

A STUDY OF RAPISTS BY MEANS
OF THE RORSCHACH

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ABSTRACT

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By

Anderson Clarke Freeman

In the recent past the study of the rapist has usually been focused upon pragmatic and clinical observation which employed no control subjects. This study endeavored to approach the study of the rapist in a more quantitative and systematic manner.

Using the Rorschach Inkblot test as a research tool, scores of an experimental group comprised of twenty rapists were compared to the scores of a control group of 157 "normals" taken from normative data for the Rorschach and a second control group consisting of twenty "non-assaultive" prison inmates. These groups were compared on Rorschach indices of hostility (HL), inadequacy (V), deprivation of affectional needs (C&K), and impulsivity (C&CF&FC); all of which were hypothesized to be predominant features of the rapist group.

Kolmogorov-Smirnov test and t test comparisons were made between the groups and the findings revealed that, as

hypothesized, hostility, deprivation, and impulsivity were predominant features in the rapists as compared to normals. However, in comparison to the inmate group the rapists only differed on measures of deprivation and impulsivity. Again these two differences were in the hypothesized direction with the rapists demonstrating more of the traits than the inmate controls.

Additional findings that considered the "pattern" of scores in the individual Rorschach records of each rapist and each member of the control, inmate group did not substantially support the presence of all the hypothesized traits in the record of each rapist. In fact only one rapist demonstrated a pattern of all four traits, whereas the total pattern was never demonstrated in the control records.

Other quantitative and qualitative aspects of the rapist's records were discussed along with the major findings. Also methodological limitations present in the study were pointed out and suggestions for future research in the area were made.

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By

Anderson Clarke Freeman

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Dedication

To Sylvia, the greatest contributor.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The formulation of this investigation was brought about by several observations. First, in group therapy with sex offenders feelings of hostility and anger were very evident in the expressions of individuals who had committed forcible rape of adult females (Olive, 1973). Secondly, there was also a history of pervasive sexual deviation of an often infantile nature in these same individuals (Olive, 1973). Finally, a frustrating search through the literature revealed that rape seemed to be of little concern to psychoanalytic theorists, despite a vast amount of published papers and articles dealing with other types of sexual offenses and sexuality in general.

These observations motivated this research project which, through the analysis of the Rorschach Inkblot Test, hopes to facilitate a further exploration of dimensions of hostility and sexual perverseness observed in rapists. Even more importantly, in an effort to correct past neglect, this study endeavors to take preliminary steps in "systematically" uncovering the motivations involved in rape.

The importance of this study is threefold. Academically, the heuristic value of psychoanalytic theory

may be enhanced by its ability to deal with this apparently neglected area in forensic psychology. Also, the value of the Rorschach as a psychodiagnostic instrument may be augmented by demonstrating its ability to describe a unique pathological constellation. Finally, and most importantly, from a social standpoint the ability to treat the rapist and prevent rape, especially in view of its increasing incidence, must begin with more understanding of the motivations involved. These concerns become even more important in instances where rape becomes ultimately even more destructive to society in the form of sexual murder.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Rape

Freud (1955) postulated that aggression is an integral part of male sexual feelings, in that, the male actively subdues his partner for mating. There are aspects of general active striving and also hostility in male sexual behavior. Implicitly, Erikson (1950) in his neo-freudian views also considers this hostile aspect of male sexuality when he discusses the phallic intrusive mode in the development of male sexual behavior. In both of these cases this pairing of sex and aggression is seen as a more or less normal quality of male sexuality. One of the many concerns of this study is that the linkage of sex and

aggression is more pronounced in rapists because there have been more experiences of this type than usual as a result of certain "maternal" influences that will be pointed out in the literature. In a review of the literature on rape this increased experience of sex paired with aggression is pointed out along with many other important suppositions about the motivating factors and etiology of rape.

In the literature a few researchers and clinicians have attempted to "assign" a diagnosis or classify rapists according to their behavior as specific clinical types.

Guttmacher (1951) describes three different types of rapists. The first is overcome by an explosive expression of pent up sexual impulses. His second type of rapist exhibits a sadistic exaggeration of the masculine role, and the third type of rapist is seen as an aggressive criminal who is out to pillage and rob.

Kopp (1962) describes two types of rapists. The first corresponds to Guttmacher's description of the aggressive criminal. This antisocial psychopath is a cold and seemingly unfeeling man who has always taken what he wanted from others without apparent concern for the feelings of his victims or the consequences of his act. Rape is just another instance of aggressive taking. In therapy this type of rapist is manipulative in an attempt to escape incarceration and just as difficult to treat as the nonsexual

psychopath. The second type of rapist described by Kopp is an overly compliant patient who rarely asks for what he wants because he feels that he does not deserve satisfaction from others. For such an individual the act of rape represents a serious break in his character defense. He may feel very guilty after his offense and have much concern for his victim. For both of these types the act of rape is a means of stealing love.

McCaldon (1967) also cites two types of rapists. One type is the typically, chronic anti-social individual, who lacks tenderness for man, woman, or beast. The other type seems to have specific hostility toward women and rape is a way of taking sexual pleasure withheld in normal relationships. There is also underlying inadequacy. The dimension of inadequacy is also pointed out by Saporin, Donal, and MacNamara (1968). They state "many rapists entertain doubts as to their masculinity and potency or their physical attraction to females."

De River (1938) sees rapists as sadists whose sadism intensifies with each recurrent rape until it leads to lust murder. Hirschfeld (1956) concurs in this belief.

Finally, in a complete turnabout from what has already been discussed Karpman (1954) finds no particular personality type for rapists.

Other investigators have gone beyond mere description and have been more concerned with investigating the etiology and facilitating dynamics of rape. For the most part these investigators are somewhere within the framework of psychoanalytic theory in their conceptualizations and findings. However, there have also been some considerations of possible socio-cultural factors that may operate in rape.

Solomon (1973) has described the act of forcible rape as the result of an unconscious need or wish to forcibly violate the mother. This is not only a pleasure seeking act, but it also may be a quest for revenge against a rejecting mother.

In a recent article Garafalo (1973) gives some clinical support to Solomon's notions. In the background of rapists he has interviewed and treated, Garafalo (1973) points out a high incidence of either overly seductive or rejecting maternal figures. These two types of maternal figures are related to two types of rapists. The seductive mothers seem to have rapist sons who are highly sadistic and cruel toward their victims, while, on the other hand, the rejecting mothers seemed to have rapist sons who, besides being less sadistic, were very passive in their sexual advances. These individuals in the latter case also had a high degree of social and sexual inadequacy marked by polymorphous perverse sexual behavior. Garafalo (1973) also

indicates a group that presents a mixture of the respective aggressive and sexual aims of the first two types. However, he does not link them to a particular type of maternal image.

Glueck (1954), in his study at Sing Sing prison, found that rapists had unresolved sexual feelings toward their mothers who were generally rejecting and hostile, yet sexually seductive toward them. Alcohol also seemed to be a facilitating factor in releasing the impulse to rape.

In a Rorschach study of rapist's wives Palm and Abrahamsen (1954) found that the wives of rapists had characteristics that were similar to those already pointed out in the mothers of rapists. In many cases the wives were sexually seductive, but rejecting. In other words, they duplicated the double message sent out by the mother.

Ellis and Brancale (1956) found high degrees of hostility and emotional immaturity in the rapists they studied. They also found that fifty percent of the rapists they studied were sexually inhibited. Even more interesting was the fact that Ellis (1951) also suggested a high degree of hostility in the rapist's relationship with his mother.

Cornier, and Simons (1969) describe the psychosexual development of dangerous sexual offenders. They state, "the psychosexual development is characterized by failure to obtain gratification leading to release of tension,

inability to accept this absence of relief, and a tendency to proceed to more violent and sadistic practices."

Socio-cultural factors in rape are pointed out by Saparin, Donal, and MacNamara (1958) along with their other considerations. They describe interracial rape as a means of venting hostility toward another race. Cleaver (1968) in defense of his activities as a rapist also brings out this point of getting even with the White majority by raping White women.

Thus, although there is an apparent lack of experimental studies in the literature on rape, the clinical information posited by these theorists and clinicians points to the hostility and sexual inadequacy of the rapist. Even more interesting are the observations made by several clinicians of the role of the mother-child relationship in rape.

In Table I the literature on rape has been tabulated to give a clearer picture of the motivating factors that have been pointed out in rape. It should be noted that a number of theorists perceive the rapist's acting out as multi-dimensional. In other words, they implicate a number of factors driving the rapist toward his crime.

TABLE I
 PRIMARY FACTORS MOTIVATING THE RAPIST
 ACCORDING TO THE LITERATURE

	Hostility	Inadequacy	Lust	Conflict with Maternal Figure	Socio. Factors
Cornier et al.	*		*		
Cleaver*					*
DeRiver	*				
Ellis	*			*	
Garafalo	*	*		*	
Glueck				*	
Goldhirsh			*		
Guttmacher	*				
Hirschfeld	*				
Karpman					
Kopp	*	*			
McCaldon	*	*			
Olive	*	*		*	
Palm et al.				*	
Saparin et al.		*			*
Solomon	*		*	*	

*Former Rapist

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Clinical observations of rapists, the literature on rape, and knowledge of relevant psychoanalytic theory seem to indicate that the rapist is beset by a "syndrome" of pathological features. In other words, difficulties are indicated in several closely related areas of the rapist's life. The most notable of these are, (1) the exaggerated aspects of hostility mingled with the sexuality of the rapist, (2) the polymorphous perverse, infantile sexuality that seems to underscore the inadequacy and faulty psychosexual development of the rapist, (3) the accented need for erotic contact which leads the rapist to forcibly and impulsively "steal" love, (4) and the presence of seductive and/or rejecting maternal figures that may have led to a heightened and unresolved oedipal conflict in the rapist. All of these features seem to in some way sustain the rapist in his behavior. This section will attempt to deal with some of the theoretical considerations that are considered to be relevant to each of these areas. For the most part these "considerations" fall within the area of psychoanalysis.

THE "LINKING" OF SEX AND AGGRESSION

The development of sex and aggression is apparently dramatic in the dynamics of the rapist. The very nature of the act, especially as it becomes more sadistic, infers some kind of linkage of sex and aggression. This linkage has already been demonstrated in normals by Clark (1953). He found a paralleled increase in hostility during sexual arousal in males. Later, Haber and Barclay (1965) also demonstrated a "linkage" in normals. They showed that male subjects could be aroused sexually following an increase in aggression. Both of these studies employed the Thematic Aperception test as a measure of hostility and sexual arousal respectively.

Psychoanalytic theory has also dealt with this issue, and the overwhelming consensus indicates that thwarting of the sexual drive may lead to the creation of reactive aggression and hostility. (Solomon (1970) defines reactive aggression as hostility and attack that is proportional to the frustrating situation, reduces tension, and if complete, discharges the emotion.) Freud in his earliest formulations also supported this view of the blocking of sexual drive leading to aggression. Although, it is well known that toward the end of his work he proposed his special death instinct to explain aggression (1928).

Fenichel (1945), in his discussion of psychosexual development, points out many instances where hostility may appear in response to frustration of erotic strivings. In the oral stage of development aims of oral incorporation may often assume a sadistic character, which is demonstrated in the infants biting of the mother's breast, etc. This sadistic orientation may develop as a reaction to frustration or oral needs. Ophuijsen (1929) observes this phenomena in sadistic perverts whose symptoms seem to grow out of a fixation on the oral aims of biting. Also, a study by Levy (1942) suggests that frustration of the sucking response results in the aggressive biting of siblings.

The anal-sadistic stage, also reviewed by Fenichel, has components of hostility that may be expressed in the "pinching" off of feces. This relationship between anal drives and sadism is due partly, at least, to frustrating influences.

The phallic stage, possibly the most important in an investigation of rape, may also develop along sadistic lines. Fenichel (1945) in a discussion of urethral eroticism discusses how urination may take on sadistic meaning of a phallic nature. It may become the equivalent of active penetration with fantasies of damaging or destroying. Reich (1972), a neo-freudian, points out the

creation of a phallic-sadistic character. Its development is also partially facilitated by disappointments and frustrations during the phallic stage. Reich goes further in his formulations to point out a directing of the sadistic impulses toward the agent that is responsible for the frustration. Thus, in the case of boys, the penis may become an instrument of aggression which seeks revenge. These sadistic impulses are often directed toward the mother, who most often is the principal frustrating agent. Later, these impulses, which are warded off because of their untenable nature, may become re-directed at women in general. This re-direction of hostility may produce what Solomon (1970) describes as secondary aggression or hostile behavior that is not proportional or related to current provocation, but is a product of past unanswered frustrations. Because rape is, at least on the surface, a "phallic" crime this discussion seems to be the most relevant in understanding how sex and aggression may become "linked" in the rapist.

Thus, the essential catalyst in the development of this linkage of sexual strivings and hostility is frustration of the erotic desires. The relevancy of this model in the study of the rapist can not be understated in view of the fact that rape encompasses sexual and aggressive behavior. And, as the author will point out in later discussions, frustration of heightened erotic drives is considered

a major aspect of the maternal relationship in the childhood of rapists.

THE "OEDIPAL" SITUATION IN RAPISTS

In the preceding discussion the effects of frustration of libidinal drives were pointed out in an attempt to give some understanding to the hostile aspects of the sexuality of the rapist. In this discussion there is a concern with the probable agent of these frustrations and how the "Oedipal" situation is heightened and poorly resolved as a result of frustrating influences.

Fenichel (1945) pointed out that unusual behavior on the part of the parents creates unusual Oedipus complexes on the part of children. In the study of rapists and sex offenders in general, most often the unusual behavior on the part of parents, specifically the mother, is of a seductive and/or frustrating nature. This creates a situation where, according to Fenichel (1945), the Oedipus complex is inflamed by a parent who may consciously or unconsciously act seductive toward a child and, in an effort to counteract for their seductiveness, they may suddenly become rejecting and frustrate the heightened incestual desires of the child. Usually these parents have never resolved their own childhood Oedipal conflicts.

Johnson and Robinson (1957) found that hostile sexual seduction by parental figures was a basic factor in all the sexual deviation they studied and the deviations originated in either permissiveness or actual coercion by adults.

Garafalo (1973) indicated that a large percentage of the rapists he studied and interviewed had "incestual" experiences with a maternal figure during childhood. This maternal figure was usually the mother, but occasionally was an older woman of no relation.

Lindner (1955) states that, in the case of aggressive sex criminals who have been studied, it has been found that a large proportion of the mothers behaved toward them in a seductive manner; thus, fostering and strengthening the natural incestuous feelings of the child. The seduction is seldom overt, the mother may not be aware of what she is doing, but out of her own emotional needs she behaves toward the child in a way that is calculated to arouse sexual feelings. These feelings engender a terrific conflict in the boy, for in the male world the ultimate, the unforgivable, and unimaginable sin is to have sex relations with one's mother. Two elements of this "seduction" that are pointed out by Lindner are very relevant to this study. The first being the sudden withdrawal of stimulation just short of

genital contact between parent and child. Hence, the relationship is heavily burdened with frustration. This frustration has already been pointed out as a prime factor in the hostility that the rapist, in particular, later directs at women in general. The second element is the deflection of the child toward unnatural acts of an immature nature, which do not threaten the parent. Unconsciously the parent gradually maneuvers the child into adolescent sexual acting out. This element, which has implications in the later "considerations" of the "polymorphus perverse" sexuality apparent in rapists, corresponds to Freud's (1962) feeling that "under the influence of seduction the child may become polymorphus perverse and may be misled into all sorts of transgressions."

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INFANTILE SEXUALITY IN RAPISTS

The behavior of the rapist during his crime is probably viewed by the layman as a manifestation of "satyric" genital sexuality. However, observations of the total sexual behavior of the rapist suggests that the rapist is still to some degree chained to infantile modes of sexual gratification and has not completely reached adult maturity in his sexual life. This adherence to infantile sexual behavior in adulthood leads to sexual behavior which is termed polymorphus perverse (Freud, 1910).

The consideration of this behavior, which has been noted in rapists who often have a history of less "serious" perversions along with rape, is important. It can be seen as a primary factor in the sexual and subsequent total feeling of inadequacy and inferiority pointed out in rapists. Also a consideration of the development of this behavior has further implications for the rapists childhood interactions with his parents.

The characteristics of polymorphus perverse infantile sexuality are described by Freud (1910). Infantile sexuality is seen as differing from adult sexuality in several aspects. Primarily, the highest excitation is not necessarily located at the genitals, but that the genitals, rather play the part of "primus inter pares" among many erogeneous zones. The aims, too, are different; they do not necessarily lead toward sexual intercourse but linger at activities that later play a role in fore-pleasure. Also infantile sexuality may be autoerotic, that is, takes the child's own body or parts of it as its object. The components which are directed toward objects, bear archaic features, (incorporation aims and ambivalence). When a partial drive is blocked, "collateral" partial drives become correspondingly strengthened. It should be noted that many of these features may be present not only in the "perverse" sexual behavior observed in the rapist, but also in the act

of rape itself. In fact, one of the primary concerns of this study is uncovering aggressive or hostile "collateral" partial drives in the rapist. Related features of incorporation aims and ambivalence also become clear as the act of rape is probed.

Fenichel (1945) explains infantile sexuality in more simple language. He states: "every kind of excitation in the child can become a source of sexual excitement: mechanical and muscular stimuli, affects, intellectual activity, and even pain. In time, however, the genitals begin to function as a special discharge apparatus, which concentrates all excitation upon itself and discharges it no matter in which erogenous zone it originated."

Fenichel (1945) goes further to explain how the adult may become "chained" to infantile sexual behavior when he discusses the reasons for fixations and regression in psychosexual development. He states that in personality, progress to a higher level never takes place completely. Characteristics of the earlier levels persist alongside of or behind the new level to some extent. Disturbance of development may occur not only in a form that causes a total arrest of development, but also in the form of retention of more characteristics of the earlier level than is normal. When a new development meets with difficulties there may be

a backward movement in which the development recedes to earlier stages that were more successfully experienced. Thus, there is a "regression" to a point of earlier "fixations."

The reasons or disturbances in development that are basic factors in the evocation of fixations are also discussed by Fenichel. These reasons are of interest to this study because some of them may have implications for what has already been pointed out in discussions of the parent-child interactions in the background of rapists. First, experiencing excessive satisfaction at a given level will cause a reluctance to renounce that level and a yearning for it when misfortune at later levels occur. Second, excessive frustration at a given level may cause an organism to remain at that level demanding satisfaction. If the frustration has led to regression the drives in question are thus cut off from the rest of the personality; they do not participate in further maturation and send up their disturbing derivatives from the unconscious into the conscious. Third, abrupt changes from excessive satisfaction to excessive frustration have an especially fixating effect. Last, most frequently fixations are rooted in experiences of drive satisfaction which simultaneously gave reassurance in the face of some anxiety or aided in

repressing some other feared impulse. Such simultaneous satisfaction of drive and of security is the most common cause of fixations.

To reiterate, the relevance of this theory is enormous not only because it explains the development of infantile sexuality observed in rapists, but also because it ultimately sheds more light on the nature of parent-child interactions in the background of rapists. Specifically, it appears that Fenichel's (1945) third reason for fixation, which considers abrupt changes from satisfaction to frustration, is a good description of the seductive and concurrently frustrating maternal image pointed out in the literature on rape. Thus, not only is hostility a possible derivative of this type of parent-child interaction, but also it seems to disrupt psychosexual development and create an adult who may be "child-like" in his sexuality.

THE "NEUROTIC NEED FOR LOVE" IN RAPISTS

Up to this point the hostile and perverse nature of the rapist's offense and general behavior have been emphasized. However, there also appear to be elements of a need for close contact with the very persons the rapist often brutally abuses. In other words the rapist is trying to forcibly take "love" in his aberrant attempts at sexual conquest. This point has already been pointed out by

Kopp (1962) in the literature on rape. Some elements of this exaggerated and impulsive need for love "at any cost" are dealt with by a theorist who is concerned with the "neurotic need for affection."

Horney (1937) points out many relevant elements in the neurotic need for affection. First, the need is based on anxiety that has its antecedent in the child's feelings of hostility toward parents or an environment that heightens his feelings of insecurity and helplessness. This element, of course, has the flavor of what has already been conjectured about the rapist's childhood experiences. The important factor that develops out of this anxiety is a need for reassurance. This need may manifest itself in the form of insatiable desires for affection in the child and it is posited in this study that in the rapist this need is eroticized. Thus, sexual strivings become distorted into an exaggerated drive for reassurance. Of course, since these insatiable needs cannot be met and are actively rebuffed or frustrated the child becomes more angry and ironically more anxious and in need of reassurance. Of course, if this circular pattern is never resolved it continues to be evident in adult life.

Further elements of this need for affection describe the extent to which the person driven in this manner is

narcisstic and self-serving. First, the actions of a person caught up in these needs is compulsory and indiscriminate. This agrees with the behavior of a rapist who in some cases attack any woman that happens to be "available." The infantile nature of the rapists sexuality also points to the fact that gratification is of utmost importance and the manner in which it is sought after is of less importance.

A second element in this narcissism or total self concern is a lack of regard for the needs, wishes, and feelings of the other person. This is demonstrated in exaggerated and dramatic form in the rapist's subjugation of his victim. Finally, the lack of ability to return "affection" is evident; and no person demonstrates this inability more than the rapist who in some cases even murders his victim in a search for self satisfaction.

Thus, it is evident from this brief discussion that the rapist may not only be a brutal, sexualized beast, as viewed by the average person, but he may also have very human needs that have been distorted beyond recognition.

CHAPTER II

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The core concern of this study is uncovering and describing some aspects of the dynamics involved in rape. Of prime interest in this analysis of the rapist's motives is: (1) an exploration and clarification of the hostility observed in the violent behavior and expressions of rapists, and (2) a better understanding of the apparently exaggerated pregenital, sexual behavior observed in some rapists.

Out of this study, the author has formulated several hypotheses which grow out of his own theory of rape. This theory and its expectancies developed out of a logical linkage of the author's own experiences with rapists, and published accounts of clinical observations of rapists. The hypotheses, stated in an informal manner, see rapists as: (1) individuals with pervasive hostility in their personality make up, (2) inadequate individuals with marked feelings of inferiority, (3) individuals who feel deprived of affection and consequently have strong needs for human contact, and (4) immature individuals with poor impulse control. Of course, any of these expectations taken alone do not describe the rapist. They are all closely interrelated and hopefully will be expressed via "Rorschach patterns." In light of the hypotheses, these "patterns"

should portray an individual driven by heightened needs, enraged when they are frustrated, and striking out uncontrollably at objects which simultaneously represent a source of need gratification and the target of his hostility.

Formally, the general hypotheses of this "picture" of the rapist can be stated in terms of his expected responses on the Rorschach and the comparison of these responses to control groups of "normals" and individuals incarcerated for various other nonsexual offenses. Thus, in operational terms, the formal hypotheses of this study are:

Hypothesis I (Hostility). The rapist group (group R) and the inmate, control group (group I) will demonstrate a significantly greater level of hostility in their content responses to the Rorschach than a control group of "normals" (group N)* using Elizur's (1949) scoring system for hostility.

Hypothesis II (Inadequacy). Group R will demonstrate significantly more vista (V) responses to the Rorschach than either group I or group N.

*The "normals" used as a control group in this comparison were taken from normative samples for Elizur's hostility scoring system.

Hypothesis III (Deprivation of Contact & Sex)

1. Group R will demonstrate significantly more combined shading (K) and texture (C) responses than group I and group N.
2. Group R will demonstrate more sex associations to the Rorschach than either group I or group N.

Hypothesis IV (Impulsivity)

1. Group R will demonstrate significantly more pure color (C) and color dominated form (CF) responses to the Rorschach than either group I or group N.
2. Group R will demonstrate significantly less form dominated color (FC) responses to the Rorschach than either group I or group N.

EXPLANATION OF THE HYPOTHESES

Hypothesis I. The rationale for this hypothesis grows out of the rage inducing affects of frustration and inconsistent need satisfaction in the childhood of rapists. Also, in view of the fact that a number of clinicians have noted the often hostile and sadistic nature of the rapist's self expression, it is more than likely that this hostility will appear in his content on the Rorschach. This variable, as indicated in Elizur's hostility level (Elizur, 1949), will probably also be exaggerated in the responses of the control inmates or group I whose crimes also indicate a great deal of hostility and disdain toward society. However, the rapist group should be significantly more hostile than the "normal" controls.

Hypothesis II. The vista responses used in this hypothesis indicate a need for self appraisal and subsequently indicate increased feelings of inferiority and inadequacy (Beck, 1944). These feelings of self depreciation are expected to be exaggerated in the rapist who hypothetically should be painfully aware of his poor hetero-sexual development and adjustment. Thus, because of the rapist's basic sexual inadequacy, he should differ significantly from both the controls.

Hypothesis III. (A) The rationale for part A of this hypothesis is based on the rapist's accented needs for human contact that grow out of the frustration of heightened erotic drives in childhood. Because this frustration is speculated to grow out of the rapist's initial experiences with his mother; it seeks out female objects for gratification. However, it is proposed that deprivation may be so acute as to lead to substitute objects for satisfaction and subsequent pregenital sexual activities. At any rate, the rapists should differ significantly from both controls in this area. (B) Part B of this hypothesis will hopefully indicate the sexual preoccupation that develops out of the rapist's feelings of "sexual" deprivation or eroticized needs for human contact or physical affection. Just as "a hungry man dreams of food," so will the rapist's unsatisfied needs for erotic contact heighten his awareness of

sexuality and ultimately he will produce more sexual associations to the Rorschach than the control subjects.

Hypothesis IV. (A) This hypothesis should indicate a potential for acting out the strong drives which the other hypotheses are attempting to identify in the rapist. Most importantly, this expectancy points to the inability of the rapist to delay gratification of these drives and his immature mechanisms for self control. Because the rapist's offense is viewed as more "impulsive" than the more deliberate offenses of many of the control inmates, the rapist is expected to be significantly different from these criminal offenders. Also the rapists are expected to be significantly more impulsive than the "normals" who have no criminal acts. (B) Part B of this hypothesis should also indicate the rapist's impulsivity and immature controls. However, in his case the impulsiveness will be indicated by the lack of this particular variable in the rapist group and increased amounts of it in the controls.

Also of interest, besides these formally testable hypotheses, are a number of possible inferences that may be qualitatively derived from further examinations of the individual protocols of the rapists. These impressions, will be mentioned in the discussion of the results if they appear to be relevant in understanding the rapist and broadening the views presented in the testing of the

hypotheses. The rationale for employing this less rigorous approach is based on the fact that many concerns that are evident in the theory and literature on rape are not readily quantifiable and, furthermore, they are more prone to subjective interpretation. And, of course, the greatest factor in considering these "untested" findings is that their implications for understanding the rapist may be too strong to be ignored.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

SUBJECTS

The Experimental Group. The experimental group (group R) consisted of the Rorschach records of 20 male individuals convicted of forcible or attempted rape of adult females. Each convicted rapist was an inmate of Ionia State Hospital and incarcerated under special state statutes for individuals designated as criminal sexual psychopaths (CSPs). Under the CSP designation these individuals were considered to be afflicted with a mental disorder, and have criminal propensities for commission of sex offenses. However, these persons were not considered to be feeble-minded and did not conform to the legal definition of insanity.

For the purposes of this study the designation of CSP in an individual's record was not taken for granted or used solely as a criteria for the experimental group. The records of these individuals were pre-screened by the experimenter and individuals with the following factors indicated in their record were eliminated:

1. Individuals who were viewed as psychotic.
2. Individuals who were viewed as brain damaged and/or retarded.
3. Individuals who were not incarcerated for forcible rape or attempted rape of adult females.
4. Individuals with inadequate Rorschach records (less than ten responses).

The Controls. A number of control groups were used in this study. The first group of controls consisted of 20 male inmates of Southern Michigan Prison at Jackson, Michigan. Their individual records were taken from the psychiatric ward of the state prison facility. These individuals were also pre-screened to eliminate individuals with the characteristics unwanted in the experimental group, except that offenders convicted of sex crimes were eliminated for this group. An added stipulation was that this would essentially be a non-assaultive group. Thus, individuals convicted of murder, assault, etc., were eliminated. In all, the 20 individuals who were members of control group I were convicted of the following offenses: Eight were convicted of breaking and entering, four were convicted of armed robbery, three were confined for drug related charges, one car theft, one kidnapping conviction, one conviction for arson, one conviction for embezzlement, and the last inmate was convicted of "uttering and publishing" or (bad checks). It was noted that the armed robbers crime does entail some degree of violence and possible potential assaultiveness. However, limitations on available subjects for the group dictated the necessity of using them in this group.

The remaining controls, which were designated group N, consisted of "normals" taken from normative samples for

the Rorschach Inkblot test. Two separate samples were used.

These samples consisted of:

1. 22 normal adults taken from a normative study by Elizur (1949) specifically for his hostility score for the Rorschach.
2. 157 adult employees of Spiegel Mail Order House who took part in normative studies by Beck, et al, (1950).

Two normal samples were used due to the fact that Elizur's hostility scoring system was not taken into account by the extensive normative research done by Beck, et al, (1950). Consequently, in order to compare this score between the groups in this study, Elizur's own normative data for the scoring system he developed had to be employed, in lieu of Beck's data on hostile content.

Rationale for Use of Control Groups. The rationale for the use of control group I, the inmate group, grew mainly out of a need for a control population that was somewhat similar to the experimental, rapist group. Thus, factors of imprisonment, sex, and race were held constant between this group and the experimental group.

The rationale for the use of normal controls in group N was based on an attempt to establish a normal "base rate" or normal expectancy for the particular Rorschach scores compared to the experimental group. This factor, to some extent, justifies the use of already available normative data for the Rorschach. Of course, another

practical aspect of the choice of a sample group from normative studies was the difficulty in finding and testing a group of "normals."

In Table II further demographic data is presented for the experimental and control groups used in this study.

TABLE II
DESCRIPTIVE DATA FOR
EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL GROUPS

Groups	N	IQ		Age	
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Group R (Rapists)	20	105.5	10.4	29.2	8.7
Group I (Inmates)	20	-	-	25.2	7.3
Group N (Normals)*	157	-	-	30.5	8.5
Group N (Normals)**	22	103.6	9.9	34.0	8.1

*Becks's Normative Sample (1950)

**Elizur's Normative Sample (1949)

-Information Not Available

Procedure. Rorschach test protocols were taken from the files of Ionia State Hospital. A sample population of individuals with convictions for forcible or attempted rape of adult females was then established. This group was additionally screened by the experimenter and offenders who

had retardation, brain damage, psychosis, or inadequate Rorschach protocols were eliminated.

A control group of inmates was obtained from the records of the psychiatric ward at Southern Michigan Prison. In this case essentially the same procedure was followed. However, these individuals had an additional qualifying stipulation of not being incarcerated for violent assaultive crimes or sex crimes.

The normative data used for the "normal" controls was obtained from already available normative data presented by Beck, et al, (1950) and Elizur (1949).

All these groups were then experimentally compared and the data obtained was subjected to specific statistical procedures.

Apparatus and Measures. Generally, the apparatus used in this study was the Rorschach Inkblot Projective Technique. However, more specifically, several variables were taken from the Rorschach for the purposes of this study. These variables are described and briefly reviewed in the following section.

Elizur's Hostility Level (HL). This variable focuses on the content of the Rorschach protocols to establish a level of hostility in the record. Elizur (1949), the developer of this scoring procedure, defines hostility as "feelings of resentment and enmity, which are

often repressed in our culture but almost inevitably show up in the individuals distorted attitudes toward people, either being too antagonistic or too submissive."

This concept of hostility used by Elizur is further described by Goldfried, Stricker, and Weiner (1971). They state "although Elizur's use of the term "hostility" in part encompasses drive or motivational properties, as well as actual instrumental reactions, the "hostility" revealed in the Rorschach responses refers more to the fairly stable negative attitude with which the person views the world. A generalized "trait" of hostility is being assessed, as opposed to a transitory feeling of the individual at a given time."

The approach to the actual scoring of the content for hostility according to Elizur's system is fairly straightforward and simple. Little experience is needed and it can be done fairly quickly. Generally, responses in which hostility is obviously expressed are scored H and given a numerical weight of two. If hostility is expressed less obviously or symbolically, the response is scored small h and given a weight of one. Those responses in which there is no indication of hostility remain unscored. The general categories of responses ranged according to decreasing level of hostility are:

1. Expressive behavior
2. Emotions and attitudes expressed or implied
3. Objects of aggressions
4. Symbolic responses
5. Double connotation
6. Unscorable or neutral responses
(More detailed descriptions of the scoring procedure with examples are presented in Appendix A)

Vista (V). This variable grows out of the subject's perception of three dimensional space in his response to shading variation in the inkblot. The consequence is that the associational content is perceived as if it were at a distance. I may be something seen on a height, with the subject (viewer) standing below, or from a height with the subject far above (aerial photograph), or as depth (scenery reflected). An impression as of perspective is the common factor in these percepts (Beck, 1944). The psychological implication of a person who has this type of determinant is that of self appraisal. This need for self appraisal is based on feelings of inferiority in the respondent. The premise here is that the more the individual is given to evaluating himself, the more self depreciating he is.

Rorschach, himself explains in a discussion of the V response: "according to my experience, everything indicates that a singular psychic correlation is operative here; perceptions of the spatial, of depth and distance appears to be correlated with affectivity of somewhat anxious, cautious, measured character, in one way or

another depressively toned, and perhaps always a correlation with certain feelings of insufficiency, the content of which is a consciousness of absence of support, of instability, of being out of "groove".

The scoring for this dimension is done by adding the total V responses for each group and computing the individual group means and standard deviations.

Shading and Texture or K & C. These variables were used to determine the extent of feelings of deprivation or awareness of a need for human contact or affection. These measures were combined because to a great extent, they both measure the same dimension of need for affection.

On the inkblot, the c measure is a response to the tactile implications of the shading on the cards, while K is a response to shading in an attempt to give diffuse, unstructured, but three dimensional effect to the blot material.

In c, Klopfer (1954) sees an infantile, undifferentiated, crude need for affection of an essentially physical contact variety. The person who gives crude c (without a form perception) implies not only insatiable affectional need, but also a personality so undifferentiated as to be unable to find satisfaction in any interpersonal relationship save those involving the most infantile sort of

creature-contact. CF, although not much better, represents a relatively crude continuation of an early need for closeness, a need to be held and fondled, and a longing for an infantile sort of dependence on others. This infantile craving for contact may express itself through sexual relationships. Fc, a less pathological form of the c response, indicates the infantile craving for contact has been differentiated and refined into a more controlled manifestation. It is also pointed out that this response is associated with deprivation and frustration in early childhood.

K also is an indicator of the manner in which a person handles his primary security need and derived needs for affection and belongingness. As in c, the more form that is integrated with K, the more it is an indication of an attempt to handle affectional needs in a rational and objective manner.

In the scoring procedure, a weight of one was given to these responses (comparable scores of T and Y were weighted since Beck's system was employed in the original scoring of the protocols). The scores were then totaled for each group and the statistical means and standard deviations were computed.

Sex Responses. This was probably the most straightforward variable to describe and score. The sex response reflects the subject's preoccupation with sex in his conscious life (Beck, 1961). Because of its obvious delicate and often taboo nature, it is often censored or covered up by the subject. However, in this study, it is expected to surface in an experimental group which is apparently preoccupied to some degree by it because it is a reflection of their deprivation and needs for erotic contact.

In the scoring a weight of one was assigned to all overt sex associations made in a record (ie, penis, breast, intercourse, etc.). The appropriate parameters were then computed for each group.

Color Responses or C, CF & FC. These variables were employed to indicate impulsivity. C and CF are crude color responses which indicate poor impulse control. Here the subject is responding to color in the inkblots in such a manner that it indicates a lack of emotional control and inadequate responsiveness in the face of emotional impact. On the other hand, the FC response indicates the ability to have ready control over emotional impact without loss of responsiveness.

In summing up the color responses Klopfer (1954) states, "FC has been found to be one of the most dependable Rorschach signs of good adjustment. On the other hand, crude or pure C responses are indicative of a pathological lack of emotional control, emotionality of an explosive, hair-trigger variety. Not as pathological, but still indicative of maladjustive functioning is CF, which also represents an uncontrolled reaction to environmental impact."

These determinants are scored by assigning weights of one-half for FC responses and comparing the totals and parameters for each group. And in another assessment combining the crude color responses, C and CF, after giving them a weight of $1\frac{1}{2}$ and one respectively. The totals for these scores were also computed along with means and standard deviations for each group.

Treatment of the Data. The treatment of the data was rather unorthodox. Two statistical procedures, a simple T test for difference between sample means (Hays, 1963) and a Kolmogorov Smirnov test (Marliss & Zayachowski, 1962) were employed for group comparisons between the experimental and control groups. Initially a T test was used in the analysis and comparison of the data between the normative group or control "normals" the experimental group, and the remaining group of control inmates. This statistical

procedure was followed mainly because individual scores were not available for the subjects taken from the normative samples. Because of this factor more appropriate non-parametric procedures, such as those represented by Cronbach (1949) for analysis of Rorschach data, could not be used when control group N was involved in a comparison.

In the comparisons between the experimental group and inmate controls all the individual data are available. Consequently, an additional non-parametric, Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was used. This procedure was thought to be more appropriate in view of the fact that in many instances Rorschach data are suspected to violate the assumptions of normality made by many parametric procedures such as the T test (Cronbach, 1949).

In both statistical procedures the null hypothesis was tested and significance was established or the null was rejected at the .025 level.

An added interscorer reliability was computed for the scoring of hostility, (Elizur, 1949) which was the only variable scored by the experimenter. The "percentage of agreement" between the experimenter and an additional scorer was employed to reveal possible experimenter bias.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

In obtaining the results an intergroup comparison was made between the experimental and control groups for each Rorschach variable within the context of the hypotheses. These comparisons consisted of:

1. Comparing the experimental, rapist group (group R) to the inmate controls (group I).
2. Comparing the rapist group to the "normal" controls taken from normative populations (group N).
3. Comparing the two control groups, I and N to each other.

The T values obtained in these comparisons were then tabulated according to the hypothesis they tested. An additional comparison was made between the experimental group and inmate control group using the Kolmogorov Smirnov test.

Hypothesis I. The first hypothesis states:

Group R and Group I will demonstrate a significantly greater level of hostility in their responses to the Rorschach than Group N.

T VALUES FOR GROUP COMPARISONS OF
CONTENT SCORES FOR HOSTILITY LEVEL (HL) IN THE RORSCHACH

Groups	Mean (HL)	SD	Differances
Group R (Rapists)	3.55	2.62	R vs I T=.05 P=NS
Group I (Inmates)	4.50	3.73	R vs N T=3.19 P=.001
Group N (Normals)*	1.30	1.80	I vs N T=3.51 P=.001

*Elizur's Normative Subjects.

Above, in Table III, values are presented for the two comparisons of level of hostility. In the illustration the values reveal that both group R and group I have a significantly greater level of hostility than group N. In both cases the T values reach significance beyond the .025 confidence limit decided upon previously. The .001 level of confidence in both these comparisons allow for a strong rejection of the null hypothesis. Thus, the findings support the hypothesis. The rapists and inmate controls had a significantly greater level of hostility than the "normal" controls.

Hypothesis II. The second hypothesis states:

Group R will demonstrate significantly more vista responses than Group I and Group N.

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TABLE IV

T VALUES FOR GROUP COMPARISONS OF
THE V RESPONSE (INADEQUACY) IN THE RORSCHACH

Groups	Mean (V)	SD	Differances
Group R (Rapists)	.65	.74	R vs I T=1.72 P=NS
Group I (Inmates)	.30	.66	R vs N T=2.48 P=.02
Group N (Normals)	1.84	2.05	I vs N T=3.22 P=.001

In Table IV, T values are presented for the three comparisons of level of inadequacy which is measured operationally by the vista response. In these intergroup comparisons significant differences were found between group R and group N and also between group I and group N. The T values for both these comparisons rejected the null hypothesis at the .02 and .001 level respectively. Of interest here is the fact that in the comparison of group R to group N significance is reached contrary to the direction hypothesized. Thus, in this case the hypothesis is not upheld, and, in fact, rapists apparently reveal significantly less inadequacy than "normals."

Hypothesis III (Part A). The third hypothesis states:

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Group R will demonstrate significantly more combined shading (K) and texture (c) responses than Group I and Group N.

TABLE V

T VALUES FOR GROUP COMPARISONS OF COMBINED K AND c VARIABLES (DEPRIVIATION) IN THE RORSCHACH

Groups	Mean (K&c)	SD	Differances
Group R (Rapists)	3.75	3.06	R vs I T=3.24 P=.001
Group I (Inmates)	1.20	1.73	R vs N T=3.12 P=.001
Group N (Normals)	1.96	2.22	I vs N T=1.42 P=NS

In Table V, findings related to Part A of hypothesis III are illustrated. Again, T values are given for the intergroup comparisons made. In the comparison between group R and group I the T value reached significance at the .001 level. This level of significance was again approached when group R was compared to group N. Both these findings supported the hypothesis in revealing a significantly greater amount of K and c responses in the rapist group. In the remaining comparison of the controls no significant difference was found.

Hypothesis III (Part B). Part B of the third hypothesis states:

Group R will demonstrate significantly more sex associations in responses to the Rorschach than Group I and Group N.

TABLE VI

T VALUES FOR GROUP COMPARISONS OF
SEX RESPONSES (SEXUAL DEPRIVATION) IN THE RORSCHACH

Groups	Mean (Sex.R)	SD	Differances
Group R (Rapists)	.65	.81	R vs I T=0 P=NS
Group I (Inmates)	.65	.99	R vs N T=6.20 P=.001
Group N (Normals)	.30	.32	I vs N T=5.64 P=.001

Table VI, illustrates Part B of hypothesis III. The T value in the comparison of group R to group I does not reach significance. However, significance was reached in the T comparison between group R and group N. In this case the null hypothesis was strongly rejected at the .001 level. In the remaining comparison of the controls a significant T value was again found that reached the .001 level of rejection of the null hypothesis. Although these findings do not fully support the hypothesis, it is of

interest that the rapist group did demonstrate significantly more sex associations than the control "normals."

Hypothesis IV (Part A). Part A of hypothesis IV states:

Group R will demonstrate a significantly greater number of pure color (C) and color dominated from (CF) responses to the Rorschach than both control groups.

TABLE VII

T VALUES FOR GROUP COMPARISONS OF C AND CF (IMPULSIVITY) RESPONSES TO THE RORSCHACH

Groups	Mean (C+CF)	SD	Differances
Group R (Rapists)	2.53	2.30	R vs I T=2.47 P=.01
Group I (Inmates)	1.00	1.22	R vs N T= .54 P=NS
Group N (Normals)	2.53	2.30	I vs N T=2.82 P=.01

Table VII, addresses itself to the comparison of color dominated responses between the groups. In the first comparison, between group R and group I, significance is reached, via a T test, at the .025 level of rejection of the null hypothesis. However, in the T comparison of group R to group N there is no significant difference. In the

final T comparison of group I to group N there is a significant difference that reaches the .01 level for rejection of the null. Surprisingly, these findings indicate a greater level of C and CF in the rapist group when compared to the control inmates, but when the rapists are compared to the "normals" there is no significant difference. This finding does not support the hypothesis that the rapists would be significantly different from both samples, control populations. Also, although in the comparison of the controls nothing was hypothesized, it is interesting to note that the "normals" showed a significantly greater amount of C and CF than the control inmates.

Hypothesis IV (Part B). Part B of hypothesis IV states:

Group R will have a significantly lesser amount of form dominated color responses (FC) than both the controls.

TABLE VIII

T VALUES FOR GROUP COMPARISONS OF
FC (IMPULSE CONTROL) RESPONSES TO THE RORSCHACH

Groups	Mean (FC)	SD	Differances
Group R (Rapists)	.50	.65	R vs I T=.27 P=NS
Group I (Inmates)	.50	.58	R vs N T=3.02 P=.01
Group N (Normals)	1.36	1.21	I vs N T=3.02 P=.01

In Table VIII, comparisons are made between the groups for FC scores on the Rorschach. In the comparison between group R and group I the T value reveals no significant difference between the groups. However, in the comparison of group R to group N significance is reached by the T value at the .01 level. Again, in the comparison of group I and group N the T values reached the .01 level. These findings indicate that the rapist group has significantly less FC than the control "normals," while compared to the control inmates there is no difference. And, in the comparison of the controls, the inmates have significantly less FC than the "normals." Thus, the hypothesis proposed in this particular case is not supported completely by the

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results which indicate that the rapists do not differ significantly in the expected direction from both groups of controls.

TABLE IX

ADDITIONAL COMPARISONS OF
GROUP R AND GROUP I ON RORSCHACH
VARIABLES USING THE KOLMOGOROV SMIRNOV TEST

Variable	D Value	P	Direction
HL (Hostility)	2	N.S.	
V (Inadequacy)	8	N.S.	
K+c (Deprivation)	11	.005	Group R Higher
Sex R. (Sexual Depriv)	2	N.S.	
C+CF (Impulsivity)	9	.01	Group R Higher
FC (Impulse Control)	2	N.S.	
C+CF > FC (Impulsivity)	6	N.S.	

In Table IX, a non-parametric procedure is used in an additional comparison of group R to group I. The findings are generally in agreement with the results of the already discussed T comparisons between these two groups. Again significance is reached in the comparisons on the combined K and c variables which test deprivation and the

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color dominated (C & CF) variables which test impulsivity. There is a slight change in level of significance in the latter case, however. It decreases from a level of .01 in the T test to the .025 level as a result of the Kolomogorov Smirnov non-parametric test. However, rejection of the null is still maintained in both cases. Probably another implication of these findings besides the inferences they make is the fact that the concern voiced by Cronbach (1949) over the need for using non-parametric procedures to test Rorschach data is somewhat overstated within the context of this study. This can be concluded as a consequence of the small amount of difference in the results between the T test and Kolomogorov Smirnov test.

An additional component introduced in this table is the analysis of the "color" responses, C, CF, and FC, in ratio form. Particularly, the ratio of crude color responses to appropriate color responses is of concern. As indicated there is no significant differance, although the d value of 6 does demonstrate a definate trend towards greater impulsivity in Group R.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

THE EXPERIMENTAL HYPOTHESES

Hypothesis I. Dealt with the high level hostility of the rapist that was predicted by this study. In interpreting the results it seems that hostility, in fact, is a predominant characteristic of the rapist sample used. This conclusion is mainly based on the strongly significant difference between the "normals" taken from the Elizur sample and the rapists. A secondary consideration here is, although the rapists demonstrated this accentuated degree of hostility in comparison to a normative sample, they did not differ from the sample inmate population. This factor is difficult to assess, unless one ventures the reasoning that either hostility is prevalent among most criminal offenders and can be revealed through the Rorschach or imprisonment itself creates some degree of hostility. Actually these points were considered beforehand in this study and consequently the hypothesis was written in a manner that would take into account the hostility of incarcerated criminal offenders in general.

Probably the salient issue here in looking at the hostility of the two offender groups is the quality of the hostile content in the Rorschach. Although there was no

"tested" evidence in differentiating the quality of the hostility between the rapist group and inmate controls, it did appear, as might be expected, that the rapist group more often directed their hostility toward female percepts. This hostility was usually subtle and appeared mostly in the first three Rorschach cards. Females were seen as witches and in many cases the female form was dismembered or incomplete. Usually parts of the torso were the only things seen. Probably, the most blatant example of hostility appeared in card II where one rapist saw a vagina and explosion consecutively in the same area of the blot. Although hostility is of main concern here, it is interesting to note that the incomplete females and explosions also suggest some amount of anxiety in dealing with women as whole, human beings. This is obviously an important point in attempting to understand rapists (see Appendix B).

Hypothesis II. Was rejected when one of the primary comparisons between the rapists and the normative sample reached significance in the opposite direction postulated. These contradictory results can probably best be explained by looking at the rationale of Rorschach interpretation. In this case it was apparent that the excess of lack of vista responses alone was not a strong measure of inadequacy. It seems that more of the protocol must be involved in determining inadequacy. This especially came to

light when the rapist's individual protocols were examined and thirteen of the twenty rapists were subjectively viewed as feeling inadequate or inferior in the clinical interpretations. Thus, what may have been tested here was the validity of the vista response in measuring inadequacy and not whether or not rapists are more or less inadequate than other individuals.

Hypothesis III, (Part A). Was given strong support by the results. The finding itself was important in that it identified strong feelings of deprivation in the rapist sample. This deprivation, which was greater in the rapist group when compared to both controls, is the basis for the need for affection and contact in the rapist.

Hypothesis III (Part B). Was also concerned with the rapist's feeling of deprivation. However, the sex response seemed to be a weaker measure in this area. The findings did not fully support the hypothesis, although the rapists did differ significantly from the normative sample. The findings did, however, offer another chance to look at some "qualitative" differences between the rapist and inmate group. Both of these groups exhibited the same amount of "sexual preoccupation," yet it was noticeable that the rapist's sex responses were less inhibited or more blatant. The rapists seemed to see vaginas most often, while the

inmate group usually saw breasts. This difference seems to be minor, but in reality it points to the fact that there may be a genuine sexual need motivating the rapist. This factor becomes even more plausible when one considers the relative infrequency of such blatant sex responses in the protocols of non-psychotic individuals (see Appendix B).

Hypothesis IV (Part A). Was not upheld by the results mainly because the rapist group did not differ significantly from the control normals. In plain language the members of the normative sample appeared to be as impulsive as the rapists. Probably, the major factor affecting these findings was the failure to look at and compare the presence of "healthy" color indices between the groups. These healthy color responses, particularly the FC response, tend to have a counterbalancing affect on the C and CF responses. In other words, FC is as much an indicator of mature and appropriate handling of emotions and feelings as C and FC are indicators of impulsive emotionality and lack of control. Thus, in judging impulsivity all of the major color nuances must be considered.

Hypothesis IV (Part B). The impulsivity of the groups was taken into account by analyzing the FC responses. Keeping Part A of this hypothesis in mind, it was not surprising that the normative group had a significantly higher level of FC responses than both the rapists and the

control inmates. This indicates that the "normals" were not as impulsive as they appeared in the findings of the initial part of this hypothesis. Conversely, the rapists appear to be even more impulsive when their comparatively low FC score is taken into consideration. Consequently, even though technically the hypothesis is not upheld as stated, it appears that the rapist group is extremely impulsive.

ADDITIONAL FINDINGS

Because the pattern of the scores for each particular rapist is an important consideration for this study, it was necessary to look for the presence of all the postulated Rorschach indices in each individual rapists scoring record.

A primary consideration here, even before the individual patterns could be assessed, was determining a criteria that would indicate that a particular score for a given variable (hostility, etc.) was strong enough to consider the variable as a predominant feature of the record. Consequently, when the "strong variables" in a record were determinable, the patterns or groups of strong variables could also be discerned. The assessment itself was accomplished by looking at the individual subjects scores above a grand median for the combined inmate and rapist scores on each Rorschach indicator. Individuals who

scored above the median for a given variable were considered to have that particular trait. A pattern would emerge if they had a number of these traits indicated. For example, if the record indicated that an individual scored above the median on indices of inadequacy and impulsivity, he would have the pattern consisting of these two variables. In view of the hypotheses of this study, the rapists would optimally have a pattern of "all" the variables in each of their Rorschach records.

TABLE XI

SCORING "PATTERN" FOR
INDIVIDUAL RORSCHACH RECORDS OF CONTROL INMATES

Inmates	HL (Hostility) MDN=3.33	Vista (Inadequacy) MDN=0	C&K (Deprivation) MDN=1.25	Sex R. (Sexual Depriv.) MDN=0	C+CF/FC (Impulsivity) MDN=2.00
I 1	4*	0	0	1*	.06
I 2	12*	1*	3*	3*	.66
I 3	5*	0	5*	1*	.5
I 4	11*	0	0	1*	.06
I 5	4*	0	5*	3*	1.30
I 6	0	0	0	0	1.00
I 7	10*	0	0	0	.06
I 8	7*	0	0	0	1.30
I 9	2	0	0	0	1.30
I 10	2	0	0	0	1.60
I 11	0	0	0	0	2.00
I 12	0	0	0	0	2.00
I 13	0	0	3*	0	1.60
I 14	7*	1*	0	0	2.00
I 15	7*	0	4*	0	3.30*
I 16	6*	2*	3*	1*	1.00
I 17	6*	0	0	2*	.06
I 18	1	2*	3*	0	.06
I 19	2	0	0	1*	1.00
I 20	4*	0	0	0	4.00*

*Above Median

In Table X, the findings regarding the additional pattern analysis are presented. The findings did not generally support the presence of all the personality traits in each rapists protocol. In fact only one rapist, R 16, demonstrated a pattern that included all four of the personality variable indicators. However, it was note worthy to find that six of the rapists had at least a pattern indicating hostility, deprivation, and impulsivity. Also, the most prevalent variable seems to be deprivation which is predominant in the protocols of sixteen of the twenty rapists. Although these findings do not support all the previous statistically tested hypothesis, they do add support to the hypotheses which were found to be significant as a result of T and Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests; especially, those findings pertaining to deprivation.

TABLE X

SCORING "PATTERN" FOR
INDIVIDUAL RORSCHACH RECORDS OF RAPISTS

Rapists	HL (Hostility) MDN=3.33	Vista (Inadequacy) MDN=0	C&M (Deprivation) MDN=1.25	Sex R. (Sexual Depriv.) MDN=0	C+CF/FC (Impulsivity) MDN=2.0
R 1	4*	0	5*	0	5.3*
R 2	9*	0	2*	0	2.3*
R 3	5*	1*	1	1*	.06
R 4	0	0	2*	2*	1
R 5	7*	0	2*	0	2
R 6	2	1*	2*	0	2
R 7	0	1*	2*	0	.33
R 8	2	1*	5*	2*	.04
R 9	4*	0	1	1*	2.2*
R 10	5*	0	3*	1*	4*
R 11	2	2*	6*	0	10*
R 12	0	0	12*	2*	3*
R 13	4*	0	4*	0	2.6*
R 14	4*	0	5*	2*	4.3*
R 15	6*	0	1	0	11.5*
R 16	6*	1*	10*	0	3*
R 17	7*	2*	0	1	1
R 18	3	1*	6*	0	3.3*
R 19	3	2*	2*	0	1
R 20	2	1*	4*	1	1.3

*Above Median

In Table XI the same data is presented for the non-assaultive inmate, control group. Taken in light of the patterns for the rapist group, it is apparent that there is an absence of notable patterns in this case. This finding in the inmate sample helps to further illuminate the findings by contrasting the patterns presented by the rapists.

Another finding which is of importance, in view of analyzing the impulsivity of the rapist, is the comparative incidence of dark shading responses (C'). This variable is viewed as a good predictor of impulsivity and serves as an additional measure that can be observed along with the color responses (C&CF&FC). Allen (1954) states; "the chromatic use of achromatic blot areas is to be interpreted as abortive sublimation, viz., the testee is unable to control his impulses, he cannot live in the manner he would like to, he wants to act; the conflict is resolved in an unrealistic, highly topical projection of the pressure to act out-the subsequent response contains the color determinant."

Piotrowski (1950) also agrees that the use of C' and C'F indicates impulsivity, with the strongest indicator being C' without any form imposed. When this shading response is dominated by the form of the perception, as in FC', it becomes less an indicator of impulsivity and more an indicator of appropriate potential for activeness in the organism.

In the actual analysis the incidence of C'&C'F were compared between the rapist and control inmate group using the Kolomorov-Smirnov test. The resulting d value equaled 11 and reached the .01 level of significance. This indicated a significantly greater level of C'&C'F in the rapist group and pointed to a substantially high level of impulsivity in the rapist group. This finding gives added support to the results obtained through analysis of the color variables which also were used as impulsivity predictors.

The final findings are concerned with the inter-scorer reliability for the hostility variable. A simple "percentage of agreement between raters" was computed. The resulting reliability was .90 between the two scorers.

In consolidating a picture of the rapist group from the discussion of the findings, it is apparent that exaggerated hostility, strong affectional needs (deprivation), and a poor "mechanism" for controlling impulses are all present. There is also some evidence, although unsupported and based on subjective interpretation, that the female figure is depersonalized and may be the object which the hostility of the rapist is directed at (see appendix B).

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Even though the study did yield some worthwhile findings, there were a number of methodological considerations.

First, the "normals" used in this study were taken from normative samples which contained males and females, besides encompassing a wide range of economic and social levels. The experimental group and inmate controls, however, were all males and generally from lower social and economic levels.

Second, another factor in the use of normative data for a control was the lack of availability of individual scores for the normative population. This made it impossible to use the normals in all the comparisons.

Third, the experimental, rapist group and control, inmate group were taken from two different facilities. This environmental difference may have affected the groups in some manner.

Finally, experimenter effects may have been present in view of the fact that a number of clinicians tested the subjects used in the study. Unfortunately, it was impossible to obtain interscorer reliabilities between these clinicians and ascertain to what degree scorer biases effected the experiment.

A basic consideration for future research in this area is the employment of several instruments in analyzing the rapist. The combined use of case histories, projective techniques, etc., would make for a much broader scope in examining the rapist. Also, findings which appeared across a number of assessment techniques would be more reliable. Finally, another important factor, which should be the goal of clinical research, is to promote findings that would offer ideas for therapeutic intervention and treatment.

CHAPTER VI

Summary

In the recent past the study of the rapist has usually been focused upon pragmatic and clinical observation which employed no control subjects. This study endeavored to approach the study of the rapist in a more quantitative and systematic manner.

Using the Rorschach Inkblot Test as a research tool, scores of an experimental group comprised of twenty rapists were compared to the scores of a control group of 157 "normals" taken from normative data for the Rorschach and a second control group consisting of twenty "non-assaultive" prison inmates. These groups were compared on Rorschach indices of hostility (HL), inadequacy (V), deprivation of affectional needs (c&K), and impulsivity (C&CF&FC); all of which were hypothesized to be predominant features of the rapist group.

Kolmogorov-Smirnov test and T test comparisons were made between the groups and the findings revealed that, as hypothesized, hostility, deprivation, and impulsivity were predominant features in the rapists as compared to normals. However, in comparison to the inmate group the rapists only differed on measures of deprivation and impulsivity. Again these two differences were in the hypothesized direction

with the rapists demonstrating more of the traits than the inmate controls.

Additional findings that considered the "pattern" of scores in the individual Rorschach records of each rapist and each member of the control, inmate group did not substantially support the presence of all the hypothesized traits in the record of each rapist. In fact only one rapist demonstrated a pattern of all four traits, whereas the total pattern was never demonstrated in the control records.

Other quantitative and qualitative aspects of the rapist's records were discussed along with the major findings. Also methodological limitations present in the study were pointed out and suggestions for future research in the area were made.

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APPENDIX A.

APPENDIX A.

SCORING CRITERIA FOR
ELIZUR'S HOSTILITY LEVEL (HL)I. Expressive Behavior

Score H. If hostility is associated in any way with the behavior of the figure in the percept. Included here is not only aggressive behavior, but the results of aggressive activity as well.

Examples of such H responses are as follows:

Animals fighting	People arguing
Butterfly who got its wing torn	Squashed bug
Killed animal	Wolf devouring its prey

II. Emotions and Attitudes Expressed or Implied

Score H. If the emotions and attitudes of contempt, hatred, dislike, criticism, derogation, and so on are clearly reflected in the response. The hostile attitude may be on the part of the subject giving the response (e.g., "the kind of man I hate"), or may be attributed to the object in the percept (e.g., "a cruel man"). The feeling or attitude of hostility or derogation may also be implied in the response (e.g., "stupid fact").

Examples of such H responses are as follows:

Angry face	Type of animal I hate
Cruel man	Ugly figure
Stupid-looking animal	Quarrelsome person

Score h. If the hostile attitude or feeling is expressed or implied to a lesser extent than that indicated above.

Examples of such h responses are as follows:

Beggars	Frowning people
Brute	Gossiping woman
Freaks	Silly-looking man

Score H: If the response contains an object which is typically used for aggressive purposes. However, a response such as "H bomb," because of the overpowering element of anxiety, is not given a full score of H.

Examples of such H responses are as follows:

Arrow	Cannon
Blackjack	Gun
Bullet	Jet fighter

Score h: If the response involves an object which, though typically used in other ways, may also be employed for aggressive purposes.

Examples of such h responses are as follows:

Hammer	Scissors
Knife	Teeth
Pliers	Vise

IV. Symbolic Responses

Score h: If the response reflects hostility and the like symbolically; this type of response is scored conservatively.

3. 10/10/10

Examples of such h responses are as follows:

Feeling of conflict	Symbolizes fighting
Red represents anger	War mask

V. Double Connotation

Score h: If both hostility and anxiety are clearly reflected in the response, or if it is not clear cut which of the two is involved. See Chapter 5 for a complete description of the criteria used in scoring anxiety responses.

Examples of such h responses are as follows:

Frightened animal about to attack	Mouse caught in a trap
Headless man	Person being grabbed from behind
Man being Hanged	Policeman

VI. Unscorable or "Neutral" Responses

Do not score: If in both its unelaborated or elaborated form, the response contains no indication of hostility as determined by any of the above criteria.

Examples of responses which are "neutral" regarding hostility are as follow:

Animal Skin	Fish
Bears	Map
Butterfly	Rocks
Dangerous place	Tree
Dead leaf	X ray

APPENDIX B.

EXAMPLES OF CONTENT RESPONSES
FOR MEMBERS OF THE RAPIST GROUP

(Rapist)	(Blot)	(Response)
R3	Card I	"Form of woman, footless and headless."
	Card IV	"Looks like he has a extra large penis."
R4	Card I	"Woman's rear end looks like right there."
	Card VI	"Looks like a pair of man's nuts there, only thing I can make out."
R9	Card IV	"Bottom half of woman."
R10	Card I	"Looks like a couple of witches or something."
	Card II	"Here, looks like a woman's pussy."
R14	Card II	"This red here looks like a woman's vagina."
	"	"Looks like it could be an explosion." (same area)
R17	Card II	"This part at bottom looks like woman's private."

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