Childhood Sexual Abuse :
Event, Fact or Structure

Ann Levett

Department of Psychology

University of Cape Town

In attempting to develop a different approach to
understanding various areas of human life psychologists have
been commenting on the range of discourses, many
contradictory, which dominate social practices (e.g.
Gergen, 1985, Harre, 1984, Moscovici, 1984, Sampson, 1986).
These processes contribute to the production of each human
subject, to the construction of individual identity and
emotional life, and construct the meanings imputed to
interpersonal exchanges, including relations between men and
women and between adults and children. In order to make
sense of the complexities of human behaviour, we need to
take apart both the commonplace notions and the dominant,
accepted explanations of cause-effect relationships. In any
particular discourse, because of dominant sociocultural

forms of understanding, attention tends to focus on certain
specifics with a noticeable lack of attention to attendant
phenomena. Where perceptible, the gaps are likely to be a
fruitful locus for the study of contradictions. In a social
constructionist view, where any discussion about the world
is seen as "an artefact of communal interchange" (Gergen,
1985, p.266), psychological inquiry itself may be evaluated.
This approach forces us to re-examine dominant systems of
thought and to reflect on widespread conceptions of
knowledge, which leads to insights concerning the purposes
of knowledge, and how it is transformed.

Crucial to understanding complex behaviours is a dissection
of the conflictful and often confusing definitions of the
notions involved. Such work has been done on, for example,
falling in love (Averill, 1985), subjectivity, racism and
gender (Henriques, Hollway, Urwin, Venn and Walkerdine,
1984), and the person (Gergen and Davis, 1984). The work
of unpacking the meaning of "racism" for example could
relate to problems resulting from contradictions concerned
in attempts to be nonracist in racist society. Such
concepts are understood by the individuals concerned and
others of similar background in particular forms which are
rooted in the ways in which such concepts are socially
construed and expressed. This has to do with practices of
childrearing, messages conveyed by the media and through
formal and informal education, for instance. I argue here

that notions concerning the traumatic effects of childhood sexual abuse may be approached usefully in the same way, reflecting on the psychological (and popular) literature on this subject.

A growing body of academic literature reports the extent to which child sexual abuse is prevalent (e.g. Herman, 1981, Russell, 1983), and an even more extensive literature speaks of the gravity of the effects of experience of incest and child sexual abuse (e.g Kempe and Kempe, 1984, Russell, 1986). Along with widespread discussion of the incest taboo, it is evident that it is commonly transgressed. There are also notions concerning the innocence of childhood, often contradicted in experience and in practice, together with a pervasive view that child sexual abuse may be the result of seductive behaviour in children. It is generally held that "normal" adults do not have a sexual interest in children (just as it is held that heterosexuality is "normal" and rape is deviant). There is an over-riding normative preoccupation with sex and sexual practices while there are a multitude of conflictful definitions for what this is and the role it plays in social structure, social groups and in individual relationships (Weeks, 1981). Simultaneously, and arising out of these ideas, there is a highly emotive loading to individuals' acknowledgement of the experience, which makes it difficult to discuss: thus there is a charged silence in the midst of vociferous talk. The silences are important aspects of the discourse.

Specialised treatment units, conferences and educational programmes are set up aimed at preventing further increases in occurrences of sexual abuse. At the same time, there is discussion about the rapid rise in incidence in these phenomena and almost monotonous repetitive, sensational reporting of certain (extreme) forms of child sexual abuse in the media. There is a seepage of discourse from the burgeoning professional literature via the media into more common everyday thought, which parallels the way in which psychoanalytic ideas have been adopted in fragmentary and naive form by large numbers of laypersons (Berger, 1965, Moscovici, 1961, cited in Moscovici, 1984). There is a sense in which all this discourse creates the phenomenon - the impulse as well as reactions to it. In terms of a cognitive constructionist model, every aspect of the discourse serves to perpetuate and shape the phenomena and its repercussions.

In the last decade it has become widely accepted that a large number of women in western society report childhood experience of sexual molestation or abuse. This may be either intrafamilial or extrafamilial, and in many instances both have occurred (e.g. Finkelhor, 1984, Kempe and Kempe, 1984). In 1981 Herman reviewed five surveys and found that 20 to 33% of some 5000 adult women reported childhood sexual encounters with adult males. Although there are problems in comparing these surveys, there was consistency in these reports concerning largely middle class and/or educated women. More recently, using intensive interviews and a

large, broadly representative sample of adult women in San
Francisco, Russell (1983) reported that 38% had had under
age 18 experiences of this nature, and 28% had at least one
such experience before the age 14 years.

Estimates today range between 12% and 44%, depending on the
sample studied and on the definition of sexual abuse which
is used. My own small study among women students at the
University of Cape Town revealed a prevalence of 44%. The
overall picture reflects a widespread phenomenon at all
levels of variously grouped contemporary western populations
of women.

The most common criticism of these studies relates to the
circumscribed population samples, the way information has
been gathered, or because sexual abuse is either too
narrowly or too broadly conceptualised. There is little
comment which indicates the need for a closer examination of
the nonparticipating and self-excluding sections of the
populations studied: the silent majority. Of Russell's
original random sample of 2000 households only 50%
responded, and 19% refused to participate in the study once
they understood its focus. Of course it is extremely
difficult to devise a study involving unwilling or
unavailable subjects!

It has been suggested that there has been an increase in the
phenomenon over the past two or three decades, but no
information is provided from other historical or social
contexts to justify this claim. Some hold that the problem
has simply become more visible. However, another kind of

explanation not yet offered might be that the phenomena in question have become more "public" for certain groups of women, e.g. those with some access to feminist thinking which advocates the need to expose these phenomena. For most groups of women this option could seem pointless (e.g. Fine, 1983/1984): what do women gain by such disclosures of personal experience? More importantly, what may be lost through such selfdisclosure?

Until the early 1970's the prevalent view on child sexual molestation was that girls invent these events. The idea was that they do not really take place except in the female imagination, or that women distort real events to minimise taking responsibility for what is viewed as seductive behaviour. Although fashionably less explicit, this view is still widely prevalent in many health care environments. It also dominates in courts of law. Women and children are thus effectively silenced in the more common situations. In this context, silence is self-protective and pragmatic, and can be seen to be a meaningful adaptive strategy.

Following the early work of Schachter (1964), recent studies on the social construction of emotions (Armon-Jones, 1985, Harre, 1986) suggest that widespread notions of complicity, negligent irresponsibility, or the idea that "people get what they deserve" (the 'just world` hypothesis) all play a part in the construction of the emotional responses, at the time and in later years. The complex feelings attached to such experience contribute to this silencing; they also contribute to the perpetuation of the idea stigma and of

passive victims.

The area is difficult to research because of the fraught issues which surround sexuality, privacy, the sanctity of childhood and the family, and even more so because of the stigmatization anticipated and experienced by women following sexual abuse.

Apart from prevalence studies, the psychological outcome studies which have appeared in the literature largely fall into various combinations of the following groups:

(a) the elements which are researched are individual children, families and women,

(b) the knowledge which is pursued involves detail of identified child sexual abuse, ways to identify unknown cases, and lists concerning the traumatic effects of child sexual abuse,

(c) a prominent goal is the isolation of important ameliorating and exacerbating variables within these situations, to enable the prediction of traumatic effects,

(d) a second goal is the relative effectiveness of a range of intervention strategies, aimed at individuals and families.

These studies adopt a convention of epistemology which seeks particular effects following certain events. Very little attention is focused on the context within which the experiences occur, although it is the social context which lumbers these phenomena with the meanings and feelings which

shape the subjective experience.

In the case of sexual molestation of children, all concerned can be seen to be caught up in adversarial problems because of dominant social constructions of sexuality, childhood and trauma. In the discourse of trauma, a victim identity is created for the child (usually female), an assailant identity for the man, rescuer identities for the health professionals, and crusader roles for the media. Each leads to its own set of distortions.

The discourse contributes to the structuring of significant aspects of experience. The discourse of the "victim" is particularly problematic in a situation where, for instance, the helping institutions set up to intervene can be seen as part of the problem; they offer no really effective remedies but perpetuate notions of damage and practices of protection. In fact the "remedies" may have to be devised and fought for by those who are "victims", redefined as active agents.

Furthermore, there is considerable confusion about what precisely constitute the "traumatic effects" so widely mooted, either within the childhood experience of sexual abuse or in its consequences. The child is studied extensively, as an individual or within the family unit, and a great deal of energy and effort are put into this endeavour with the aim of diminishing these effects. Most studies of the effects of childhood sexual abuse report on sequelae during childhood and adolescence for the child and her family. An inconsistent picture of a broad range of

consequences emerges. The overall picture is one of a kind of derailment of a "natural" developmental process (Riley, 1983) into any of several routes of "deviance" as a result of particular events.

In retrospective studies seeking to uncover longer-term effects of childhood sexual abuse in later years, it is not surprising that the picture gains little clarity. Commonly reported are behaviours such as truanting, delinquency, promiscuity, illegitimate pregnancy, and early marriage (Steele and Alexander, 1981). Aside from the point that the depiction of these complex behaviours as "problems"is a moral judgement rather than one a psychological disability (McIntosh, 1978), such choices are also made by adolescents and young adults (male as well as female) without a history of childhood sexual abuse (Ennew, 1986).

In attempting to establish the long term consequences of such childhood experience in data obtained from adult women, the problems are compounded by the range of intervening variables over the subject's life since the childhood experience, further compounded by variables antecedent to the experience of molestation. Browne and Finkelhor (1986) recently exhaustively reviewed the literature; they present a coherent critique of the problems involved, but this is from within the framework of logical positivist research. In the same epistemological vein, there have been calls for more rigorous empirical studies of the effects of childhood sexual abuse. These calls are aimed at prioritizing the current list of covariables. Factors such as family support

and stability, "good" early mothering, the degree of trust in the relationship before and at the time of the sexual encounter, whether the abuser is a familiar or an authority figure, are some examples of these. The number of "critical covariables" purported to exacerbate or ameliorate the effects of the experience seem to proliferate with each new approach. Without a sound theoretical framework which takes account of the social and historical context, it is clear that advances in understanding will be marginal (Sampson, 1986).

These studies, while nibbling at the edges of the phenomenon, seem to fall through the central core without seeing what it is. In close-focus study of individuals and family units, looking for pathologies or deviance with the hope of showing these as "causes" or as "consequences", the problems involved are insurmountable. From a certain perspective the events seem similar, but the facts which may be more fruitfully observed are likely to be of a quite different order. This issue was well recognised by researchers such as Durkheim, Claude Bernard, and Freud (Mestrovic, 1985). The context of constructed meanings in terms of social representations (Moscovici, 1984) is ignored.

There are major problems in these conventional studies. Firstly, the empirical literature shows a widespread assumption of traumatic effects (Giovannoni and Becerra, 1979). It is rarely commented that there is inconsistent evidence for this assumption (but see Freud, 1984). The

expectation of such effects can all too easily become a self-fulfilling prophecy. This especially when subjects who present themselves for assistance often do have such a history. The silent invisibility of the nonpresenters tends to be overlooked, and the likelihood that many conceal or do not recognise their histories of such experience is forgotten.

Secondly, absent from these empirical studies of child sexual abuse is a critical examination of the concepts of trauma and traumatic effects. Emotional trauma" is rarely discussed in a specific way. The notion that some children and adults are reported to be unaffected by the experience of sexual abuse is not popular (Henderson, 1983, Watters, 1983) and is unusual within the current literature. If disturbance is not evident, the dominant view is that vulnerability effects will emerge later in response to some specific triggering event or context (Browne and Finkelhor, 1986). This relates directly but inaccurately to psychoanalytic theory but it is conspicuous that the detailed psychoanalytic work which should inform this idea is absent. The Freudian notion of trauma, and the development of this complex concept, is discussed in Laplanche and Pontalis (1973) and will not be dealt with here, suffice to say that there is little connection between the theoretical concept and the way in which the notion of traumatic effects is used in the empirical literature.

Thirdly, what aspects are absent or de-emphasised? Comparatively little is written about the males who have

been involved in all these situations. Where attempts have been made to study the males concerned, conclusions suggest either that the men concerned are "immature", "inadequate", or that psychopathology is present. What notions of maturity, adequacy and normality mean is not discussed in such reports.

Fourth, little attention is given to the notion of "resilience". This is the most interesting question in this area of study, but victim-oriented research places a particular meaning upon silence. This is commonly attributed to guilt, and is regarded as unhealthy. Given the survey figures mentioned, it seems that large numbers of children quietly continue their lives, apparently unaffected. How can this be? It seems to contradict the widespread view that sexual abuse is a hugely traumatic experience. When "effects" are not visible, what exactly are we talking about?

Within the framework which expects traumatic effects, it could be held that women with this history experience at least problems with sexual functioning in intimate relationships (Becker, Skinner, Abel and Treacy, 1982). It might be that many conceal this, or consider their sexual functioning as not out of the ordinary. It is equally possible that women privately attribute current experience which seems problematic to such childhood experience, but seek no assistance or remedy. We need to remind ourselves that we are talking about some 40% of the adult female population and conceivably more. Most do not come into

contact with mental health professionals and we have no data in these respects. We also have no "normative" baselines with which to make the necessary comparisons in such research: what is "normal sexual functioning" for a woman in our society? It has been argued that there are multiple and contradictory norms in this area of human behaviour (Gagnon and Simon, 1973).

If one takes the dubious view that a homosexual orientation is a "sexual problem", there is research which suggests that there is a higher incidence of childhood experience of sexual abuse among lesbian women (Gundlach, 1977). However, there are other ways in which to understand this finding - for instance, the compelling need to make sense of seemingly out of the ordinary aspects of ones life, particularly if one feels pressed to justify "deviance". This is not discussed.

Some have examined the possibility that the effects for many women are to be found in a particular personality structure - what might be termed a defect or a deficiency which, although not a form of psychopathology as delineated today, has pervasive and subtle effects on day to day living. Examples might be a difficulty in what is regarded as the appropriate expression of anger, or inordinate suspiciousness or low self esteem. In this framework, several studies have made use of personality tests such as the MMPI (Meiselman, 1980, Scott and Stone, 1986), projective instruments such as the Rorschach (Owens, 1982), the Clinical Analysis Questionnaire (Sarbo, 1984), and the

Personal Orientation Inventory (Wetmore, 1982). Although specifically studying women who are known to have childhood histories of sexual abuse, the findings have not been especially useful. The over-riding impression is that these instruments are "too coarse" to provide a clear picture of long term effects on personality. It is conspicuous, however, that here again the prevailing notion is one of expected traumatic effects. The methods and the kinds of observation involved reflect implicit assumptions which obscure the picture rather than clarifying it (Danziger, 1985).

Thus far there has been no suggestion that there may be interesting discussion deriving from the very fact that, even though women with this history are themselves likely to attribute consequences to the experience (Gold, 1986), they are not in fact distinguishable from women without this history.

Attempts to study what are termed the effects of widespread childhood sexual abuse of females may be futile. It is my contention that female children are reared in a social climate in which there is a pervasive expectation of the likelihood of molestation. This constitutes a fundamental aspect of female experience in our sociohistorical context (Riger et al, 1978, Riger and Gordon, 1981, Estep et al, 1977). In other words, the social construction of female identity is marked on the one hand by reality experiences in a range of forms and, on the other hand, by a gamut of prohibitions, rules and conventions which govern and inhibit

our behaviour in efforts (frequently futile) to avoid, prevent or deny this reality. The cumulative effects of these rules and conventions could be argued to constitute a significant configuration of what Harre (1984) might call the "female mind".

In 1985 Stanko writes: "Cast in a mould constructed within male-dominated society, women's experiences of sexual and physical violation take on an illusion of normality, ordinariness" (page 9). Hanmer and Saunders (1983) note that fear is maintained by the media, informal accounts and the personal experience of women and their friends. This leads to decreased public participation, paradoxically increased dependency on men, and heightened vigilence.

It is not only within the context of westernised patriarchal society that this holds. Ardener (1981), Ortner and Whitehead (1981), and Sanday (1981) have written about a range of social contexts in which women's lives are dominated by fear of the possibility of sexual assault. This curtails freedom of movement and limits access to resources.

The possibility of sexual abuse is a "material reality of women's lives not just a psychological, attitudinal, or ideological one" (MacKinnon, 1982). A certain degree of paranoid behaviour is part of the psychological-cum-ideological constitution of what it is to be female. This renders girls and women structurally vulnerable, while we observe the rules, conventions and practices regarded as appropriate to our structural position.

The three women depicted in the film A QUESTION OF SILENCE
have broken through certain of the boundaries which
contribute to the maintenance of the structures of gender
appropriate behaviour. They break the rules - the rules
concerning violence and compliance, concerning defence of
self through verbal explanation, concerning normal and
deviant behaviour, and concerning the male-constituted and
dominated system of justice which they flout (with laughter)
in the final courtroom scene. They enjoy the collusive
silence of other women, who both witnessed the murder of the
boutique owner and who witness the courtroom scene, but do
not come forward as witnesses in the conventions of the
judicial practices. Structurally these women are "supposed
to be" dominated and intimidated by their material situation
in the social order (by husband, by the state and its court,
by the public prosecutor, by the woman who represents the
social order in her role as their advocate) as well as
intrapsychically through the "internalization" of the
material situation. Many women (not necessarily feminists)
viewed this film with a sense of exhilaration, whereas many
men (including those who hold a feminist perspective) left
the film with a sense of disturbance and unease.

The social construction of the category women involves
subjects designated female accepting and participating in a
set of socially subordinate positions. In conventional
developmental psychology, social learning and socialization
processes are seen to shape females into particular roles.
When women do not "fit" this is perceived as deviant or

abnormal or pathological. The contradiction between the assertion that women are socialized into their more or less normative roles of subordination and subjugation, and the active struggles of women against these structures is a significant one (Sayers, 1986). Increasingly there is a conscious recognition among women of a range of conflictful experience and ideas within the social construction "female" (Hollway, 1984, Wetherell, 1982). For numbers of women this awareness has brought about an active effort to effect changes in social structures and social practices, for the benefit of women and for members of other oppressed groups. The depiction of women purely as victims is myth. It reflects a major contradiction in women's experience of themselves: many women do see themselves as passive, helpless, at times, in accord with the myth. At other times womens' experience is of their capacity to act effectively on the world. The socially mediated forces which establish and elaborate the construction of what is and what is not traumatic for women, enforcing protection, self restriction, paranoid fears and a sense of vulnerability, constrain women's sense of effective agency in significant ways. It seems crucial to uncover the structures which heighten the significance of sexual molestation in a context in which this is daily experience.

A counterpart is the myth of male violence (Walkowitz, 1982): this is not all there is to being male and to male/female relating. Things are much more complicated. In a general atmosphere of male-female and adult-child relating

which is permeated with practices and their connotations of protection/ownership, vulnerability/abuse, and male=active female=passive, the case of child sexual abuse is a reflection of normative patterns rather than singular events with singularly harmful consequences.

REFERENCES

Ardener, Shirley (1981) "Ground rules and social maps for women: an introduction", Ch.1, Women and space: Ground rules and social maps. London. Croon Helm.

Armon-Jones, C. (1985) Prescription, explication and the social construction of emotion. Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 15,1, 1-22.

Averill, J. (1985) The social construction of emotion: with special reference to love. In K.J. Gergen and K.E. Davis (Eds), The social construction of the person. New York. Springer-Verlag.

Becker, Judith V., Skinner, L.J., Abel, G.G. and Treacy, E.C. (1982) Incidence and types of sexual dysfunctions in rape and incest victims. Journal of Sex and Marital Therapy, 8, 1, 65-74.

Berger, Peter L. (1965) Towards a sociological understanding of psychoanalysis. Social Research 32, 26-41.

Browne, Angela and Finkelhor, David (1986) Impact of child sexual abuse: a review of the search. Psychological Bulletin 99, 1, 66-77.

Busfield, Joan (1974) Ideologies and reproduction in M.P.M. Richards (Ed) The integration of a child into a social world. Cambridge University Press, London.

Danziger, K. (1985) The methodological imperative in psychology. Philosophy of Social Science 15, 1-13.

Ennew, Judith (1986) The sexual exploitation of children. Cambridge. Polity Press.

Estep, Rhoda E., Burt, Martha R. and Milligan, H.J. (1977) The socialization of sexuality. Journal of Marriage and the Family, February, 99-112.

Fine, M. (1983/1984) Coping with rape: critical perspectives on consciousness. Imagination, Cognition and Personality 3, 3, 249-267.

Finkelhor, David (1984) Child sexual abuse: new theory and research. New York. Free Press.

Frllan.

Gold, Erica R. (1986) Long-term effects of sexual victimization in childhood: an attributional approach. Journal of 73) Sexual conduct. Chicago: Aldine.

Gergen, K.J. and Davis, K.E. (1984) (Eds), The social construction of the person. New York. Springer-Verlag.

Gergen, K.J. (1985) The social constructionist movement in modern psychology. American Psychologist, 40, 3, 266-275.

Giovannoni, Jeanne M. and Becerra, Rosina M. (1979) Defining child abuse. New York. Free Press/Macmillan.

Gold, Erica R. (1986) Long-term effects of sexual victimization in childhood: an attributional approach. Journal of Consultation and Clinical Psychology 54, 4, 471-475.

Gordon, Margaret T. and Riger, S. (1978) The fear of rape project. Victimology: An International Journal, 3, 346-7.

Gundlach, R.H. (1977) Sexual molestation and rape reported by homosexual and heterosexual women. Journal of Homosexuality, 2, 4, 367-384.

Hanmer, Jalna and Saunders, Sheila (1983) Blowing the cover of the protective male: a community study of violence to women. In Gamarnikow, Eva, Morgan, D, Purvis, J. and Taylorson, D. (Eds) (1983) The public and the private. London. Heinemann.

Harre, R (1984) Social elements as mind. British Journal of Medical Psychologyy 57, 127-135.

Harre, R. (1986) (Ed.) The social construction of emotions. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Henderson, J. (1983) Is incest harmful? Canadian Journal of Psychiatry, 28, 1, 34-40.

Henriques, J., Hollway, W., Urwin, C., Venn, C. and
    Walkerdine, V. (eds) Changing the subject. London.
    Methuen & Co., London.

Herman, J. (1981) Father-daughter incest. Cambridge,
    Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Hollway, W. (1984) Gender difference and the production of
    subjectivity, in Henriques, J., Hollway, W., Urwin,
    C., Venn, C. and Walkerdine, V. (eds). Changing the
    subject. London. Methuen & Co.

Kempe, R.S. and Kempe, C.H. (1984) The common secret. New
    York. W.H.Freeman and Co.

Laplanche, J. and Pontalis,, J.-B. (1973) The language of
    psychoanalysis. London. The Hogarth Press.

MacKinnon, Catherine A. (1982) Feminism, Marxism, Method,
    and the State: an agenda for theory. Signs: Journal
    of Women in Culture and Society 7, 3, 515-544.

McIntosh, Mary (1978) Who needs prostitutes? The ideology
    of male sexual needs, in Smart, C. and Smart, B. (Eds)
    Women, sexuality and social control. London.
    Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Meiselman, Karen (1980) Personality characteristics of
    incest history psychotherapy patients: a research
    note. Archives of Sexual Behaviour 9, 195-197.

Mestrovic, Stjepan G. (1985) A sociological
    conceptualization of trauma. Social Science Medicine
    21, 8, 835-848.

Moscovici, S. (1961) La psychoanalyse - son image et son
    public. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Moscovici, S. (1984) The phenomenon of social
    representations, in Farr, R. and Moscovici, S. (Eds)
    Social representations. London. Cambridge University
    Press.

Oakley, A. (1974) Housewife: high value low cost.
    Harmondsworth. Penguin Books.

Ortner, Sherry B. and Whitehead, Harriet (1981) Sexual
    meanings: the social construction of gender and
    sexuality. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.

Owens, T. H. (1982) Personality characteristics of female
    psychotherapy patients with a history of incest. Ph.D.
    thesis, Rosemead School of Psychology, La Mirada,
    Calif.

Riger, Stephanie and Gordon, Margaret T. (1981) The fear of rape: a study in social control. Journal of Social Issues, 37, 4, 71-92.

Riger, Stephanie, Gordon, M.T. and Le Bailly, R. (1978) Women's fear of crime: from blaming to restricting the victim. Victimology: An International Journal, 3, 3-4, 174-284.

Riley, Denise (1983) War in the nursery. London: Virago Press Limited.

Russell, Diana E.H. (1983) The incidence and prevalence of intrafamilial and extrafamilial sexual abuse of female children. Child Abuse & Neglect, 7, 133-146.

Russell, Diana E.H. (1986) The common secret. New York Basic Books.

Sampson, E.E. (1986) What has been inadvertently rediscovered? A commentary. Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 16, 1, 33-40.

Sanday, Peggy R. (1981) The socio-cultural context of rape: a cross cultural study. Journal of Social Issues, 37, 4, 5-27.

Sarbo, Anita J. (1984) Childhood molestation: adult personality correlates and predictors of trauma. George State University. Ph.d. Thesis.

Sayers, Janet (1986) Sexual contradictions: psychology, psychoanalysis and feminism. London. Tavistock Publications.

Schachter, S. (1964) The interaction of cognitive and physiological determinants of emotional state, in L. Berkowitz (Ed) Advances in experimental social psychology Vol.1. New York. Academic Press,

Scott, R.L. and Stone, D.A. (1986) MMPI measures of psychological disturbance in adolescent and adult victims of father-daughter incest. _Journal of Clinical Psychology_ 42, 2, 251-259.

Stanko, E.A. (1985) _Intimate intrusions: women's experience of male violence_. London. Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Steele, B.F. and Alexander, H. (1981) Long term effects of sexual abuse in childhood. In P. Mrazek and C.H. Kempe (Eds), _Sexually abused children and their families_. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Watters, W.W. (1983) Is incest harmful? Letter concerning Henderson's article, and Henderson's response to letter. _Canadian Journal of Psychiatry_, 28, 6, 501-504.

Weeks, Jeffrey (1981) _Sex, politics and society: the regulation of sexuality since 1800_. London. Longman.

Wetherell, M. (1982) Socio-psychological and literary accounts of femininity, in P. Stringer (Ed) _Confronting social issues: applications of social psychology_, Vol. 2. London. Academic Press.

Wetmore, R.H. (1982) _The effects of early childhood sexual experience on personality_. Ph.D. thesis, University of Arizona.

Walkowitz, Judith R. (1982) Jack the Ripper and the myth of male violence. _Feminist Studies_, 8, 3, 543-574.