimental literature on the role of the family system in the development of child abuse. This is the result not only of the increasing appeal of a more quantitative approach to the study of the etiology of many types of human behaviour patterns, but also an increase in the tendency to view human behaviour in non-linear, interactional terms.

(a) *Characteristics of families.* Families involved in sexual child abuse have often been noted for the fact that they are of lower socio-economic status, live in poor housing facilities, are fraught with unemployment and lack of adequate health care (Flugel, 1926; Sonden, 1936; Reimer, 1940; Hirning, 1947; Weinberg, 1955; Lustig *et al.*, 1966; Lukianowicz, 1972; Parker, 1974; Schecter and Roberge, 1976). Sometimes these families are also found to be socially isolated and unable to establish and/or maintain adequate support systems outside of the family system itself (Raphling *et al.*, 1967). However, families who participate in physical child abuse have also been found to predominate among the lower classes and to be characterized by poor employment histories, crowded living conditions, and unsatisfactory health care (Young, 1964; Elmer, 1967; Gil, 1970, 1971, 1975; Bennie and Sclare, 1969; Lystad, 1975; Antler, 1978). The findings are also

very similar for physically abusive families with respect to their being unsuccessful in establishing and/or maintaining outside support systems (Young, 1964; Elber, 1967; Spinetta and Rigler, 1972; Lystad, 1975; Justice and Justice, 1976; Steele, 1976; Garbarino, 1977).

Recent investigations, however, suggest that studies such as those mentioned above that focus on single and isolated situational variables (e.g. socio-economic status) as the causal factors in child abuse, fail in their endeavour. There are almost an equal number of studies on sexually abusive families (Lukianowicz, 1972; Schecter and Roberge, 1976; Browning and Boatman, 1977) and physically abusive families (Galdston, 1965; Helfer and Kempe, 1968; Steele and Pollock, 1968; Giovannoni, 1971; Spinetta and Rigler, 1972; Justice and Justice, 1976; Antler, 1978) that suggest that child abuse is no more related to one isolated psychosocial variable (such as socio-economic status) than it is to any other single situational factor. For example, these studies suggest that both sexual and physical child abuse may be as prevalent in middle class families as in lower class families. As a result of such findings, more and more researchers are beginning to emphasize not so much any one type of situational variable as the cause of child abuse, but rather the rapid occurrence of many significant stressful events. Walters (1975) notes in the case of sexually and physically abusive families, and Justice and Justice (1976) and Garbarino (1977) report in the case of physically abusive families that

> "It is the *life crisis* — the prolonged series of changes — that predisposes [one] to abuse, not the situational disturbance that is simply an appendix to that life crisis. Similarly, it is not day-to-day economic pressure and stress that frame the context in which abuse occurs. It is the unpredictability of all kinds of changes, most of which have nothing to do with the threat of poverty" (Justice and Justice, 1976, p.30).

It appears to be more useful and accurate to state that families that produce sexual and/or physical child abuse are similar in that they are both frequently amidst life crises at the time that the abuse takes place, and that both types of family are prone to frequent crises of this nature. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that both sexually and physically abusive families are often characterized by great amounts of instability, chaos, and desertion. In many cases the families are headed by a single parent, or one or both parents are absent; divorce and separation are common phenomena not only for the sexually abusive

families (Reimer, 1940; Kaufman *et al.*, 1954; Weinberg, 1955; Weiner, 1962; Gebhard *et al.*, 1965; Lustig *et al.*, 1966; Lester, 1972; Lukianowicz, 1972) but also for physically abusive families (Kempe *et al.*, 1962; Elmer and Gregg, 1967; Gil, 1971; Spinetta and Rigler, 1972).

(b) *Dynamics of families.* All families characterized by life crises do not produce child abuse. For researchers who are not satisfied with the trait approach to explaining child abuse on a psychosocial level, an emphasis on interpersonal dynamics within families often provides a more satisfying explanation. Both sexually and physically abusive family systems appear to be typified by four major dynamic patterns. These patterns include: (1) interactions between abusive parents and their parents; (2) interactions between abusive parents and their spouses; (3) interactions between abusive parents and their children; (4) collusion of the "silent" partner. Each of these will be examined below.

(1) Interactions with parents. As mentioned previously, families involved in sexual or physical child abuse are often disorganized and may be characterized by desertion and acting out under stress. These traits also appear to typify the families of origin of the abusive parents. The investigations into families in which sexually abusive parents grew up (Reimer, 1940; Kaufman *et al.*, 1966; Weinberg, 1955; Weiner, 1962; Lustig *et al.*, 1966; Machotka, *et al.*, 1967; Raphling *et al.*, 1967; Lukianowicz, 1971, 1972; Lester, 1972; Schwartzman, 1974; Walters, 1975; Meiselman, 1978) and studies on the families of origin of physically abusive parents (Kempe *et al.*, 1962; Steele and Pollock, 1968; Lystad, 1975; Smith and Hanson, 1975; Walters, 1975; Justice and Justice, 1976) suggest very similar interpersonal dynamics between these sets of abusive adults and their parents. Typically these families of origin involve unpredictable abandonment of the family system by one of the parents, most often the father. Abusive fathers frequently report being physically abused by their fathers, men they describe as individuals to be feared, not loved. Abusive fathers often remember their mothers as being cold and rejecting; these men frequently left home at a young age to escape the unbearable interpersonal situations they were experiencing.

Abusive mothers come from similar backgrounds in which their fathers were often absent and their mothers hostile toward their irresponsible spouses. They remember their mothers as pampering the boys in the family and selecting a daughter (the woman who would later abuse) with whom they became overly involved. They would alternate between treating this daughter as their confidante one minute, and the recipient of their displaced hostility toward their deserting husbands the next. As these daughters grew up they expended a great deal of effort in trying to gain approval from their mothers, but to little avail. As adults they often remained symbiotically attached to their mothers, continuing in their pursuit of winning acceptance. Both sexually and physically abusive men and women often remain more closely attached to their parents in a maladaptive, symbiotic fashion than to their spouses and children. They fail to develop adequate personal identities apart from this original system, and this often raises many problems for the family they create as it undermines any effective decision-making power that the marital unit possesses.

(2) Interactions with spouses. Given the abusive parents' often destructive relationships with their own parents, these individuals' interactions with their spouses are frequently disturbed. Studies on the marital relationships of sexually abusive parents (Weiner, 1962; Raphling *et al.*, 1967; Schwartzman, 1974; Walters, 1975; Brant and Tisza, 1977; Browning and Boatman, 1977) and on the marital relationships of physically abusive individuals (Johnson and Morse, 1968; Terr, 1970; Giovannoni, 1971; Lystad, 1975; Smith and Hanson, 1975; Justice and Justice, 1976) indicate that very similar patterns of interaction exist between these sets of spouses. Both sexually and physically abusive parents tend to marry early in an attempt to establish some semblance of security apart from their original and chaotic families. As suggested, however, they tend to marry people similar to themselves and it does not take long before they begin to exhibit the patterns of desertion and acting out under stress that characterized the families they grew up in. As both parents are usually immature and dependent, they tend to overwhelm each other with their needs for nurturance. Unable to satisfy these needs in their spouses, the parents begin to pull away from each other, the husband frequently through alcohol and abandonment. However, both parents are so threatened by the relationship that their spouses might have outside of the family system, interactions that might satisfy some dependency needs and relieve the marital relationship of the full burden of providing such gratification, that they tend to sabotage the

development of many external support systems that might help bolster the marriage itself and prevent the parents from turning to their children for fulfilment of these needs for attention.

As one parent begins to act more irresponsibly, the other becomes angered, frustrated and also more irresponsible. When one of the parents is left alone with one of the children, he or she may begin to make demands on this child for the affection he or she is not getting from the spouse. As the child is incapable of satisfying these needs, the parent becomes frustrated and may act out against the child. Some of the above-mentioned studies indicate that both sexual and physical child abuse are the result of such displacement of marital tension on children. The parents begin to fight between themselves for the attention of their own offspring, making the child the victim of their own disagreements.

(3) Interactions with children. Studies on families involved in sexual child abuse suggest that as abusive parents fail to differentiate themselves from their own parents and are unable to gain satisfaction from their spouses, they often attach themselves symbiotically to one of their children in an attempt to successfully fulfil their needs for nurturance (Kaufman *et al.*, 1954; Heims and Kaufman, 1963; Lustig *et al.*, 1966; Machotka *et al.*, 1967; Lester, 1972; Schwartzman, 1974; Schecter and Roberge, 1976; Browning and Boatman, 1977; Summit and Kryso, 1977). These parents fail to allow their children to establish independent identities as such a process of differentiation would threaten their source of attention. They typically have exceedingly high expectations of these children, expectations that the children will satisfy needs no adult has thus far been able to. As a result, not only are these children frequently propelled into adult and parental roles at inappropriately early ages, but they are also the recipients of parental hostility and frustration when they fail to meet the expectations their parents have of them. These interactional patterns between abusive parents and the children they abuse may be charaterized as involving much frustration and role confusion. In some cases, complete role reversal occurs. For instance, in cases of father-daughter incest, the mother may be dissatisfied with her maternal and marital responsibilities to the point where she seeks someone to fulfil these obligations; the father, similarly displeased with his role, may search for the young love of his early married life. Between the two of them, they may actively encourage one of their daughters to assume the role of wife and mother to the husband and other children.

Studies examining the relationship between parents and children involved in physical child abuse have revealed remarkably similar adult-child interactional patterns of symbiotic overinvolvement and role confusion or reversal (Morris and Gould, 1963; Steele and Pollock, 1968; Melnick and Hurley, 1969; Spinetta and Rigler, 1972; Lystad, 1975; Smith and Hanson, 1975; Justice and Justice, 1976). These studies, as well as several on sexual child abuse (Schwartzman, 1974; Summit and Kryso, 1977), suggest that the father is the parent who becomes overly involved with and abusive toward the children most often when there is a role reversal between the spouses; the abusive parent is likely to be the father in families where the mother is the primary source of financial support and the father provides most of the child care.

(4) Collusion of the "silent" partner. Sexual child abuse appears to be a family affair in more ways than are immediately apparent. Not only does it occur within the confines of the family system, but it usually involves more family members than actively participate in the abuse. Although the father is usually the pivotal figure in intrafamilial child abuse, incest usually requires the passive cooperation of the wife (Weiner, 1962; Lustig *et al.*, 1966; Machotka *et al.*, 1967; Raphling *et al.*, 1967; Lester, 1972; Lukianowicz, 1972; Sarles, 1975; Walters, 1975; Brant and Tisza, 1977; Browning and Boatman, 1977). Through denial and the use of other defences, the passive parent allows the incest to continue, apparently unwilling to disturb the tension reducing function that is effected by the abuse. For instance, in one case

> "The wife had become a recluse by day, but at night she spied on [her husband's incestuous] activities. She knew what was going on, but rather than stop it, she let him continue" (Peters, 1976, p.408).

The compliance on the part of the passive parent is often manifested indirectly at the time that the abuse is brought to the attention of the authorities; at this point, the passive parent frequently supports the active abuser and forces the child to take responsibility for the abuse.

Though fewer in number, there are studies on families involved in physical child abuse which also suggest that the abusive activity must be implicitly if not explicitly condoned by the parent not actively involved in the assaults if the actively abusing parent is to be able to continue with the abuse (Oliver and Cox, 1973; Walters, 1975; Garbarino, 1977).

(c) *Learning in families.* If life may be viewed from the perspective of a series of entrances into and exits from different roles which involve the learning of certain appropriate behaviour patterns (Elmer, 1967; Garbarino, 1977), then one of the implications of the foregoing discussion is that members of abusive families have failed to develop behavioural repertoires that are considered by society as appropriate for the roles that the different members perform in the family system. In short, abusive families may be characterized as systems in which those who are expected to behave as parents have failed to learn the appropriate parental role patterns, and those who are expected to act as children are not given the opportunity to learn these behaviours. This failure to develop appropriate behavioural repertoires is manifested not only as disturbed expectations on the part of abusive parents concerning appropriate coping mechanisms in general, but also as disturbed expectations concerning adequate parenting behaviour and child role patterns.

Parents involved in sexual child abuse (Kaufman *et al.*, 1954; Lustig *et al.*, 1966; Lester, 1972; Summit and Kryso, 1977; Meiselman, 1978) and those involved in physical assaults (Steele and Pollock, 1968; Oliver and Taylor, 1971; Spinetta and Rigler, 1972; Gelles, 1975; 1978; Lystad, 1975; Smith and Hanson, 1975; Justice and Justice, 1976; Garbarino, 1977) often fail to learn a distinction between the role of parent or adult and the role of child. If they do develop such conceptual distinctions, they often come to expect that parenting involves the abuse of children particularly when the parents are faced with conflicts. However it appears that both physically and sexually abusive parents learn to expect that the parental role is associated not so much with qualitatively different behavioural patterns from those expected by non-abusive parents; instead, abusive parents learn to associate the parental role with the use of exaggerated forms of sanctioned coping patterns for dealing with stress in general, and conflicts with children in particular. As Summit and Kryso (1977) state

> "All parents get angry with their children. All parents have sensuous feelings toward their children. The abusing parents acts on those feelings in a less controlled way" (pp.239-240).

As these parents learn to associate excessive acting out behaviour with the parental role, they simultaneously fail to develop alternative, more appropriate and effective methods of coping. They do not learn to expect that the role of the parent involves the exhibiting of rational, problem solving behaviour as well as principled, law-abiding patterns of interaction.

The distorted expectations that abusive parents learn with regard to the parental role are manifested not only as poor parenting skills but also as unrealistic expectations regarding appropriate child role behaviour. The studies cited above indicate that both sexually and physically abusive parents have exceedingly high expectations of how their children are to behave. While these parents may fail to associate problem solving and law-abiding behaviour with the parental role, this does not prevent them from expecting these types of behaviours from their children. These parents often actively reinforce their children for making the family decisions, and for assuming the parental and adult responsibilities. It is most curious that these abused children, who often appear so mature as youngsters and who obviously have the capacity for demonstrating rational and principled behaviour, are the very same individuals who often later become abusive and impulsive people as parents. This finding further illustrated the point that abusive families often involve disturbances in learned role behaviours such that it is the child role that becomes associated with typically mature behaviour patterns and the parental role that is paired with impulsive acting out.

(d) *Conclusion on psychosocial studies.* Families that produce sexual and/or physical child abuse appear to be characteristically crisis prone systems that involve symbiotic and undifferentiated interactional patterns between parents and children. The fact that members of both of these types of abusive families have failed to establish independent identities results in the development of poor communication skills between spouses, and poor parenting skills in dealing with offspring.

Cultural Studies

The staunchest advocates of the ecological approach to the study of sources of sexual and physical child abuse are sociologists and anthropologists who assert that child abuse is the result of forces outside of the individuals' or families' control that influence those involved to act out impulsively against children when faced with conflict.

Investigations into cultural influences on incest indicate that intrafamilial child abuse has existed at all times and in all societies (Kaufman *et al.*, 1954; Masters, 1964; Walters, 1975; Schecter and

Roberge, 1976). For instance, Lukianowicz (1972) reports that

> "Paternal incest has been known and recorded in all periods of history and in all types of civilization. It seems to be a universal phenomenon which does not recognize any historical, geographical, racial or social boundaries" (p.301).

The same appears to be the case for physical assaults on children, even in very exaggerated forms (Gil, 1971; Lystad, 1975; Justice and Justice, 1976; Steele, 1976).

> "[It] is not a unique product of our time and place . . . . Infanticide has from time immemorial been an accepted procedure for disposing not only of deformed or sickly infants, but all such new borns as might strain the resources of the individual family or larger community" (Lystad, 1975, p.333).

Most culturally oriented researchers view the source of child abuse as lying within the complex, dynamic interactions between social groups; others emphasize the specific values that are transmitted from social groups to families as a result of these dynamic interactions.

(a) *Dynamics of cultures.* Investigations that focus on the interactions between social groups as the primary cause of child abuse emphasize the significant social institutions that both sexually and physically abusive families may have contact with that encourage the abuse of children. Different institutions and products of these institutions that are perceived by members of a society as bearing the standards of the culture can have tremendous influence on the development of child abuse. Walters (1975) notes in the case of both sexual and physical abuse, and Light (1973) and Justice and Justice (1976) report in the case of physical abuse the effect of the legal system in fostering abusive activity in the home; many legal institutions support the concept of the Roman *Patria Postestas* which states that the father is the owner of his child with whom he can do as he pleases. Gil (1975) points out several other types of institutions that, were families to have contact with, might easily facilitate the development of an abusive attitude toward children in these systems. Most notably he discusses the frequent use of corporal punishment in day care centres, schools, courts and correctional and other residential child care settings.

The literature of a society as well as other forms of artistic communication can often have a strong influence on the values that people come to hold with respect to appropriate adult-child interactional patterns. Sexual child abuse (Masters, 1964; Lester, 1972; Schecter and Roberge, 1976) and intrafamilial physical child abuse (Walters, 1975; Justice and Justice, 1976) appear to be quite similar in that the societies that foster their expression are often characterized as having literary themes condoning impulsive acting out against children. For example, the Bible has stories of children being stoned to death (Deuteronomy), disciplined with corporal punishment (Proverbs), and impregnated by their fathers (Genesis, Deuteronomy). Greek and Roman myths are filled with tales of gods seducing and raping their children. Many rhymes, stories and songs written *for* children tell of the abuse they "deservingly" suffer at the hands of their parents, e.g.

> "Little Polly Flinders
> Sat among the cinders
> Warming her pretty little toes.
> Her mother came and caught her
> And whipped her little daughter
> For spoiling her nice new clothes"
> (Walters, 1975, p.13).

Not only were the ancient Greek, Roman and Judaic cultures noted for incestuous and physically assaultive activities directed against children, but so are more modern cultures that teach nursery rhymes such as the one quoted above, and that produce literature by men such as Shakespeare, Proust, Freud and O'Neill that frequently include themes of an incestuous nature (Schecter and Roberge, 1976).

(b) *Learning in cultures.* Some researchers emphasize not so much the patterns of interactions between various social institutions and family systems as the source of sexual and physical child abuse, but rather the specific values that are transmitted from social institutions to family groups via these interactions. Cultural sources of physical and sexual child abuse appear to be quite similar in that the social systems that produce both of them tend to teach parallel values with respect to: (1) a conceptualization of what it means to be human; (2) a conceptualization of what it means to be a child; (3) a conceptualization of legitimate means of coping with stress.

(1) Values concerning being human. Gil (1975) most specifically addresses the issue of a basic social philosophy regarding values about being human. He argues that societies that consider every person to be unique but equal and entitled to the same social, economic, and political rights tend not to foster child abuse in any form. These societies typically encourage cooperation among the various members

and social groups of the cultural system, hindering the expression of impulsive acting out behaviours between individuals. Societies conceiving of its members as more or less valuable and deserving of unequal status, on the other hand, tend to facilitate destructive competitive interactional patterns between individuals. As children in these systems are not only regarded as less important than adults but are also in fact unable to compete with them successfully in most areas, they are often perceived as being weaker and more vulnerable, and are more frequently taken advantage of in numerous and abusive ways.

(2) Values concerning being a child. The values a society transmits with respect to differences between children and adults may influence the development of both sexual and physical child abuse. Publications on the former (Walters, 1975; Schecter and Roberge, 1976) as well as several works on the latter (Kadushin, 1967; Radbill, 1968; Gil, 1971, 1975; Giovannoni, 1971; Justice and Juctice, 1976; Steele, 1976; Garbarino, 1977) suggest that until the nineteenth century there was virtually no social concept of childhood as distinct from adulthood; children were not perceived as needing special consideration or protection but because they were younger and more helpless they were frequently taken advantage of both physically and sexually. The thinking underlying this traditional approach to childhood, as well as the consequences that resulted, are aptly described by Aristotle:

> "The justice of a master or a father is a different thing from that of a citizen, for a son or slave is property, and there can be no injustice of one's own property" (Light, 1973, p.559).

Although this view of children has changed over the centuries, and as a result the sexual and physical abuse of children has probably declined, more contemporary cultures continue to conceptualize of children as the property of their parents, even while advocating the apparently contradictory position that children were in need of special and non-abusive consideration from their parents. As noted by Walters (1975)

> "The physical and sexual abuse of children does not occur in a cultural vacuum. Rather, America has a long history of treating children as inferiors, as little more than chattel to be done with as the adult caretaker pleases" (p.9).

(3) Values concerning legitimate coping techniques. A third cultural level of causation of both sexual and physical child abuse appears to be the society's conception of legitimate means of dealing with conflict, especially conflict with children. Sexual and physical child abuse is

prevalent in cultures that sanction the use of excessive acting out behaviour as a means of reducing tensions and frustrations and regaining control (Lustig *et al.*, 1966; Abrahamsen, 1970; Gil, 1971, 1975; Goode, 1971; Gelles, 1973; Brownmiller, 1975). These cultures do not encourage so much the use of qualitatively different forms of control than societies which fail to promote child abuse; instead, they appear to encourage the extensive and sometimes unrestrained use of typical coping behaviours in a wider variety of circumstances.

(c) *Conclusions on cultural studies.* For a social system to operate effectively, there must be cooperation between its various social and family groups. As a result, the family that is best able to exploit the mutual aid of the social units is most likely to survive (White, 1964). Families in any given culture are not likely to avoid contact with those social institutions that offer services which enhance the families' survival opportunities. For example, families with children are not likely to refuse the benefits offered by day care facilities. Consequently, it is difficult to imagine that families will not be influenced by such social units and will not, therefore, come to share some of the same values advocated by these institutions with regard to child rearing practices. Families existing in cultures where the institutions advocate inequality and competition between individuals, failing to distinguish needs of children from those of adults, and condoning the use of excessive acting out in response to stress, are likely to foster the development of both sexual and physical child abuse if only because of the families' contact with the social institutions.

Summary of Similarities in Sources of Sexual and Physical Abuse

The literature on sexual child abuse indicates numerous psychological, psychosocial, and cultural sources of this type of assault on children; findings from studies on physical child abuse also reveal varied and often parallel factors that appear to facilitate the development of this child abuse. Despite what might be expected on the basis of the large differences that exist between reported cases of sexual and physical child abuse, and despite the fact that most publications refer to only one of the types of abuse, a comparative review of the investigations in the field suggest that sexual and physical child abuse are quite similar with respect to etiology.

DIFFERENCES IN SOURCES OF SEXUAL AND PHYSICAL CHILD ABUSE

One of the implications of the preceding discussion is that the differences in etiology between sexual and physical child abuse are less than the similarities. Indeed, the literature seems to suggest that differences between sources of these types of abuse are not only fewer in number but less convincing in nature when compared with the similarities between sources. There appear to be only three major areas of distinction between sources of sexual and physical child abuse that may be considered worthwhile discussing: (1) on the psychological and psychosocial levels of analysis, sexual and physical child abuse appear to differ primarily with respect to the specific types of crises the individuals find most stressful as well as (2) the specific types of acting out beahviours that these individuals and families learn as coping strategies when faced with crises; (3) on the cultural level, it appears that the strength of the values or taboos against acting out differs for sexual versus physical child abuse.

Psychological and Psychosocial Studies

(a) *Characteristics of crises.* Individuals and family systems that produce sexual child abuse seem to struggle more with issues of sexuality not only between spouses but also between parents and children than do those involved in physical abuse (Reimer, 1940; Kaufman *et al.*, 1954; Weinberg, 1955; Wahl, 1964; Weiner, 1962; Lustig *et al.*, 1966; Machotka *et al.*, 1967: Raphling *et al.*, 1967; Bagley, 1969; Lester, 1972; Lukianowicz, 1972). Those involved in physical child abuse, on the other hand, have more difficulty dealing with issues of control and discipline between spouses and between parents and children (Gil, 1971; Goode, 1971; Smith and Hanson, 1975; Walters, 1975; Justice and Justice, 1976).

The studies mentioned above focus on the effect of sexual estrangement between spouses on the development of sexual child abuse. For instance, Weiner (1962) pays particular attention to the fact that marital and most often sexual tensions usually exist prior to the initiation of the incestuous relationship. Several investigations suggest that wives of men who commit incest often frustrate and reject their husbands sexually, and may even actively place their daughter in their conjugal position. Husbands are frequently found to be making

inadequate sexual adjustment in these cases, either in terms of becoming over demanding of their wives' sexual attention, or in terms of neglecting their wives. This latter phenomenon is most typically observed in cases of mother-son incest.

Some professionals stress not only the sexual difficulties that exist between the spouses, but also the problems that parents in sexually abusive families have in handling their children's developing sexuality. Summit and Kryso (1977) vividly describe the dilemma parents face in coping with his sexual development:

> "Household sex eduction, sexualized play, incest, child molestation, and ritual sexual exploitation are all aspects of an interest of adults in the sexuality of children. On one end of the spectrum, there is a presumably altruistic dedication to sharing with the child the benefit of adult awareness and experience toward the goal of eventual sexual fulfillment. On the other end, adults who teach and demonstrate sexuality to children for the goal of immediate gratification are condemned as criminals . . . . The objective distinctions between loving support and lustful intrusion are disquietingly subtle" (p.237).

Parents who engage in sexually abusive activity with their children seem to have greater difficulty making these distinctions than do non-abusive parents, or parents involved in physical child abuse.

On the other hand, individuals and families involved in physical child abuse have more difficulty handling crises of a disciplinary nature. The parents themselves often argue over the best methods of control with respect to dealing with their children, and frequently perceive their spouses as unwilling to assert authority over family and child rearing affairs (Smith and Hanson, 1975). The actively abusing parent experiences the burden of disciplinary responsibility. Goode (1971) has observed that when parents cannot arrive at any type of agreement with regard to effective methods of controlling their children, the children are more likely to suffer physical abuse.

As with issues of adult sexual interest in children, distinctions between appropriate disciplinary measures and physical assault are subtle. The line between "constructive discipline and dehumanizing punishment" (Summit and Kryso, 1977, p.240) is quite unclear; parents involved in physical child abuse appear to have greater difficulty making this type of distinction in dealing with their children than do sexually abusive parents, or parents who are altogether non-abusive.

While these studies do suggest that the crises that characterize sexually and physically abusive families are different, a couple of these investigations (Justice and Justice, 1976; Summit and Kryso, 1977) as well as others (Oliver and Taylor, 1971) indicate that the differences are not always definitive or absolute. Physically abusive families are often noted for struggling with a number of sexual difficulties, and sexually abusive families frequently responded to crises of a disciplinary type.

(b) *Differences in learning.* Although there is virtually nothing in the literature that examines the different types of learning experiences that might occur for individuals and families which produce sexual as opposed to physical child abuse, there are a few interesting bits of information that raise some provocative questions with respect to the different types of reinforcement contingencies that might influence the development of these types of abuse. A passage by Lustig and co-workers (1966) offers a case in point with regard to the development of incest:

> "An example of such a transaction involved Mrs. R, who on the night incest occurred, welcomed her husband home from work dressed in what he described as her "sexiest outfit". . . . She prepared a cocktail for him before dinner . . . . However, in the past they had had numerous arguments over her refusal to have sexual relations with him if he was drinking . . . . Sergeant R described feeling sexually aroused and frustrated and was about to go into the bedroom to express his pique when his wife stepped out and placed their 10-year-old daughter, Linda, on his lap saying, "You two take care of each other while I'm gone." . . . It is perhaps noteworthy that this type of interaction has been observed to characteristically lead to a fight . . . which in this case was prevented by the mother's departure. We suggest that incest was a preferable alternative to overt conflict for this family" (Lustig *et al.*, 1966, pp.34-35).

It may be that stressful events that give rise to overt expressions of frustration in physically abusive systems have come to serve as discriminative cues for more covert acting out behaviour in sexually abusive systems. For sexually abusive individuals and families, the overt expression of tensions is most likely not tolerated or reinforced, whereas for physically abusive individuals and families it is not only tolerated but is encouraged, often in the form of exaggerated and extensive use of force against children (Goode, 1971; Garbarino, 1977).

Although research in this area would most likely prove very interesting, caution must be exercised with respect to expectations of discovering altogether different reinforcement contingencies as distinguishing between sources of sexual and physical child abuse. This is because researchers such as Malamuth *et al.* (1977) report that discriminative cues come to elicit sexual acting out also often facilitate the expression of physical acting out and vice versa. It appears that such cues develop their eliciting control due to the taboo nature of both sexual and physical responding. Thus, studies which suggest that very different learning contingencies are operating for individuals and families involved in sexual versus physical child abuse may have to be regarded with some amount of scepticism for the time being.

Cultural Studies

At this point it is most appropriate to turn to the subject of taboos against sexual and physical acting out behaviours. At this broader level of analysis, Lester (1972) notes that social living involves the inhibition of the expression of all types of impulsive behaviours; social systems that fail to inhibit such expression do not survive and/or promote the welfare of component social units for any significant period of time. As a result, almost every society in history has had taboos against the expression of these behaviours, especially when directed against children (White, 1964). However, contrary to popular opinion, these taboos do not necessarily evolve out of a natural sense of human concern for others. For instance, in the case of incest, Summit and Kryso (1977) note that

> "People tend to assume that the incest taboo is a natural outgrowth of human decency, and that sex with offspring is unnatural and inherently repugnant. However, the taboo may have evolved for quite the opposite reason, as a practical defense against a very natural experience. People who live together, who depend on each other for love and support, and who have intimate daily contact with each other will tend to develop sexual relationships with each other" (p.239).

The same statement has been made in the literature with respect to the taboo against expressing physical hostility toward children. As Goode

(1971) and Lystad (1975) have pointed out, one of the reasons that people commit acts of violence against children is that children are frequently in close proximity to parents much of the time; few individuals can so frustrate parents as the children in their care, to whom they may even turn for support and attention. Thus, socially sanctioned prohibitions on the expression of both sexual and physical acting out against children appear to be necessary to curtail naturally occurring psychological and psychosocial events.

Sources of sexual and physical child abuse appear to differ, however, with respect to the strength of these socially sanctioned prohibitions on sexual versus physical acting out against children. The taboo against the former appears to be more powerful. A brief analysis of the theories of origin of the incest taboo suggests some reasons why this prohibition might be the stronger.

It appears that there are more biological, psychological, psychosocial and cultural advantages to having an incest taboo than there are to having a prohibition against physically abusive interactions between parents and children. Several authors (Masters, 1964; White, 1964; Lester, 1972; Maisch, 1972; Schwartzman, 1974; Walters, 1975; Frances and Frances, 1976; Meiselman, 1978) suggest the following as reasons for the development of the incest taboo; only one appears to pertain to advantages that might be accrued as a result of sanctioning prohibitions against intrafamilial physical child abuse.

First, the genetic theory of the origin of the incest taboo relates to the issue of the effects of inbreeding. There appears to be some evidence to suggest that offspring of incestuous relationships are more prone to biological impairment. While there are contradictory findings with respect to this theory, it offers some kind of a viable explanation of the development of the incest taboo; it sheds no light on the advantages of originating a taboo against physically assaultive interactions with children.

Secondly, the role strain theory suggests that the incest taboo originated in order to maintain clear role definitions in social systems. Frances and Frances (1976) note that social groups are structured along two primary biological bases of differentiation, "sex (making for role difference) and generation (making for leaders and followers)" (p.237). A parent who is involved sexually with his or her child clearly strains the second basis of differentiation and will have two, often conflicting, roles with respect to the child, that of leader and that of equal and sexual partner. Such a parent may also strain the first basis of differentiation as in the case of homosexual incest. However, the physically abusive parent places no strain on his or her role relationship with the child by acting out in his or her characteristic fashion. In fact, physical child abuse may be consonant with the role of being the leader and parent, especially in societies that condone the use of excessive force in the disciplining of children. Therefore, this theory does not help to explain the advantages of a prohibition against physical child abuse.

A third theory, that of family cohesiveness, asserts that the incest taboo developed in order to deal with the tremendously disruptive effects of intrafamilial sexual jealousies and conflicts. This theory holds that while "any kind of family conflict is disruptive . . . that [of] sexual jealousy between kin is most disruptive" (Lester, 1972, p.279). Physical abuse within the family is viewed as less disconcerting and, therefore, less in need of restriction.

The culturological theory argues that families must learn to cooperate with one another if the social system is to survive. "Cooperation between families cannot be established if parent marries child" (White, 1964, p.247). Similarly, interfamilial cooperation cannot be achieved if there is intrafamilial physical discord. As a result, this theory appears to be the only one that suggests advantages to originating a taboo against the expression of *both* sexual *and* aggressive impulses toward children. Families in which the sexual and aggressive needs are satisfied within the confines of the immediate system will have neither the need nor the energy for cooperating as smoothly functioning units with other social groups that might enhance their chances for survival. The effect of the taboos is to force families to interact with other, similar systems.

From this brief analysis of the reasons for the development of taboos against the expression of impulsive behaviours directed toward children, it appears that there are more benefits for individuals and social units if incest is prohibited than if physically assaultive interactions between parents and children are restricted. If it follows from this, that because of the greater advantages of restricting incest, the incest taboo is more powerful, then it is possible to conclude that the sources of incest and physical child abuse differ with respect to the relative strength of the taboo against the former. And it is probably the case that the incest taboo is the more potent of the two, for as some

professionals have noted, the sexual abuse of children, more than any other type of child abuse, is "shrouded by misinformation, myths, and ignorance in the lay and professional communities alike" (Sgroi, 1975, p.111). The greater strength of the incest taboo appears to be reflected in the continued greater reluctance of adults to discuss issues of parent-child sexual involvement as opposed to questions of physically abusive interactions between parents and children.

Summary of the Difference in Sources of Sexual and Physical Abuse

Sources of sexual and physical child abuse appear to be different in three major ways, namely, the types of crises that characterize those involved in the two kinds of abuse, the types of acting out behaviours exhibited by the participants in the two kinds of abuse, and the strength of the taboos against sexual versus physical child abuse. Given the large differences that exist between reported cases of sexual and physical child abuse, and the way in which discussions on these subjects are separated in the literature, possibly more differences in sources would be expected. Not only do there appear to be more similarities than differences with respect to etiology between these two types of abuse, but the arguments that exist in the literature in support of the similarities appear to be based on somewhat more convincing data than are the arguments pertaining to differences in etiology.

Epilogue: Is There a Link Between Sex and Aggression

The foregoing discussion has not addressed the issue of the overt manifestations of acts of sexual versus physical child abuse, nor has it compared these types of abuse with respect to the aims of the different acts. Therefore, it would not be very difficult to argue that no matter how similar the sources of these types of abuse might be, they still represent very divergent phenomena in that the behaviours involved and the intentions of these behaviours are very distinctive and serve to differentiate one type of abuse from the other. However, there is literature to suggest that the behavioural components of acts of physical and sexual child abuse are not always so distinctive, nor are the aims of these abusive acts.

Literature not only from broader physiological, psychological and

cultural investigations, but also from projects aimed more specifically at examining child abuse indicate that acts of sex and acts of aggression may often be linked in a mutually facilitative fashion. This appears to be the case not only with respect to the behavioural components of the acts but with respect to the intentions of the acts as well. For example, evidence from physiological studies suggests a mutually facilitative link between sex and aggression. Electrical and chemical brain stimulation experiments have revealed that neural nodal points of sexual and aggressive responding lie in extremely close proximity (stimulation of one point frequently resulting in activation of the other) and that certain sex hormones greatly influence the expression of aggressive behaviour (MacLean, 1965; Edwards, 1971).

Psychological experiments that support a mutually facilitative relationship between sex and aggression have reported increased sexual responding in aggressively aroused subjects (Barclay, 1969, 1970, 1971) as well as increased aggressive behaviour in previously angered subjects presented with sexual stimuli (Zillmann, 1971). As noted earlier, Malamuth *et al.* (1977) have shown that sexual and aggressive responding may be closely linked in a facilitative fashion on the basis of the environmental cues that serve to elicit both types of behaviour. The same cues may come to control both sexual and aggressive acting out given the taboo nature of these behaviours.

Further evidence for this type of link between sex and aggression is provided by sociological and historical investigations. For instance, Bandura (1973) and Brownmiller (1975) suggest that in societies where physical prowess and aggression are highly valued, sexual energies may often be used in the service of an aggressive life style. In these cultures, acts that appear to be sexual in overt manifestation may, in fact, be more aggressive in intent.

There is also evidence to suggest that sex and aggression may become fused as in the case of sadism. There are descriptions of men who hang themselves in an attempt to facilitate orgasm (Weisman, 1967; Resnick, 1972). Litman and Swearinger (1972) report on middle class males who are impotent without bondage scenarios and props. There are also data to suggest that certain types of destructive crimes that appear to be solely expressions of hostile aggression may involve sexual components. In these cases, the perpetrators experience sexual arousal from the destruction of property and person (Karpman, 1954; Reinhardt, 1957; Rubenstein, 1965).

Studies that pertain more directly to the issue of sexual and physical child abuse suggest that acts which appear to be expresisons of one type of impulse may in fact involve aspects of the other. For example, Summit and Kryso (1977) list ten kinds of adult sexual interaction with children. These include incidental sexual contact, true endogomous incest (in which the adult turns to the child out of sexual frustration), misogynous incest (in which the adult turns to the child out of sexual frustration and anger toward the spouse), imperious incest (in which the adult turns to the child as part and parcel of a generalized authoritarian and aggressive stance within the family), and intrafamilial child rape (in which the adult turns to the child to vent sexual frustration and anger in general). Of the ten categories, the final three mentioned above usually involve some combination of sexual and aggressive activity and intention; several of the other types may include both at times.

Reporting on types of physical child abuse, Gil (1971) mentions different kinds of this type of assault. Two of his categories explicitly involve sexual activity and motivation along with the overtly aggressive behaviour. He states that a small percentage of cases of physical child abuse occur simultaneously with sexual assaults and sadistic gratification, while a greater percentage involve sadism sublimated to the level of child-rearing ideology where the parent receives some type of sexual satisfaction from disciplining children in an authoritarian manner.

While the research findings that link sex and aggression are scarce and frequently contradictory, there is enough evidence to suggest that sexual and aggressive behaviours and aims are at times closely related and/or fused; sexual energies may operate in the service of aggressive behaviours and vice versa. When this happens it may be difficult to distinguish sexual acting out from physical aggression.

If the research on the similarities between the overt manifestations and intentions of sexual and aggressive acting out is coupled with the discussion on the similarities between sources of sexual and physical child abuse, some interesting issues present themselves. If these similarities in sources, overt manifestations and intentions between sexual and physical child abuse do in fact exist, is it not possible that sexual and physical child abuse are often very closely related, if not one and the same phenomenon? And is it not possible that sexual child abuse is as prevalent as physical child abuse but that, as a result of the more powerful taboo against sexual abuse and the greater difficulty

diagnosing it on the basis of observable evidence (Sgroi, 1975; Schecter and Roberge, 1976; Herjanic and Wilbois, 1978), it often goes unrecognized and is classified under the rubric of physical child abuse?

Despite all of the similarities that appear to exist between sexual and physical child abuse, some professionals suggest that there are enough differences, that treatment of the two types of abuse must often involve the confrontation of distinct and separate issues (Walters, 1975). If sexual abuse is as closely related to physical child abuse as is suggested by the previous discussion, and if it is, therefore, frequently unrecognized apart from many cases of physical child abuse, then there are many professionals who are doing their clients a disservice by failing to accurately assess the type of child abuse they are treating. This failure is resulting in inadequate treatment for individuals and families who may be assessed as physically abusive, and who may be physically abusive as well, but who are simultaneously and/or more discretely involved in the sexual abuse of children and who may need to therapeutically confront more specifically sexual issues.

References

Abrahamsen, D. (1970). *Our Violent Society.* Funk and Wagnalls, New York.

Antler, S. (1978). Child abuse: an emerging social priority. *Social Work* **23**, 58-61.

Bagley, C. (1969). Incest behavior and incest taboo. *Social Problems* **16**, 505-519.

Bandura, A. (1973). *Aggression: A Social Learning Analysis.* Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs.

Barclay, A. M. (1969). The effect of hostility on physiological and fantasy responses. *J. Pers.* **37**, 651-667.

Barclay, A. M. (1970). The effect of female aggressiveness on aggressive and sexual fantasies. *J. Proj. Tech.* **84**, 19-26.

Barclay, A. M. (1971). Linking sexual and aggressive motives: Contributions of "irrelevant" arousals. *J. Pers.* **39**, 418-492.

Bennie, E. and Sclare, A. (1969). The battered child syndrome. *Amer. J. Psychiat.* **125**, 957-979.

Brant, S. T. and Tisza, V. B. (1977). The sexually misused child. *Amer. J. Orthopsychiat.* **47**, 80-90.

Browning, D. H. and Boatman, B. (1977). Incest: Children at risk. *Amer. J. Psychiat.* **134**, 69-72.

Brownmiller, S. (1975). *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape.* Bantam Books, New York.

Cohen, R., Seghorn, T. and Calmas, W. (1969). Sociometric study of the sex offender. *J. Abnorm. Psychol.* **74**, 249-255.

Cormier, B. and Simons, S. P. (1969). The problem of the dangerous sexual offender. *Can. Psychiat. Assn. J.* **14**, 329-335.

Crime Prevention Unit. (1976). *Child Abuse: The Problem of the Abused and Neglected Child.* Department of Justice, Sacramento.

DeFrancis, V. (1969). *Protecting the Child Victim of Sex Crimes Committed by Adults.* American Humane Society, Denver, Colorado.

Edwards, D. A. (1971). Neonatal administration of Androstenedione, Testosterone or Testosterone Propionate: Effects on ovulation, sexual receptivity and aggressive behavior in female mice. *Physiol. and Behav.* **6**, 223-228.

Elmer, E. (1967). *Children in Jeopardy: A Study of Abused Minors and their Families.* University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh.

Elmer, E. and Gregg, G. S. (1967). Developmental characteristics of abused children. *Pediatrics* **40**, 596-602.

Flugel, J. C. (1926). *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Family.* L. and V. Woolf, London.

Forward, S. (1978). Lecture presented at the Sexual Abuse Conference in Los Angeles, California, 24 June.

Frances, V. and Frances, A. (1976). The incest taboo and family structure. *Family Process* **15**, 235-244.

Frosch, J. and Bromberg, W. (1939). Sex offenders. *Amer. J. Orthopsychiat.* **9**, 761-776.

Galdston, R. (1965). Observations on children who have been physically abused and their parents. *Amer. J. Psychiat.* **122**, 440-443.

Gabarino, J. (1977). The human ecology of child maltreatment: A conceptual model for research. *J. Marr. Fam.* **39**, 721-735.

Gebhard, P. H., Gagnon, J. H., Pomeroy, W. B. and Christenson, C. V. (1965). *Sex Offenders: An Analysis of Types.* Harper and Row, New York.

Gelles, R. (1973). Child abuse as psychopathology: A sociological critique and reformulation. *Amer. J. Orthopsychiat.* **43**, 611-621.

Gelles, R. (1975). The social construction of child abuse. *Amer. J. Orthopsychiat.* **45**, 363-371.

Gelles, R. (1978). Violence toward children in the United States. *Amer. J. Orthopsychiat.* **48**, 581-583.

Gil, D. (1970). *Violence Against Children: Physical Child Abuse in the United States.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Gil, D. (1971). Violence against children. *J. Marr. Fam.* **33**, 637-648.

Gil, D. (1975). Unraveling child abuse. *Amer. J. Orthopsychiat.* **45**, 346-356.

Giovannoni, J. M. (1971). Parental mistreatment: Perpetrators and victims. *J. Marr. Fam.* **33**, 649-657.

Goode, W. J. (1971). Force and violence in the family. *J. Marr. Fam.* **33**, 624-636.

Groth, A. N. (1978). Patterns of sexual assault against children and adolescents. In Burgess, A. W., Groth, A. N., Holmstrom, H. H. and Sgroi, S. M. (eds.), *Sexual Assault of Children and Adolescents.* Heath, Lexington.

Guttmacher, M. S. (1951). *Sex offenses: The Problem, Causes, and Prevention.* Norton, New York.

Heims, L. W. and Kaufman, I. (1963). Variations on a theme of incest. *Amer. J. Orthopsychiat.* **33**, 311-312.

Helfer, R. E. and Kempe, C. H. (1968). *The Battered Child.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Helfer, R. E. and Kempe, C. H. (1976). *Child Abuse and Neglect.* Ballinger, Cambridge.

Herjanic, B. and Wilbois, R. P. (1978). Sexual abuse of children: Detection and management. *J. Amer. Med. Assn.* **239**, 331-333.

Hirning, L. C (1947). The sex offender in custody. In Lindner, R. M. and Seliger, R. V. (eds.), *Handbook of Correctional Psychology.* Philosophical Library, New York.

Jaffe, A. C., Dynneson, L. and ten Bensel, R. W. (1975). Sexual abuse of children: An epidemiological study. *Amer. J. Dis. Child.* **129**, 689-692.

Johnson, B. and Morse, H. (1968). Injured children and their parents. *Children* **15**, 147-152.

Justice, B. and Justice, R. (1976). *The Abusing Family.* Human Sciences Press, New York.

Kadushin, A. (1967). *Child Welfare Service.* MacMillan, New York.

Karpman, B. (1954). *The Sexual Offender and His Offenses.* Julian Press, New York.

Kaufman, I., Peck, A. L. and Tagiuri, C. K. (1954). The family constellation and overt incestuous relations between father and daughter. *Amer. J. Orthopsychiat.* **24**, 266-279.

Kempe, C. H., Silverman, F. N., Steele, B. F., Droegemueller, W. and Silver, H. K. (1962). The battered-child syndrome. *J. Amer. Med. Assn.* **181**, 17-24.

Kozol, H. L., Cohen, M. L. and Garofalo, R. F. (1966). The criminally dangerous sex offender. *New England J. Med.* **275**, 79-84.

Leaman, K. (1977). The sexually abused child. *Nursing* **7**, 68-72.

Lester, D. (1972). Incest. *J. Sex. Res.* **8**, 268-285.

Light, R. (1973). Abused and neglected children in America: A Study of alternative policies. *Harvard Educ. Rev.* **43**, 556-598.

Litman, R. and Swearingen, C. (1972). Bondage and suicide. *Arch. Gen. Psychiat.* **27**, 80-85.

Lukianowicz, N. (1971). Infanticide. *Psychiatric Clinician* **4**, 148-161.

Lukianowicz, N. (1972). Incest. *Brit. J. Psychiat.* **120**, 301-313.

Lustig, N., Dresser, J. W., Spellman, S. W. and Murray, T. B. (1966). Incest: A family group survival pattern. *Arch. Gen. Psychiat.* **14**, 31-40.

Lystad, M. H. (1975). Violence at home: A review of the literature. *Amer. J. Orthopsychiat.* **45**, 328-345.

Machotka, P., Pittman, F. S. and Flomenhaft, K. (1967). Incest as a family affair. *Family Process* **6**, 98-116.

MacLean, P. D. (1965). New findings relevant to the evolution of psychosexual functions of the brain. In Money, J. (ed.), *Sex Research: New Developments.* Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.

Maisch, H. (1972). *Incest.* Stein and Day Publishers, New York.

Malamuth, N. M., Feshbach, S. and Jaffe, Y. (1977). Sexual arousal and aggression: Recent experiments and theoretical issues. *J. Soc. Issues* **33**, 110-133.

Marmor, J. (1955). Orality in the hysterical personality. *J. Amer. Psycho-anal. Assn.* **1**, 656-671.

Masters, R. E. L. (1964). *Patterns of Incest: A Psycho-social Study Based on Clinical and Historical Data.* Julian Press, New York.

Meiselman, K. (1978). *Incest: A Psychological Study of Causes and Effects wit Treatment Recommendations.* Jossey-Boss, San Francisco.
Melnick, B. and Hurley, J. R. (1969). Destructive personality attributes of chil abusing mothers. *J. Cons. Clin. Psychol.* 33, 746-749.
Merril, E. J. (1969). Physical abuse of children: An agency study. In De Francis, V (ed.), *Protecting the Battered Child.* American Humane Association, Denve Colorado.
Mohr, J. W. and Turner, R. E. (1967). Sexual deviations. Part IV. Pedophilia *Applied Therapeutics* 9, 362-365.
Mohr, J. W., Turner, R. E. and Jerry, M. B. (1964). *Pedophilia and Exhibitionism* University of Toronto Press, Canada.
Morris, M. G. and Gould, R. W. (1963). Role reversal: A concept in dealing with th neglected-battered child syndrome. In *The Neglected-battered Child Syndrom* Child Welfare League of America, New York.
Oliver, J. E. and Cox, J. (1973). A family kindred with ill-used children: The burde on the community. *Brit. J. Psychiat.* 123, 81-90.
Oliver, J. E. and Taylor, A. (1971). Five generations of ill-treated children in on family pedigree. *Brit. J. Psychiat.* 119, 473-480.
Parker, G. (1974). Incest. *Med. J. Australia* 1, 488-490.
Paulson, M. and Blake, P. (1969). The physically abused child: A focus on prevention *Child Welfare* 48, 86-95.
Peters, J. J. (1976). Children who are victims of sexual assault and the psychology offenders. *Amer. J. Psychother.* 30, 398-421.
Radbill, S. X. (1968). A history of child abuse and infanticide. In Helfer, R. E. an Kempe, C. H. (eds.), *The Battered Child.* University of Chicago Press, Chicag
Raphling, D. L., Carpenter, B. L. and Davis, A. (1967). Incest: A genealogical stud *Arch. Gen. Psychiat.* 16, 505-511.
Reimer, S. (1940). A research note on incest. *Amer. J. Sociol.* 45, 554-565.
Reinhardt, J. M. (1957). *Sex Perversions and Sex Crimes.* C. C. Thomas, Springfiel
Resnick, H. (1972). Eroticized repetitive hangings. *Amer. J. Psychother.* 27, 4-2
Revitch, E. and Weiss, R. G. (1962). The pedophiliac offender. *Dis. Nerv. Sys.* 2 73-78.
Rosenfeld, A. A. and Newberger, E. H. (1977). Compassion vs. control: Conceptu and practical pitfalls in the broadened definition of child abuse. *J. Amer. Me Assn.* 237, 2086-2088.
Rubenstein, L. H. (1965). Sexual motivation in "ordinary" offenses. In Slovenko, F (ed.), *Sexual Behavior and the Law.* C. C. Thomas, Springfield.
Sarles, R. (1975). Incest. *Pediatric Clinician of North America* 3, 633-642.
Schecter, M. C. and Roberge, L. (1976). Sexual explotation. In Heifer, R. E. an Kempe, C. H. (eds.), *Child Abuse and Neglect.* Ballinger, Cambridge.
Schwartzman, J. (1974). The individual, incest, and exogamy. *Psychiatry* 37, 171-18
Sgroi, S. M. (1975). Sexual molestation of children: The last frontier in child abus *Children Today* 44, 18-21.
Shoor, M., Speed, M. H. and Bartelt, C. (1966). Syndrome of the adolescent chil molester. *Amer. J. Psychiat.* 122, 783-789.
Smith, S. M. and Hanson, R. (1975). Interpersonal relationships and child-rearin

practices in 214 parents of battered children. *Brit. J. Psychiat.* 127, 513-525.
Sonden, R. (1936). Incest crimes in Sweden and their causes. *Acta Psychiat. Neurol.* 11, 379-401.
Spinetta, J. J. and Rigler, D. (1972). The child-abusing parent: A psychological review. *Psychol. Bull.* 77, 296-304.
Steele, B. F. (1976). Violence within the family. In Helfer, R. E. and Kempe, C. H. (eds.), *Child Abuse and Neglect.* Ballinger, Cambridge.
Steele, B. F. and Pollock, C. B. (1968). A psychiatric study of parents who abuse infants and small children. In Helfer, R. E. and Kempe, C. H. (eds.), *The Battered Child.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
Summit, R. and Kryso, J. (1977). Sexual abuse of children: A clinical spectrum. *Amer. J. Orthopsychiat.* 47, 237-251.
Swanson, D. W. (1968). Adults' sexual abuse of children: The men and the circumstances. *Dis. Nerv. Sys.* 29, 677-686.
Terr, L. (1970). A family study of abuse. *Amer. J. Psychiat.* 127, 665-671.
Virkkunen, M. (1974). Incest offences and alcoholism. *Med. Sci. and Law* 13, 124-128.
Wahl, C. W. (1964). The psychodynamics of consummated maternal incest. In Masters, R. E. L. (ed.), *Patterns of Incest: a Psycho-social Study Based on Clinical and Historical Data.* Julian Press, New York.
Walters, D. R. (1975). *Physical and Sexual Abuse of Children: Causes and Treatment.* Indiana University Press, Bloomington.
Wasserman, S. (1967). The abused parent of the abused child. *Children* 14, 175-179.
Weinberg, S. K. (1955). *Incest Behavior.* Citadel Press, New York.
Weiner, I. B. (1962). Father-daughter incest: A clinical report. *Psychiat. Quart.* 36, 607-632.
Weisman, A. (1967). Self-destruction and sexual perversion. In Schneidman, E. (ed.), *Essays in Self-Destruction.* Aronson, New York.
White, L. A. (1964). The definitions and prohibition of incest. In Masters, R. E. L. (ed.), *Patterns of Incest: a Psycho-social Study Based on Clinical and Historical Data.* Julian Press, New York.
Wolfe, R. W. and Marino, D. R. (1975). A program of behavior treatment for incarcerated pedophiles. *Amer. Crim. Law Rev.* 13, 69-84.
Young, L. (1964). *Wednesday's Children: A Study of Child Neglect and Abuse.* McGraw-Hill, New York.
Zalba, S. (1966). The abused child: I. A survey of the problem. *Social Work* 11, 3-16.
Zalba, S. (1971). Battered children. *Transaction* 18, 58-61.
Zillmann, D. (1971). Excitation transfer in communication-mediated aggressive behavior. *J. Exp. Soc. Psychol.* 7, 419-434.