

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

**THE PSYCHOSOCIAL EFFECTS OF INCEST ON THE SURVIVOR
CHILDREN AND THEIR NON-OFFENDING PARENTS: AN
ANALYSIS OF FOUR FAMILIES**

RAHEL GEBREMARIAM



JUNE, 2004

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
OF ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE MASTERS OF ARTS IN
SPECIAL NEEDS EDUCATION**

By

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AND THEIR NON-OFFENDING PARENTS: AN ANALYSIS OF FOUR
FAMILIES

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to survivors of child sexual abuse and their parents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My deepest and heartfelt gratitude is due to my advisor, Dr. R.Sreevalsa Kumar for his constructive criticism, insightful comments and unreluctant follow-up of the progress of the study. I am also grateful to Professor Titussew Teffera for his invaluable advises and comments while initiating the research idea.

A very special thanks to all incest survivor children and their non-offending parents who volunteered to be interviewed and shared their experience and emotions frankly and honestly on such a sensitive issue.

I would also like to acknowledge the Addis Ababa University for providing me financial support to carry out the study.

Last but not least, I thank my husband, parents, sister and brothers for their encouragement and unreserved support.

Thank you, all!!

ABSTRACT

This study attempts to examine the psychosocial effects of incest on the survivor children and their non-offending parents. Data were collected from four incest survivor children and their non-offending parents residing in Addis Ababa. In-depth interview were held with all the respondents using interview guide. Then the data were analyzed qualitatively- case-by-case.

The data collected from the survivor children were analyzed using the Traumagenic Models of the Effects of Child Sexual Abuse developed by Finkelhor and Browne (1988). Initially, an attempt is made to describe the main sources of trauma and how it caused injury on the child's psychosocial functioning. Accordingly, early sexual engagement, pressure for secrecy/retracting charge, shocked reaction of significant others upon disclosure, blaming children for the events, manipulating child's trust, love and vulnerability; lack of support and/or protection of significant others upon disclosure, inability to protect oneself from abuse or halt the abuse, offenders' use of force/threat are identified as the major traumatic factors in incestuous abuse. The result revealed that these traumatic factors led survivor children manifest various kinds of negative emotions. These includes aversion to intimate relationship, promiscuity, guilt, shame, lowered self esteem, sense of differentness, grief, depression, mistrust- particularly of men, anger, hostility, anxiety, lowered sense of efficacy, dissociation, isolation, etc.

The non-offending parents (mothers) have also passed through various psychosocial problems. These includes shock, anger, sense of betrayal, anxiety, depression, isolation, fear of retaliation, problems in interaction with other family members, marriage disruption which in turn led to economic problem etc. The study could conclude that incest is a problem, which affects the entire family.

Finally, being supportive and non-judgmental to the survivor children upon disclosure, provision of integrated psychological, financial and legal support to both the survivor children and their non-offending parents, speeding up the court process are recommended to help the direct and indirect victims of incestuous abuse to reduce/overcome their negative emotions. Provision of culture specific and age appropriate sex education to children, empowering women in all life aspects, upgrading the knowledge of persons who works with children on identification of ongoing sexual abuse, provision of public education program on issues of child sexual abuse are among the factors that are recommended to prevent incest.

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

AIDS- Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

CRC- Convention on the Rights of Children

EPRDF- Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front

HIV- Human Immune Virus

IFSO- Integrated Family Service Organization

PTSD- Post Traumatic Stress Disorder

WACSAP- Washington Alliance Concerned with School Age Parents

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

Children are believed to be the seeds that ensure the perpetuation of human race. They will grow up into youth and then into adult who will eventually play a vital role in the development of their nations. That is why we say the future of the world is in the hands of children.

Children can guarantee better future only when their rights are respected and maintained. This is because; childhood is a critical period where the child develops physiologically, psychologically and socially. The 'self' is being shaped. Relations to one's own internal states are established. Coping and interpersonal skills are developed (McGregor, 2000). If proper care, protection and support are not rendered to children in this critical period of development, then their development will be hampered, leading to maladjustment.

Children face diverse hazards to their development and one of such incidences emanate from sexual abuse. How worse the damage would be if family members, who are supposed to give the maximum protection, perpetrate the abuse?

Legally, incest is defined as sexual contact with a child by a member of the family, where if adults, the law would forbid their marriage. Psychologically, incest is defined as the use of a child by any person serving in a care taking capacity or in a position of authority over a child, to meet his/her own sexual needs. This includes parents, stepparents, grandparents, older siblings, uncles, etc. The sexual act may include physical contact or non-physical contact. This indicated that any type of sexual relationship between a child and an adult is illegal (http://www.geocities.com/Napa_Valley/1904/info.html).

Such relationship is not only illegal but often called "the ultimate taboo" in human society (Finkelhor, 1979:85). However, the taboo did not prevent the incestuous act; but it only made the case to be held secretly. As a result, determining the prevalence of interfamilial sexual abuses is difficult in any country of the world.

Nevertheless, research findings are somehow consistent in identifying child sexual abuse perpetrators as trusted persons and often are family members (Finkelhor, 1979; Finney, 1992; Munro, 2000). A study conducted by Gobena (1998) to find out the prevalence of sexual abuse in Ethiopia also revealed the same fact; strangers committed only 3% of the abuses. This indicates that children are betrayed by someone they love and trust. Such incidences evoke the greatest emotional response because children are traumatized in their own home environment where they are supposed to receive care, protection and love.

Many researchers indicated that childhood sexual experiences with relatives are specially upsetting because it thwarts the natural development of trust, independence and self-esteem by generating fear, guilt, self-loathing and isolation and many other psychosocial problems (Finkelhor & Browne, 1988; Prendergast, 1993; Swenson & Hanson, 1998). Besides, the incidence may expose children to HIV/AIDS, which in turn could aggravate the psychosocial problem of the survivor and the entire family, too.

Considering the societal perceptions and attitudes towards incest it could be hypothesized that the effect of incest is not limited to the survivor child; it could also affect the psychosocial functioning of the entire family. In other words, the incidence may disrupt the family dynamics.

The taboo usually prevents the child from talking about the incidence and hence fails to get the proper support. If the incidence is disclosed in anyway the survivor child and the family could be stigmatized. In short, the experience usually introduces a secret or a tension, not just between the child and the offender, but between the child and other close relatives too (Finkelhor, 1979). Hence, the aim of the study will be investigating the psychosocial effects of incestuous relationship on the survivor children and their non-offending parents.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The statistics on child sexual abuse are alarming. Many researchers have made it clear that in majority of molestation cases the perpetrators are adults' known to the victim and often are relatives (e.g. Finney, 1992; Munuro, 2000). The study conducted by Gobena (1998) also showed that this fact is true in Ethiopian context. Thus, most sexual abuse is incest.

This indicates that incest happens much more than people might (or want to) believe. Sadly, most cases go unreported, so the full magnitude of this problem remains hidden. In Ethiopia, the question of incest seems intentionally avoided despite its prevalence as it is the ultimate taboo, which could incriminate the basic social institution, including the family. Hence, the less said about is the better. Due to this reason seems that research studies conducted in the area are almost nil.

Whatever may be the reason for not giving due attention to the problem, most researchers believe that such experiences with close family members are potentially more traumatic than those with acquaintances or strangers (Finkelhor, 1979; Russel, 1988). It is assumed that the survivors are not the only one who would be subjected to a number of intense pressure that are apt to create a considerable internal conflict but also the family, as the incidence is a serious taboo. Therefore, having considered the reality and assumptions, the study will focus on investigating the psychosocial effects of incest on the survivor children and their non-offending parents.

More specifically, the study will address the following research questions.

- What kind of psychosocial problems did the survivor children experience?
- What are the copings strategies adopted by the survivor children to deal with the situation?
- What kind of psychosocial problems did the non-offending parents of the survivor children experience?
- What is the impact of the incestuous relationship in the family interaction?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The study has the following general and specific objectives.

1.3.1 General Objective

To investigate the psychosocial effects of incest on the survivor children and their non-offending parents in Addis Ababa.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives of the Study

- To investigate the psychosocial problems experienced by incest survivor children
- To find out how survivor children attempted to cope up with the situation
- To investigate the psychosocial problems experienced by non-offending parents as the result of the abuse of their children
- To find out the impact of the incestuous relationship on the family interaction
- To forward possible prevention mechanisms of incest and intervention strategies for survivor children and their families

1.4 Significance of the study

The study is believed to have the following importance:

- Motivates concerned bodies to give due attention to the problems and play an active role in reducing such incidences.
- Gives insight to Governmental and Non-Governmental Organizations on the importance of designing possible intervention program for the survivor children and their families.
- To the knowledge of the researcher, there has not been a focused research endeavor undertaken on the psychosocial effects of incest on the survivor children and particularly on their non-offending parents in Ethiopia. Hence, the study will bridge this gap and may serve to break the silence in the issue.

1.5 Delimitation of the Study

- The respondents of the study were only those survivor children, who are in between the ages of ten to eighteen, as it is believed that these children could express themselves very well, understand the purpose of the study and hence do not feel embarrassed as the issue raised. Santrock (1997) also noted that children with the mentioned age groups are more logical, idealistic and able to think abstractly.

- Involving extra familial reporters (e.g. siblings, neighbors, teachers, peers, etc) was considered in the initial plan of the study in order to cross check the self-reported information and also to determine how the problem gets generalized (e.g., at school versus home on the survivors case). However, due to the secrecy nature of the incidence, it is found to be somehow unethical and/or unpractical to involve these people for the sake of getting additional information.
- The non-offending parent, the father, of case (4A) child did not involve in the study as it is learned that he denied the case.
- The study is delimited to Addis Ababa because, for one thing, it is generally believed that children and their parents are more open to share the damage of incestuous abuse than those living outside as the former are exposed to various urban influences. The other reason is the belief that poor recording would be severe problem in regions as the researcher faced the problem while assessing different responsible organizations in Addis Ababa to select possible respondents.
- The study delimited itself on incestuous abuse that involves physical contact only while the definition encompasses the non-physical contacts, too. This is because of the obvious reason that people do not tend to report such experiences, as many perceive as an abuse when merely there is vaginal penetration. The expectation was also confirmed during assessing possible respondents of the study.

1.6 Limitations

- Due to absence of any reported case of sexual abuse perpetrated on male child, it was not able to involve any as research participant
- Lack of literatures to review on the psychosocial effects of incest on the non-offending parents

1.7 Definitions of Operational Terms

Child – The Ethiopian Convention on the Rights of the child defined child as a person who has not attained the full age of eighteen years (CRC, 1992).

Incest - sexual contact between family members (an adult & a child). The contact involves sexual intercourse, mutual masturbation, hand-genital or oral-genital contact & sexual fondling (Denny & Quadagno, 2000).

Non-offending parents- parents who did not participate in the incestuous abuse

Offender- is a person who committed sexual abuse on a child that he/she is related by birth, marriage or adoption.

Psychosocial Effects –Internalized (e.g. depression, guilty feelings, etc.) and/or externalized (e.g. aggression, social isolation, etc) pattern of unacceptable behaviors experienced by survivor children and their non-offending parents as the result of the incidence of incest.

Survivor- a child who has been through an experience of incest.

CHAPTER TWO

A Review of Related Literature

2.1 Defining Incestuous Abuse

The term incest came from a Latin word meaning "impure" (King, 1996). It refers to sexual relations between two family members whose marriage would be proscribed by law or custom.

Incestuous relationship between children and adults is considered to be illegal and taboo even if children appear to consent passively or even cooperate. Because children can not give informed consent to sex with adults and they do not have the freedom to say 'yes' or 'no' especially when the adult propositioned the child is a parent or relative (Gorman, 1991 in Olson & De Frain, 2000). Posner (1992) has also stressed that there is no age of consent for incest since it is illegal for all ages. The other reason why incestuous relationship is illegal is that, this type of mating has the highest probability of defective offspring (Posner, 1992; Neal et al., 1996).

Incest, as explained earlier, is a sexual relationship between people who are too closely related to marry. However, various scholars explain the degree of "closeness" in different ways. For instance, the International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences (1968) considers a relationship as incestuous abuse when it is happened between members of a nuclear family. Hence, incest is a sexual relationship between any two members of a nuclear family except husband and wife, that is, between parents and children or any sibling pairs (Mead, 1968 in Shepherd, 1983).

Though many writers label all kinds of sexual relationship between any extended family members as incestuous abuse (e.g. Lochrenberg & Stanton, 1995; Neal et al., 1996; Olson & DeFrain, 2000), others (e.g. Benward & Densen-Gerber's, 1975 in Courtious & Sprei, 1988; Poore, 2000) do not agree in limiting the perpetrators to immediate or biological family members only. They extend the limit to anyone who is known to the victim, and has contact with the child in a familiar and/or a household setting.

Accordingly, (Blume, 1990:4), defines incestuous abuse as "the imposition of sexually inappropriate acts, or acts with sexual overtones ... by one or more person who derive authority through ongoing emotional bonding with that child". This definition of incest, in its list of possible perpetrators, includes: extended family members, regular visitors to the household, family friends, private tutors, priests, family physicians, and household workers. What is emphasized here is, the ultimate betrayal of children by people who are supposed to be their protectors, comforters, and closest friends. Since the distinction of family versus non-family does not always reflect the closeness of the relationship between two people, it is considered as an abuse of a power relationship, not necessarily a blood relationship. Hence, it is pointed out that abuse by a trusted neighbor may actually be more betraying than abuse by a distant uncle or grandfather. Many researchers, however, suggested that the effect of the abuse becomes worse as the blood relationship of the offender to the victim gets closer (Finkelhor & Browne, 1988; Russel, 1986 cited in Trepper & Barreh, 1989; Neal et al., 1996).

Researchers have reached in consensus that any form of direct or indirect sexual activities between a child and an adult relative is considered as incestuous since it is motivated by the adults' need and involves a child, who by virtue of her/his age and position in life, is unable to give consent. It is stressed that it is not fair and appropriate to distinguish sexual intercourse and other sexual activities, calling the former incest and ignoring the later. Accordingly, it is noted that sexual abuse involves physical contact (oral, anal and vaginal penetration; mutual masturbation or sexual fondling and kissing) and/or non-physical contact abuses (use of dirty languages, exhibition, voyeurism exposing children to adult sexual activity or pornographic movies or photographs etc) (Russel, 1984 in Trepper and Barrah, 1989; Munuro, 2000; Poore, 2002).

In general, any act that is intended to sexually stimulate the child, or sexual stimulation of the offending adult using the child, can be considered as incest. However, to label an act as an abusive and illegal between the offender and the victim, the relationship should be viewed against socially determined regulations. This is to mean that not all behaviors that are sexual or involve sexual organs would

necessarily be defined as sexual abuse. For instance, in some societies children's genitals are fondled to amuse and please them, calm them or lull them to sleep (Ford & Beach, 1951 in Korbin, 1987). As Davison & Neale (1990) also indicated, there are societies that have approved incestuous relationships. Among these the marriages of Egyptian pharaohs to their sisters or other females of their immediate families with the intention of preventing the royal blood from being 'contaminated' by outsiders can be mentioned. Hence, such behaviors not proscribed in that society, cannot be labeled as abusive (Korbin, 1987).

However, despite such rare cases, the incest taboo is virtually universal among all human races. In Ethiopia, as many countries in the world, such kind of behavior is considered taboo and unacceptable. In line with this, the law (Art.621) clearly indicated that incest is illegal to all age and hence the act is subjected to punishment. It also showed that the punishment would be more severe when committed on young people (Hillina, 1997).

2.2 Prevalence of Incest

The most hidden and unreported form of violence against children is sexual abuse, particularly when it is interfamilial. It is believed that only 2% of adult-child incestuous relations came to the attention of authorities. And this makes it difficult to state the prevalence rate of incest in any country (Russell, 1988). Hence, the prevalence can only be guessed. Estimates suggested that in USA parents or guardians abuse 50,000 children sexually each year. In a more concrete study done on 796 New England College Students, it is found out that 19.2% of woman and 8.6 % of men had been sexually abused. Among these, 43% of the female and 33% of the male had been abused by a family member by the time they are eighteen (Finkelhor, 1979). In general, it is believed that one out of three girls and one out of seven boys are sexually abused by the time they reach eighteen (Bass & Davis, 1988).

Even though it is difficult to get official statistics on the prevalence rate of incest, research findings showed that children mainly abused by a family member and/or a known person than strangers (Finkelhor, 1979; Swenson & Hanson, 1998; Munro, 2000). Finney (1992) noted that 80% of sexual abuse is committed by a family member or someone known to the victim. Thus, most sexual abuse is incest. This

fact also seems true in the Ethiopian context. A study conducted by Gobena (1998) indicated that prevalence of child sexual abuse in the general society of Ethiopia is 38.5%. Among these, 68% of the children found to be abused by someone they knew and about 29% by family members. Strangers abused only 3% of the children. This implies that in Ethiopia sexual abuse by strangers is not as common as sexual abuse by family members. Therefore, young people are at risk mostly with those living with them, related to them, or acquainted with them.

2.3 The Nature of Incestuous Relationship

2.3.1 Father-Daughter Incest

Of all kinds of incestuous relationships the one that evokes the greatest emotional response is father-daughter incest. Unfortunately, experiences with clientele of both ordinary psychotherapy and special centers organized to treat victims of incestuous families indicated that father-daughter incest is rampant and of epidemic proportions (Finkelhor, 1979). For instance, it is found out that one woman in one hundred reported a sexual experience with her father or stepfather (Herman, 1981).

Father-daughter incest generally begins when the daughter is between six and eleven years old and it continues for at least two years (Stark, 1984 in Sue et al., 1997). The relationship generally involves frequent, long-term abuse, and in many cases there is vaginal and/or anal penetration. These are precisely the factors that often cause the greatest long-term harm in child molestation cases (Beitchman et al., 1992; Kendall-Tackett et al., 1993 in King, 1996).

The fundamental problem with father-daughter incest is the violation of trust by an important person. The father's sexual misuse of his daughter is clearly an abuse of the social role (Cossins, 2000). Geiser (1979) explained the nature of such experience as follows:

Of father, of power, and of parental authority over a child. To make it worse, this offense occurs in the context of a supposedly caring relationship. It is this caring relationship that precludes any need for force in most cases. The child is not raped but seduced by the father. It is worse than an assault, it is a betrayal. The child grows up distinguishing adults and men in particular (in Zinn & Eitzen, 1999: 355).

According to Rist (1979), there are three types of incestuous fathers. The first is a socially isolated man who is highly dependent on his family for interpersonal relationships, and, thus, gradually involves into a sexual relationship with his daughter. The second type is a father who has a psychopathic personality and as a result failed to discriminate in choosing sexual partner. The third type is a father who has pedophilic tendencies and is sexually involved with several children, including his daughter (in Sue et al., 1997).

People who have a specific and focused sexual interest in prepubescent children are considered as having personality disorder. They are engaged in sexual activity with youngsters precisely because he/she is sexually immature. Such fathers are referred as fixated offenders, to mean that they have emerged from their own childhood with a sexual orientation towards children (Neale et al., 1996). Those individuals, who may have had an adequate sexual relationship with an adult but due to the presence of a particular crisis, for example, the illness or death of a partner, finding themselves turning towards children, are referred as 'regressed offenders' (Bentovim et al., 1988 in Knowles, 1996).

Apart from the mentioned possible causes that drive incestuous father to commit the crime on their own daughters, researchers have also attempted to explain their unique characteristics. For instance, L'Abate and Baggelt (1997: 21) noted that fathers who sexually molest their daughters' are falling in no-self category which is shown interpersonally in the "I lose, You lose, We both lose" position, where no importance is attributed to either the self or others. As a result, they are specialized to defeat themselves and others. In regard with their specific characteristics, it is found out that they tend to be very devout, moralistic, and fundamentalist in their religious beliefs (Gebhard et al., 1965 in Neal et al., 1996) and apt to be somewhat neglectful as parents and emotionally distant from their children (Madonna et al., 1991 in Neal et al., 1996).

Others, however, indicated that in such family systems the father usually plays the dominant role while the mother and children assume a subordinate role. As a result, mothers may fail to limit the behavior of their spouses even if they are aware that their children are being sexually abused (Dawson, 1982 cited in Knowles, 1996). They become silent bystanders because their emotional and /or economic dependence on

their husband prevent them from confronting the situation (Anderson, 1993 in Zinn and Eitzen, 1996). Hence, such unhealthy family system, which is based on inequality of power and rights, is believed to contribute its own part for the widespread of sexual abuse. This notion is also emphasized by Herman (1981: 206) as follows, " As long as the father rule not nurture, as long as the mother nurture not rule, the conditions favoring the development of father-daughter incest will prevail."

Posner (1992) explained the typical setting in which father-daughter incest usually occurs. These include:

- A) Where marital discord and poor sexual relationship between the parents is common;
- B) When there is no interest on the father's side to seek sexual relationship outside of the family;
- C) When there is conscious or unconscious condonation on the part of the mother about the relationship between father and daughter
- D) When there is role reversal between mother and daughter, which makes the daughter the central female figure in the home with the responsibility of satisfying the needs of the father.

Herman (1981:45) emphasizes this role reversal setting as a major contributing factor for father-daughter incest. She explains it as follows:

The families adapt to this stressful situation by reassigning many of the mother's traditional obligations to the oldest daughter. The family may come to rely on this daughter for a large part of a housework and childcare and for emotional support and comfort. For the daughter, the duty to fulfill her father's sexual demands may evolve almost as an extension of her role as 'little mother' in the family.

In such situation, incest is believed to have a purpose to hold the family together as the daughter taking over the wife's sexual role (Cossins, 2000). The family system model goes beyond attributing the responsibility to non-offending mother but also to the daughter. In this case, the child's seductive and pleasing personality believed to be a cause for the father evil act (Ryan, 1971 in Davison & Neale, 1990).

Hence, the offender viewed as "the victims of dominant mothers, ill-tempted wives, or seductive daughters" (Brickman, 1984 in Courtois & Sprei, 1988:283). This notion however, criticized by feminists and other theorists due to their unfair implication that families are functional when men needs are met (Cossins, 2000).

2.3.2 Mother- son incest

It will not be difficult to guess how the incidence of mother-son incest could be low since 95% of the perpetrators of girls are men and 80% of the perpetrators of boys are also men (Finkelhor, 1984). Therefore, of all sexual abuse statistics, mother-son incest is found to be the least reported (Sue et al., 1997). As many research findings indicate, mothers are not involved in such in direct sexual abuse activities with their children, but blamed for their indirect contribution of the incidence (Prendergast, 1993).

Though it is implied that the prevalence rate of mother-son incest is very low compared to other incestuous relationships, it will leave a permanent scar on the boy and will affect all of his sexual relationships if it happens in any ways even once. It is also noted that as the relationship prolongs the shame and guilt will also magnify especially where sexual pressure is experienced. As a result, the disclosure of the incidence in such cases is nearly impossible as the victim child fears damaging his mother's reputation, the dramatic reaction of his peers and especially his father's (Prendergast, 1993).

2.3.3 Siblings' Incest

Sibling incest can occur between brother and sister, brother and brother, and sister and sister. The most common category is brother-sister incest. The rate of sibling incest (brother-sister) is estimated to be at least five times higher than parent child incest (King, 1996).

The impact of sibling incest is in debate by researchers. Many researchers argue that although brother-sister incest violates norms and is against social acts, it does not create an intense rivalry, which threatens to upset all family roles; as it does in father-daughter incest (e.g. Finkelhor, 1979; Forward & Buck, 1978 in King, 1996). However, it is pointed out that an important determining factor regarding the possible psychological factors operative in a sibling incest relationship is the age difference between the siblings

and use of force (Finkelhor, 1979; Prendergast, 1993). In line with this, it is noted that if the experience occurs between siblings nearly of the same age, like less than 4 to 5 years age difference, and if there is no force it can be considered just as "sex play" and believed to be less traumatic (Russel, 1988; King, 1996). But, evidences indicated that a substantial portion of sibling incest involves much older partners and some coercion, hence it may be traumatic as intergenerational sex (Finkelhor, 1979).

2.3.4 Relative Incest

Like wise the situation in parental incest, the trauma in relative incest doubles since there is an implicit trust in a relative that does not exist with a stranger. A sense of personal betrayal results, especially when the sexual behavior is discovered or the survivor is caught in with his uncle or aunt or other relatives. A survivor child usually experiences anger since she had assumed that the attention from a relative was motivated *by* sincere concern and love. It is only when the incidence is disclosed or the relationship is stopped the child manages to realize that she was "conned" and "used" (Prendergast, 1993).

Having briefed about the nature of incestuous relationship it is also worth mentioning of their family dynamics.

2.4 Dynamics of Incestuous Families

It is indicated that molesters come from every walks of life. Therefore, incestuous relationship can be found in families of all religion and socioeconomic background (Rosen & Rosen, 1981 in Dawson & Neale, 1990; Yemataw, 2003). Other evidence, however, indicates that incestuous families usually have distinct features. For instance, Olson & De Frain (2000) explained that incestuous families tend to be withdrawn and suffer from social, psychological and physical isolation and try to meet most of their individual needs within the nuclear family. Besides, it is pointed out that such families lack appropriate boundaries between family members across generational lines. In such families, role reversal between parents and children is also found to be common (Knowles, 1996).

More specifically, Daro (1988) pointed out three family systems in which incest apparently occurs. The first type consists of families that are generally not known to the public service system, although isolated,

will appear normal to most observers. As it is emphasized by Courtois (1988) in Olson & De Frain (2000), such normal appearing families from the outside, however, are in trouble because the family members lack emotional energy and are unable to nurture one another. The abuse in these families is generally non-violent, with the father obtaining compliance through assertion of his parental authority, or by playing on the daughter's need for acceptance and love. In contrast, the second type of family is chaotic style family. They are stereotypical incestuous family and tend to display the violent characteristics noted among physically abusive families. They also tend to be of low socio-economic status, and many of the members in the family are only marginally functional with educational and vocational achievements. It is also indicated that abusers in chaotic-style family are more likely to be punished for incest than abusers in a normal appearing family (Courtois, 1988 in Olson & De Frain, 2000). Finally, the third type of family reported for sexual abuse is the "single-event family", where abuse has occurred when the perpetrator was drunk or on drugs (Daro, 1988).

The profiles of abusive families implied that certain psychosocial factors like high level of alcohol, violence, unemployment, absence of sexual partner, and considerable incidence of marital problems and sexual difficulties are much more common (Bentovim et al., 1988 cited in Knowles, 1996). It is noted that in such families the mother is usually negligent and characterized as "passive, dependent personalities with low self-esteem who is deprived of self-fulfillment within the family" (Dawson, 1982 in Knowles, 1996:140). Besides the negligent character, mothers in incestuous families are found to be lacking social skills, isolated, psychologically and financially dependent upon their husbands as well as emotionally immature. Therefore, this psychopathology believed to be the reason that made mothers powerless within their families and fail to protect their children (Dawson, 1982 in Knowles, 1996).

2.5 The Psychosocial Effects of Incest on the survivor children

With regard to the question of how serious the effects of incest on the survivor children, research findings revealed three contradicting outcomes. Some researchers argue that although incest is generally unpleasant, the vast majority of sexual offenses against children are rather innocuous affair and the

hazards they may cause is transient. This group believes that even if such experiences are frightening to the child the effect could be similar with a ride on airplane in that the pain passes quickly (Landis, 1956; Yurukoclu & Kempf, 1969 in Finkelhor, 1979).

At the most extreme are those theories that hold that incest is not real but constitutes 'oedipal' wishes in the part of the child. Hence, incest is not considered necessarily harmful to the daughter, since she is the seductive party who gains pleasure, gratification and power (Bender and Blau, 1937 in Wolf et al, 1988).

The other group, in fact, the majority of researchers believe that the survivor children usually suffer many of the same severe consequences as do adult woman who have been raped. This includes, , crying, depression, withdrawal, acting out and subsequently a sense of shame, guilt, hopelessness, worthlessness, and negative self concept (Finkelhor, 1979; Asher, 1988; Yemataw, 2003).

In general, many researchers agree that children who have been sexually abused can suffer a range of psychological and behavioral problems, which in turn affect their personal life as well as social relation. In relation to this, different researchers have come up with different models to explain the effect of sexual abuse on the survivor child, both in short and long term. For instance, traumagenic model is one that could be mentioned. This model explicitly indicates how sexual abuse survivors see the world, self and others, and its effect on their psychosocial functioning (Finkelhor & Browne, 1988).

Traumagenic Model of the Effects of Child Sexual Abuse

Finkelhor and Browne and (1988) explained the possible short term/immediate and long-term effect of sexual abuse based on four traumagenic dynamics. These dynamics are described as main sources of trauma in child sexual abuse. It is suggested that the dynamics to be seen as a clustering of injurious influences with a common theme rather than separate factors.

The first is *Traumatic sexuality* and it refers to a process in which a child's sexuality (including both sexual feelings and sexual attitudes) is shaped in a developmentally inappropriate and interpersonally dysfunctional fashion as a result of sexual abuse. This can happen in a variety of ways in the course of the

abuse. It can occur when a child is repeatedly rewarded by an offender for sexual behavior that is inappropriate to his or her level of development or through the exchange of affection, attention, privileges, and gifts for sexual behavior, so that a child learns sexual behavior as a strategy for manipulating others to meet his/her other developmentally appropriate needs (Finkelhor & Browne, 1988). Hence, sex remains a payment for love, acceptance and delusional belonging (Prendergast, 1993), which leads to development of hypersexual behavior (Kimmel & Weiner, 1995).

The second is *stigmatization* and it refers to the negative connotations like, badness, shame, and guilt that are communicated to the child by the experiences, and then becomes incorporated into the child's self-image. These negative meanings are communicated in many ways. They can come directly from the abuser, who may blame the victim for the activity, denigrate the victim, or, simply through his furtiveness, convey a sense of shame about the behavior (Finkelhor & Browne, 1988).

It is also explained that stigmatization can be reinforced by attitudes that the victims infer or hears from other persons in the family or community. Stigmatization may thus grow out of the child's prior knowledge or sense that the activity is considered deviant and taboo. In anyways, the sense of stigma is identified as the main source of victim's child sense of guilt, shame, lowered self-esteem and sense of differentness (Finkelhor & Browne, 1988; Prendergast, 1993).

Negative reactions of significant others also pointed out as a major factor that gravitate many incest survivors to prostitution, because this way of life identifies and affirms their feelings of badness and satisfies their self-destructive urges. Several studies of female prostitutes have found that many of them were sexually abused as children. Particularly, children who are abused by their fathers tend to join prostitution, because they are forced to pay with their body for affection, which should be given freely (Herman, 1981; Finkelhor & Browne, 1988; Russel, 1997).

The third is *betrayal* and it refers to the dynamic in which children discover that someone on whom they are vitally dependent has caused them harm. This may occur when children realized that a trusted person has manipulated them through lies or misrepresentations about moral standards or

someone whom they loved, whose affection was important to them treated them with callous disregard (Finkelhor & Browne, 1988). Children can experience betrayal not only at the hands of offenders, but also with family members who was unable to protect or believe them - or who has a changed attitude towards them after disclosure of the abuse (Finkelhor & Browne, 1988; Prendergast, 1993; Swenson and Hanson, 1998). Prendergast (1993) has indicated that the physical act is not damaging as the labeling of parents, siblings, friends, police and even therapist. This implies that the level of trauma highly depends on the reaction of significant others and not merely on what happened on the abuse. The sense of betrayal is believed to lead children to mistrust people, experience grief, anger, hostility, depression, etc (Finkelhor & Browne, 1988).

The final, is *Powerlessness /disempowerment* and it refers to the process in which the child's will, desires, and sense of efficacy are continually contravened. The possible contributing factor for this dynamic is when a child's territory and body space are repeatedly invaded against the child's will. The feeling of powerlessness increases when the child feels fear, unable to convince adults, or realizes how conditions of dependency have trapped him/her in the situation (Finkelhor & Browne, 1988).

Russell (1997) has also pointed out additional factors that increase the feeling of powerlessness. These are children being trapped by social policies that frequently ignore, discount, or punish child victims of incestuous abuse; being trapped by values that considers children to be the property of their parents, and values that honor family privacy over the well-being of those who have little or no power within these institutions. In general, any kind of situation in which a child feels trapped due to the realization of the consequence of disclosure is believed to create a sense of powerlessness, which leads to anxiety, fear, lowered sense of efficacy, perception of self as a victim, etc. (Finkelhor & Browne, 1988). WACSAP (1995) also noted that learned helplessness inhibits the development of a healthy sense of mastery and competence due to the atmosphere created by the control and coercion of the offender (in Carnes, 1997).

Involvement of force has been identified as the most important factor in determining the level of trauma. Researchers are consistent in their findings that use of coercion and manipulation could exacerbate the psychological problem of the survivor and particularly their feeling of powerlessness (Finkelhor & Browne, 1988; Herman et al., 1986 in Sue et al., 1997). In general, children who experienced feelings of powerlessness are likely to develop fear, phobias, anxieties, and somatic complaints etc as a reflection of their failure (inability) to control adverse effects (Finkelhor & Browne, 1988).

2.6 The Psychosocial Effects of Incest on the Families of the Survivor Children

Incest is taboo. Hence, it is possible to understand that the disclosure can directly or indirectly affects the psychosocial well being of everyone in the entire family since it is attached with stigma. Wolf et al., (1988) also stressed that when direct or indirect disclosure of incest happens, all family members should be seen as victims and each should be urged to change behavior and take responsibility.

Russel (1988) noted that the seriousness of the effect of the abuse is related with the closeness of the relationship between the victim and the offender. For instance, if the father committed the crime the family dynamic will be triggered by the abuse in more complicated way than a distant relative. The reaction of the family and the society at large will also be so intense in such situations since it is a serious taboo violation (Finkelhor, 1979).

Clinical experiences have revealed that incestuous families suffer inexplicable pain and suffering as the result of incest and/or its discovery. Particularly, the mother and siblings experience horror and shock that come from disgrace and disbelief. But when they realized that it is a fact, they feel embarrassment, particularly at being labeled as incestuous family, which obviously causes a problem in their social interactions. As a result, the mother feels numb, guilt and betrayal, and siblings also feel shame, anger, fear of the offending parent and the victim (Besharov, 1990).

Research findings have indicated that in case of father-daughter incest many mothers are somehow aware of the situation. And if this is the case, it is believed that the mother could experience guilty feelings due to denial of her conscious awareness that her child is abused (Andersen, 1993 in Zinn & Eitzen, 1996; Dawson, 1982 in Knowles, 1996). The child may also develop a sense of betrayal as the result of her mother's failure to prevent the abusive relationship. This is also true in siblings' case, if they maintain the secret (Finkelhor & Browne, 1988).

Conscious denial is often related to fear of family disintegration, legal consequences and reaction of significant others as well as the society. Economic dependency of the mother is particularly a trap, which prevents her from disclosing the abuse since successful conviction would mean loss of financial support (Knowles, 1996). In short, it is possible to say that the mother is caught in the middle, in choosing between her daughter and husband and no matter whom she chooses she stands to lose a lot. As a result, she may experience powerlessness and victimization, which possibly generates a lot of frustration leading to anger, which is possibly expressed or suppressed or repressed (Besharov, 1990).

The interaction problem between the survivor child and the mother and siblings is not always caused by the child's feeling of betrayal, but also from jealous feelings of the 'special' relationship that has developed between the offending parent and the child (Trepper & Barrett, 1989). The mother's feeling of jealousy is usually due to her suspicion that the daughter may engage in seductive behavior. The other reason that creates an interaction problem between the siblings and the survivor child is the blame on the child for family separation and loss of financial support (Besharov, 1990).

In short, each one may react to the reality of the abuse in one's own way. As a result, significant differences can be created in the ways the family members interact with one another. There may be a decrease in communication among family members, as well as an increase in acting-out behaviors such as displays of hostility, yelling, sudden emotional outbursts, and crying, experience of insomnia, emotional withdrawal, and an increased frequency of nightmares (Trepper & Barrett, 1989). In general, it is noted that

incest could trigger family relationship in a complicated way as the relationship of the victim child and the offender gets closer (Finkelhor, 1979).

2.7 Coping strategies

As the aforementioned discussion showed the psychosocial effects of incest both on the survivor children and the entire family is so immense. Hence, it may raise the question on how these people could possibly manage such a stressful situation in their lives. People respond to stress in different ways. Some may be hurt seriously when something is wrong in their life. Others may have motivation to work hard and seek solution to the problems they face and to successfully adjust to even extremely taxing circumstances. In other words, the situation calls the person's coping capacity. "Coping is the process of managing taxing circumstances, expending efforts to solve personal and interpersonal problems and seeking to master, minimize reduce, or tolerate stress and conflict" (Santrock, 1997: 527). Concerning incest survivor children, it is believed that the effect of the abuse directly related with the child's coping skill among other factors (Denney & Quadagno, 1992).

Billings and Moos (1981) in Santrock (1997) identified three major categories of coping strategies. These includes:

- 1) *Active-Cognitive Strategies*, which refer to coping responses in which individuals actively think about a situation in an effort to adjust more effectively. This includes being prepared for the worst; trying to see the positive side of the situation, consider several alternatives for handling a problem, etc.
- 2) *Active-Behavioral Strategies*, which refers to some kind of action taken by an individual to improve the problematic situation. In other words, it indicates removing at least one of the stressing factors from life. This includes finding out more about the situation, talking to trusted relatives and professionals, getting busy with other things to keep the mind off the problem, etc.

3). *Avoidance Strategy*, which refers to responses that an individual uses to keep stressful circumstances out of his reach so that he/she does not have to, deal with them. This strategy is identified as extremely harmful to one's adjustment because a person who represses an event cannot do it all the time and the true results of trauma can be triggered by some events. Such a strategy can be seen as denial since it includes withdrawing from reality and refusing to acknowledge painful facts.

2.8 Rehabilitation of Incestuous Abuse Survivors and their Families

The impact of sexual abuse is a family problem, not solely a child's problem. Hence, in interfamilial sexual abuse (incest) cases family must participate to increase child safety and parental support, and to reduce the risk of re-abuse (Giaretto, 1992; Ribordy, 1990 in Swenson & Hanson, 1998). The components of the treatment program, hence, should include the survivor child, siblings, non-offending parents and the perpetrator. However, for this particular study, the focus will be on rehabilitation of survivor child and non-offending parent.

2.8.1 Rehabilitation of the survivor child

Child sexual abuse contributes for developmental disruption that laid the basis for interpersonal and social problems in the person's future life, the need to provide rehabilitation services are very essential. Researchers have come up with different techniques to rehabilitate children. These include cognitive behavioral techniques, psycho-education, anxiety management, gradual exposure and etc. Their common task in any way is to address responsibility for the abuse, with absolving the child of blame as one of the components (Swenson & Hanson, 1998).

It is suggested that abuse responsibility to be address into two ways: through individual or group treatment of the child, and through treatment with the offender and family (Swenson & Hanson, 1998). To this effect, three preconditions have to be fulfilled. These are:

- 1) Acceptance of responsibility for the sexual abuse by the offender;
- 2) Presentation of an apology to the victim and the family by the offender;
- 3) Development of a plan by a family for continued child safety and family restructuring (Swenson & Hanson, 1998).

2.8.2 Non-offending parent treatment

The strength and supportiveness of the relationship between the non-offending parent and her sexually abused child (ren) has been observed by many researchers as an important element in the recovery of the child from the impact of the abuse (E.g. Finkelhor & Browne, 1988; Prendergast, 1993; Swenson & Hanson, 1998). Engagement of the non-offending parent is, therefore, crucial.

Non-offending parents are expected to play their supportive role starting from the minute the incidence is disclosed. Though it is difficult for parents to accept that a family member had abused their child, controlling emotions are very essential. Parent, therefore, should refrain from uttering verbal disbelief and punishment, or manifesting highly emotional reactions such as revenge and extreme anger, blaming the child directly or indirectly, since such reactions could intensify the child's fear, worry, guilty feeling, etc (Prendergast, 1993; Swenson & Hanson, 1998).

To enable non-offending parents offer unreserved support to their abused child, they need to receive treatment. As Swenson & Hanson (1998) explained the treatment should have the following goals:

- 1) To reduce parents own symptoms (e.g. depression, anxiety, anger) related to their children's sexual abuse
- 2) To strength parents' belief on and support to the victim child.

In cases of sexual abuse, as in other types of child maltreatment, the goal of the intervention is to keep the family intact. The goal of the intervention, however, should never take the precedence over keeping the

child safe from abuse. If it is managed to intact the family, McClendon (1991) recommended the following factors to be considered while providing counseling for the entire family members:

- Therapists should use eco-maps to help parents identify relationships problems, patterns of interaction or social isolation, community resources, and improve social functioning;
- Guideline for perpetrators- how to interact respectfully with the survivors;
- Guideline for mothers - acknowledging the survivor child's feelings and her failure to protect her child; and how to help her child cope up with her feelings;
- Tasks for family therapy - should focus on promoting the equality of husband and wife; identifying and correcting dysfunctional family rules; improving communication in the family; and helping the family maintain healthy boundaries;
- Individual therapy of victims – should incorporate: empowerment, affirmation, and unconditional acceptance.

In Ethiopia, provision of such an integrated rehabilitation service to incest survivor children and the indirect victims (the family) is possible to say that unavailable. One possible reason may be lack of understanding of the magnitude of the problem and its effects. Thus, in order to design effective rehabilitation program for this group of people, one should understand what kind of psychosocial problems these people could face and also what factors could aggravate their problems. This study, therefore, will attempt to answer this basic question.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology of the Study

3.1 Introduction

The major objective of the study is to investigate the psychosocial effects of incest on the survivor children and their non-offending parents. Hence, in order to explore deeply how such incidences could affect the psychosocial functioning of the participants, qualitative research approach is considered to be appropriate. As Gall et al., (1990:53) stated, 'one of the main characteristics of qualitative research is its focus on the intensive study of specific instances, that is, cases of a phenomena'. As qualitative research method is found to be compatible to the nature of the study, it has been applied in the following manner.

3.2 Participants of the study

Participants of the study are four incest survivor children and their non-offending parents. The respondents were selected from an indigenous organization that among others services gives support to sexually abused children whose case is reported. Besides, peers of case (1A) child were approached for interview to supplement the self-reported data as the researcher believed that there will be no harm to be caused as the school community is well aware of the incidence.

3.3 Sampling

Qualitative research naturally recommends purposive sampling method, and hence the same is applied in this study to select the participants of the study.

The factors taken into consideration to select survivor children were the following:

- The survivor child's age should be between ten-eighteen
- The age gap between offender and survivor child should not be less than five years (because sex among peers considered as "sex play" rather than abuse)
- The offender must be a family member related by blood, marriage or adoption.
- The abusive relationship must involve physical contact

Having considered the above mentioned factors, more than the required numbers of possible respondents were identified. Hence, the focus of selection of participants of the actual study directed on identifying cases, which according to the belief of the researcher are relatively common and strange incidences. Cases with common and strange features were considered for the sake of balancing and variety and hence to enable the reader to receive a wide lesson on the phenomenon. It is also believed that understanding the diverse nature of the cases of the problem lead to probable generalization.

Accordingly, case (1A) and case (2A) were identified as strange cases since the abusive relationship carried on between fathers and daughters who are biologically related. Particularly, the abuse being carried on with the awareness of the mother as in case (1A) and the involvement of excessive force as in case (2A) interested the researcher to consider the cases. In relative terms, case (3A) and (4A) were identified as common cases because they are abused by family members who are not related by blood. Incestuous abuse between family members who have no blood relationship is far common and less taboo when compared to the former cases. The non-offending parents were approached after selecting the survivor children.

3.4 Tools

Interview Guide was prepared to collect data from the survivor children and non-offending parents (See Appendix 1 & 2 respectively). The data collection method employed for the peers of case (1A) was unstructured interview and hence no instrument used.

3.5 Procedure of Data Collection & Analysis

The data collection was made in two stages- pilot and main study

3.5.1 Pilot Study

The academic supervisor examined the interview guide and then it was tried out in a pilot study. The pilot study was done on a survivor of incest child and her mother. The child was 17 years old. The offender was her biological father. The abusive relationship was started while she turned to ten and terminated when she reached about fifteen years old.

The respondent's accessibility, geographical convenience and prior relationship established while the researcher was working as a Counselor of rape survivor children in Integrated Family Service Organization (IFSO) were the factors, which prompted the selection of the respondent for the pilot study.

Though the rapport was already established the maximum precautions has taken not to abuse the friendship of the survivor child. This is to say that all ethical considerations that applied to the participants of the actual study were considered even if the respondents showed disinterest.

Then the pilot study was conducted with the following objectives.

- To ensure whether or not the relevant lines of questions are held
- To ensure the appropriateness of data collection plan
- To ensure the selected model (Traumagenic model of the Effects of Child Sexual Abuse) to analyze the effect of incest on the survivor children is applicable and relevant to the purpose of the study.

Lessons learned

- The initial interview question was focused on issues directly related with the incidence. Though this question intended to be raised after establishing rapport still it was found to be causing discomfort. Hence, asking about family structure as entry found to be important as this particular question itself leads to disclosure of the incidence.
- The study finding also helped to refine the data collection plan. Initially it was intended to carryout the interview with the survivor child and after completing the entire sessions to start interviewing the non-offending parent. However, it was found out that it is important to interview them parallely in different days. Unclosed parallel sessions enabled clearing controversial ideas presented by either of them in subsequent sessions.
- As in case of father-daughter incest, the relationship of mother and daughter might be damaged somehow. Hence, the researcher learned to take extreme precaution while cross checking ideas/beliefs raised by one of them so as to avoid anything that further damage the relationship.
- The model is found to be relevant to the purpose of the study.

After such try out, the 'final' interview guide has been developed. But the interview guide was used in a very flexible manner, as the nature of the study itself demanded modification throughout the interview.

3.5.2 Main Study

The following procedures were followed sequentially:

- Permission secured from the NGO stressing on the confidentiality of the data.
- All available files of sexual abuse survivors referred and only those committed by family members and fulfilled the selection criteria were selected.
- As the number of survivor children who fulfilled the selection criteria exceeded the intended figure, four cases, that believed to have somehow common and strange features selected.
- Then the concerned staff of the NGO contacted the selected respondents to ask their willingness to participate in the study.
- As they volunteered to meet the researcher to further discuss on the issue, the researcher fixed appointment and met the mothers of the selected survivor children. They were briefed about the purpose of the study and encouraged to discuss the issue with their child and also to request their willingness. Fortunately, all volunteered as far as their identity will not be revealed.
- Having received the mother's oral and written consent the interview with both the children and non-offending parents went on in places and time they preferred.
- Since the central theme of the research is sensitive, establishing rapport has been found to be essential. Accordingly, before the interview, rapport has been established. The interview was held turn by turn with each family of the survivor child and the non-offending parent.

○ An in-depth interview with peers' of case (1A) also carried on after securing permission initially from the mother of the survivor child and then from the school Director in which these children attend. The interview was held in the school compound. The survivor child's willingness was not requested as she was evacuated (after the interview session completed) from her aunt's house and admitted to a humanitarian organization.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

As the focus of the study forces to deal with the most sensitive and taboo issues, it is worth mentioning the ethical considerations taken into account while collecting data from respondents.

- The research objectives were articulated verbally and in written form to the non-offending parents before meeting the children. Hence, they were in a position to give informed consent. The children were approached after getting the verbal and written consent of parents. The copy of the consent format is held by the non-offending parents as to make them feel safe.
- As the researcher believe that the children also have the right to decide to participate or not, their consent was orally requested despite the willingness of their parents.
- The tape recording was also carried out taking into consideration the willingness of each participant. Hence, as a child showed disinterest to be recorded, her interest was well respected.
- The draft case story was read to the survivor children and their mothers to identify anything that could reveal their identity. Accordingly, a few such changes are made. To mention, the offender's of case (2A) child type of work, living style, family size etc were eliminated upon the non –offending mother request.
- Pseudonyms are used for all cases even in a situation where the mother of (3A) child opted her real name to be mentioned. Because the researcher felt that if the real name of the mother is mentioned it could serve to the invasion of the daughter's privacy.

- The name of the organization in which the participants of the study were selected is kept secretly to avoid any risk that serves for the revelation of their identity. For this reason, the researcher forced not to officially acknowledge the support rendered to her during the selection of the participants.

3.7 Data Analysis

The data collected through an in-depth interview were tape-recorded (except in case 2A child) and hence it transcribed after repeated listening. In the case where tape recording could not be done, short note was taken during the interview and then the full account of the story was written immediately after the interview session was closed.

The collected data were then categorized in a way it could give a meaningful link with the research questions. Following this, the case stories were written-up in a thick and detailed way so as to give a solid framework for anyone interested to compare the findings. In order to ensure the truth value of the data, on going dialogue regarding the researcher's interpretation of the participant's reality and meanings was considered.

Finally, analysis of the data was made case-by-case. Finkelhor & Browne (1988) model of Traumagenic Dynamics of the Effects of Child Sexual Abuse was followed to make the analysis of the survivor children while the effect on the non-offending parents analyzed following the research questions.

CHAPTER FOUR

Case Presentations and Discussions

This chapter encompasses the presentation and discussion of the case histories of the participants of the study. To make the report readers friendly, each presentation is followed by its discussion. In other words, the discussion is made case by case. However, while discussing the cases, information were utilized from the case histories of both the survivor child and her mother to make a comprehensive analysis. The presentation made using first person pronoun (I) with the intention of bringing the cases alive to the reader.

The effects of incest on the survivor children were analyzed following the Traumagenic Model of Finkelhor and Browne (1988). The model describes four dynamics that help to understand the relationship between the experience of child sexual abuse and its immediate and long-term effects. These are: traumatic sexualization, stigmatization, betrayal, and powerlessness. In order to understand their relationships, therefore, an attempt is made to identify the traumagenic dynamics. These dynamics are generally defined as an experience that affect a child's cognitive or emotional orientation to the world and cause trauma by distorting the child's self concept, world view, or affective capacities. Interpretation is also made on how these dynamics have affected the survivors' psychosocial functioning. However, it is noted that, there is no simple one-to-one correspondence among the traumagenic dynamics and the effects but it is just to indicate that there is some clear general clustering.

The effects of the incestuous abuse on the non-offending parents were analyzed using the research questions as leads.

Case presentation-(1A)

(Martha)

Introduction

The case was reported before 10 months of the interview. It was selected for its strange feature. The incestuous relationship existed for eight years with the awareness of the mother. Meanwhile, Martha denied the case in the courtroom and the researcher was advised by the concerned staff not to consider the child, in fear that she would not share her experiences. But the researcher decided to go on as it stimulated her nerves for further enquiries. How can a victim deny her misery? Or, Was the case fictitious in the first place?

Martha has been living with her aunt at the moment therefore the researcher went to the aunt's house after securing the consent of the mother. The researcher introduced herself to the aunt and explained the purpose of visiting them, deliberately withholding the word 'victim' as she was informed that the aunt was the one who influenced the child to deny her statement in the court.

The aunt tried to convince the researcher that the case was nothing but a false accusation. She blamed the mother of the child for being jealous and attempting to attack the innocent father. The aunt, after giving a long explanation (accompanied with tears), allowed the researcher to meet the child. She encouraged her to tell the 'true' story. To promote free conversations, the researcher fixed an appointment with the child at the nearby cafeteria for the following day.

Martha was completely out of the expectations of the researcher. She had put on eyeliner, nail polish and her hair was fixed in fashionable way. She talked in a very relaxed manner, with loud voice and smiling face as if she knew the researcher for long and nothing serious had occurred in her life. Where is that scar of an abuse? The researcher thought for a moment that her aunt might be right.

On the following day the researcher met Martha and briefed her about the purpose of the interview, and told her to come up with a decision for the next meeting on whether or not she would participate in the study. The researcher assured her that what ever her response would be, it could not affect her life.

On the next meeting, Martha gave the researcher a warm greeting and a friendly kiss. She expressed her willingness. But it was too hard to get to the core point, the truth. It took about six sessions (more than an hour/session), all of which were almost the same. She repeated the same old story on every meeting (very similar to what her aunt told the researcher). It seemed well rehearsed. Though the researcher had already referred the story at the organization from which the case was identified, she did not indicate that what she knew was different from what she was telling. With more and more gentle probing, the child finally admitted that her father had been sexually abusing her for long (with lowered voice accompanied with tears and no eye contact at all).

The researcher did not ask her for details on that particular day as she could well see that the child was not in a position to speak any further. The researcher reassured her that the story would be confidential and that she is allowed to quiet the interview anytime she feels uncomfortable. She then relaxed and the discussion went on for few minutes on other subject matter.

The researcher then met Martha for six more sessions (about two hours per session), as she indicated she still wanted to participate in the study. Even though Martha confirmed that she is interested to participate it could be observed that the child was quite reserved in expressing her feelings related to the incidence but talks too much on issues that are not related with the incidence. It seemed that she was determined to deny every thing that has happened in her life.

Martha, a 14 years old child, narrates her story as:

Family structure:

As far as I can remember, there was no real peace in our home. The day my parents quarreled exceeds far from the days they lived peacefully. It was my father who tends to cause the problems. He acted as a dictator in the family.

I think my mother has suffered the most. He kicked her out of the house, he let her in, he beat her seriously, he threatened her ...in general he had no respect for her. But I am sure that he loves her too. But my mother tolerated every thing and never confronted him. In contrast, she was aggressive and violent towards us (the children).

My father never let us talks to him, hug him, or kiss him. He never asked me about my education. It was my mother who, despite her illiteracy, cared for my performance at school. She also used to work hard to meet our needs. I am afraid of my father and at the same time I tend to love him knowing that he has nothing good to mention of. I think he never considers me as his own daughter, I do not know why (with tears).

About the abuse:

What I remember about the first abuse is that it was committed when I was nine years old. But my mother says that it was when I was only six. I do not remember any of the abuses at my earlier age but I only remember my ear was seriously sore and I used to go to clinic.

Reaction of others upon disclosure:

I was quick to tell my mother about what he did to me. But to my surprise, she did not seem to be shocked by what she heard. She rather threatened me not to breathe a word to anyone and she promised me that she would save some money, which would enable the three of us (me, mother and my younger sister) to run away from home.

I agreed with her. But I failed to keep the secret. I disclosed it to my aunt (my father's sister) because she was the only person I trusted and loved. She was shocked and gave me similar warning. She also told me that he did it only because he was drunk and confused me with my mother. Hence, I hoped that if my father had done it in confusion then he would not do it again. But I was wrong; he continued the abuse even in days he did not take a sip of alcohol. I felt betrayed, as my aunt did not take any measure at least to protect me from further abuses. I then learned that there was no use to tell my case to anybody. But, I still hoped that my mother would keep her promise and do something to help me.

... the abusive relation continued

My father had made it a habit to come to my bed at least two days in a week. When I got older he did it more often. Sometimes, almost everyday in a week. He comes to my bed, undresses and penetrates me. I usually looked at one side of the wall and acted like I have deeply slept. But we both knew that I was not sleeping. I just acted like a dead person because I did not want to know what was going on. I was feeling as if I was not there. But it was painful and stressful. My father was silent during the abuse and said no word. I never said a word or tried to stop him because I was afraid that he might kill me. I think he might have considered me as his wife for he has never bothered about the possibility that I would disclose the case. Even if he did not threaten me, I understood that I could not talk about it.

But I still kept telling my mother what my father did to me almost after each incidence. She also kept telling me the same response- to be patient. Then I stopped telling her as I felt it had no importance except driving her crazy.

Measures taken to reduce the incidence:

I used to wear almost all the trousers I have to discourage my father's interest. But it did not take him a minute to undress me. I also asked my mother to let my younger sister to sleep with me. This technique was not helpful either because the incidents began to happen in day times. What I could do was to stay away from home during daytime. My mother, who did not understand my intensions, did not let me out. He did as he wished; nothing could stop him. I then learned that there was no way out.

Blaming the mother:

I feel my mother is blameworthy than my father. She knew all about it. She never did anything to stop him. At least she could have threatened him. I sometimes think that her silence has made him to think that what he was doing was normal.

It is hard for me to believe that I was continuously penetrated by my own father in the same room where my mother was sleeping. Sometimes I feel that I am motherless and again I tell myself to stop blaming my mother knowing how he threatened her and her economic dependency.

Interaction in the family before disclosure

I do not know if he felt ashamed of his deeds but, after raping me in the night, he avoided eye contact with me for the next day or two. He just communicated with me with short phrases like 'take this' or 'bring that'. What amazed me the most is the way he acted in the house. He presents himself as an innocent father, pretending as if nothing was going on between us. We all also pretend in the same way. There was no free communication. We just acted like people who served their boss with due respect.

Aftermaths of the abuse:

On the days he raped me, I tend to stay in bed longer than the normal. I wish to stay there so as not to meet people. When I woke up, I felt so much pain particularly in the first two years. I cried a lot. Then followed headache. The burning sensation is the major problem I remember. I used to burn enormously particularly when I attempt to urinate. I used to pinch my bladder to try to delay having to urinate. Sometimes accidentally I used to lose my urine.

I also used to walk abnormally. My friends and neighbors were jeered at me. I pretended as if I adopted the new walking style just to make them laugh. Some neighbors, however, advised me to walk properly before I develop it as a habit.

I have never participated in sport classes in my early years because the pain gets worse as I move. And I remember how badly I felt about sitting and watching my peers as they run here and there without any difficulty. This was the time I experienced depression and hopelessness than ever. Except in times of such incidences, I could say that I enjoyed my school time. But I did not have the patience to attend lessons. I got board easily. I performed poorly as I could not concentrate on the lesson. I repeated grade four and five but that did not bother me. Students tend to fear me as I hit them if they cross with me.

As time passed, the pain I used to experience during and after intercourse has gradually stopped. I found the experience not to be hurting as it used to be. I stopped feeling bad but in fact, not good. I developed numbness. I could say that there was no room left for me to think about my relationship with my father because I always made myself busy.

During the night, however, I could not sleep peacefully because I always used to feel that he was coming to my bed. Even when he did not come to me I used to feel as if he touched my bed and my body. That made me scared and I could not sleep deeply.

I never felt stigma and inferiority, as no one knew that I was the daughter and wife of my father. I accepted such style of living. But sometimes the question as to when I would persist living in that way clicked my mind. Anyways, I was somehow living peacefully before disclosure.

I could say that it is after disclosure that I started worrying. People knew our secret. Every time I walked on the road I felt that people talked about me. But still I pretended that nothing happened in my life. I always walked quickly because I felt that if I did not pretend as if I was in hurry, people in the neighborhood would have asked me about the truthfulness of the incidence. And that is the one thing, which I really do not want to discuss with people. I purposely avoid meeting people if I suspected that they are already aware of the secret story. Even in the future I wish I could live in a different neighborhood where no one knows about my past.

Even after disclosure, the flashbacks of the incidences often come to my memory. I feel depressed and tears begin to run on my cheeks. I could never understand how on earth a father could do such a thing to his own daughter. I wish all these would be unreal and I could live with my family.

Reason for disclosure:

My mother and I said it is enough; the moment we found out that he raped my little sister. Hence, we reported the case. I explained to the police what my father has been doing to me all these years. Then they arrested him and imprisoned him for three months.

Oh, how I wished to protect my younger sister that she would not go through the horrible life that I have gone through (with tears). But it was too late. I always feel guilty as I failed to protect her. Again I blame my mother for failing to protect her.

Consequences of the disclosure:

My father's family threatened to kill my mother for reporting the case. She then left the house. A humanitarian organization admitted my little sister and me to their center. We managed to pursue our education. But I just hated to live there. I felt like I was going crazy. I became restless and aggressive. I was fighting with my roommates. I could not concentrate on my education. I used to purposely miss classes. These behaviors of mine lead me to cross a lot with teachers and caretakers.

I was disturbed as my thought was mixed up with compassion towards my father and seeking justice. In one hand, I blame myself for disclosing the case and making him get imprisoned and became a cause for disruption of the family. On the other hand, I felt that he deserved it.

Retract the case:

When he was released on bail after three months of imprisonment, he came to me and took me to his sister's house. I was glad when he took me out of the center. Then my aunt and the rest of the family advised me to deny the case in the court. My aunt told me that if I did not deny the case, my father would be imprisoned for more than twenty years and would die there. She promised to let me live with her and my father, if I did as I was told. I agreed, as all the things my aunt told me do not want to happen on him. I still love him though there is nothing good I could mention of him.

Effect on the relationship with the mother:

I denied the entire case as I was told, in the courtroom. I glared in the courtroom searching for my mother. I wished I did not see her reaction. She was frozen in disbelief and hopelessness. But I did not feel sympathy for her. Why should I?

She cursed me and insulted me (never want to explain it). Ever since then our relationship has been completely changed. Sometimes we come across with each other on the road but we never exchanged even greetings.

The majority of the people developed hatred and negative attitudes towards me for betraying my mother. Some neighbors even warned me never to visit them again and stop my relationship with their children. Few still have sympathy for me and blame my mother for not taking action at the very spot.

Present status:

I testified in favor of my father but the case could not be closed. My younger sister revealed the whole fact. The judge fixed another appointment for final decision. The day my father was appointed in the court, he disappeared.

As my aunt realized that he could not get away with his charges, she started mistreating me despite her promises. She even told me that I should find somewhere else to live, as she cannot afford to raise me. I really do not know where to go if she evacuates me. One thing for sure is I will not live with my mother, ever.

Coping strategies:

As far as I can, I do not give a chance to myself to think about what has happened to me. I want to forget all about it. I make myself busy by working at home, playing with friends, watching TV in the neighborhoods, etc. I do not also want to be alone so as to avoid the bad memories.

Sara and Berhan Add -

Martha's friends', Sara and Berhan were interviewed in school compound independently as it was learned that they knew about the news and hence their involvement cannot affect any one negatively. Sara and Martha knew each other for long years because they were neighbors and classmates. Berhan is also Martha's close friend but their friendship is almost limited to school environment. They rarely met outside school. Both Sara and Berhan have explained Martha's behavior almost in similar way as presented below:

Sara-

- *Martha is a child who likes playing more than anyone else whom I know. She has no preference of type of a play as far as it made her busy. She is never tired of playing.*
- *She has no interest in education at all.*

- She had been behaving somehow normally till just before two/ three years. But she had changed very much afterwards. She became balege (a bad behaving child). She tends to use much of dirty languages in normal discussion time. She likes to talk about sex, which is not expected from our age. She likes rumor. For instance when two people of opposite sex walk on the road, even if they are relatives, she talks as if they made bad things in the night. Sometimes even she talks, as if she witnessed the incidence. She has even quarreled with two/three people because of such rumors.
- She became verbally and physically aggressive particularly to boys. She initiates fight in situation where there is no need to react in that way. Many students know her behavior and tend to avoid her. When I try to avoid her, she tries to convince me to maintain our relationship.
- Everybody in the neighborhood hates her and all of them do not want her friendship with their children, as they were afraid that she could spoil them.
- She had a plan to run away to Nazareth but she really did not know how she would sustain her life. But Berhan and me were telling her to change her mind as her decision could risk her life. She was not convinced and the plan was in her mind. I think she crosses a lot with her mother. She has also told me that her father had not treated her as his own daughter. But I understood what she meant by that after she clearly confessed in a letter she sent to one of our friends through her mother.

Berhan-

- She is smart in making friends. Other friends of mine and me tend to ignore her as she behaves inappropriately. But she has a magic that makes you maintain the relationship.
- The most surprising behavior she has is her tendency to fight with students even if they unintentionally touch her. She never takes excuses for such incidences. Almost all students do not like to have contact with her. But she is lovely while playing. She does not like to settle in a place and discuss things. She preferred to run here and there. She is restless. When she sits for a few minutes she diverts the discussion to sexual matters. She uses so many bad languages. Everybody knows that she is balege (a bad behaving child).

- *She always seems to be happy. It is very rare that I see her distressed. I think she did not have a good relationship with her mother because she often mentions her name negatively.*
- *She has mentioned that her father was not treating her as his own daughter. She also told me that her father used to stare while she changes her clothes. I did not understand what she wanted to talk about at the moment. It is when she wrote me a letter (after disclosure) that I understood what she wanted to imply. Even if I understood what she wanted to imply I do not know how I would help her.*

Discussion

1. Traumatic Sexualization

The Dynamic

- *Offender transmitted misconception about sex and morality*

Though the offender did not attempt to transfer any message orally while abusing her, his continuous use of his daughter for sexual purposes definitely transmitted misconception about sex and morality.

Psychosocial Effects and its Behavioral Manifestations:

Finkelhor & Browne (1988) explained this traumagenic dynamics as a condition in which a child's sexual attitude is shaped in inappropriate and interpersonally unacceptable manner. The child being engaged in sexual activity since she was six years of age has definitely developed misconceptions about sexual behavior and sexual morality. For instance, her peers clearly indicated that the child likes to talk about issues related to sex and tend to use 'dirty' languages, which are inappropriate to her age. Hence, they labeled her as a bad behaving child. Particularly, one of her closest friend indicated that, whenever the child sees a man and woman walking on the road, even if they are related with blood, tends to show that they have sexual relationship. Such behavioral manifestation can be explained as confusion of sexual morality and family boundary. It seems that the child has developed a belief that other people even if they are related with blood could have such a relationship, but they live pretending nothing happened.

As Martha's friend (Sara) reported, Martha had a plan to runaway to Nazareth and lead her life by her own. Sara, however, did not want to tell in explicit terms that what kind of work Martha intended to engage

in, except that she was advising her that the plan could threaten her life. This plan of Martha along with the undesirable behavioral manifestations like excessive tendency of talking about sexual matters, use of makeup which is not appropriate to her age, etc. could serve to infer that she might have an intention to engage in prostitution. Engaging in prostitution may be taken as an alternative to escape from her father's abusive act or to work on her emotions that could have been possibly created due to her premature sexual experiences. Research findings also noted that father-daughter incest survivor children are more likely to gravitate to prostitution due to distortion of sexual identity, resulted as they forced to pay with their body for affection and care that should be given freely (Herman, 1981; Finkelhor & Browne, 1988; Prendergast, 1993; Kimmel & Winer, 1995).

2. Stigmatization

The Dynamics

- *Pressure for secrecy*

The child disclosed the shameful story immediately to her mother and aunt as she was not matured enough to understand the social norms. But was told never to reveal this fact to anyone

- *Shocked reactions of people upon disclosure*

Everybody, particularly the neighbors who heard the news reacted in hysteria and shock

- *Others blamed the child for the events*

The offender's family blamed the child for disclosing the case while the mother and neighbors blamed her for retracting the case

- *Victim is stereotyped as damaged good*

The mother's decision to confront her husband when the little child was *raped* shows that this child has once been stereotyped as damaged good. It also seems that the child perceived herself on the same mode. She tolerated her own abuse and reacted only when her little sister got spoiled.

Psychosocial effects and its behavioral manifestations:

Since the mother and the aunt has hassled Martha to maintain the secrecy of the case, it is logical to think that they have conveyed a powerful message that what she talks about is a stigma. Hence, fear of stigmatization can be considered as a factor that made the child to maintain the case secretly. It is because of the feeling of shame that she did not get the courage to clearly disclose the secret even to her closest friends. She was just dropping a hint that something about her father bothered her. This by itself indicates that the child did not have a peaceful feeling inside. She was seeking some sort of help but trapped by fear of stigmatization. It is after the case was once disclosed that she explained about what truly has messed up her life by writing a letter to one of her friends. She also reported that though the offender did not threatened her to maintain the secrecy of the case she was well aware that the incidence is not something she could talk about. This indicates her realization of stigma.

The child was tolerant towards her own abuse and completely intolerant towards the abuse on her sister. This shows that she had already considered herself as a worthless creature, which cannot be retrieved on disclosure. Such a worthlessness feeling seems the main cause for the child's lack of motivation to compete with her friends at school performance. As Winkley (1996) also indicated poor self esteem leads to low achievement and many adjustmental problems.

Martha explained that she attempted to forget what happened in her life by engaging herself in different activities like playing with peers, watching TV, etc. and hence the feeling of stigmatization seems suppressed. As Fernald and Fernald (1999) explained, suppression is a defense mechanism referred to as a conscious attempt to avoid certain thoughts or actions that could bring unpleasant feelings. The suppressed feeling however, started to come out after disclosure due to the shock and negative reaction of the neighbors. The child, as a result, lost her freedom to walk on the streets because people tend to ask her issues related to the incidence. Besides, the flashbacks troubled her day and night, which implies that she no more manages to suppress her feelings. As a result, she indicated that she would like to live in another place where no one knows about her shameful past.

3. Betrayal

Traumagenic Dynamics

- *Violation of trust that others will provide care and protection*

The child definitely disclosed such a shameful story to her mother and aunt believing that they would protect and support her. However, they reacted in a different way.

- *Child's well-being disregarded*

The abuse was observed and acknowledged by the mother and also disclosed to the aunt but either of them took any measure to stop the abuse. Rather they pressurized her for secrecy, which is mainly for the sake of family reputation. This clearly indicates that these people disregarded the child's well-being.

The Psychosocial Effects and its Behavioral Manifestations:

Children by nature rely on adults for care and support, particularly on their parents. This child also loved and trusted her parents. But this natural trust is betrayed by sexual abuse of the father and negligence of the mother to halt the abusive relationship.

As Martha's history indicates, she has repeatedly and frankly requested her mother to find a solution that halts the sexual abuse of her father. But the mother failed to offer her any help; rather she pressurized her for secrecy so as to avoid disruption of the marriage and the negative consequences that she claimed to be followed. As a result, the child has forced to stay in the abusive relationship for such a long period of time. The child who found the mother's negligence strange said, "It is hard for me to believe that I was continuously penetrated by my own father in the same room where my mother was sleeping". She also indicated that her mother is more blameworthy than her father. Because, she believes that the mother's negligence gave way to her father's continuous abusive act. 'I sometimes think her silence has made him to think what he was doing is normal', Martha reported. Martha's tendency of putting all the blame to her non-offending mother is found to be consistent with what research findings came up in regard with by whom abused children usually feel betrayed. They tend to project the blame on the non-offending parents -

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betrayal towards her mother therefore can be considered as a major factor for the child's preference of collaborating with the offender. She retracted her statement and followed the offender to live with him. She made herself vulnerable for further abuses.

4. Powerlessness

The Dynamics

- *Body territory invaded against the child's wish*

The child had been sexually abused from six to about fourteen years of age with the influence of the offender's parental power.

- *Vulnerability to invasion continued over time*

As no one could offer her help, which could have halted the abusive relationship, the invasion continued for about eight years.

- *Child felt unable to protect self and halt the abuse*

The child disclosed the case to her mother and aunt seeking some kind of help to come out of the abusive relationship. But, she could not get what she desperately needed from them. She also developed strategies that she believed could discourage her father's sexual advances but she was unable to stop him from coming to her bed.

- *Repeated experiences of fear*

Because of the offender's frequent visit, the child had experienced fear even in times he did not come to her bed. She felt as if he came and touched her.

Psychosocial Effects and its Behavioral Manifestations:

Martha has been abused frequently for about eight years with the awareness of the mother. As she could not receive support from her mother and aunt she has experienced powerlessness. 'I then learned that there is no way out', Martha explained. As Finkelhor & Browne (1988) explained, feeling of powerlessness is a common problem in situation where the child's body is invaded against her wish and when vulnerability to invasion continues for long.

The other reason is the ambivalent feeling she had for the offender. The child explicitly indicated that she loved her father. She was even worried after her disclosure made him imprisoned. Isn't that odd to worry for a person who ruined your life? Fenney (1992) who is a survivor of incestuous abuse and a therapist explained that the biological bond could force a child to love the abusive parent even though a more rational part may hate the abuser intensely. The same seems to be experienced by the child as her rational part clicked her mind now and then with a question 'how on earth a father could do such a horrible thing on his own daughter?' She also felt that he used and treated her as his wife; and hence she hated him though she repressed her feelings. She has mixed feelings of love and hate. This indicates that the ambivalent feeling served as a trap and led to feeling of powerlessness, which in turn inhibited the child from taking proper action to halt the abusive relationship. Learned helplessness inhibits the development of healthy sense of mastery and competence (WACSAP, 1995 in Carnes, 1997).

The abusive relationship of the father and daughter, therefore, is found to be compatible with the observation of Geiser (1979). That is, 'of father, of power, and of parental authority over a child. It is this caring relationship that precludes any need for force in most cases. The child is not raped but seduced by the father...' (in Zinne & Eitzen, 1996:355).

In general, the case story indicates that the child has passed through a serious traumatic experience for long period of times. The abusive relationship can be labeled as 'serious' because it involves the elements, which many researchers have pointed out as major factors that could lead to great level of trauma. These elements include: long duration, high frequency, penetration, the offender being parent, etc (Finkelhor, 1979; Kendall-Tackett, et al., 1993 in McGregor, 2000). But, as the case story has indicated, there is somehow a tendency of minimizing her emotions on the child's part. This does not necessarily mean that all children who passed through the experience of sexual abuse should be seriously hurt by the incidence. This is just to mean that the child has found the experience hurting but not able to confront the overwhelming negative feelings. Hence, she repressed her feelings and said, 'as time passed, the pain I used to experience during and after intercourse has gradually stopped. I found the experience not to be

hurting as it used to be." This clearly indicates that the child tried to repress the emotional problem she has experienced and only related it to the physical pain. Repression is unconscious process of excluding unpleasant thoughts from awareness (Fernald & Fernald, 1999). Winkley (1996) also noted that the mind of an abused child is raped and this is not dependent on what happens physically as what the child has tried to imply.

Martha has further indicated that she did not have either bad or good feelings at the time of the abuse and she was somehow leading a normal life. This is usually referred as numbness. Such a feeling by itself is a psychological problem, which results from an overwhelming situation. Hence, she was hurt by the experience whether or not she consciously accepts it. As Trowell (1990) cited in Winkley (1996) explained many abused children tend to have such an absurd experience and try to carry on a normal life with the rest of their mind. Even if the child found ways to adapt herself as the abusive relationship prolongs, her adaptation seems to have played the role of a victim psychology. She admitted that she accepted being the daughter and wife of her father because she had no way out.

Besides, the child's continuous efforts to avoid thoughts, feelings or conversations associated with the incidence, her lowered voice and avoidance of eye contact while explaining the incidence clearly indicates that child experiences feelings of shame and guilt but not that she copes with her problem. One proof is that such behavioral manifestation was not seen while discussing other topics. Such minimizing belief according to Moore (2000) is considered as a form of self-protection in overwhelming situation.

The repressed emotions, however, has been externalized. As her peers explained, the child repeatedly gets into fight, particularly with her classmates even in situations where they unintentionally touched her. Though she is aggressive towards both sexes, they indicated that she tends to attack boys often. The child also admitted that she displays aggressive behaviors. Such impulsive outburst of aggression in turn has damaged the relationship she has with her schoolmates. Her peers also testified that students have a propensity to discriminate her because of her wild behaviors.

Her tendency to display aggressive behaviors may be a way of displacing her anger of the offender to her peers. Displaced aggression develops when fear of retaliation blocks the normal direction of the charge. And, hence, it gets discharged onto a less threatening object (Gleitman, 1996; Fernald & Fernald, 1999). The same is true in the child's case. She is trapped by fear and the ambivalent feeling she had towards the offender, rather than directing her anger on to the source of her depression, she seems to have preferred to exhibit it on the less threatening people to confront.

Such coping mechanisms, (denial, repression, displacement) helped her to survive of the abuse but not to deal with the problem realistically. They are considered as escaping strategies (Billings & Moos, 1981 cited in Santrock, 1997; Briere, 1996a cited in McGregor, 2000). As Briere (1996a) further explained, abused children tend to practice these coping strategies because the abuse disrupts the development of distress regulation, the secure psychological base that enables them to tolerate and modulate distress (in McGregor, 2000).

Case presentation – (1B)

(Tibletse- Martha's mother)

Introduction

The mother was born in Asmera from an Eritrian father and a Tigrian mother. Since it was not common to send girls to school in her childhood society, she did not have any formal education.

When she was 15, a soldier of a dergue regime abducted her to a marriage that ended recently. They first gave birth to a baby boy and he passed away within few days. She gave birth to another child (i.e., the survivor child).

EPRDF controlled the state when this child was five-months old. The family migrated to Sudan and stayed there for six months. When they returned to Addis, they had nowhere else to go but to the father's elder sister. The father was strongly condemned by his family for marrying an Eritrean and they were mistreated her.

The father managed to get a small job and they moved into a kebele rental house, which has got only one room. The mother on her part did everything that could make money. Then they had another child only to make their living worse.

The whole family used to sleep together in the same bed. The first child (survivor), who is about to turn 15 now, is given a bed of her own when she reached age seven.

The mother's age as she estimated is about 35 but she looks like a very old woman. She is very thin and has got distressed facial expression. She has no reservation when sharing her experience. She also does not want to stop telling her secret life if she once started. It seems that she enjoyed her freedom somehow as she might not had such a chance to talk with people.

She described her husband's behavior as over sexy, promiscuous and lazy. Tiblelse narrates her history as:

The first incidence:

I remember the exact day; it was the day I returned home from hospital after delivering my second daughter. That night, my newly born baby and I were sleeping on one side of the bed while my husband and my first daughter were sleeping on the opposite side, on the same bed. Since I labored long, I was very tired and slept deeply.

At about mid night, my first daughter started to scream and I woke up startled. I tried to find out what happened and my husband told me nothing had happened except that she got scared. But she could not stop crying and I wanted to find out what exactly has happened.

I brought her to my side and saw blood running through her leg. I could not believe that he has penetrated her but it was a fact. I was shocked. I could not control my head. I was aching in disbelief. I began shivering. I asked him why he did such an evil thing to his own daughter. He did not even care to answer me. He then threatened me and I kept quiet.

Effect on the survivor child:

My daughter could not go to school for about two weeks. She had a very high fever and her ear developed infection. Following the incidence, she suffered from bad dreams. I begged him to take her to hospital. He took her to private clinic because he was afraid of the disclosure. She was only treated for her ear infection. Then I helped her when she felt a burning sensation on urination by applying Vaseline or food oil around her vagina.

The sexual abuse continued...

My assumption was that my husband had no more sexual relationship after the first midnight. Hence, I preferred to stay in marriage, as I was physically weak and had nowhere to go. I also could not see any advantage to disrupt it once she lost her virginity. But on one night while we all went to bed, I saw him sexually abusing my daughter. That was when she was nine years old. Again, I kept silent and pretended as if I saw nothing. But deep in me there was a burning anger.

From that night on he regularly kept on abusing her. He is always awake waiting for suitable time to abuse my daughter. I also tried not to fall asleep so as to discourage him from going to her. Sometimes I succeed and he pretended as if he woke up to go to toilet and return back to his bed. But at times I had busy days, I did not see him going to her as I fall asleep fast.

Most of the times, however, I keep silent when he gets out of the bed because of fear of his reaction if I interfered consistently. My eyes were open and see what was going on but I felt as if my heart was sleeping, I was dreaming, I was partially dead. I saw him taking off her clothes and penetrating her. She used to feel tense because she could not resist his body weight. She acted like a dead person and never attempted to prevent him. She held her hand in the upward position and turns her face to the other side of the wall and she let her body do what he wants. It seemed that she did not want to see what was he doing to her. Those times my body started to shiver; I used to feel as if my heartbeat is going to fail. But I tried to control my emotions. Even if I wanted to speak out so as to make him stop, words failed to come out of my mouth. But when he returned back to his bed, I pretended as if I was sleeping.

Sometimes, after raping her he wanted to have sex with me. At that time, I wish I would die but I try not to act differently. I did not have the courage to confront him for one thing I was afraid of him and for the other thing I loved him. I always made myself available for sex but I did not know why he misbehaved. It is very rarely that he approached me for sex as he often went to my daughter.

If she was raped during the night, the following morning she tends to stay on bed for longer time. It became customary to see my daughter tying her head with a piece of cloth. When I asked her why she did it, she told me that her headache was killing her. But thanks to God she only stayed in depressed mood for short period of time. It seemed that she forgot everything through playing. She does not get tired of playing. She did not feel any responsibility even for her education.

Reason for maintaining secrecy:

I did not report the case because I was really afraid of him and his family. Since I am not a citizen of this country, I doubted the government's willingness to provide me a legal support. I rather preferred not to risk my marriage. The only thing I hoped for was to make money just enough to live on with my daughters away from my husband. But I could not manage to save any money. I felt powerless and I had no choice but to continue living with him.

Effect on her:

I could say that I never experienced the good side of life after I learned that my husband abused my daughter. I passed each minutes of my life with great stress. I used to cry a lot almost everyday. I often experienced severe headache. I also suffer from gastritis. I never feel happy in any occasion. I feel depressed and hopeless every time as I cannot change the situation I am in. I fail to see my purpose of living.

Though the case was kept secretly, I never communicated with people freely. I feel inferiority. I do not even attend coffee ceremony in the neighborhood, as I feel inadequate. I purposely avoid social gatherings. I envy my neighbors marriage life, as I understood that whatever problem they have it cannot be compared with mine.

Effect on the relationship with the husband:

From that incidence onwards our relationship became worse. He started to consume alcohol and cigarette more than the usual. I developed fear towards him and lost the courage to freely interact with him. He hated me and he even started seeing other women without even caring for its secrecy. I did not see any problem with that as far as he supports me financially, which he never failed to do. Besides, I did not have any choice than to wait patiently.

Effect on the relationship with the survivor daughter

My daughter used to be very frank with me till recently. She used to tell me what happened on each incidence in detail. For instance, when I asked her why she only uses the blanket but not the sheets, she told me she used the sheets to clean the sticky stuff with bad odor that she finds after he has penetrated her. She was even repeatedly requesting me to tell her what the sticky stuff is. But I used to change the topic, as I do not feel comfortable.

But then she began to feel ashamed to tell me anything. She even started to deny what I have clearly seen; she pretended as though nothing happened. Besides my daughter started to disrespect me. For example, when I call her she ignored me as if she did not hear me. She got easily irritated and became impatient towards me. Hence, we cross a lot every day.

Effect on the interaction of the entire family:

I learned that my husband and my daughter became friendlier and closer. He tried to make her feel queen of the house so as to make her collaborate with his sexual advances. Sometimes when she misbehaves, he pretended not to have noticed it and sometimes he made me punish her.

I felt that they decided to live as a man and wife and I may be reduced to a servant. I am afraid to say this but I think my daughter also started enjoying what he does to her.

Her younger sister, because of the attempted sexual abuse on her and seeing him abusing her sister, developed an extreme fear towards her father. She never wanted to sleep before I got into the bed. In

general, the whole family felt no peace inside. Though we did not communicate freely, we thoroughly read each other's faces and feelings.

I think my tensions and mental disturbances made me impatient towards my daughters. I tend to punish them frequently.

Disclosure of the abuse:

For eight years we lived in such silence. But then come a stage where I could not take it anymore. It was the day his evil spirit led him to spoil my little child at the age of six. In fact, he attempted to rape her at her earlier age, I did not react since her hymen was intact. This time seeing my little child with blood over all her body triggered the final shot to action.

I firmly made it clear to him that I would not keep his secrets anymore. He started to insult and threaten me. He said he would slaughter me before anyone arrives to rescue me. He then started to hit me. My face covered with blood and I turned into an unconscious state. My first daughter screamed for help. My neighbors came in and saved my life. They took me to the hospital. When I woke up into my consciousness they kept on asking me about what happened to the little child and why my husband beat me that serious. I withheld the shameful story in fear that everybody will discriminate my children and me. I just said it is a family secret and I do not want to talk about it.

Crisis following the disclosure:

After I got the necessary medication, along with my little daughter, we reported the case to the police. They arrested him and jailed him. But there came more troubles. His family came to my house to attack me. Thanks to my neighbors, I got away from death. I left home and began living with one of my neighbors. Since I was not in a position to raise my daughters, they were admitted to childcare centers.

The relationship of the mother and Martha after retracting the case:

Under the influence of her father and his family my daughter denied the case. She said, 'I love my father, he never caused me any harm, it is my mother who forced me to press the charge against him'. But her younger sister explained everything he did to her to the court. She even refused to greet her father.

The court declared that he is not guilty of the charges pressed in relation to the older child but set another appointment to see the little child's case.

I could not believe my daughter defending her father forgetting all the sufferings he caused to her. From that time on, I hated to see her. I do not think I would be able to live with her under the same roof. How could she think of living with her father as his wife! Our relationship is becoming complicated. I can hardly understand my relationship with my daughters. On one hand, I am their mother. On the other hand they are my husband's (wushima) lovers. What future do I have? (with tears). I am well aware that my children will not have an easy future. I do not even think they will be able to pursue their education with the scar their father had made in their mind. I do not think they would get married. Who will marry a girl who had a sexual relation with her own father? No one.

In fact, so far I found my neighbors cooperative and understanding than I expected. But I know they talk behind me. I am not comfortable, and instead I feel that I am no better than a dog. I hated being dependent on them. I cannot believe the life I am living. I lost every thing, my children, my marriage, the respects of my neighbors- every thing. Now a day, I regret a lot for not disclosing the case at the first incidence. I do not also feel secure when I go here and there to earn money, as he is out of jail. The riddle of my life continues unsolved....

Discussion

Psychological Effects

Learned helplessness-The source of this psychological problem is believed to be her inability to halt the abusive relationship that her husband continued with her daughter as she was trapped by negative consequences that would be followed as the result of the disclosure. She said, 'I felt powerless and had no choice but to continue living with him.' This shows that the mother gave up the idea of taking any measure that extricates her children and her life from the abusive relationship. When a person realizes that no action on his/her part would permit him/her to avoid unpleasant outcome a condition called learned helplessness is experienced (Gleitman, 1996; Fernald & Fernald, 1999).

Tibletse's tolerance of such an abusive relationship identifies her with Dawson (1982) portrait of powerless and ineffective woman in the family where father-daughter incest occurs. She did not consider confronting the offender legally till he raped her little child but only planned escaping away as the only alternative. She even did not manage to translate this plan into action, as she felt helpless. From this it is possible to infer how trauma hampered her ability to seek best solutions to her problems. Nevid et al., (1997) also indicated that trauma can impair coping ability and women in such conditions are best understood as trauma survivors.

Tension and stress- Tibletse was in a great stress because she was trapped between two choices both of which would have negative consequences. The first option was to run away with her children and losing the security that the marriage offered and dooms her children. The second option was to collude with her husband and watch her children suffering, and taking the risk of losing her children's love and may be life. This may seem what really happened, as the mother did not take any measure. The reality is the opposite. She had no peace of mind and badly wanted the relationship to be stopped. She seems to have preferred to stay in silence till time solves her problems.

Her stress could be explained as avoidance-avoidance conflict as she was left with two unattractive options that have undesired consequences. People with this kind of stress are believed to face difficulty to decide any of the option till the last possible moment as in the case of this woman (Fernald & Fernald, 1999). She lived in silence all the past eight years and then came a stage where she could not take it anymore. 'That is the day his evil spirit led him to spoil my little child', Tibletse described. The disclosure in fact caused all the things she was afraid to face. She felt guilty as she realized that she profited nothing in keeping the case secret for such a long time. 'I lost everything....I regret a lot for not disclosing the case at first incidence' Tibletse admitted.

Depression -Tibletse confessed that she 'never felt happy at any occasion', felt hopeless, as she cannot change her situation, failed to see her purpose in life, and felt worthlessness, inferior and

inadequate. These feelings and derogatory remarks are considered as symptoms of depression and development of low self-esteem (Navid et al., 1997; Fernald & Fernald, 1999).

Fear and Anxiety- Tibletse has always been in a great fear of the offender's physical attack while she thought of confronting him. She felt stress, as she did not know about her fate and the children if she disclosed the case. This led to suffer from headache and gastritis. She is also feeling anxious and insecure, as she believes that the offender or his family members could cause physical harm on her. Anxiety is described as the persistent feeling, which tells that danger or harm is imminent (Gleitman, 1996).

Dissociation- Tibletse seems to have experienced dissociation in times when she saw her husband abusing her daughter. She described her situation as, 'my eyes are open and see what is going on but I feel as if my heart was sleeping; I was dreaming; partially dead'. This indicates that even if she witnessed what was going on, her mind seems blocked out the emotions and memories of the abuse as the situation became horrible to mentally process it. This situation is referred to as dissociation. Dissociation happens when part of one's personality is separated from the rest in situations where the person faces unbearable traumatic incidences (Gleitman, 1996; Fernald & Fernald, 1999).

Marriage life:

The marriage in the first place was not established on mutual love. But it seems that through time Tibletse developed trust and love on her husband. This trust and love distorted when she found out that her husband had sexually abused his own daughter. 'I could say that I never experienced a good side of life after I learned that my husband abused my daughter', said Tibletse, clearly showing how the incidence negatively affected her marriage.

As the husband started going to the child's bed more often, he has decreased *making love to her*. Even in times he engaged in sex with her, particularly after the abuse, she could not enjoy it. She said, 'I wish I would die' describing how the intercourse was disgusting. Hence, it is possible to say that the incidence has totally damaged their intimate relationship.

Finally, his continuous evil act forced her to disclose the case and hence got separated. They did not get legally divorced, it seems that there is no way these couples would unite anymore.

Effect on family interaction:

Family interaction started getting shattered probably from the first day that Tiblese witnessed her husband's abusive deeds. She was quite shocked and had experienced emotional disturbance. It would not be difficult to guess how the emotional instability could affect her interaction with the newly born baby.

The incidence has also seriously affected the interaction of the mother and the survivor child-Martha. As the case story indicates, the mother and the child had an intimate relationship and the child used to tell every bit of information about the abuse. The mother has indicated these years were the years they sympathized each other.

But when the child realized that her mother was not in a position to protect her from the offender's abuse, she stooped reporting what was going on between her and her father. This tendency of the child made the mother to believe that her daughter was enjoying the incestuous relationship. She became aggressive and punitive towards her daughter. The child, feeling betrayed, in return started disobeying the mother. The father has got the chance to play his part to create emotional distance between the two. He made the child to feel 'queen of the house' and the mother play a subordinate role. Hence, the child and the mother crossed each other on numerous occasions because of the competitive feeling.

The interaction between the offender and the children was also negative. As the child has indicated, the offender might have felt ashamed to even have an eye contact and only communicated with limited words. As he was not approaching them as a father the children have developed fear towards him. Tiblese explained that the little child used to be afraid of her father as she also witnessed her father's and sister's abusive relationship and finally she has also made to involve in such a relationship. From this it is possible to infer that how Tiblese got torched to see her children feeling insecure at their own home.

The survivor child (Martha) has also explained the absence of free communication among family members. She further described family interaction as, ' we just acted like people who served their boss

with due respect'. Tiblese also explained that the whole family did not feel peace inside realizing that what was going on in the family is taboo. This indicates the absence of healthy and intimate relationship on the family as power is only in the hands of the offender and input of the rest is denied.

After disclosure, the family interaction has changed dramatically. From the silent emotional war it transferred to a manifested hostility in a more overt form. Tiblese and Martha collaborated to get rid off their common enemy. They succeeded and the offender got imprisoned. But at the same time the mother lost her children because she was not in the position to raise them up.

Martha's sense of betrayal towards her mother again interfered and made her to defend the offender. The interaction between Martha and Tiblese reached the worst stage following the retract of the case. Both of them felt that they cannot live under same roof anymore.

During the interview sessions, all members of the family were living at different places. The drastic family disruption happened within two days of disclosure. The situation in this particular family shows that even if it is possible to keep such incidences secretly to some period of time, it is not possible to escape from ones own emotional feelings. The ultimate result, therefore, would be creating a mental scar that may never fade away. If Tiblese had managed to take the required measures that would stop the abusive act of the father earlier, then she would have at least managed to profit the love of her children. The betrayal feeling would have been only displayed on the offender and the family would have been somehow functional even in the absence of the offender. Finkelhor (1979) noted that as the blood relationship between the offender and the victim become closer, the family dynamics distorted in severe way -as in this family case.

Effect on Social life:

Even before disclosure, Tiblese did not have the courage to fully interact with her neighbors. This was because she has realized that what was going on in her family is a serious taboo violation. She explicitly indicated that she feels inferior and inadequate to attend social gatherings. Hence, it is possible to say that she has been leading her life in isolation.

What happened after disclosure forced her to relate with and seek support from neighbors. In fact, she found them cooperative. But she feels that they talk at her back and she is not comfortable with her life. She did not like to be totally dependent on them; she knows that her neighbors' support cannot stay long. She also did not know how to lead the rest of her life.

As the story indicates the offender's family members came to her house to physically attack her but escaped through the help of her neighbors. Tiblese who totally felt insecure in her personal and social life said, 'the riddle of my life continues unresolved...'

Case Presentation – (2A)

(Feven)

Introduction

Feven is 16 years old. She is a good-looking girl, very frank, easy to communicate and good at expressing her self. She explained that she would not have shared her experiences with anyone except her mother. But she changed her mind, as she got convinced with the purpose of the study. Though she volunteered to participate, she did not allow the interview to be recorded. She said that the story, which she was going to tell, was very shameful and better to take note.

Feven was comfortable while sharing her experiences even though she broke into tears at times. She has also indicated that even if she did not want to raise the issue with anyone, she found the session free of tension. The interview sessions went on for four days, taking a total of five hours and thirty minutes. The case was reported before three years to the police.

The story of Feven unfolds here:

Family Structure:

I was born out of wedlock in Addis Ababa. I did not know my father till I became five years old. When I was five, I began feeling that something is missing in the family. It was then that I started asking some serious questions 'Who is my father?' And 'where is he living?'

My mother was reluctant to answer my questions, but I insisted. Finally, she told me that my father was living here in Addis Ababa and that he was a rich person. She sent me with a relative to his home.

My father welcomed me warmly and requested me to live with him. But my mother refused his proposal. She rather suggested that he might provide financial assistance, which would enable her to raise me up in a better way. My father, however, did not want to consider what she suggested.

I stayed with my mother but I used to visit him frequently. Whenever I went to his house he used to buy me whatever I wanted. He also used to take me to different recreation centers that I could not even dreamt of before I knew him. Then I became very eager to live with him. I wanted to be known as a rich person's daughter, so badly.

At age eleven, I urged my mother to let me live with my father. Hoping that I would have a better life and have a better opportunity for education, she finally made up her mind. Life in my father's home was so wonderful and unbelievable compared to the situation I had with my mother. He did everything that he thought could make me happy. I joined a private school and felt happy to be along with children of rich families.

The happy moments, however, did not last long. My father started neglecting me. He treated me so harshly for the reason I really do not understand even till today. The housemaids also changed their attitudes and began acting accordingly. What they pack for my lunch was not a well-prepared one. I started to feel ashamed to open my lunch box in front of my friends. I sometimes keep my lunch box in one of the shops around the school and pretend as if I forgot it in the car, or sometimes I try to hide somewhere in the compound of the school and eat alone. I was feeling totally unfit.

My father, who used to be eager to see me and talk to me nicely, became cruel. He warned me not to communicate with my mother by any means. If he found out that my mother visited me then that suffices him to punish me. He whips my naked body with his belt. Understanding the situations, my mother stopped visiting me. I was missing her too much but I had to accept it.

My father's attitude towards me remained that of negligence. I tried my best to make him happy. For instance, I was taking care of him by fixing coffee and preparing his clothes etc.

The abusive relationship:

My father, instead of his harsh treatment, began to treat me in a rather confusing manner. But surely it was not that of a fatherly love.

On one evening he called me to his bedroom. For a moment or so I thought I won back his love for me. Though I felt happy when he put me on his lap, the way he touched me was confusing. And then he began to kiss me on my lips. He tried to convince me that it was nothing but a practice, which I would need in the future. Then he tried to grasp my breast and became disappointed because I did not develop any breast. He told me that he loved my breast and it should be developed soon. Confusion kept my mouth shut and I said no word in that evening.

Since then, his love became conditional. Whenever he wanted to kiss me and touch me in a place that pleases him, he would call me and then act in superficial way. I then stopped getting closer to him as much as I could because the way he touched me made me very uncomfortable. Such confusing relationship continued for more than a year. Then came the worst.

One day he ordered me to bring him a glass of water. I brought it to his room. Then he ordered me to take off my clothes and get into the bed and to watch TV. I argued that I should rather sit on the chair. He then shouted and said 'anci yegered lij, do what I said'. I could see the burning flame in his eyes and that made me scared.

I then took off all my clothes except the panty and t-shirt and got into the bed. He came into the bed and ordered me to take off my t-shirt. I did. Then he came close to me. He started to kiss me and then he took off my panty. I got shocked and I tried to defend my self. He yelled at me and said I should respect his order. He also tried to convince me that what he did to me is to help me acquire experience on sex. I could not understand any of it and I was just crying. He did not care for my reaction. He covered my mouth with

the bed sheets so that I could not shout for help. As he penetrated me, I felt a horrible pain. I thought I was dying.

I opened my eyes to see the cruel wild animal playing over my body. But that was my own father. Tears flooded out of my eyes and streamed on my cheeks. I was totally hopeless and helpless. What could be worse, my father slapped me on my face and threatened me to stop crying. He then pointed his gun on my head and told me not to breathe a word to anyone. He also warned me that I should not do such a thing with anybody except him. He said, 'I am the only teacher'.

Then he made me clean myself. I could hardly control myself. I went to my bedroom in difficulty. I was not able to walk properly for about a week. I suffered for long time because of the burning sensation I felt during urination.

After that incidence, I was scared to see my father's face. For about two weeks I managed to live hiding my self in the maid's room. But after about two weeks he again ordered me to bring him something to drink. I did. I once again entered into his dreadful bedroom. He was watching pornography and forced me to watch the film. I felt ashamed and I was trying not to see it.

He then ordered me to take off my clothes and to do just like the women in the film. He seemed determined to kill me. Then I took off my clothes without any hesitation. He then penetrated me at the back as was seen on the film. It was very painful and I cried. I think the vaginal penetration was only partial while he did full penetration at the back, which is why it hurted so much. My emotions were mixed up and I was laughing at the same time. My father believed that I was enjoying what he was doing to me. But I laughed because I could not believe how a father would do such a shameful thing to his daughter. I was thinking about my mother and hardly noticed what was going on. I was disturbed to even imagine her reaction to such an evil deed on me by my own father.

My father in the mean time was asking me where he should touch me to make me feel happier. I did not breathe a word but rather I was shivering with fear. I thought I am with a monster. Every word that

She also told me that her instincts warned her that I was somehow in trouble. That was the reason behind her sudden arrival. I urged her to take me home with her.

I could not control my emotions and embarrassed my mother by saying that I would commit suicide if she were not willing to take me home. She took me to the corner of the pavement and insisted me to tell her all that has happened to me. I did not have the courage to tell her that shameful story. I simply said that my father was not just like a father to me anymore.

She could not understand and asked me to elaborate what I meant. Then, after hesitating a while, I told her what the so-called father has done to me. She shouted and then fainted on the side of the road.

People gathered and helped her to regain her consciousness. She was acting like a mad woman on the way. She was talking to herself and also punching the taxi we were in. She then directly took me to the police station and we reported the case. My father got imprisoned for few days and then released with the reason I really do not understand.

The aftermath effect of the Abuse:

Now I feel that I am a different person. I do not have the natural skill to interact with people that the old me used to have. I feel like everybody reads my shameful story by just seeing my face. I try as hard as I can to minimize the moments people throw their eyes on me. If I have to go to a hospital, for instance, I go there early in the morning where the crowd is likely to be less.

I lost my appetite and much of my weight. I am worried a lot that I could have contracted HIV because my father has had many sexual partners. I stopped taking care of myself because I could not get a sense out of it. I blamed myself for insisting to live with my father. I should have lived in such a poor condition with my mother than living in a villa filled with horrifying experiences.

The flash backs of the incidences are as painful as the incidences themselves. I do not want to remember the incidence but it creeps in my memory so often. It is even worse when I fall asleep; it is then that thoughts and dreams consume me. Well, what else can I do than just to wish to turn back the time. I grow anxious and nervous when my peers started discussing matters pertaining to sex in my presence.

My father has demoralized me by what he did and also by insulting me 'yegeled lij'. Adjusting myself to the living standard of my mother was also a problem to me. Because, material wise, I had a better life with my father.

I could say that I had a great interest for education and my performance was excellent while I was with my mother. Then my performance declined after I started living with my father not only because I was disturbed by his abusive act but also the syllabus was tough compared to the school I was in. I was studying hard to secure similar grades. But I lost all the motivation when I learned that my father did not love me anymore. And my performance dramatically declined. I had to be a 10th grade student by now but I am still in grade 7 because I repeated two grades and got interrupted on the year in which the incident was disclosed.

I play with my peers freely pretending that I am like anybody else. But when my friends talk about their fathers and want to know about mine, I get embarrassed. These moments make me feel that I am inferior to anyone in the world. I feel empty inside. It is hard to be fatherless while he is alive and living in the same city.

I have lost trust on people and particularly on men. Hence, I do not want to create an intimate relationship with anybody. Sometimes when I went to visit my relatives or if they came to visit us, and if I have to sleep the night with a relative I spend the night awake protecting my body.

One day I may get married and have a daughter. But I will not allow her father to get close to her. If my husband wishes to play with our daughter, then somebody should be there keeping an eye on him. Who can trust fathers!

I have developed fear to darkness because I feel that any of these wild men could attack me. I have also developed extreme fear towards my father in place of the deep love I had for him. I feel that he has got all the power to destroy me and I even shiver when I see his picture. When I was in the court to testify against him, I was in a great fear that in any minute he would do something to kill me. I believe that my father is the worst of all men; and it is me who would shoot the first bullet if he were to be killed. Thanks to

the justice system, he is living freely now; may be ruining others children's life too. Whether I fail or succeed, I will never give up fighting him legally.

Coping mechanism:

I would say that no one in the world is hurt psychologically as I am. But I came to realize that I have to pull myself out of such distressful state; at least for the sake of my mother. She unreservedly helped me to overcome my problems. She is a role model for me. She has passed through a lot of trials and tribulations but with in all these she bitterly struggled to peruse her education. From being a housemaid, she has turned into becoming a secretary. Now she is working at a governmental organization.

I became self-counselor and decided to change my life. Whenever I feel down inside, I stand in front of a mirror; I call my name and tell myself that I am beautiful, strong and with endless positive qualities. Hence, I feel good. When any thought creeps in my mind, which I cannot entertain, I sing out so loud that my ears only hear my song. Even sometimes I dance naked till I get too tired and fall asleep so deeply.

I also joined a marshal art club and started training. It makes me feel relaxed and confident. I believe it will enable me to protect myself from any attack of men. One thing is for sure it has changed my life. I feel that my sweat wipes out the old part of me. My dream now is to be; what my father wanted me not to be that is a famous and successful woman. One proof is that I am some how improving on my performance at school.

Discussion

1. Traumatic Sexualization

The Dynamics

- *The offender transmitted misconceptions about sex and morality*

The offender has attempted to manipulate the child through lies and misinterpretation about moral standards. He tried to rationalize his evil deeds as something vital to the child's future. Besides, he tried to create misconception as if fathers are the first practical teachers of sex to their daughters and hence they

should not seek such an experience from other people. As the child has indicated, the offender used to say, 'I am the only teacher'.

- *Offender exchanged attention and affection for sex*

The child was eager to get back the offender's attention and love, after being neglected by him. She attempted to show how much she cares and loves him by fixing coffee, etc. And on one particular occasion when he called her and put her on his lap, she was feeling good because she thought she had finally won back his love. But, after sometime she realized that it was not fatherly love.

Psychosocial Effects and Its Behavioral Manifestations:

As Finkelhor & Browne (1988) indicated these dynamics are the major causes for a survivor child's disruption of intimate and sexual relationships because it inappropriately conditions their sexual responsiveness. Besides, the way the offender used to evoke a sexual response from the child and her full awareness of the implication of the activities since the first intercourse is believed to increase the degree of the traumatic sexualization. But as the child is not yet sexually active, it is not possible to investigate whether or not these dynamics interfered in her marriage life particularly in her sexual relationship.

However, few psychological problems that are expected from survivor children who passed through the mentioned dynamics are identified in this particular child's case too. These include increased abstinence from discussions related to sexual issues, mistrust of men and confusion about sexual norms. The child indicated that when her peers raised issues related to sex, her memory of the incidence gets triggered and hence makes her disturbed. The flashbacks of the incidences also disturbed the child while she sleeps. It also seems that the child has developed confusions about family boundaries, because she does not feel comfortable while sleeping with any relatives. In fact, lack of trust has more to do with the feeling of betrayal.

2. Stigmatization

The Dynamic

- *The offender, denigrated the child*

Feven has received so many bad connotations from the offender, which definitely could affect her self-esteem. For instance, he was naming her 'yepered lij' when he wanted to proposition her for his sexual needs and to imply that she does not deserve to be his daughter. Besides, he tried to indicate that she wanted and enjoyed what happened in order to make her feel that she shares a part in the incidence.

Psychosocial Effects and its Behavioral Manifestation:

The derogatory remarks forwarded by the offender while he intended to proposition Feven for his sexual needs are the major factors that intensified the child's feeling of stigmatization. Particularly, the way he interpreted her emotions (crying and laughing loudly) while the abuse went on led her to experience shame and anger. She said, 'every word that came out of his mouth heightened my anger. How I preferred his silence!' This implies that the words of the offender were more damaging than the physical act as it was intended to make the child share the responsibility for his evil deeds. It also assured her that inflicting serious emotional and physical pain on her was a joyful experience for him. 'He did not care about my reaction', she reported. She also indicated that his senseless words still echoed in her ear and hence interfered with her day-to-day activities. Negative remarks of offenders are identified as major elements that made survivors' experience shame and stigma (Finkelhor & Browne, 1988; Prendergast, 1993).

The offender involved Feven in sexual relationship in a sadistic manner and hence there seems no way that the child could enjoy it. That is why she does not seem to have any guilty feelings related to this. What made her laugh then? As the child indicated, she laughed not because she felt happy about what was going on but only because she could not believe the situation she was in. She could not believe how a father could be such a 'cruel wild animal' on his own daughter. It is also because she found herself in a very painful and unbelievable situation that she dissociated herself.

She was immersed in her thought; what her mother could say if she by any miracle could see what was going on and was not feeling as if she was there. This shows that the child was emotionally detached (dissociated) during the abuse. Such a reaction is referred as dissociation and noted as a natural psychological response to being hurt or feeling pain and allows a child to literary take a break from the

abuse; to distance her/himself from what was going on and ultimately to survive (Finney 1992; Munuro, 2000).

As a result of such cruel treatment of the offender, the child's perception of self is altered. His action demonstrated to her that she is a worthless creature who is not worth taking care of or not worth protecting. She started to see herself in the same mirror that the offender placed for her. She looked at it and evaluated herself in the same way as the offender. She explained that she feels empty inside and inferior to anyone. A child begins to see him/herself through the eyes of an important figure in his/her world and acquires the idea that who he/she is as a person (Mead, 1934 in Gleitman, 1996). The negative feelings she experienced then discouraged her to take care of herself, as she 'could not get a sense out of it'. Her unfavorable evaluation of self implies that she has developed low self-esteem.

In addition to this, her low self-esteem made her to undermine her self-confidence and the drive to fulfill her life's potential. As a result, she has lost her motivation for school and hence her educational performance dramatically declined. Her social life has also affected as she cannot express her feelings freely. She associates with her friends pretending to have enjoyed their companionship. 'I do not have the natural skills to interact with people that the old me used to have', Feven admitted. Her feeling of inferiority heightens when her peers speak freely anything about their fathers and expected her to complement in such discussions. What possibly could she say about him? She has experienced repeated anxiety in such discussion, because she did not have anything good to say about her father. The only way out is to escape tacitly from such topics, though she is unable to escape from the feelings that disturb her. All these imprinted bad feelings along with the day-to-day life challenges made her uncomfortable to associate with people; she isolated herself as much as she could. The mother also indicated that her child even if she feels loneliness still preferred isolation.

3. Betrayal

The dynamics

○ *Trust and vulnerability manipulated*

The child has left her mother's house, which was full of love and went to her father believing that he would give her better care and support that is naturally expected from a father. This trust of the child and vulnerability is manipulated with callous disregard.

○ *The child's well-being disregarded*

The abuse of the offender involves physical sexual abuse (sexual fondling, sexual kissing, anal and vaginal penetration), verbal sexual abuse (use of 'dirty' languages which is inappropriate to the child's age, made lewd comment on her breast) and emotional sexual abuse (exposed her to pornographic film to fulfill his emotional needs), which clearly indicates how the offender totally disregarded the well-being of the child.

Psychosocial Effects and Its Behavioral Manifestation:

The offender was emotionally close and nurturing towards the child before and even for few months after they started living together. Hence, love and trust was already developed. It is also because of his unreserved treatment he showed her while she was paying him a visit that she got impressed and insisted to live with him. It is then that he started to manifest neglectful behavior with the reason she could not understand. She tried to do whatever she believed could enable her to bring back her father's love and attention. It is this need of fatherly love and attention that exploited in sadistic manner for own sexual needs.

The offender started his abusive relationship with inappropriate touching and kissing and gradually moved towards intercourse. The child named all the experiences she had before the penetration, a confusing relationship. She could not totally label the relationship as an abusive because she was not sure that a father was capable of doing something like this to his own daughter. The relationship that goes further, she calls it 'the worst' as it made the father's motive crystal clear. She said, '...he took off my panty. I got shocked....'

The initial feelings of confusion then transferred to shock. She faced the reality that the very important person, father, betrayed her trust. Finkelhor & Browne (1988) also indicated that a child who initially experienced the contact as nurturing and loving feel more betrayed when he/she suddenly realized what is really happening. As the result of such a realization, the child has felt guilt for getting tricked by his artificial manifestation of love and insisted to live with him. Besides, she has developed a hostile feeling towards her father as he betrayed her trust in such a violent manner. She said, '...it is me who would shoot the first bullet if he were to be killed.' Finney (1992) explained the emotion of hatred as a natural and spontaneous feeling that grows from actions we find reprehensible and the hurt is unbearable.

The feeling of betrayal also led her to grief and experience depression. She indicated that she feels empty inside and has a sense of differentness, is unable to sleep well, lost her appetite and much of her weight, etc. which referred as major symptoms of depression (Santrock, 1997; Fernald & Fernald, 1999). The mother also witnessed these distressful behaviors. Besides, the mother indicated that the child has manifested regressive behaviors like bedwetting and thumb sucking. Such regressive behaviors are developed when anxiety becomes too great to cope with and hence people revert to an early behavior that gives them pleasure (Fernald & Fernald, 1999). The same explanation could be given in this child's case, as there was no medical problem related to her bedwetting.

Besides, it is easy to infer how the child's ability to judge the trustworthiness of other's impaired as the result of the incidence. She explained that she has no trust in anyone except her mother. Particularly, she has developed hatred and mistrust towards men. For instance, she has indicated that if she would marry in any way, she would never allow her husband to create a close relationship with their daughter. She said, '... if my husband wishes to play with our daughter, then somebody should be there keeping an eye on him. Who can trust fathers?' The survivor child also insisted the researcher to take similar cautions while raising her daughter. This shows that she has generalized as if all fathers are potential rapists/abusers of their own daughters. Such a generalized feeling is believed to damage the child's entire family relationship. It

could also negatively affect her daughter's development, as fathers are almost equally important for the development of a child in a healthy family structure.

The child also indicated that she feels insecure while she was made to sleep the night with any relative guests in times when there is shortage of bed. She said, 'I spend the night awake protecting my body'. This behavior of the child indicated that she has also developed confusion over trust as she failed to recognize dangerous situations, which possibly lead to sexual abuse. These behavioral manifestations are in line with what WACSAP (1995) explained in regard with trust issue. It is explained that when trust is betrayed by sexual abuse, the victim is left unsure of whom to trust and this in turn lead the victim to be either chronically fearful of danger, or lacks a healthy awareness of danger (in Carnes, 1997).

In general, from the mentioned behavioral manifestation of the child, it is possible to understand that the child has lost her trust on people. She believes that if a father is capable of committing sexual abuse on his own daughter, there is nothing that inhibits others from doing similar things. This sense of generalization is believed to create a problem in her social life particularly in her marriage life unless resolved through professional help. Prendergast (1993) also stressed that perceiving the abuse as a whole relationship may damage interpersonal relationship throughout the remaining of survivor's life.

4. Powerlessness

The Dynamics

- *Body territory invaded against the child's wish*

The child's body territory had been invaded repeatedly by using force and threat

- *Vulnerability of invasion continued overtime*

The child had no one around to disclose the case and hence, she was vulnerable to repeated abusive act of the offender. The offender managed to abuse her for about two years, though he penetrated her on three occasions only.

could do something to kill her. This seems in line with the McGee explanations (2000) about the way survivors perceive their offender. He noted: 'the abuser is all-powerful in the eyes of the abused'.

The father's use of such excessive power on the child, who is physically weak and totally dependent on him, is unusual when compared with other fathers who involved their daughters in sexual relationship. They usually do not use power because they have already implanted the idea that they are the head of the house and no one could question their behavior. Besides, the strong biological attachment served them to avoid use of force. As Geiser (1979) cited in Zinn and Eitzen (1996) indicated, such abuse is carried out in a caring relationship and hence precludes any need for force in many cases. Winkley (1996) indicated that if the abuser used to manifest unpleasant and neglecting behavior (same as the offender did in this case) towards the child well before the abuse starts, then it is possible to conclude that the offender has a feeling of sexual aggression towards the child.

Case Presentation –(2B)

(Tsinat- Feven's mother)

Tsinat, who is 38, was living with her stepmother before she became a housemaid at the perpetrators house. She had a fiancé who was a student at a university. But her being raped and impregnated by her employer shattered everything. Soon as her fiancé discovered that she was impregnated, they broke up.

Tsinat tried to make an abortion but failed. She left her employer's house and rented a house to raise her daughter. Though low wage works were the only thing she could manage, she pursued her education to secure diploma in secretary. Then she got hired at a government organization. As her child insisted, she sent her to her father when she was eleven.

Tsinat appears older than her age. She has a distressed feeling. Her expression of her feelings and experiences was a matured one. She described herself as a strong woman and assertive but only failed to realize her goal due to unfortunate circumstances in her life. She described the father of her daughter as a very selfish, aggressive, isolated, drunk, and over sexy man.

The interview was conducted for 3 days, each of which took about one and half an hour. The first session, i.e., the introductory part was carried out at a hotel while the rest were in a church compound. She narrates her history as:

Reaction of the non-offending mother upon disclosure:

Since her father prohibited me from seeing my daughter, I stopped visiting her at school. But one day, I felt that my daughter is not all right and decided to meet her at school.

As I was getting closer to the school, I saw my daughter running towards me. She cried falling on my legs. She was not having her usual attractive appearance. I took her up and asked what happened. My daughter kept on crying than telling me anything.

But finally, she told me all about her father's evil deeds. I just fell down unconsciously. On awakening, I almost lost my mind. I remember the multitude around my daughter and me. I could not explain anything to anyone. We directly went to the police station and reported the case. He then got imprisoned for few days and released on bail.

Effect on her:

I thought my daughter would have a good future if she lives with her rich father. But it is a tragedy to find out that he has ruined her life as he did mine. I had passed through a very long and difficult way to get rid off the problems that resulted from his abuse. I survived wasting too much energy and sacrificing almost everything that were valuable to me. In fact, I somehow managed to taste the fruit of my effort, as I became a government employee. I had even started to look the future in a better way and planned to peruse my education. Again he interfered in my life and vanished all my hope.

Accepting the horrible fact that the same person abused my child made me crazy. The situation made me believe that I am a sinful creature who is worth anything good. I hated myself. I lost the meaning of life and hence I was preoccupied with thought of suicide. But I had to look after my daughter. I tried to be strong in the presence of my daughter and tend to control my emotions in order not to intensify hers. But the truth is that I always feel tense and worried to the extent that I talk alone on the road and hence people

reminded me to watch my behavior. I never felt happy; I rather grieved a lot and got depressed. I am also suffering from headaches and gastritis. I fall asleep but I wake up in the middle and then I fail to sleep again. I have lost my appetite. As these situations created fatigue, I could not concentrate on my work. I do some silly mistakes, which damages my reputation.

I feel inferior and different from my friends. I lost interest on people and hence I intentionally inhibit my self from social gatherings as much as I can. I feel guilt and blame myself for failing to understand the clues she told me about her father's misbehavior. I could have stopped him there if I would understand her. One of his relative has also told me that the person does not know family boundaries saying that he raped her. But I never suspect that he would do such an evil deed to his own daughter. Any way it is too late and here I am cursing myself.

I also feel hopeless when I think of my child's future. Would any man dare to marry my daughter knowing her story? Not at all if she does not move to another city where no body knows her background. I believe it is the duty of the government as well as non-governmental organizations to help such children.

What exacerbates my problem is that the offender is not convicted. He has to pay for his evil deeds. That is why I declined to receive any money from him in compensations and retract the charges. I do not understand why the judiciaries failed to give us justice for three years. We testified everything that has happened and the medical certificate also assured that my daughter is sexually abused. They just said that we do not have enough witnesses. It is ridiculous. How can one witness such crimes committed under the cover of father-daughter relationship behind the closed door?

It is not fair to let such a dangerous man live inside the society. He is living relaxed whereas my daughter and me are suffering each minute of our lives. I do not feel secured. He once tried to crush me with his car; and he can kill me if they do not throw him in jail, where he belongs. This long process of the court procedures is creating problems at my office. Asking permission every now and then for court appointment is making me tense. But I know one thing for sure, if the government fails to give us justice, then I will take the law in my hand.

Effect on her child's behavior:

She feels very depressed. She often breaks into tears. She cannot sleep well. She shouts in her dreams that someone is terrifying to catch and kill her. She used to suck her thumb as in her early ages. She used to lose her urine often. With the limited income I had, it was an additional burden for me to change her mattress often. I took her to the hospital for check-up but they assured me that she has no medical problem.

She feels too lonely, as she has no father, sister or brother. Even though she felt lonely, she preferred isolation. She sometimes becomes aggressive and threatening, as though she would commit suicide. But thanks to God, I could say that she has improved a lot. Though it was very difficult to pay for her marshal art training, I want her to continue. It has somehow made her feel good. She has even started studying and seeing the future in a positive way.

Discussion

Psychological Effect

Shock- The highly emotional news that Tsinat heard from her daughter shocked her to the extent that she lost her consciousness. Learning the fact then gave way to grief and experience anger. The angry feeling was directed towards the offender for ruining her daughter's life as he ruined hers. The child also indicated that, Tsinat failed to control her anger and was acting as a mad woman on their way to the police station till she warranted other people attentions. Her angry feeling towards the offender made her to be preoccupied with thought of revenge as the law failed to give her justice.

Guilt- Tsinat felt guilty, as she had failed to pick up the clue that her child and one of the relative of the offender hinted in regard with the undesirable behavior of the offender. 'Any way it is too late and I am cursing myself', Tsinat admitted.

Depressions- Tsinat seems learned from her own experience that recovery from sexual abuse could be a long process and that the effect is not going away easily. Hence she felt hopeless about her daughter's future. She also lost her motivation of changing her life for better as the incidence created feeling of guilt,

inferiority and worthlessness, which stem from lack of control of one's life. These negative self-view can be explained as development of lowered self-esteem. These negative emotions in turn made her feel depressed, preoccupied with thoughts of suicide and also led her to limit her social relationships. Cohen & Hart (1997) noted that depression takes the form of negative ideas, in which the person sees him/herself, the world around him /herself and the future unfavorably.

Feeling insecure— As Tsinat reported the offender has once tried to kill her by crushing her with his car for pressing charge against him. As a result, she is afraid of him and feels terribly insecure.

Anxiety— the daughter's inability to adjust back to the poor living condition and the behavioral problems of the child (e.g. bedwetting) made Tsinat feel anxious. She described herself a worried and tense woman. As a result, she reported that she is unable to sleep well, feels fatigue, lost her appetite, suffer from gastritis and headaches. These physical symptoms could be a possible response to her anxious feeling (Gleitman, 1996; Fernald & Fernald, 1999).

Effect on the relationship between mother and daughter:

Though Tsinat was shocked and failed to control herself as she heard the highly emotional news, she did not blame the child for the incidence. She directed her anger to where it belonged - the offender, and took her own part. Then, she decisively and without ambivalence responded to protect her child. This supportive response of the mother builds trust and sense of security on her child. Besides, it played a significant role to the child's determination of overcoming her own emotional problems on her own ways. The child has also acknowledged her mother's effort and determined that 'at least for the sake of her mother' she should be able to achieve her goal. Research studies have also shown that belief and support by the non-offending mother could reduce the negative impact of the sexual abuse (Finkelhor & Browne, 1988).

In short, the incidence in this particular case did not create a negative relationship between the mother and the daughter rather it made them closer and supportive to one another to cope up with their own emotional problems.

Effect on occupation:

Tsinat explained that the incidence has affected her effectiveness in work as the emotional problems made her feel fatigue. As she often needed to absent from her work to follow the court process this has also created a problem in her reputation.

Case Presentation (3A)

(Maramawit)

Introduction

Maramawit, 16, is a grade ten student living with her foster parents in Addis Ababa. Her foster parents took the responsibility of raising her up when she was only nine months old. The foster mother is the sister of her biological father. But the child did not know that she was an adopted child till recently.

In all the four interview sessions, which were held in a rather quiet recreation center, Maramawit appeared depressed. She spoke so slowly with a broken heart. She frequently burst into tears. Falling short of words to express the bitter experience of the incidence, she tried to complement it by writing it on a paper. But it was much the same to what she has orally explained and was filled with words like _ 'I do not know how to express my feelings'. She narrates her story as:

Family Structure:

I could say that there was no peace in the family. My father was totally violent towards my mother. He usually got drunk and used to insult and beat her. They reached to a point where they could no longer live together when I was six. But after three years of separation, they got back together.

My father used to treat me in a completely different way. He never punished me physically. He used to provide me love and care. I remember how happy I was when he told me stories and played with me. My mother used to complain when he gave me money to buy candy and biscuits for fear that I would get spoiled. I like to stay home if he was there but for reasons that I did not know she always used to take me wherever she went.

About the incidence:

I was religious and used to attend church ceremonies. One day as usual I was in the church and my father came and ordered me to collect the shoes he bought for my mother and me. I eagerly followed him to his brother's house, where there was nobody.

My father began to act strangely- he locked the room and gave me a cake to eat. As it was a fasting, I declined to eat. All of a sudden, he covered my mouth and threw me on the bed. I thought he had gone crazy. But it was more than that. He wildly undressed me. I wanted desperately to run away from him but I could not. I then began feeling pain and blood started running through my legs as he penetrated me.

Everything happened so quickly leaving embarrassment. For a moment or two I thought I was with somebody else, not my father. But it was he. He threatened me and said that he would destroy the entire family if I breathe a word.

I went home walking in a great difficulty. Night was falling and I knew that my mother was worried about me. I had no idea what to tell her. With shivering body and pounding heart, I entered into the compound and hid myself. My mother was checking the door every now and then.

The innocent looking father came in and tried to tell my mother to be a bit patient. He even asked her to go to bed and look for me in the morning. But she remained impatient. As she was walking around the compound with torchlight, she noticed me. She took me out of the place where I was hiding.

My mother along with a neighbor kept on asking me where I had been. She was examining my body from hair to foot and noticed the blood. She immediately realized that I was raped. She got shocked and shouted out wildly and the neighbor fainted seeing the blood. My mother slapped me repeatedly as I failed to say a word about who did that to me. I did not breathe a word because my father was standing outside. My mother took me to the police, around midnight, telling me all the way that she would not dare to live with a child who had given up her virginity. My father was also there.

Disclosure:

The police promised me that no one would hurt me following the disclosure. I then told them that I could tell what happened only if my family leaves the room. They all left and I told the police that the perpetrator is my father. They too were shocked and managed to imprison my father right away. I stood still and watching everybody going mad following the disclosure. My mother, my uncle, and our neighbor all reacted in utter shock and disbelief.

Getting back home, my mother and my uncle beat me so severely. I felt numb and frozen, as no one could understand how my father tricked me. They were saying that I should not have trusted my father and followed him to his brother's house. But how could I possibly not trust my father?

Aftermaths of the abuse:

I never imagined that my father, whom I loved most, could harm me in anyway. I still feel that he did such a bad thing on me not to hurt me but my mother. Still now the only person I blamed is my self. I should have suspected, as he had never bought me anything like that before. My mother and my uncle might be right in blaming and beating me.

After that day, I could not get out of my bed for about two weeks. I felt shame and guilt for disrupting my family. On the other hand, I felt betrayed as no one was sympathizing for my suffering. I hated my self. I lost appetite. I could not sleep peacefully as the flashbacks disturbed me. Then my mother took me to holly water and I somehow felt better. As I was not mentally stable to follow my education, it got interrupted in the year the incidence happened. I had an ambition of growing into a great and famous woman. But now I felt I did not deserve it. I used to stand from 2nd-4th rank in a class but I stopped studying and became one of the lowest performing students in a class. I wonder who I would have been and what I would have done if that incidence had not happened.

I started to sense the difference at home and at school. I feel better at school because nobody knew what I went through. It enabled me to pretend as if I am the same person that they know. But inside me, I consider myself inferior to anyone. How could I possibly feel same as no one loved and cared for me? I still

could manage to pretend and control my emotions. It was only when my friends talk about issues related to love and sex that I got nervous. I did not want to hear and participate in such discussions. It triggers my memory of the incidence. I also feel that if I get married I would remember the incidence more often. Hence, I do not want to engage in any intimate relationship. Never.

At home and in neighborhood I did not have peace. It was there I feel extreme depression and loneliness. I wish I could find a way to avoid the sight of people who know about my shame. Though I tried to use a different path to my school so as to avoid meeting people whom I know, it did not help me much. I remembered how a man from a neighborhood bothered me saying, 'you have allowed your father to have sex with you; so why not me?' Oh! I cannot tell how intense the feeling of shame was. I almost went out of my mind.

The sexual abuse of my father put an indelible scar on my being and could never fade away as time passed by. In fact, as I grew older it began to weigh on me and hence interfered with my day-to-day activities. I became very ashamed, depressed; enjoy crying, as I feel empty inside. I could not feel happiness any minute of my life. I hate to interact with people particularly with my family members. The feeling of worthlessness and stigmatization kept on clicking my mind particularly when there is appointment in the court. It was a terrifying experience to witness in the presence of my father. The long drawn out judiciary process damaged my relationship with my mother. She manifested a rude behavior every time she had an appointment in the court. She nagged me saying that it is because of me that she was a public disgrace and faced extra expenses. I must say that it is needless to disclose such incidences if the law fails to make justice. I also believe that I would somehow forget about the incidence if and only if the offender is convicted.

This heart breaking and deeply agonizing experience also makes me wonder why God let it to happen, but there was no answer. I then decided to put an end to my life and drank kerosene. It did not kill me but made me suffer with vomiting and diarrhea. Though I have regretted my surviving, I felt better after hurting myself.

After a while (in 2003) I heard something that drew my attention. The guests who were in our home were saying that, as the offender is not my biological father the incidence is not as such surprising. I was totally confused and disturbed. I confronted my mother. She revealed the truth. I learned that my real father is the person who used to come very infrequently to visit us pretending as my uncle. Even after I knew that the offender was not my true father, I could not feel better because what I know as a father is he. I still feel I am raped by my own father. I also learned that my biological mother was dead and I have got four siblings. I met my father once after I knew that he is my father. We did not discuss anything about the incidence. I did not experience a special feeling on seeing him. In fact I felt angry because I thought that he was the one who let me face the evil side of the world. Now I have a mixed feeling. I wish to meet my siblings on one hand and I fear the feeling of shame on the other hand.

Life goes on; still I am with my own problems. The most difficult thing about this incidence is my inability to talk my inner feelings to friends, as it is taboo. Hence, it made me suffer inside alone. If I attempt to explain my feeling to my family, they always tell me that it served me right. Many of the teachers related my low performance with falling in love and used to say words that were nice, to say the least. Naturally this aggravated my problems. No one seemed to understand me. I wish there is a real professional who could help children like me either at school setting or other places. I really hate to hear people telling me to forget everything and go on with my life. If forgetting were such an easy thing, why would I wait till people tell me to forget? Why would I let myself suffer with negative emotions?

Coping strategy

I cried to reduce my tension. I used to express my emotions by writing on the paper to get relief. It helped but I tear it off immediately, as I feel ashamed of what I write. I listen to the radio and write poem if my mood became gloomy. The realization that I was not alone and many children in this country were victims of such sexual abuses somehow eased the burden in me.

Recently, I am coming to understand that I cannot change any thing by being continually distressed and isolated. I feel that I should work hard to earn good grades in school leaving exam. But can I really

cope with my problems and make use of the time to make my dreams true? That is a very hard question only time would answer.

Discussion

1. Traumatic Sexualization

The dynamics

- *Offender exchanged affection and attention for sex*

The child innocently assumed that her father's sudden arrival was just to give her what he bought her and was eager to receive it but he exchanged her innocent feeling with sex

- *Sexual activities conditioned with negative memories and feelings*

The incidence occurred forcibly and quickly in terrifying manners by a trusted person, father.

Psychosocial effects and its Behavioral Manifestations:

Maramawit was exposed to sexual experience as early as age five as the mother reported. But she did not recall the incidence, as she may not understand the sexual activities of the offender and hence she is not traumatized by the abuse. The incidence, therefore, may not have any impact in her intimate/sexual life. A truly traumatized child remembers every details of the incidence (Finkelhor, 1984). Finkelhor & Browne (1988) also indicated that if a child failed to understand the sexual implication of the offender's activities because of young age or developmental level then he/she is less likely to experience traumatic sexualization. Unlike the first incidence, Maramawit remembers the incidence happened at her age ten. She was fully aware of the sexual implication of the offender's activities and has got frightening memories of the incidence, which led her associate intimate relationships with negative emotions. This day was a day she learned that her father's loving treatment was not prompted from a fatherly love but was grooming her for his sexual advances. Her father's unexpected forceful sexual abuse caused her to develop aversion to intimate relationships as she associated it with negative experiences. She indicated that she never want to establish a loving relationship and get married in the future. She believes that what her father did would have a hugely damaging effect on such a relationship, as it would trigger the memory of the incidence. She

even not feeling comfortable when anything related to sex raised and discussed by her peers and hence she usually leave the group. Would such feeling persist in her future life and damage her intimate relationship? Nothing could be said at the moment. But, it can be guessed based on what research findings (e.g. Finkelhor & Browne, 1988; Prendergas, 1993; Kimmel & Weiner, 1995) came up with the possible effects of being negative to intimate relationships that is she might develop hyposexuality unless she received professional help.

2. Stigmatization

The dynamics

- *Offender forced the child for secrecy*

The offender threatened the child that he would destroy the entire family if the case revealed

- *Significant others showed shock reaction upon disclosure*

No one managed to control his or her emotions while the child disclosed who the offender was. '...watched everybody going mad following the disclosure', the child explained.

- *The child inferred attitudes of shame about the experience*

The way her family treated her and the remarks of a neighbor man made her to think that what happened is a serious taboo

- *The child was blamed by her family for the incidence*

The child was blamed for what has happened. She said, ' they were saying that I shouldn't have trusted my father and followed him...'

- *The child was stereotyped as damaged good*

The mother was telling the child that she wouldn't imagine living with her as she lost her virginity.

Psychosocial effects and its Behavioral Manifestation:

The child was well aware that what her father did to her was something wrong. His threat to keep the case secretly also ensured her that what happened is not something people should hear. She felt shame and hidden in the compound as she did not master the courage to face her mother.

The mother and the neighbor woman reacted in shock and disbelief as they see the blood on her leg even before they realized who the perpetrator was. The mother threatened her that she would not let her live with her as she lost her virginity. This remarks of the mother is believed to transmit a message to the child that she is not worthy creature anymore. The child's sense of worthlessness may start to be experienced from that moment on.

The mother and the child's uncle (not the real father) also put on the blame on the child and made her feel responsible for the inappropriate action of the offender. As a result, the child internalized the feeling of shame and guilt that is continuously inculcated into her minds by the significant others. '... till now the only person I blame is myself', Maramawit explained. It is also possible to learn that she still experiences feeling of shame as she even lost the courage to visit her siblings whom she never met. Finkelhor & Browne (1988) also noted that the abused child feeling of stigmatization could be reinforced if significant others reacted in shock upon disclosure and blamed the victim child for what has happened.

Maramawit inferred attitude of shame about the incidence as a result of the negative reaction and labeling of the family, and the derogatory remarks of a neighbor man who said, ' you have allowed your father to have sex with you; so why don't you allow me? ' There negative attitude and reaction possibly demonstrate to her that she is not worth taking care of and even she is loathsome. As a result, she lost interest in family, experienced feeling of exceptionality, inferiority, worthlessness, developed low self-esteem, low self-efficacy, experienced social isolation which led to extreme depression. These emotional and behavioral manifestations are also pointed out as hallmarks of depression (Santrock, 1997; Giletman, 1996; Ferland & Ferland, 1999). As it is further explained depressed people interpret their life in self-defeating ways and have negative expectation about the future (Baron, 1995; Giletman, 1996). The child interpreted her life in defeatist terms. She said, ' I lost the ambition to be a great person by excelling in academic area', as she didn't expect nothing good about the future. As Baron (1995) explained such a tendency of disengagement from a goal, which is expressed by giving up upon reaching the goal that is being blocked by stress, is a behavior of pessimist people. It is because she became pessimist that she got

foreshortened future and started to perform very poorly in class. Her poor performance again created a mixed feeling. On one hand, her failure seems to justify her worthlessness feeling that is, what does excellence matters for a person who labeled worthless and stigmatized? On the other hand, it served to aggravate her inferiority and guilty feeling. She said, ' I wonder who I would have been and what I would have done if the incidence had not happened to me', which implies that she admitted her lower position in life and that she is not happy about it.

Maramawit's overall failure in all aspects of life heightened her emotional problem from time to time. She said, 'The scar my father imprinted in my mind never fades away' which shows the avoidance strategies she used to cope with her problems did not help her overcome the negative emotions. Hence, she sought a solution that would give her immediate relief and that was suicide. Baron (1995) noted that people commit suicide when they feel extreme depression and seek a drastic solution to their problem. Fortunately, she survived after experiencing a serious health problem. She felt better as she managed to punish her body that she thought is responsible for all the blames. She explained, 'I felt better as I hurt myself'. It is indicated that the loss of the self-esteem to a dangerous extent lead to depression, which could be manifested in self-mutilation and self-destructive behaviors (Finkelhor & Browne, 1988; Prendergast, 1993).

Recently, as she was going to sit for the school leaving exam, she began to realize that the result will determine her future and if she is not going to work hard on her studies there is no way out of such a distressing life and a chance to live independently. But at the same time she is not quite sure that she could manage to make up for the time she wasted doing anything relevant in relation to her education. This in turn has created a feeling of frustration in her. As Fernald & Fernald (1999) indicated people experience frustration in any situation in which they feel they cannot realize a desired goal.

3. Betrayal

The Dynamics

- *Vulnerability and trust manipulated*

The offender, who is her father, whom she has learned to depend on, trust, and love suddenly turn on her in the most terrifying and painful fashion.

o *Lack of support and protection*

The child was blamed for the events and never received support and sympathy that she expected particularly from the mother and her uncle

Psychosocial Effects and its behavioral manifestations:

The offender was nice to the abused child up until he steps across sexual boundaries. He used to buy her sweets, give her money, tell her stories, etc. and never was violent towards her as he was to her mother. Hence, she has developed trust and love. She has also indicated that she had a good childhood, as it was the time she received attention and love particularly from the offender. This loving and trusting relationship made it possible for the child to be easily tricked by the offender. She was not suspicious of his evil intentions and activities. The way he tricked her, therefore, seems the major factor that exacerbated her feeling of guilt and betrayal. She said, 'I never imagined that my father, whom I loved the most, could harm me in anyway.' She also indicated that she felt as if she was with a different person. According to Finkelhor and Browne (1988), such a betrayal feeling is common when survivors discover that someone on whom they are vitally dependent on has caused them harm. Moreover, it is indicated that a child who considered the offender's treatment as positive and loving feel more betrayed when he/she suddenly realized that what is going on. This is what happened in this child's case as she was only thinking to receive the gift that her 'loving' father bought her but treated in cruel manner that shattered her expectations.

It is also because Maramawit had a deep trust and love towards the offender that she did not feel better even after she realized he is not her biological father. '...I still feel I am raped by my own father', Maramawit said. This may imply that the feeling of betrayal is related to violation of trust and not necessarily blood relationship. It is probably for this reason that some researchers (e.g. Blume, 1990) defined sexual abuse (incest) as violation of power and trust, and argue any sexual relationship occurred

between a trusted adult and a child to be labeled as incestuous abuse. The child who found painful to face the reality that she was abused by her father attempted to rationalize the offender's evil deed as motivated to hurt her mother not her. Rationalization is a person's attempt to explain a behavior away or reinterpret and recognize it in different way than it really is (Gleitman, 1996; Munro, 2000).

The other reason in which Maramawit felt betrayal is lack of support and sympathy from her mother and uncle before and even after she revealed who the offender is. Both blamed and punished her physically in a violent manner without taking into consideration her emotional dependency and the offender's power that could make her submit to his orders. After all, is not a child a defenseless human being? This situation put her in unbearable shock. Hence, she experienced grief and depression as all she trust and love turned against her. She felt betrayed. Many research findings are also emphasized that children who were able to disclose the abuse and failed to receive support from significant others particularly from the non-offending mothers feel more betrayed and are more likely to manifest greater behavioral disturbance (Finkelhor & Browne, 1988; Prendergast, 1993; Winkely, 1996). It is also simple to understand how this child would be able to stabilize her emotions if the rest of family member were provided her support and tried to comfort her once they learned what happened. Prendergast (1993) says what happened at the time is less important than what happens later on to imply that the effect of the abuse to a great extent is determined by the reaction and attitude of significant others towards the survivor child. As no one attempted to support and comfort this particular child in this period of crisis, she developed hostility towards her family. Hence, she almost stopped interacting with them. This led her to feel lonely. Her mother also indicated that Martha feels indifferent whether the family members are in home or not. She is always in depressed mood. As Winkely (1996) observes loneliness could experience if someone feels isolated and sense that he/she does not have anyone to turn to in times of stress.

4. Powerlessness

The dynamics

- *Body territory invaded through the use of trick and force*

The offender tricked the child to follow him where he intended to commit the evil act and forced himself on her

- *Child felt unable to protect self*

The child was completely helpless and defenseless in the situation

- *Child was unable to make others understand the way she was beguiled*

The child blamed by her family members for tricked by the offender

Psychosocial Effects and its Behavioral Manifestations:

Maramawit penetrated by her father forcibly. She was not in a position to protect and halt the abuse in the first place as she was totally perplexed and unaware that she was in dangerous situation and should protect herself somehow. She says everything went on so quickly and she had no control over it. She explained, ' I wanted desperately to runaway from him but I could not and felt powerless to escape from the abuse. Such a feeling is experienced when a person realize that no action in his/her part will permit him/her to avoid the unpleasant outcome (Baron, 1995; Glietman, 1996; Santrock, 1997)

A sense of powerlessness is also experienced, as the child could not manage to make her family understand what trapped her from revealing who the offender is and that there was nothing she could do to prevent the incidence. She stood still feeling helpless as people who manifested shock and angry feeling surrounded her. One can understand how a child, only ten, could possibly feel after experiencing such a traumatic incidence and on pressurizing to reveal who the offender was while he stood just outside the door controlling the situation. Realizing the consequence of the disclosure, the child preferred to keep silent till she reached in police station.

After disclosure the continuous blame of the mother for the mess created seems to have a role in intensifying the child's sense of powerlessness. Because it made her realize that all the explanation she gave could not make them believe that she behaved innocently. Hence, she felt powerless and took on the blame for the incidence she had no responsibility. Her failure to control the situation created anxiety and

lowered sense of efficacy, which manifested in nightmares, somatic complaints (eating and sleeping disorder), low school performance and depression to the extent she forced to consider suicide.

Case Presentation – (3B)

(Yewbnesh-Maramawit's mother)

Yewbnesh who is 46 now was born in Debrebrhan. She got married when she was only eight. But she left her husband and came to Addis Ababa. She dropped out from six grade and was married the offender, who is a diploma holder and a government employee. The interview was held at her home, since there was no body else at home except her in daytime. It took me three sessions, which consumed a total of four hours. She was free in telling her story. She indicated that the confidentiality does not worry her and insisted on using her real name. She narrates her story as follows.

Family Background:

I did not have any love for my husband. I consented to get married to him because people threatened me of abduction. There is a wide age gap between us, he was above 65, and hence I used to fear him very much. We hardly discussed at all and it was he who had the power of decision. He enjoyed battering and insulting me, often for reasons I did not know. He became very violent because I could not get pregnant. It was not my problem as the medical report disclosed. We then agreed to adopt a child. My brother allowed us to have his nine month child and we took the responsibility of raising her.

Maramawit has entered in our life but my husband went on abusing alcohol and coming home very late. He continued abusing me physically and verbally. If he was not drunk he kept silent and never wanted to communicate at all. But he was good to the child. The child also loved him more than anyone.

First incidence:

It was when Maramawit turned five that my husband attempted to rape her. I left her with him and went out to take care of my commitments. When I came back home, I found her weak and sick. Because she cried when urinating I examined her vagina. It was sore. My neighbor explained the sad story that someone

Effect on the interaction of mother and daughter:

She failed to strictly consider my advice. I still blamed her for following him and in the end disrupting my marriage. Whenever I have an appointment in the court I cannot help telling her that she is more blameworthy than the offender. Hence, we have a rough relationship. Whether we are at home or not, to her it makes no difference. She is lonely.

Effect in the interaction of the entire family:

I quarreled with the entire family because they said that I should not let my husband live with me after causing all these troubles. They discriminated me and no one wanted to talk to me. The child's real father particularly blamed me for what happened. I really do not know what I could have done to prevent the incidence from happening except telling her not to get near him.

Psychosocial effect on the mother:

I am the one who suffered most by the incidence. My daughter life is ruined. My marriage is disrupted and I lost his financial support. As a result, I was forced to rent the entire house except the kitchen in which we are currently living.

I felt betrayed because of my husband evil deed. Nowadays, I cursed the day I let my husband come back after we were separated. Gangsters paid by him hit me seriously for refusing to retract the charge. I did not feel secure as long as he was not convicted. The long court process is testing my determination of getting justice. I sometimes get discouraged, felt powerless and tend to close the case. My husband is living married to another woman while my daughter and I paying for his evil deeds.

I also quarreled with my neighbors for their reluctance to testify to what they saw. They said they do not want to meddle in our affair. Though I attend social gatherings I did not feel free to communicate with any of them. I felt loneliness even when surrounded by many people (with tears).

The incidence has triggered my inferiority feeling because I believed that my husband did not do such a horrible thing if the child would have been his own. I suffered with serious headaches and gastritis.

I hate being a woman, as we do not have control of our life. I feel hopeless when I see my daughter depressed. I don't think she will have to go on living a normal life let alone the dream for her life come true. In general, my life is in a complete darkness where there is no sign of brightness.

Discussion

Psychological Effects

Shock- fearing to get hurt seriously by the reality, the mother has attempted not to believe (deny) that her husband on the first incidence sexually abused the child. She wished to get a different interpretation from one of her neighbors. But the neighbor made her face the reality. She got shocked. Her acceptance of the reality then gave way to grief.

Anger- Yewbnesh felt angry as the evil act of the offender made her feel betrayed. She grieved and felt angry, as she could not understand as to why her husband did such a horrible thing on a child who was only five. But she was fearful to disclose the case to a concerned body, as she believed that it would threaten her future security. Hence, she maintained the case secretly.

In order to protect herself from a guilty feeling that could possibly experienced as a result of her failure to report the incidence, she minimized the possible effect of the abuse on her child. She also rationalized her failure as if she felt unnecessary while the child's hymen was intact. A sexual abuse that acknowledged as a violation of social norm and illegal, what matters whether the hymen is intact or not?

The second incidence, however, did not give her a chance neither to deny the reality nor to rationalize and minimize the effect. The child was lost her virginity and she also revealed who the perpetrator is. However, the mother anger was not directed on the offender but displaced on the victim child. She blamed and hit the child. Her claim was that a child only of ten should resist her father's order while not knowing his motives. The child who questioned her innocence due to the blame of the mother also said, 'how could I possibly not trust my father?'

Yewbnesh sense of anger might have generated from the realization of the losses of companionship and finances that she will face as the result of the offender's imprisonment.

Guilty- Yewbnesh realized that it was her fault to let her husband in after witnessing his evil motives on the first incidence. She admitted that she nowadays experiencing guilty.

Loneliness- the incidence has damaged her relationship with her husband, daughter, other family member and neighbors. There has no one who understands and comforts Yewbnesh, she said, ' I feel loneliness while many people surrounded me'.

Powerlessness- Yewbnesh confessed that she wasn't comfortable in her marriage particularly after the first incidence. But she maintained it for sometime just for the sake of survival. This indicates the mother's powerlessness feeling, manifested in her tolerance of the child's abuse, has arisen from her economic dependence on the offender.

The other source of powerlessness is the inability to make the offender pay for his evil deeds, resulted from the long court process. As the story indicates, the offender is living with another woman after messing her daughter and her life. This situation made her believe that women are powerless human beings who are unable to direct their own life 'I hate being a woman, as we don't have control on our life', Yewbnesh reported.

Depression- Yewbnesh believes that she has lost everything and expects nothing from the future. She described her present condition as living in a total darkness. She feels hopeless and became pessimist. She contemplated the losses and disruption in her life and hence experienced depression. Feeling deeply discouraged about the future and dissatisfied with ones life expressed as a major symptom of depression (Santrock, 1996; Fernald & Fernald, 1999)

Insecurity- The offender has once sent gangsters who attacked her. She is afraid of similar acts unless and otherwise the offender gets jailed.

Inferiority- the incidence has triggered her sense of inferiority, which she had experienced when she learned that she couldn't have her own child. This means that the incidence gave way to thoughts like the misery is due to her being barren.

Effect on her Marriage Life:

As Yewbnesh has indicated, She was uncomfortable with her marriage since the first incidence. The incidence has damaged her emotional relationship with her husband to a serious level that cannot be repaired. But she did not have some other alternative than to keep living with him. ' There is nothing bad as living with a man just for the sake of survival' Yeubnesh described the only thing trapped her is economic dependency.

She developed hostility towards him and failed to tolerate his usual abusive behaviors. This in turn brought a situation in which they no longer could stay together under the same roof. Even if they again reunited, they could not live as a husband and a wife. She lived a stressful life because she suspected that her husband could do something similar to the first incidence. Her negligence and suspicion might have made him more abusive. After disclosure they divorced legally.

Effect in the family interaction:

As the case story has indicated, the child has felt betrayed by her mother and uncle and hence developed a hostile feeling. On the other hand, the mother, believing that the child messes up her life, began to be hard on her. Hence, the interaction between them became rough.

Besides, member of the family, particularly the real father, put on the blame to the mother. They believed that they should not have let the husband in knowing his motive. Hence, they discriminated her. The survivor child on the other hand, blames her real father because he made her 'face the evil side of the world' by transferring his own responsibility to others. This shows that the interaction of the entire family members was negatively affected by the incidence. They all interpreted the cause of the incidence in their own way and failed to have a kind heart towards one another. They did not get the courage to discuss frankly about the incidence and seek solution as they may found it shameful to raise it.

Effect on Social Life:

Yewbnesh has implied that she has a difficulty to communicate freely in social gatherings. This is because she feels ashamed of what has happened in her family. She has also quarreled with her

neighbors for their being reluctant to testify what they know about the incidence in the court. Hence, she lost their companionship. This shows that the incidence disrupted her social life.

Case presentation- (4A)

(Yamrot)

Introduction

Yamrot was born in Wollo. She used to live with her parents and two of her older brothers. Her father passed away while she was three. When she reached about five years old her aunt (the sister of the mother) who is barren, brought her to Addis Ababa taking the responsibility of raising her. The aunt was married a person who has got his own three children. She then started to live with her foster parents and siblings. She is now twelve years old and a grade four student. She has got a lower limb problem.

Yamrot was careful enough in telling her story at first but as soon as she developed trust on the researcher, she became very frank and revealed more and more sensitive information. The researcher cannot deny that she was shaken by the revelations of the unexpected incidences apart from the reported one. The reported incidence happened just before six months of the interview. The interview went on for eight sessions each of which took an average of one hour. The child with charming, innocent looking face and without any eye contact narrates her story as:

Family Structure:

My parents argue very rarely and it is possible to say that the family has had a peaceful interaction. I was afraid of my mother than my father. She was so strict that no one even dared to talk to her. My father was quiet the opposite. He loves to have good communication and fun with us.

I also had a good relationship with my sister and one of my brothers but with the younger brother I did not have a smooth relation. He never treated me as his sister. He used to punish me very often saying that he wanted me to be a disciplined child. I never tend to misbehave and even speak out loudly in his presence.

About the incidence:

The phone rang early in the morning that day. It was about 5 a.m. My father spoke on the phone and told that my mother's uncle passed away. He then hurriedly went out followed by my mother, sister, and elder of my brothers. The younger brother and I remained at home.

I was awake when the family left the house but fell asleep soon after. At about 6 a.m. my brother came to my bed and started to undress me. As I woke up, I did not believe my eyes to see my brother who hated me most lying over my body. I did not understand what he was doing; but I was sure that he was not punishing me as usual.

He threatened me not to shout and covered my mouth with the bed sheet. I panicked and my heart started to beat fast. I sweated. I felt helpless, as there was no one at home to save me. I never got shocked in my life as in that day. As he attempted to force himself onto me, I started to play on the school ground with my friends in my mind. I just felt I was not there but with my friends. Then I found myself immersed in blood. I felt a horrible pain all over my body when I tried to move myself and cried out motionless.

Having finished, he repeatedly threatened that he would slaughter me if I reported the case to anyone. He ordered me to get out of the bed and to be ready for school. I felt sorry, as he did not show me any sympathy. I had a cracking headache and a consuming pain in my abdomen.

I walked to school staggering and took many breaks on the way. I am disabled and hence no one paid a critical attention towards me as I arrived a school very late. During the break time I got overwhelmed by the pain and was forced to vomit. All my friends who were playing gathered around me and insisted me to go home and take rest. But I did not agree because I was afraid to go home.

During the lunch break I went home as usual. But I panicked all the way to home thinking that my brother was hiding somewhere and was going to kill me. Luckily I arrived home safely. I was feeling pain all over my body and asked my mother to let me stay at home. As is mostly the case, she ignored me and forced me to go to school. I went to school crying all the way.

Disclosure:

Upon returning back home, my father suspected and realized that something was wrong with me. He carefully noticed the way I walked and the blood stained on my trouser. He then insisted my mother to check me. My mother with her furious face asked me where the blood came from. I was afraid to disclose the case and nervously told her that I did not know how the blood appeared on my cloth.

My mother, not getting convinced by my skeptic response, became even more curious. She was reaching up to her boiling point and I knew that I could not lie anymore. I told her the truth. She stared at me in disbelief. I knew how hard it would be for her because she loved and trusted the offender more than any of us. Both my mother and my sister reacted in a great shock; my father fainted. I thought the final part of the scene would be my brother's arrival to murder me.

My mother took me to the police and I testified. On the following day, they called the offender and asked me to testify in his presence. I panicked, my hand was trembling, my heart was beating fast, my mouth failed to speak. The policeman encouraged and assured me that no one could cause harm on me. Then I testified the truth in front of the offender. He was imprisoned on the same day.

As the offender got imprisoned my family and neighbors got angry on my mother and me. They were saying that family matters should be dealt within family not in the courtroom. Besides, the neighbors began wondering how religious, disciplined and shy my brother was. They argued that he was not capable of doing it as they may think that I seduced him. But concerning this particular case, I did not do anything that could have initiated the incidence. (The researcher then gently probed if there is another case for which the child feels responsible, and encouraged her to share her experience whenever she feels comfortable. She kept silent for about a minute and then indicated that there was something more to share. On the next session, She disclosed the following incidence)

I was sleeping on the same bed with my parents. On numerous occasions I saw them making love. I used to wake up hearing some kind of movement. They sometimes stopped and sometimes warned me to sleep turning my face away.

But on one occasion, as I was about nine years old, I got disturbed a lot as their sexual activity retrieved my memory of what my real brother used to do on me while I was living with my biological mother. Though I was only four, I remembered it as if it happened yesterday. He used to come to my bed and did bad things on me repeatedly with his uka (penis) while my mother went to fetch water or carry out some activities. It was very painful. My vagina was sore all over around. My mother did not suspect anything but used to apply some kind of medicine on it to help me heal. I was terrified while my mother left me in care of my brother. One day I got seriously sick and I told my mother what he did to me. She was mad at him and evacuated him from home. Now he is living married in my birthplace and I feel sorry for his children as he could do the same thing.

I wished I had a separate bed as their activity began to create unusual feeling in me. My mind got filled with thoughts of sexual things. I shared the feeling with one of our neighbors, as he was the one who gave me attention and love that I never received from anyone. The neighbor was an old man living alone. I loved him because he was kind to me and never tend to discriminate me seeing I am a disabled child. When I told him I am disturbed by what my parents did at night, he said he would help me. He then kissed me on my lips and touched my breasts. Then he took out his "uka" (penis) and touched mine. I felt anxious, as I did not mean that. I disclosed this incidence to his relative who usually sends me to bring and/or give materials to him. But she told me that what the old man has done was something vital for my development and I should keep it secret.

We continued doing the same thing for about a year and sometimes I enjoyed it and sometimes I did not feel anything. It made me feel that I became like my mother. He used to remind me that I should not tell it to anyone. He used to give me one birr every time we did the thing. In times he failed to give me the money, I used to ask him to pay me. But I was getting sick as a result of the abuse. (The child indicated that there is more)

The neighbor who sends me to the old man did the same thing on me on one occasion. She asked me about what we did with the old man and I told her everything and that I enjoyed it. Then she made me lie

As my brother got imprisoned I became anxious again for being a party in my brother's imprisonment. I feared to face my family and the neighbors. No one had sympathy for me. My family totally ignored me. The neighbors who used to talk to me in a warm and loving tone also tend to ignore me. I did not have the courage to see their faces as they continuously came home to advise my mother to handle the case with elders and to retract the charges. I was not to come out of my bedroom till all left our home, as I felt ashamed of the incidence. I missed my classes and was spending day and night in the bed. I failed to sleep peacefully. I was crying day and night, as everybody hated me. I felt depressed.

Our family got divided into two groups. My mother wanted me to speak the truth. My father, sister and brother on the other hand advised me to testify in favor of the offender so as to save the family from possible disruption. I was confused because anything that I testify could have a negative consequence on me. I became numb.

Understanding the situation, my mother rented a house and we moved there after ten days of the incidence. I felt some relief, as I could get isolated from people who developed negative attitude towards me. But on the other hand I was extremely disturbed as I separated from my family. Besides, my mother became negligent and violent towards me.

She tends to hit me for no apparent reason and started blaming me for messing up her life. I was spending most of the time crying. I became tense and felt guilty for being a reason for the disruption of the family. I also felt loneliness, as there was no one I could talk to easily.

I joined the new school but I could not adjust myself easily. I managed to make friends but I could not feel happy. I sensed that it is because I am a bad and dirty child that I separated from my old friends. I felt inferiority. When I open my book to study it is the incidence that I read from it. The flashbacks of the incidence disturbed me day and night.

Sometimes I used to think about denying the case in the courtroom and save the family from disruption. But then I get terrified with the thought of living with the offender again though I wanted so badly to live with my families. I missed my father a lot and wanted to retract the case for the sake of at least maintaining the

relationship that I had with my father. But at the same time I felt that I should not retract as my father being reluctant to testify what he saw. I thought my father loves me with the same passion he had for his own children. But now I realized he loves them most. As a result, when he came to visit me I could not talk to him as I used to be because I felt betrayed.

I need to go back to my birthplace and live with my real mother. I know that my families as well as all the neighbors do not love me anymore. I too do not love any one. But I wish the marriage to stay intact. My mother seems determined to end the marriage because she realized that there is no way that she can live with her husband after making his son get imprisoned.

Discussion

Note: as the history of Yamrot indicates the child is abused both by family members and non-family members. In other words, she is a survivor of incest and also sexual abuse in general. Hence, it is difficult to separately explain the effect of incest as all the incidences could serve as a cause and effect for the child's psychosocial functioning. However, an attempt is made to explore which incidences are caused serious injurious and the reason behind. Based on this the discussion is that the discussion made

1. Traumatic Sexualization

The Dynamic

Misconception about sex and morality.

The child's being forced to involve in sexual activities as early as age four by her real brother.

Psychosocial Effects and its Behavioral Manifestations:

As the story indicates, the child's repressed memory of the incidence was triggered after five years when she watched her parent's sexual activity. She then started to experience the flashbacks of the incidence because she might have negatively associated the sexual activity of her parents with the incidence. The flashbacks even started to occur in daytime and inhibited her concentration at school.

She reported that she felt fear because she thought that the incidence was going to happen again. 'I felt as if my brother was going to come and do the same thing on me', Yamrot reported. As the result, she

wanted to sleep alone so as to avoid any reminder of the abuse. Such behavioral manifestations (flashbacks, states of increased arousal, avoidance of any reminders) are in line with what researchers explained as a symptom of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) (Winkly, 1996; Santrock, 1997; Edward, 1989 in Fernald & Fernald, 1999).

As Yamrot permanently slept with her parents, she could not manage to avoid the reminder of her real brother's abuse. It made her disturbed with unusual feelings of sexual activities and this seems the factor that gave way to subsequent abuses.

Yamrot's repeated victimization may force to raise a question in our mind. Was she really making-up the story? Finney (1992), who is a survivor of incestuous abuse and a psychotherapist, explained that children do not have the knowledge to realistically describe being molested and they could not possibly feign the violent emotions of abuse. Other researchers also supported her notion. Children almost never make up stories about being sexually abused and they can also remember what has happened in an earlier age (Finkelhor, 1979; Asher, 1988).

Yamrot's revictimization seems the result of two major factors. The first one is the recalling of her real brother's sexual abuse. As the story indicates, even though Yamrot used to awake while her parents made love she was managing to fall asleep again before recalling the incidence. But once she recalled, she failed to sleep deeply in such conditions. The flashbacks started to occur often and disturb her.

Recalling the abuse of her real brother also made her feel negatively unique and seems the factor that made her alert towards the sexual activities of her parents. As a result, she preoccupied with thoughts of sexual matters and somehow started to initiate sex. This undesirable behavioral manifestation may developed as she may perceived herself as a victim that is not worthy of protection. This shows how premature sexual experience distorted the gradual process of sexual development. It is noted, "the more frequently any pattern of information is experiencing (whether it to be soothing and nurturing or freighting and traumatic) the more indelible the internal representation" (McGregor, 2000:59).

'These people were saying that family matters should be dealt within family and not in courtrooms'

Yamrot reported *how these people pressurized her to retract the case*.

Psychological Effects and its Behavioral Manifestations:

The dynamics explained above are related to the incidence happened with the foster brother, as it is found out that those are the main sources of the child's sense of stigma. But this does not necessarily mean that the child never felt stigma in relation to the other incidences. For instance, such a feeling was experienced as the result of the abuse perpetrated by her real brother. She explained that every time she recalled the incidence she used to experience recurrent thought of sexual matters, which led her to feel a sense of bewilderment and exceptionality. She knew that getting immersed in thoughts of sexual matters was not appropriate to her age but she could not stop the 'unusual feelings'. These inevitable thoughts then negatively altered the way she perceived herself. She was saying to herself that, 'Yamrot, you are a bad child, you know something that your friends do not know, you are no more a child', which implies that the development of low self esteem and realization of ones own experience as shameful. People who have low self-esteem evaluate themselves in a negative way (Fernald & Fernald, 1999).

The incidence occurred with her foster brother has created an intense feeling of stigmatization as it was disclosed and reported. The disclosure created a shock reaction on people who heard the news and made her realize that what has happened is a serious taboo violation and hence felt shame. The disclosure also gave chance to people particularly neighbors to interfere and interpret the incidence on their own way. As Yamrot explained many neighbors doubted her innocence and showed negative attitude towards her. This reaction of the neighbors in turn created feeling of shame and badness to the extent that she lost her courage to see her neighbor's face and hence was forced to miss classes. The sense of shame led her to isolate and confine herself in her bedroom.

Even after she started living apart from people who showed her a negative reaction, the feeling of badness, guilt and shame followed her to her new place. The mother's tendency of blaming the child for all

the messes became a factor that intensified her guilty feelings. 'I became tense and felt guilt for being a reason for the disruption of the family', Yamrot explained.

In general, the negative attitudes and labeling of significant others made her develop a negative self-image. She said, 'I sensed that it is because I am a bad and dirty child that I got separated from my old friends'. Finkelhor & Browne (1988) noted that negative connotations (badness, shame, and guilt) that are communicated by significant others could be incorporated into the child's self image. The same seems to have happened in Yamrot's case; she internalized the feeling of immorality. This negative self-view along with her moving to new living place, loss of long term school mates and change of school served for the child's sadness, grief, feeling of inferiority, and depression.

3. Betrayal

The dynamics

- *Trust and vulnerability manipulated*

Trusted persons repeatedly abused the child.

- *Child's well being disregarded*

The child was forcefully penetrated by her foster brother and treated with cruelty afterwards. She also pressurized by family members to retract the charge.

- *Lack of support from family and neighbors*

No one tried to comfort her at this period of crisis rather significant others showed her negative attitude upon disclosure.

Psychological Effects and its Behavioral Manifestations:

Different people whom the child knows as brothers and neighbors have repeatedly invaded her trust and vulnerability. She explained that she hated both her brothers (offenders) and that she do not want to see them ever again. She realized that those who were supposed to protect her had actually done quite the opposite. The way her foster brother penetrated her and his cruel treatment after he did what he

Finkelhor & Browne (1988) pointed out that if family members whom the survivor trusted change their attitude after disclosure of the abuse then feeling of betrayal is intensified. The feeling of betrayed also led the child to grief, feel lonely and depressed.

4. Powerlessness

The dynamics

- *Body territory invaded against the child's wishes*

Yamrot experienced forceful sexual abuse by her brothers

- *Offender used force during the abuse*

The foster brother has used force during the abuse and threatened to kill if the case gets revealed

- *The child felt unable to stop the abuse.*

The child was not in a position to save herself from abuses perpetrated by her brothers.

Psychosocial Effects and Behavioral Manifestations:

To feel helpless, her being a child and the offenders being adults may be sufficient. Accordingly, the sense of powerlessness seems experienced even in the incidence that occurred while she was four years old though she did not indicate in explicit terms what she felt at the moment except the pain and fear. She was feeling fear while her mother left her under the care of her brother (offender) but not in a position to halt the abuse and hence became vulnerable for repeated abuses. Finkelhor & Browne (1988) noted that fear is a common behavioral manifestation in situation where a child felt powerless. Winkley (1996) also explained that children from 0-5 years are likely to have experienced feelings of profound powerlessness while being abused.

Yamrot did not report that she felt powerless in the incidences perpetrated by extra familiar persons as she was the one in one way or another initiated the incidences. The sense of powerlessness, however, experienced while the foster brother abused her as it went on forcefully in a way she had no control. 'I felt helpless as there was no one at home to save me'. Yamrot explained. Finkelhor & Browne (1988) explained that a child experiences powerlessness when his/her body invaded against his/her will.

It was because she realized that she could not get out of the hands of the offender that she felt panic. Her heart was beating fast and that she was sweating. She felt anxious and hence dissociated or mentally escaped to a place where she perceived it as a safe while her body is being hurt. Dissociation is mentally shutting off from what is occurring (Finney, 1992; Santrock, 1997).

Case presentation –(4B)

(Behaylua- Yamrot's mother)

Introduction

Behaylua is 42 years old woman. She had been married to three persons before her current husband. She faced many problems because of her failure to give birth. Her current husband has got his own three children and married her knowing that she is barren. They lived in marriage for the last ten years. She has indicated that life in the family was peaceful except when she crosses with the older child. She admits that she was not interactive in the family. Regarding the offender, she remembers how she loved and trusted him and the respect he had for her.

The interview was conducted for four days, about an hour on each day. Behaylua spoke in a low voice and had a worried facial expression; but she was able to express herself very well. She narrates her story as :

Family Structure:

I had a good relationship with my husband. He is a good person. I served as a cleaner in an NGO while he worked as a Gardner in a Governmental Organization. He likes to create fun whereas I am reserved in interacting with all the children. All the children were afraid of me and tend to communicate all their needs with their father. It was through their father that I used to learn about their needs.

We used to live in a two-room kebele rental house. In one of the rooms my husband, my little daughter (survivor child) and I sleep on the same bed. In the other room, two of the boys sleep on the same bed while the girl sleeps alone but in the same room.

About the incidence:

Recently an incidence that disrupted my whole life has occurred. The day was when we left the house early in the morning to the mourning ceremony of my uncle. I think the offender raped the child realizing that there was no one at home.

Disclosure:

It was my husband who first realized the unusual reaction of the child. He then insisted to check on her. Something shocked my mind as I saw bloodstains on her trouser. I asked her what happened and after a while she disclosed the shameful story.

Reaction upon the disclosure:

What made me react in hysteria was the fact that I never suspected the boy to be capable of causing such an evil thing. For the same reason my husband fainted. I directly took her to the police. She testified every thing about the incidence. Then we went to the hospital seeking medical confirmation and the doctors proved that the child has lost her virginity.

The offender did not come home that night saying that he should spend the night in the church. The most amazing thing is that he used to act as a conservative protestant. He was arrested the next day but denied the case. But the child's testimony made him get imprisoned.

Effect on her child:

My child was confused and was disturbed, as everybody hated her. She was unable to sleep well. She also used to lose her urine. She was very much afraid to face the eyes of the family members. She stopped going to school. Even after I took her out of the house she was spending each day in depressed mood. She became forgetful.

Effect in the interaction of the entire family:

The whole family stood on the offender's side and tried to defend him. They all denied what they have clearly seen. The older girl in particular attempted to relate my being a stepmother with the situation. She blamed me for her brother's imprisonment. We started to spend each day arguing on the issue. Seeing that

all of them are nagging the victim child to retract the case, I then realized that I could not live with them anymore.

Then elders flew into the house trying to convince me that the case could get settled inside the family; retracting it. I could have accepted their proposal had the offender asked for excuse but he denied the case and even tried to project the blame on me. He said, 'you are not my mother'. I declined their proposals. Then every one showed hostility to me and tried to relate my resistance with my being a stepmother.

Realizing how hard it was for me living under a roof with people blaming me day and night for the entire crisis, I preferred to leave the house. I applied for divorce but my husband's unwillingness prolonged the process.

Psychosocial effect:

I felt betrayal to see my husband and the children being reluctant to accept the reality. I tried to be a good mother but they denied my effort (with tears). I feel that, had they been my own children they would have understood and supported me. I thought the offender loved and respected me more than any of the children but what I saw in practice was different. But I really loved him. I have had a mixed feeling when I testified what I saw. I was extremely disturbed and felt guilty for letting my son get jailed. On the other side I felt he deserved it.

The neighbors' accusation is also making me sick. They think that I purposely pressed charge so as to make the children leave the house. I felt bad to have no single person who understands me. What would the victim say when she grows up if I retract the case? What would her biological mother say if I turn my back from the child just for the sake of protecting my marriage? And how would I live with a man who denied what he saw just for the sake of protecting his own son?

Oh! I cannot tell how I spend each minute of my life feeling stressed with thought of what I should do. I failed to sleep well. I experienced a serious headache and gastritis. I lost my appetite. I cried a lot as I lost the direction of my life. I felt hopelessness and sadness when the marriage, which I sacrificed a lot to make

it functional, finally fell down in the way it cannot workout any more. It is very challenging to start life from zero, as i did not share my properties yet. Anyways, I have decided to divorce my husband and lead my life with my daughter till the day she betrayed me.

Discussion

Psychological Effect

Sense of betrayal- Her husband, children and neighbors being reluctant to accept the reality and offer help made Behaylua feel betrayed. Her saying, ' I have decided... to lead my life with my daughter till the day she also betrayed me' indicated that how she lost her trust on people as all she depended on suddenly became unsupportive and judgmental during the crisis.

Anxiety- Behaylua has experienced anxiety when her son (offender) got jailed as the result of the victim child and her testimony. She experienced diarrhea and severe headache. She also continued to suffer from a serious headache and gastritis. These disorders are explained as psychological problems that are experienced in most stressful condition (Glietman, 1996). From that incidence onwards she is spending each day while feeling tense and worry, as she could not understand how to lead her future life.

Depression- Behaylua reported that after the incidence she became hopeless, enjoy crying, unable to sleep, and lost appetite, feel inferior to anyone and hopeless. These are symptoms of depression (Santrock, 1997.)

Displaced anger- As the survivor child indicated this mother became neglectful and punitive saying that she is the cause for the disruption of her marriage. This can be explained, as a way of discharging the anger she has on the offender and the people who denied her their support, onto the child who is not responsible for the crisis.

Effect on family interaction:

Bahaylua's family used to live in peace and tolerance got divided into two. The father and his own two children sided on the offender while she was with the survivor child. The home became a battlefield in which anger and hostile feelings transfer to one another. ' We started to spend each day arguing on the issue', Bahaylua explained.

The negative reaction of the supporters of the offender made Bahaylua to feel grief and bad about the situation. The way the children related the situation knowing the reality with her being a step mother intensified her feeling of anger and give way to her decision of leaving her home. Hence, the interaction particularly with the children totally has stopped.

Though Behaylua sacrificed her marriage for the well beingness of the survivor child, their interaction is also damaged as she blamed the child for the mess that has happened in her life. In general, the family interaction to one another i.e., father and mother, mother and the children, the survivor child and her father and siblings has been negatively affected.

Effect on Marriage Life

Behaylua has been living peacefully with her husband for the past ten years. She entered in the marriage determining to raise his three children as her own. She believed that she did her best to fulfill their needs. Her husband also took her as his wife knowing that he cannot get a child from her.

It will not be easy to raise four children with the little income they earn working as cleaner and guard. The economic constraint, however, did not threaten their marriage at least to a level that necessitate separation. But the incestuous relationship that has happened between two of their children damaged their relationship to the extent that it may not be repaired.

As the history indicates, her husband's denial of what he witnessed as a clue, made Behaylua to question his innocence, respect and love that she was certain to get it from her husband in times of peace or crisis. But she failed to see all these qualities from her husband in this period of crisis. He

turned his face against her and sided with his son, the offender. She said, ' how would I live with a man who denied what he saw just for the sake of protecting his own son', which implies her sense of betrayal.

She decided to divorce her husband though he was not interested. This decision did not stem from a hostile feeling that has got a potential to seek divorce. It is because she realized that the incidence has complicated their life and hence it is difficult to live peacefully under the same roof. How she could live with her husband after pressing a charge against his son? What would the victim say after she grows up if she made her retract the case? What would her biological mother say if she turns her back on the child just for the sake of protecting her marriage? These questions are the ones remained unanswered and trapped her in a great stress. The only way out she found is divorcing her husband.

Her realization that her marriage cannot work out any more in turn made her hopeless and sad, as her mind could not easily accept to give up the marriage that she 'sacrificed a lot to make it functional'.

Effect on Social Life

As the history implies, the social life of Bahaylua is also damaged as her neighbors tried to accuse her for pressing a charge for the case they thought that must be handled within the family. All the neighbors gave their own interpretation for the reluctance of the mother to retract the case. No one tried to see her problems and feelings placing themselves in her shoes. This situation then made her feel bad, as no one could understand her situation and tend to offer support. She developed a hatred feeling and reserved her interaction with her neighbors. Their negative attitudes also made her strong on her decision that she should leave her home and apply for divorce.

CHAPTER FIVE

Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

This part deals, primarily with a brief summary about the entire thesis. Next, the conclusions that are drawn in the light of the findings are presented. Finally, some recommendations are forwarded as to how to rehabilitate the survivor children and their non-offending parents as well as to prevent the problem.

5.1 Summary

This study is aimed at investigating the psychosocial effects of incest on the survivor children and their non-offending parents.

In Ethiopia, where discussing sexual matters is taboo itself, understanding the magnitude of incest and its effect could be even more difficult as compared to other countries in which their cultures are somehow less restrictive of discussing sexual matters. Hence, preventive and rehabilitation activities are still in their infancy stage. The absence of rehabilitation services makes the problem even more severe in Ethiopia. Victim children and their non-offending parents left without any support and hence forced to pass through all the evil effects of the abuse.

Data were collected from four incest survivor children and their non-offending parents residing in Addis Ababa. In-depth-interviews were conducted with the respondents using interview guide. The data were then analyzed qualitatively.

The result showed that, the survivor children are suffering from many psychosocial problems like aversion to intimate relationship, promiscuity, guilt, shame, lowered self esteem, sense of differentness, grief, depression, mistrust- particularly of men, anger, hostility, anxiety, lowered sense of efficacy, dissociation, isolation, etc. stemming from traumatic sexualization, sense of stigmatization, betrayal and powerlessness to protect oneself and/or halt the abusive relationship.

The non-offending mothers have also experienced psychosocial problems like shock, anger, hostility, anxiety, hopelessness, depression, etc, which is resulted from the sense of betrayal, labeling as incestuous families, distressful feelings and behavioral problems of the children, lose of hope on their survivor child's future accomplishment, inability to make the offender convicted, fear of retaliation of the offender, marriage disruption and its consequent negative results, etc.

In general, it is found that incest, as it is a serious taboo its effect is not limited on the survivor child but has got the potential to threaten the psychosocial functioning of the non-offending parents, too. Besides, incest could be identified as a problem that could negatively affect family interaction and social relationship at large.

5.2 Conclusion

The survivor children were forced to engage in sexual experiences for which they were not cognitively, psychologically or physically ready. Hence, it can be said that they have experienced traumatic sexualization. The effect is manifested itself in their attitude towards intimate relationship rather than their sexual behavior, as all were not sexually active.

Feven's and Maramawit's attitudes towards intimate relationships, for instance, is found to be negative. They both have developed hatred towards men and discussion of sexual issues. More specifically, Feven has developed confusion about sexual norms and family boundaries, which in one way or other manifested in being uncomfortable in close relationship even with family members. Maramawit fear that intimate relationships could trigger the memory of the incidence and hence she is disinterest in engaging in such relationships.

Martha did not show in clearly identifiable way either of the responses that are expected from being sexually traumatized. But, the confusion on sexual morality and family boundary that she developed and which is manifested by excessive use of 'dirty' languages, a generalized belief that sex among relatives is a common phenomena, tendency to run away to other city and other undesirable

behavioral manifestations raises a doubt of her intention to engage in promiscuous behavior. Similar problems, confusion about sexual norms and identity, are manifested in Yamrot's case by sexual preoccupation and precocious sexual activity that led to a promiscuous behavior.

In general, their response to traumatic sexualization is of two, seemingly opposite behaviors: aversive to sex (hyposexuality) and being promiscuous (hypersexuality). These inappropriate sexual behaviors/attitudes of the survivor children are expected to negatively affect their marriage and/or intimate relationships as it become more evident in their adult life unless resolved by therapeutic intervention.

All of the children have experienced stigmatization even before the case was disclosed. But the feeling seems to be more intensified in cases where the disclosure was followed by a shocked reaction and negative attitude of significant others or the society at large as in case of Martha, Maramawit and Yamrot. All of them, however, with similar or different reasons have experienced shame, guilt, worthlessness and differentness, which led to development of lowered self-esteem. These feelings in turn made the children to isolate themselves from the family and/or the society at large to a possible extent. Particularly, Feven and Maramawit was experienced social withdrawal.

All the children developed sense of betrayal for the obvious reason that a close family member whom they have trusted and loved abused them. Their sense of betrayal did not limit itself to the offender but it is extended to the non-offending family members and neighbors. This is because the survivors have realized that significant others did not protect and/or support them upon disclosure or for being labeled by them as a responsible party to the crisis in one way or another. It seems that they felt more betrayal by the non-offending family members than the offender. Feven, however, directed her anger and hostility to the offender alone. This was because her mother was supportive upon disclosure. Hence, their relationship remained intimate.

Regardless of by whom they felt betrayed, all have experienced grief, anger and hostility, which led them to depression. Besides, the sense of betrayal led Martha to show aggressive behavior and become vulnerable to further abuses of the offender. Feven has also showed impaired ability to judge the trustworthiness of people and mistrust of men. From this, it is possible to infer that acceptance, support and protection of non-offending family members could have a significant role in minimizing negative emotions and maintaining good relationship with the survivors.

All have felt powerless as they were penetrated without their wish and with the use of parental power and force. As a result, fear and anxiety were experienced and were manifested in nightmares and bedwetting behaviors. Martha, Feven and Yamrot were forced to dissociate or emotionally detached during the abuse due to an unbearable feeling of anxiety.

The perception of self as a victim made the children to have a lowered sense of efficacy, which was manifested in being vulnerable to subsequent victimization as in case of Martha and Yamrot, and dramatic decline of school performance as in case of Feven and Maramawit. These behavioral problems stem from feelings of helplessness and worthlessness. Martha's educational performance has been found poor in all grade level; this could also be attributed to lowered sense of efficacy as a result of controlling atmosphere created by the perpetrator for a longer period of time.

These children survived of the abuse using their own coping strategies, which, except Feven case are more or less similar. They survived using avoidance strategy or primitive coping strategies. These include repression, and playing victim psychology like being aggressive, withdrawal, failure, depression, promiscuous, etc. But these are believed to be dangerous to ones effective adjustment.

However, Feven was somehow effective on her coping strategies though she overwhelmed by all negative emotions as the other children for sometime. She has managed to escape from the abusive relationship. Besides, she has designed her own way to cope up with her negative emotions. For instance, she often tells herself that she owns so many qualities and she has also engaged herself in

marshal art to improve her self-esteem and get rid off the stressful feelings. As a result, she has managed to think optimistically. According to Santrock (1997), this way of coping with stress referred as active behavioral strategy and is more effective in improving the situation of the problem. What made Feven to adapt a better coping strategy is mainly her mother's support and encouragement. The other children, however, were not lucky enough for such a support and encouragement and hence they may lead their life consumed by negative emotions unless they receive professional help.

As the analysis of the non-offending parents (mothers) indicated the psychosocial functioning of the mothers has also been negatively affected as the result of the incidences. Yewubnesh's explanation, ' I'm the one who suffered most by the incidence' seems to be the one thing that all mothers share.

The psychosocial problems experienced by all mothers are more or less similar. All were shocked upon leaning that their children were sexually abused by a trusted person who was equally responsible for the well-being of the children. All except Tsinat has experienced feeling of betrayal. Grief, anxiety, anger, inferiority feeling, and hopelessness about the fate of their survivor child were among the common psychological problems experienced. These in turn gave way to depression, isolation or limited social contacts and somatoform disorders.

All, except Behaylua who realized that nothing could be done to prevent the incidence has been experienced feeling of guilt, due to realization once own failure to stop further abuses. Dissociation was also experienced by Tiblelse for repeated times as a result of intense feeling of anxiety.

The offenders being released on bail is found to be a source of feeling helplessness to all except Behaylua. The feeling emerged because they failed to make the offenders pay for all the mess they created in the entire family. It has also made them feel insecure, as they believe that the offenders could do something to physically harm them.

The marriage of all mothers, except Tsinat who was single, got disrupted as a result of the incidence. This in turn caused economic burden to all mothers even to those who have their own income. Apart from disruption of marriage, the incidence has become a source of disagreement and conflict in the entire family except the family interaction of Tsinat. Tsinat did not face such a problem because the case was kept secret. Hence, it is possible to say that incest affects the family dynamics.

In general, incest is found to be a serious crime that its negative effect is not limited on the children who passed through the experience but also on the non-offending parents. It has caused various psychosocial problems on both. However, it is difficult to conclude that the psychosocial problems reported have one to one relationship with the incidence as other factors could also intervene. Still no one can deny that whatever factors intervene the incidence shares a considerable amount.

In situations where father daughter incest occurred, the family structure was found to be male dominated. They were physically and emotionally violent and the mothers' were powerless in the home. The father of Feven (offender) also used to manifest similar characteristics even if he was not married to the mother. The mothers on the other side are identified as emotionally and economically dependent, with poor educational background, and in general rendered a powerless role in the family. As a result, they failed to protect themselves and children from being sexually exploited. This profile of incestuous families fit the profiles that other researchers identified (Finkelhor, 1979; Herman 1981; Knowles, 1996). Hence, it may lead us to believe what these researchers pointed out as a possible cause of incest - patriarchal social structure and male socialization.

Herman (1981) emphasized the reason why male socialization mentioned as a cause for sexual victimization of children particularly of girls saying, " without an understanding of male supremacy and female oppression, it is possible to explain why the vast majority of incest perpetrators ...are female, and why the majority of victims...are female"(3).

As gender-based violence highly experienced In Ethiopia under the cover of culture, the life of participants of this study is believed to reflect many girl children and women life experiences. But as these segment of the population are trapped by norms and many other gender based influences their voices may not heard and forced to live in abusive situation their entire life. This does not necessarily mean that there is no way to change their situation. There is. The solution is in the hands of each citizen. It starts by maintaining the rights of our own children, sisters and wives.

5.3 Recommendations

The following recommendations are forwarded as possible prevention of incest and rehabilitation of the direct and indirect victims of incest.

Prevention

- Provide culture specific and age appropriate sex education to children in school setting or using possible medias in order to empower them to protect their bodies and on abuse to disclose the case to trusted family member, teacher, etc. so that further abuses can be halted.
- Introduce actions that empower women educationally, politically, socially, economically so as to make them an independent and assertive citizen who cannot tolerate abusive relationships and in general who would be a role model to their children.
- Equip parents with pertinent Information concerned on how to create a good relationship with their children so as to enable children easily disclose any relationship in which they are not comfortable with.

- Carryout public education program on child sexual abuse so as to make them alert to prevent, identify abusive relationships and realize the importance of reporting such incidences to concerned bodies as immediately as possible. What is equally important is the commitment of the government to effectively respond to medical, legal, psychological, economical and social needs of the direct and indirect victims of such incidences upon disclosure. Particularly, the government should speed up court processes as it is found to be one source of frustration to survivor children and their non-offending parents. Besides, some kind of mechanism should be designed to ensure the safety of the survivor child and other family members from retaliation of offenders.
- In general, sensitize religious institutions and community based organizations to play their own role in educating their members to internalize the need to respect the rights of children and also to avoid gender based violence as in one way or another serves for sexual exploitation of children.

Intervention/rehabilitation strategies

- Provide training programs on child sexual abuse to school nurses (if any), teachers, and others working with children in order to enable them identify and help children who experienced sexual abuse.
- Create a strong network between organizations that in one way or another are responsible for child welfare to prevent or at least minimize the occurrence of incest, and if it happened to address effectively the emotional, medial and legal needs of the survivor children and their non-offending parents. In other words, the network should solve practical survival issues (e.g. protecting from further abuses, financial support, legal aid, shelter aid, etc.) so as to enable the family stay intact.
- Organize and establish rehabilitation centers which is equipped with appropriate staff and equipment so as to help incest victim children to cope up with their problems and hence to break the cycle that their future tendency of being an abuser. Research findings shows that a considerable number of offenders have been passed through the experience of sexual abuse during their childhood.

- Rehabilitation program should embrace non-offending parents as the incidence is found to be a crisis for them as well and also their support is believed to play a crucial role in the recovery of the abused children.
- Children may deny the occurrence of the incidence or retract their statement due to various reasons. Hence, it is very important to assign trained people in the police stations and courtroom who could use scientific strategies to find out the truth with out unnecessarily pressurizing the victim child with questions that could intensify their psychological problems. This action believed to avoid the possibility that the offenders would send free depending merely on the testimony of the children.

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Interview guide for survivor of incest children

Appendix A:

Background information

Age.....

Sex _____

Grade_____educational performance _____

Family background

- Size of the family
- Quality of relationship between father and mother_____
- Quality of relation ship between each family member (with father, mother, siblings)
- Characteristics of the father
- Characteristics of the mother
- The child's role in the home

About the abusive relationship

- Relationship with the offender_____
- Quality of relationship with the offender_____
- Age of the offender_____
- When the abusive relationship started, frequency, duration _____
- Type of sexual activity_____
- The degree of understanding of the sexual implication of the activities_____
- The way the offender made an effort to evoke a sexual response_____

- If the offender used force and/or pressurized for secrecy
- Feeling experienced during the abuse

Disclosure

- When the case is disclosed _____
- Reason for disclosing the case _____
- Reaction of significant others upon disclosure
- Support received from significant others

Effects on psychosocial functioning

- Feeling for oneself
- Effect on day-to-day life
- Attitude/feelings towards the offender and significant others
- Attitude for intimate relationship/ effect on intimate relationship
- Effect on her/his interaction with significant others
- Effect on school performance
- Belief about the future

Coping Strategies - *taken from coping strategies identified by Billings and Moos (1981) in Santrock (1997)*

- Prepared for the worst
- Consider several alternative for handling the problem
- Having thoughts that creates better feeling
- Accepted it, nothing could be done
- Tried to find out more about the situation
- Talked with relatives/professional person
- Got busy with other things to keep the mind off the problem
- Made a plan of action and followed it
- Took it out on other people when feeling angry/depressed
- Keep feeling to oneself
- Social withdrawal

Or any other _____

Interview guide for non-offending parents of incest survivor children

Appendix B

Background Information (personal data)

Age _____
Educational background _____
Occupation _____ Income _____
Length of marriage life _____
Husband's age _____
Educational background _____
Occupation _____ Income _____
No. Of children _____

Structure of the family

- The communication pattern of the family (relationship to one another)

Reaction upon disclosure and way of handling it

- Who is the perpetrator of the crime
- By whom is the case disclosed
- The reason the case is disclosed
- The way the survivor child explained the case
- The reaction of the parent upon disclosure
- Duration of the incestuous relationship
- First reaction upon the disclosure
- Whether or not she has got a clue about the abusive relationship of the father and daughter
- What makes her tolerate the abusive relationship, if she/he somehow aware of the motives of the offender
- Measures taken after the case disclosed

The psychosocial effect of the incidence

- Psychological problems experienced after the case disclosed

E.g.

Shock_

Anger__

Anxiety -----

Hopelessness-----

Betrayal-----

Depression----

Trouble in controlling temper etc.,

- Psomatophysical disorders

Headaches_____

Appetite lose_____

Sleep disorder____

Fatigue etc.

The effect on family life and society

- *Effect on marriage life*
- *Effect on family interaction*
- Whether the child's behavior disturbing or upsetting the everyday routine of the family
- *Effect on occupation*
- *Effect on social life*
- Reaction and attitude of the extended family members, neighbors, friends' and the society at large after the case is disclosed
- The effect of the reaction of significant others upon disclosure

Effect on the survivor child

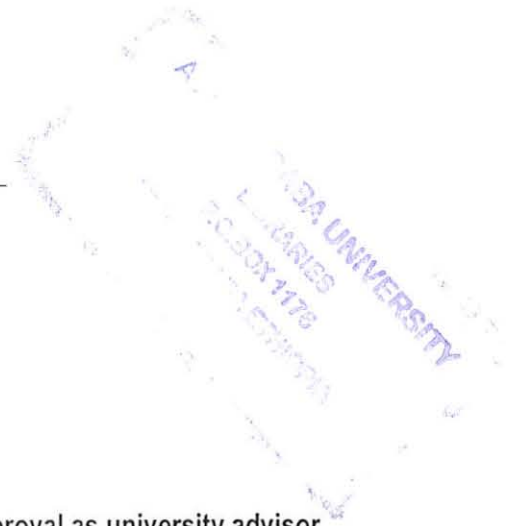
- Any behavioral change noticed on the survivor child during the abusive relationship and after the case disclosed and stopped
- Whether or not the child's behavior(s) interfering with her abilities to function or to get through everyday routines

Declaration

I, the undersigned declare that this thesis is my original work, has not been presented for a degree in any other university and that all sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Rahel G/Mariam Ayana', is written over a horizontal line.

Rahel G/Mariam Ayana



This thesis has been submitted for examination for my approval as university advisor

Dr.R.Srevalsa Kumar